

THE MILITANT

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Rebel Army school trained fighters with guts

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NATO pushes war drive against Yugoslav workers

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Last week the Clinton administration stepped up propaganda concerning mass graves in Bosnia as its latest card to reinforce NATO's war drive against the workers and farmers of Yugoslavia. A debate over how fast to push the so-called war crimes investigation has unfolded in the big-business media between the White House and NATO military officials.

On January 21 John Shattuck, U.S. assistant secretary of state for human rights, and two officials from the International War Crimes Tribunal at The Hague visited areas where thousands of Bosnians were reportedly killed and buried by Belgrade-backed Serb forces. Shattuck said the visit underscored Washington's support for the tribunal and stressed the need for security to investigate the grave sites.

"Security will be needed," said Shattuck, who emphasized that the NATO occupation force "has a duty under Dayton to provide assistance to war crimes investigators."

On the other hand, at a January 19 press conference in Brussels U.S. Gen. George Joulwan, NATO's supreme commander, said, "In my instructions we will not be in the position of guarding sites."

"NATO is not going to provide specific security, or in other words guarantee security, for teams investigating these grave sites," said U.S. Adm. Leighton Smith, the NATO commander in Bosnia, in a statement issued January 21. Another NATO

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3,000 march in Germany to defend immigrants

BY INGE HINNEMO

LÜBECK, Germany—"Refugees have to become citizens so that we can live together with the Germans as neighbors," said Gadji Bacar from the African Association here in eastern Germany. "I have a dream about children of Africans, Turks, and Germans living together under the same conditions."

Bacar was one of the speakers at a January 20 rally that wound up a march of 3,000 people in Lübeck. The demonstration took place in memory of the ten immigrants killed in a fire the night of January 18.

Another 50 people were injured in the blaze in the four-story building that was a home for asylum seekers. Four people are still missing.

At first the police arrested four German youths suspected of arson at the house. They were later released as they were said to have an alibi. The police then said that the fire may have been caused by an accident. On January 20 the police detained a person "of Lebanese origin" as a suspect.

In recent years several immigrants in Germany have been killed in arson attacks

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Clinton, Dole grind ax to chop social programs

Speeches lay out bipartisan offensive on workers

BY NAOMI CRAINE

U.S. president Bill Clinton used his annual "State of the Union" speech to further Washington's bipartisan effort to make deep cuts in Medicare, welfare, and other entitlements working people have won. In the nationally televised hour-long address before a joint session of Congress January 23, he also vowed to step up the use of the cops and restrict democratic rights in the name of fighting against drugs and "terrorism," and proposed further attacks on immigrants. It was one of the first major campaign speeches of the 1996 presidential race.

Clinton echoed many of the themes from his 1992 election campaign. After praising the U.S. troops recently sent to Yugoslavia, he stated, "We are gaining ground in restoring our fundamental values." He cited fewer people receiving welfare and food stamps as one example.

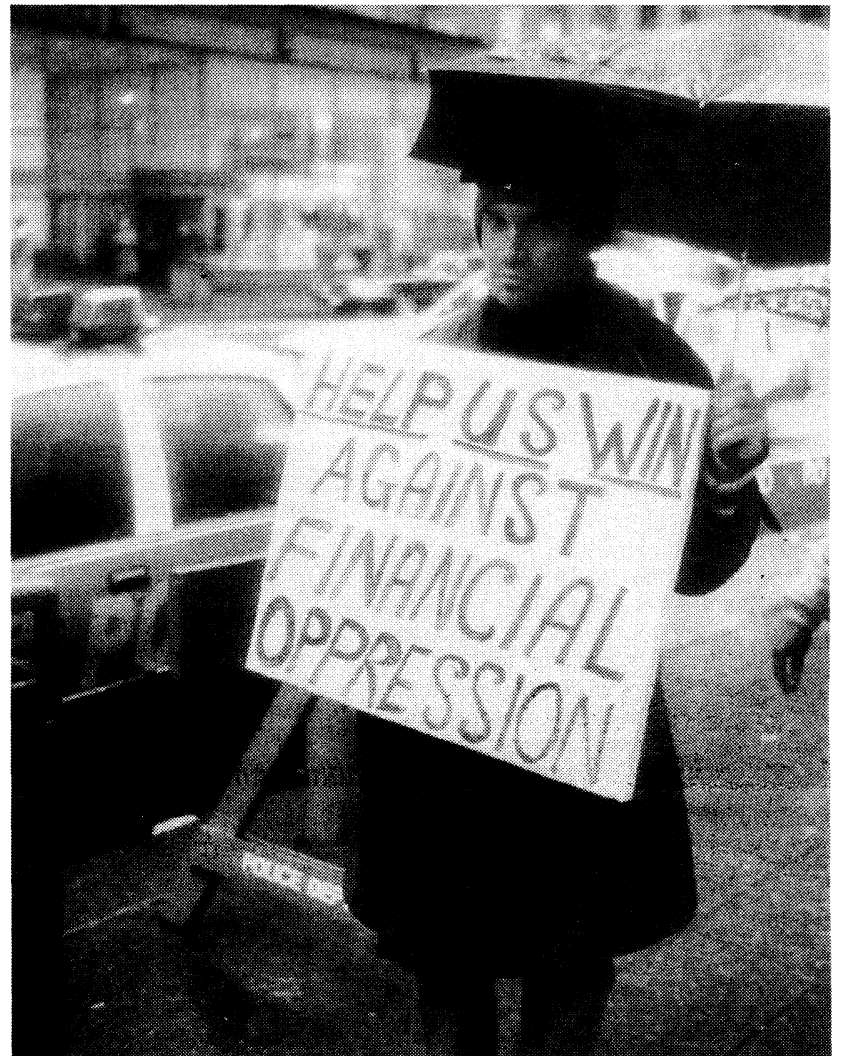
The president asserted that the U.S. "economy is the healthiest it has been in three decades." Later in his speech, Clinton boasted he had cut the federal payroll by 200,000 so far during his tenure.

The official unemployment rate — which only includes those workers whose jobless benefits have not yet run out — held at 5.6 percent in December. In New Jersey, unemployment rose from 6.1 percent to 7.3 percent, and in New York City it climbed over 8 percent that month. Arguing that figures for individual states are often erratic, the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics has decided not to include state figures in its monthly employment reports anymore.

In this supposedly robust economy, even Clinton had to admit that many people "are working harder just to keep up." He suggested the minimum wage should be increased from the current \$4.25 an hour, but made no proposal as to when or by how much. Clinton said exactly the same thing in last year's State of the Union address, and the minimum wage remains the same.

Referring to the ongoing wrangle over the federal budget, the president stressed how close his proposals are to those of Republicans in Congress. "The era of big government is over," he declared. Clinton urged the legisla-

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Militant/Eric Simpson

Maintenance worker pickets Rockefeller Center in New York January 19. Labor resistance is the only obstacle to assault by big business.

New York strikers say, 'Help us win!'

BY TAMAR ROSENFELD

NEW YORK—Walking through any commercial strip in Manhattan, one sees pockets of picketers, garbed in the now-familiar red and white signs emblazoned with "LOCAL 32B-32J ON STRIKE. Help Us Win!"

The local of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) has 70,000 members, representing both commercial and residential maintenance workers. The strike involves the some 30,000 maintenance workers, janitors, elevator operators, and cleaners who work in 1,300 commercial buildings throughout New York City.

On January 23, nearly 3,000 maintenance workers marched through midtown Manhattan, banging on Clorox bottles and other cleaning instruments in an effort to win solidarity. It was the strikers' biggest march to date.

The strike began January 4. Workers are fighting the attempt by management to impose a two-

tier wage system, starting new hires at \$352 per week versus the current \$573 per week. Negotiations resumed January 19, only to break off 15 hours later. As the strike is entering its third week spirits are high on the picket lines. Workers are

standing strong in freezing temperatures to staff pickets at their work sites during the shifts they would have been working.

Thomas Farina, a maintenance cleaner for 19 years who is a shop steward at the

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Help the 'Militant' send reporters to Cuba

An international team of Militant reporters — including Mary-Alice Waters, editor of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, and *Perspectiva Mundial* editor Martín Koppel — is going to Cuba in February to cover the 1996 Havana Book Fair, one of the major cultural events in Latin America (see ad on page 9). They will also provide firsthand reports on meetings in factories and other workplaces to prepare for the April convention of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC).

To make this unique reporting trip possible, your generous contribution is needed now. Please send your check or money order to the *Militant*, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014, payable to the *Militant* and earmarked for the Cuba reporting trip.



Juventud Rebelde/Angelito Baldrich

Workers' assembly at animal feed plant, Havana, February 1994.

Chechen fighters humiliate Russian army — page 4



Ecuador: workers occupy plants

Electrical workers have occupied seven power plants in Ecuador. On January 18 they threatened to leave the country's hydroelectric stations unattended if the government tries to intervene with troops. The workers took over the plants January 17 to protest a proposal to privatize energy production that could threaten their jobs.

Ecuadoran president Sixto Duran-Ballen declared a state of emergency, which authorizes the government to send troops into the occupied installations and limits the right of assembly. The workers are occupying one plant that supplies 75 percent of the country's electricity.

Burundi gov't: no UN troops

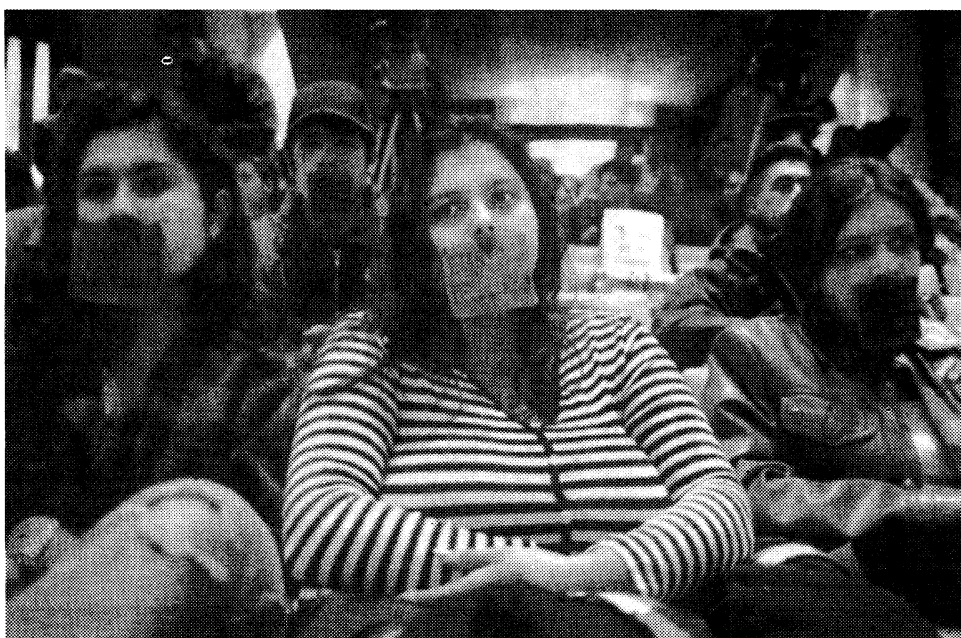
Representatives from imperialist countries in the United Nations Security Council debated sending an occupying force to Burundi, but have met resistance from Burundi government officials. "We want to keep United Nations troops away from our country," said Nsanze Terence, Burundi's representative to the United Nations.

Last year, a guerrilla group calling itself the Front for the Defense of Democracy launched raids into Burundi from Zaire. At least 10,000 people were massacred. The government of Burundi said the guerrillas were armed and backed by elements from the old Rwandan army. More than 100,000 people have been killed in three years of violence in Burundi, where bourgeois politicians are exploiting ethnic divisions to advance their competing interests.

Hard times ahead in Europe

"Not only will growth not be enough to reduce unemployment, it will be so low that unemployment will continue to go up." That's what Armin Sorg, senior director for economic policy at Siemens A.G. in Munich, Germany, told the *New York Times*. Sorg was commenting on the creeping recession hitting Europe, which already has an average unemployment rate of 10.6 percent — 17.5 million people.

The limp economies throughout Europe are threatening to derail the capitalists' economic plans, including the Maastricht Treaty, which calls for countries in the European Union to adopt a common currency and a central bank. "Maastricht is obsolete. Maastricht is dead," declared



Hundreds of protesting students attended a public meeting in San Francisco January 18, where the University of California's Board of Regents voted to reaffirm its decision to eliminate the university's affirmative action programs. Eleven students were arrested for speaking longer than the one minute allotted, while many wore stickers saying "reclaim education" over their mouths.

Jacques Calvet, chairman of the French car company Peugeot.

Shackles for pregnant inmates

Public outrage forced the British prison service to drop its policy of shackling pregnant women in the final hours before they give birth. The policy change came when the prisons minister, Anne Widdecombe, apologized to members of Parliament for erroneously claiming that Whittington hospital officials in London had not protested the barbaric practice. Hospital authorities had protested the policy on Aug. 31, 1995.

Another policy change could include instructing prison officials to maintain a guard outside the maternity ward once a woman goes into labor, instead of having the guard remain behind a screen, which is the current practice.

British miners win court battle

British coal miners won an important case when a judge in the High Court ruled January 15 that British Coal was negligent in dealing with a disease called Vibration

White Finger. The disease also known as "dead hand," is caused by prolonged use of vibrating machinery and can cause permanent damage to nerves, muscles and bones in the finger.

Arthur Scargill, president of the National Union of Mineworkers said the decision could result in miners receiving hundreds of millions of dollars in damages. The *Manchester Guardian* reported that the ruling is likely to lead to more than 100,000 claims by miners.

U.S. sanctions on Iraq cruel

United Nations officials said January 16 that the Iraqi government is prepared to discuss the imperialist-crafted plan that would allow the regime to sell \$2 billion in controlled oil sales for six months. Baghdad had earlier rejected the conditions as a violation of its sovereignty.

Clinton administration officials have said any negotiations over the plan are out of the question. U N agencies have issued reports for more than a year stating that Iraqi civilians, especially children, are suffering from malnutrition and the effects of a medicine shortage due to the oil embargo imposed on the regime months before Washington's Persian Gulf slaughter of at least 150,000 Iraqis.

Cleric gets life in frame-up trial

Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, the 57-year-old blind Muslim cleric, was sentenced January 17 to life in prison for allegedly plotting to wage a "war of urban terrorism" that included plans to blow up the United Nations Building, the Lincoln and Holland Tunnels, the George Washington Bridge, and the main federal office building in Manhattan. Judge Michael Mukasey of the Federal District Court in Manhattan also gave prison terms to nine

codefendants in the trial, ranging from 25 years to life.

"The judge said to the jury that no one is going to be tried here because of his beliefs, but the whole world came to know that I am being tried because of my beliefs and because I follow Islam," Rahman said at the trial. Rahman's lawyers maintain that he was framed by government informer Emad Salem, who was paid \$1 million by the FBI and was the key witness in the case. Salem had admitted lying under oath in a previous trial.

Proof that Rahman "even knew about" any bombing plot "is scant," the *Wall Street Journal* reported in September, adding that federal conspiracy laws meant the jury could still convict him of "leading the supposed jihad or Islamic holy war."

In spite of the complete lack of evidence, Mukasey told the Egyptian cleric, "You were convicted of directing others to perform acts which, if accomplished would have resulted in the murder of hundreds if not thousands of people."

Prosecutors also tried to link the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center to Rahman's trial. Neither the cleric, however, nor other defendants in this trial were charged in that explosion, which killed six people. Prosecutors called the four men who were railroaded for the Trade Center bombing coconspirators with Rahman and his nine codefendants.

Teen put on death row

An Arkansas jury sentenced 17-year-old Damond Sanford to the death chamber January 9, making him the youngest person on death row in that state. The judge set February 12 as the date for the state-sanctioned murder.

A psychologist who testified at the trial said that the youth, who was convicted of rape and murder, had borderline intelligence. Sanford argued at his trial that an accomplice fired the shots that killed the woman he was accused of murdering. The prosecutor in the case, Joe Wray, piously claimed that Sanford's age "concerned me" as he pushed for the death penalty.

Attacks on affirmative action

On his fourth day in office, Louisiana Gov. Mike Foster signed an executive order January 11 that would end affirmative action programs in the state government. Foster, whose main campaign issue was opposition to affirmative action, admitted that the executive order could not halt federally funded affirmative action programs nor those protected by state law. "To tell you the truth, I'm not sure what impact it will have right now," Foster said.

In a cynical move, Foster proclaimed January 15 as a state holiday in honor of Dr. Martin Luther King. The governor said he believed King would have opposed affirmative action programs. "King sort of believed like I do on that," he said. "I can't find anywhere in his writings that he wanted reverse discrimination."

— MAURICE WILLIAMS

THE MILITANT

Defend affirmative action

The U.S. bosses and their government are trying to whittle away at the gains of the massive civil rights battles of the 1950s and 60s in their assault on affirmative action. Those struggles helped unify the working class and sparked the fight for equality by women and other oppressed nationalities. The 'Militant' covers the resistance to these attacks. Don't miss a single issue!



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Sweden: hundreds protest deportations

BY INGE HINNEMO
AND MARIA HAMBERG

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — When the police came to Åsele January 12 to enforce the government's decision to deport the two Kurdish families the church bell rang. The police used violence to get the two mothers and their ten children on the waiting bus and to fight off the local people trying to stop them. An 18-year-old son managed to escape by climbing over the bus roof and was helped into hiding by his young friends. The two fathers had already gone into hiding.

People in Åsele were shocked by the police action. Sven-Olof Westin told the Swedish daily *Svenska Dagbladet* that he thought he was in Chile after "seeing cops beating kids."

Åsele is a community of 4,000 people in northern Sweden some 175 kilometers (110 miles) from the university town of Umeå. The two Kurdish families named Sincari came to Sweden in 1990 and 1991. In Åsele they have had a better chance than many refugees to develop normal relations with other working people. The children had spent several years in Swedish schools. After an earlier decision to deport the families they were allowed to live in the church sanctuary for 16 months.

When the social democratic government decided anew to deport the two families to Turkey on January 12, a chartered plane was already waiting at a military airfield.

"We were ready in Umeå and just waiting to go out and block the airport to stop the deportations," Mikael Wallgren said in an interview. "Then we found out they had taken them to the small military airport in Lycksele and we couldn't go there. It is very clear the police were well prepared to get these families out at any price."

Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson defended the action saying the two fathers had lied about their country of origin as being Iraq, when they first arrived in Sweden. The Swedish authorities claim the families come from Turkey. Two weeks before the government's decision, *Svenska Dagbladet* published a major article by Carlsson and Immigration Minister Leif Blomberg accusing refugees of using their children as "spokespeople" to win support.

The same day the Sincari families were deported, Leif Blomberg visited the Östra



Militant/Catharina Tirsén

Torchlight demonstration January 16 outside the Gothenburg cathedral, in Sweden's second largest city, protesting the deportation of two Kurdish families.

high school with 1,800 students in Umeå. "From the morning, protest lists circulated at the school," 16-year-old student Johanna Salander said in an interview. "All students and teachers filled the high school auditorium and everyone who spoke criticizing the deportation decision was met with applause. When the minister tried to sneak out the back door to avoid the press and the students waiting at the front several teachers blocked his way."

"We want justice!" chanted many youth as they marched through Åsele on January 14. During this protest they collected money to travel to Gothenburg, Sweden's second largest city, to take part in another demonstration against violence and racism

that had been called for January 16. Immigration minister Blomberg was scheduled to speak at this event. "We want to show him that we are not giving up" 15-year-old Emma Westberg told the TT news agency.

Church officials who had initiated this action, however, canceled it, saying it risked being turned into a political confrontation against Blomberg.

But 50 people — the majority under the age of 18 — still insisted on making the 15-hour trip to Gothenburg and did protest.

In spite of bomb threats against the cathedral in Gothenburg and demobilizing by the media all day, 700 people attended

a gathering outside the church and a service inside on the evening of January 16. Many Kurdish immigrants were part of the crowd.

We asked Annika Haglund, 20, from Åsele how they planned to continue the fight. "We don't know how," she said. "But we do know that we have to. If we give in nothing gets better."

One of the Kurdish immigrants told us, "If the Sincaris had been rich they wouldn't have been deported."

On January 17 the immigration authorities announced that as many as 10,000 immigrants already with permanent residential permits could be deported because of giving false information. Ever since 1989 the right to asylum has come under severe attack by social democratic and conservative governments alike. The number of deportations has risen as thousands have come to Sweden fleeing the war in Yugoslavia and oppression in other countries.

The protests against these government policies continued. On January 20, some 600 people gathered outside the Swedish parliament in Stockholm to denounce the deportations. "I hate the police because they came to take our friends away," said Natalie Westerlund, a young woman from Åsele who made the 800-kilometer trip along with two busloads to join the action. "I hate Blomberg, Carlsson, and the entire government because they made this decision."

"We have to fight because there will be others," Annika Haglund said. "I wouldn't be able to stand myself if I didn't do anything. And you cannot let others think for you."

Inge Hinnemo and Maria Hamberg are members of the Swedish Metal workers union. Catharina Tirsén, a member of the same union, contributed to this article.

Germany: 3,000 rally for immigrants

Continued from front page

by fascists. The synagogue in Lübeck was firebombed in 1994. Since 1990 at least 30 people have been killed in firebombing attacks.

Many African immigrants coming from different parts of Germany joined the Jan-

uary 20 march to offer their solidarity to the victims, including Jean-Daniel Makudila from Zaire, who lost his wife and five children in the fire.

"For eight months they tried to get away from this house," Veronica from Zaire told the rally. "Now the whole family except the father have been killed."

The march was also a protest against the living conditions of refugees in Germany. The burnt building at Hafenstrasse 52 was one of ten such "homes for asylum seekers" in Lübeck, each housing between 20 and 86 refugees.

Under provisions of a 1993 law immigrants seeking asylum in this country have to be piled in such reception centers. Authorities claim they take two to three months to decide on asylum applications.

Makudila, however, came to Germany with his family seven years ago. His youngest children were born in Lübeck. A Lebanese family of nine people who all survived the fire have been living in such "homes" for six years.

Heikko Kaufman, spokesperson for the refugee support organization "Pro Asyl," told the *Hamburger Abendblatt*, that these concentration-camp-like centers pose great dangers because of "the great number of fires caused by electric defaults in these homes."

At a press conference after the rally Gadj Dacar stressed that the refugees demand the right to live in Germany without feeling threatened.

"We live in isolation," a 28-year-old man living in another home for asylum seekers told the *Lübecker Nachrichten*. "We are separated from society. If nothing is changed another house will be burnt."

Michael Boutellier, the social democratic mayor of Lübeck has stated that the homes of asylum-seekers should be closed down. He argued that the best protection of the refugees would be their integration among Germans.

Heide Simonis, the social democratic president of the state of Schleswig-Holstein has made similar statements. She also proposed granting the right to stay in Germany to refugees who have been living in the country for a long time.

"The state government and the mayor

have promised to better the conditions of the refugees," said Veronica from Zaire at the January 20 rally. "But nothing's happened," she said, expressing the sentiments of many protesters. "Now the promises must end. Now something have to be done!"

The demonstration was called by a coalition including an association of African refugees and several antifascist organizations. Many of the speakers put the blame for the fire on the refugee policy of the government and called for people to join the struggle against the ultrarightist assaults.

Many people born in Germany saw the action as a chance to show their solidarity. "I want this to be a march of mourning," said young woman Marianne Kallberger. "This is a tragedy. It doesn't matter if it was arson or an accident."

The march stopped at the burnt-out house at Hafenstrasse where protesters observed three minutes of silence. The area in front of the house was covered with flowers, candles, messages of solidarity and children's drawings. Passers-by stopped in awe in front of the building.

After the three minutes of silence ended, an African man called out, "It's all a lie!" referring to the cops' claims that the fire was probably not set by arsonists. A lively discussion started among some of the participants about why the police version should not be trusted.

On January 19, another march of 1,500 students took place against xenophobia. It was organized by three high school students, 16 and 17 years old, calling around to all schools on that Friday morning.

According to the *Lübecker Nachrichten*, Rajko Marjanovic, one of the student organizers, told the student rally that all refugees must have the right to stay in Germany "because no one leaves their homeland for pleasure."

Among the demonstrators were fellow students of the children killed in the fire.

Inge Hinnemo is a member of the Metal workers' union in Stockholm, Sweden. Peter Hemgren, a member of the Metal workers union in Malmö, Sweden, contributed to this article.

NATO pushes war drive

Continued from front page

official, however, told the *Washington Post* that NATO would not rule out case by case requests for escorting the tribunal and its investigator.

Shattuck toured locations near Srebrenica January 21 accompanied by U.S. State Department security guards and soldiers from the pro-Belgrade army of chauvinist leader Radovan Karadzic to investigate eyewitness accounts of mass executions. According to the *Financial Times*, Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic supplied the Serb guards and assured Shattuck access to any place he desired.

Srebrenica was captured July 11, 1995, by Serbs supported by Milosevic. Survivors of the attack say hundreds of civilians were slaughtered and some 7,000 people are still missing from the area. The war crimes tribunal indicted Serb commander Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic for the slaughter in Srebrenica.

Richard Goldstone, the chief prosecutor for the tribunal issued a request January 16 to Admiral Smith for military escorts to exhume an alleged mass grave. Smith told Goldstone that NATO troops have begun patrolling the grave sites. "If you don't push me and make me say what I'm going to do, I'll do a lot," he said.

Smith implied that he would be able to assist Goldstone after the winter when the 60,000 member occupation force is completely in Bosnia. Joulwan said January 19 that the NATO military operation is "on track" after one month with 35,000 soldiers now in Bosnia.

The major capitalist powers led by Washington are on a war drive against Yugoslavia, with an underlying goal of overturning the workers state there. They aim

to use military might to restore capitalist social relations in that country.

The warring parties in Bosnia completed the withdrawal of their troops and heavy weapons from confrontation lines January 19 as required by the Dayton, Ohio, agreement imposed by the Clinton administration. Imperialist soldiers formally established a two-and-a-half-mile occupation zone while NATO commanders inspected a 1,000 mile long cease-fire line.

Meanwhile, Washington has turned up the heat on 200 Muslim fighters viewed as hostile to its occupation force. The Muslim soldiers came to the aid of the Bosnian army when it came under siege four years ago. The *New York Times* reported that U.S. positions in Bosnia have been put on heightened alert, supposedly because of reports of planned attacks by Muslim groups. Washington has put out the word in the international media that the alleged plans for assaults against its troops are intended as retaliation for the life sentence given to Egyptian cleric Omar Abdel Rahman in a U.S. federal court. Officials say the "mujahedeen" are being kept under tighter surveillance.

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke is pressing the Bosnian government to force the Islamic fighters to leave the republic, a provision stipulated in the so-called peace accord. A U.S. military officer said the White House is worried about the fact that the "Bosnian government has offered citizenship to some of the [Muslim fighters] if they marry into Bosnian society. The language of the Dayton accord, however, exempts only those who obtained citizenship before the accord was signed in December."

Chechen fighters humiliate Russian army

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

More than 100 Chechen independence fighters escaped Russian president Boris Yeltsin's bungled and bloody assault on the tiny village of Pervomayskoye. "The Chechens fought like lions," one of Moscow's special forces officers told *Newsweek*. Some Chechens had slipped across a frozen river from Chechnya to attack the Russian troops surrounding their colleagues.

The latest episode in Moscow's brutal war against the Chechens began January 9 when Chechen guerrillas took hostages in a hospital after failing to capture a Russian helicopter base in Kizlyar. With a promise of safe passage, the rebels released most of the hostages and headed for Chechnya with the rest.

Russian forces stopped their convoy at Pervomayskoye, a Dagestani town of farmers, and encircled the village with thousands of troops, reinforced with tanks and artillery. Moscow unloaded every conceivable weapon on the town for three days between January 15 and 17.

According to the interior ministry, 26 Russian soldiers and 153 Chechen fighters were killed in the onslaught. Moscow pulverized the village, using the pretext that all the hostages were killed. "They have executed the hostages," claimed Aleksandr Mikhailov, the chief spokesperson for the military operation on the day the assault was launched. Russian officials conceded later that no hostages were killed by the Chechens in the deadly standoff, a fact confirmed by the hostages themselves.

"They force us into such measures, pushing us into a corner and leaving us no other way out," said Salman Raduyev, the rebel leader of the Chechen action in Kizlyar. Raduyev eluded Moscow's relentless pounding and reemerged January 22 vowing to continue the independence struggle. "They call us bandits but we are not bandits. We are Allah's warriors fighting for our independence," Raduyev said in a location near his hometown of Novogrozny, Chechnya.



Chechen guerilla fighters defend themselves against assault by Russian army in the village of Achchoy Martan in December 1994. Yeltsin's bloody war cannot quell resistance.

Pervomayskoye was the only place the Chechens could run when they were attacked. "As soon as [the Russians] decided to settle this problem by force, we decided to break out of the village," said Chechen military chief of staff, Aslan Maskhadov. Maskhadov announced January 21, that all the remaining hostages captured in the raid would be released by January 23, except for 17 policemen. "The police we will keep as prisoners of war," he said. "We will use them in exchange for our men captured in Pervomayskoye."

A group calling themselves "Chechen resistance fighters" who commandeered a Turkish ferry boat January 16, surrendered January 19. They said they had no intention of harming anyone and were trying to bring the plight of Chechnya and the other mountain republics in the Caucasus region to world attention.

Thousands of supporters demonstrated in Istanbul as the rebels walked ashore after releasing more than 200 hostages held aboard during the crisis. Several hundred drove to the place where the ferry docked.

They danced traditional mountain dances and chanted "Free Chechnya! Free the Caucasus! Chechnya will be Russia's grave!"

Moscow criticized the Turkish government's handling of the affair as Yeltsin warned that he had "plenty of helicopters." Turkey's prime minister Tansu Ciller admonished the Russian government saying, "The basic solution to all the problems in the Caucasus should be reached through peaceful ways and by [respecting] human rights." Ultrarightist politician Vladimir Zhirinovskiy suggested that Moscow should punish Turkey by helping Kurdish fighters who have been victims of Ankara's war against their struggle for independence.

Yeltsin declared more war on the Chechens, pledging to "wipe out" strongholds of Chechen leader Dzhokhar Dudayev. "Now we have to take aim at Dudayev's bases where there are no civilians and give them a real blow to stop terrorism on Russian soil," said the Russian president. "Mad dogs must be shot down,"

he bellowed, further exposing the Great Russian chauvinism hated by all oppressed peoples in the region.

Interior Minister Anatoly Kulikov said on Russian television January 22 that "the operation in Chechnya will now be toughened." Moscow will once again try the same method that has failed for two years — crushing the Chechen resistance by sending more soldiers to the region.

The Chechnya crisis has deepened fissures within Russia's ruling caste, reflected in the recent resignations from the presidential council of Otto Latsis, *Izvestia's* political analyst; and Yegor Gaidar, a former acting prime minister in the Yeltsin administration. "I am convinced that gambling on Yeltsin after what happened would be suicide," Gaidar stated, urging Yeltsin not to run for president.

Economist Grigory Yavlinsky, one of the procapitalist opponents of Yeltsin, led a call for a no-confidence vote January 16 at the first session of the new Russian parliament, spearheading a resolution condemning the assault.

"It is time to face the fact that we are in a real civil war now in Russia," said Yavlinsky. This was not a hostage crisis. It is a hopeless war, and it was started by Boris Yeltsin."

Yeltsin, who was elected president of the Commonwealth of Independent States January 19, has set up a staff to run his national campaign. "Probably I will agree to run for the presidential elections," Yeltsin told a conference of international investors on January 22.

Fighting has resumed in Chechnya as Yeltsin's war widens. The *New York Times* reported battles flaring up in several villages near Grozny, the Chechen capital. "After this the whole northern Caucasus will explode," said the leader of the group that captured the Turkish ferry. "We want complete independence of the northern Caucasus, otherwise there will be war."

Many editors and writers for the big-business media have run to Yeltsin's political rescue. Chrystia Freeland of London's *Financial Times*, for example, slandered the Chechens struggle as a "Pandora's Box" that has "led to ugly acts of international terrorism." Freeland said the Chechens will "emulate Palestinians, Kurds, and Irish Republicans." She acknowledged, however, that the "deep-seated support for the rebels in Chechnya" makes it almost impossible for the Kremlin to crush their resistance without "annihilating the Chechens as a people."

Socialists campaign against NATO war drive

BY WALTER BLADES

KILLEEN, Texas — A "U.S.-NATO Troops Out of Yugoslavia!" sign placed on the socialist literature table outside the entrance to the Kmart near the Ft. Hood military base here attracted a slow but steady stream of interested GI's, their family members, and workers and students from the area.

Along with a few hostile stares and comments, the table attracted soldiers and workers who liked the table and shared our opposition to NATO's massive military build up in the Balkan peninsula. One soldier who bought a copy of the *Militant* newspaper was recovering from Gulf War Syndrome and was against the troops being in Yugoslavia. He bought the paper because he said he didn't know what was going on there. He said in the Gulf War he "didn't like fighting people who were surrendering." He said he refused to fight and as a result was harassed and removed from the front line.

Another soldier who bought a single issue of the *Militant* said he thinks Yugoslavia is "going to be another Vietnam."

In the earlier part of the day the sales team sold the socialist press door-to-door in an apartment complex near the base. The team spoke with over two dozen GI's there. They expressed a wide variety of opinions on the troops in Yugoslavia.

The discussions throughout the day were very civil. One soldier told a campaigner, "I support the U.S. government 100 percent. I don't agree with you. But I appreciate you coming by." The team sold a total of six copies of the *Militant* and one copy of the Spanish-language Marxist magazine *Nueva Internacional*.



BY HORACE KERR

DENVER, Colorado — Two *Militant* supporters took the working-class campaign against the war drive to the gates of the Monfort meatpacking plant in Greely,

Colorado, January 13. "I agree with you. Bosnia has nothing to do with peace," said one woman driving in to work. "My daughter is over there and I'm scared." Nine of the meatpackers bought copies of the *Militant* and four got the monthly Spanish-language magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*.

On January 15, five *Militant* supporters participated in the Martin Luther King Day parade, with an eight-foot banner that said "No to U.S. War on Yugoslavia," and sold over 30 copies of the *Militant*. One young man, Nick, was excited by the revolutionary literature on the table. "I know lots of people who are looking for something like this," he said, and came along with two friends to a house meeting the same evening to discuss Yugoslavia, workers' struggles in France, and the Cuban revolution. Two *Militant* subscribers ordered copies of *The Truth about Yugoslavia* at the meeting.

The next day Nick and his friend Jeff helped sell socialist literature at the Metro, Denver's largest university campus. We hung out our big banner against the U.S. war drive again, and attached signs in defense of Cuba onto our table of Pathfinder books. We sold two Pathfinder catalogs and 19 copies of the *Militant*.

One student said, "My dad was in the Green Berets. I grew up with war." She bought a paper, saying, "I know what war is about. Politics. Politics and money."

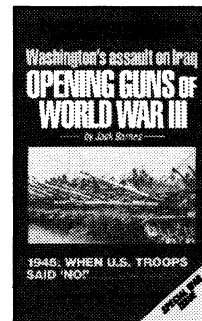
"I know all about cop brutality, firsthand," said another student who bought a paper and signed up for information on the Young Socialists. He said two of his friends are in the army in Bosnia. "They were ordered to fire their guns over the heads of a group of children," he said. "They said they felt like throwing their rifles away in disgust."

That evening 12 people attended another socialist house meeting. Two more people ordered copies of *The Truth about Yugoslavia*. Afterward, several of the

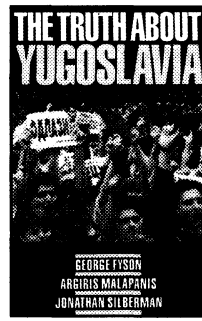
young militants there decided to set up another table at the university later in the week to campaign against the war drive and build support for a local women's rights rally. They planned to meet afterward to discuss building a young socialists group in Denver.

BOOKS FOR WORKING-CLASS CAMPAIGN AGAINST WAR DRIVE

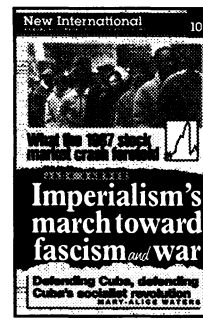
Pathfinder publishes a number of books and pamphlets that are valuable weapons for working people opposed to the imperialists' march toward war in Yugoslavia. Below is a selection of titles documenting earlier opposition to imperialist war, battles to defend unions and democratic rights at home, and the struggle for socialism.



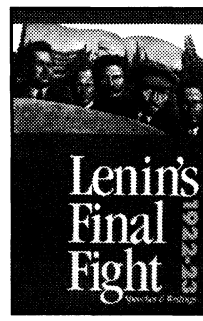
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The Truth about Yugoslavia
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Marseilles: 10,000 march against Juppé austerity plan

BY MICHEL DUGRE

PARIS — More than 10,000 workers demonstrated January 18 in the streets of Marseilles against French prime minister Alain Juppé's plan to slash social security and impose a new tax fallaciously called Reimbursement of the Social Debt (RDS). Demonstrators carried placards saying, "Our public sector means equality. Let's defend it."

This was the most important action in France since the rail worker-led mobilizations that shook the whole country in December.

Among the demonstrators were Marseilles transit workers who had voted to send a strike notice to their bosses for the duration of the march. Less than 10 days earlier these same workers had won an important victory in their 33-day strike, forcing their bosses to abandon two-tier wages and agree to better working conditions.

Transit workers were joined by unionists from *Electricité de France* who had occupied their power plant for three weeks in December, forcing the company to grant permanent status to 10 of the 30 temporary workers there. Other workers involved in the December mobilizations were also present such as postal employees and teachers. Many unemployed workers were also marching behind their own banners.

"We wanted to remind the French government that we are still here and that we oppose its plan to undermine our social security system," said Jacques Alimi, a Marseilles bus driver.

Alain Juppé was in town to announce a train of measures touted as a solution to the so-called "suburbs problem." The French government proposes the creation of "enterprise zones" in the most depressed urban areas. The daily *Le Monde* described one such area, the Montchovet City, where 70 percent of families are immigrant and the unemployment rate hovers around 60 percent. With Juppé's proposal, companies investing in these areas would be exempted from any tax for a period of five years.

Representatives of organizations of the unemployed said that the plan would not create a single job. A similar measure introduced in 1992 was followed by a rise in the jobless rate in the targeted areas.

The Juppé plan also includes a proposal for adding 4,000 more cops in the suburbs, in particular around Paris, using the pretext of an allegedly high crime rate in these areas.

This last measure comes after the government's recent decision to maintain the most visible aspects of its *Vigipirate* — its so-called "vigilance against foreign terrorism" plan. Since the introduction of this plan last summer, more than 2 million people have been stopped for questioning and more than 7,000 deported — the overwhelming majority of them Algerians and other North African immigrants.

The government will maintain massive patrolling by the militarized police and army — in squads of up to 20 with machine guns at the ready — in border areas, major airports, as well as the subway and train stations of Paris, Marseilles, Lyon, and Lille. These measures come as Elysée Palace is still trying to save some of its proposed social expenditure cuts and other measures that provoked the November-December strike wave.

Capitalists around the world are growing more and more concerned over the state of the French economy. Signs of an economic slowdown are growing. Lawrence Summers, U.S. deputy treasury secretary, participated in the January 19 meeting of top officials of the Group of



Militant/Tony Hunt

Dec. 28, 1995, march of striking transit workers in Marseilles, France.

Seven imperialist powers (Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United States) here. While in Paris, Summers spoke of the danger of "a deflationary trend in France and Germany." He expressed concerns that low inflation rates in these countries, far from being positive signs, might instead be caused by deflationary pressures contributing to the slowing of economic growth.

Meanwhile, political life in France is still dominated by the recent labor mobilizations, the most important in the country in almost three decades.

Changes are taking place among a broad range of political organizations, as more working people are looking for ways to get involved in politics.

The French Communist Party (PCF) hosted the first of seven national forums in Marseilles on January 19, which was attended by 3,000 people. Robert Hue, PCF national secretary, shared the platform

with representatives of the Socialist Party, the Greens, the Radicals, and the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR).

The PCF has its eyes on the 1998 legislative elections and is seeking support among working people who participated in the December actions. At the center of the meeting was the initiative of the PCF, supported by the LCR, to launch a national petition against European monetary union.

The national coalition Acting Together Against Unemployment! (*Agir Ensemble Contre le Chomage!* — AC!), organized a conference in Paris Jan. 20-21 attended by some 300 representatives of trade union federations and unemployed organizations. AC! is calling for a law that would impose a 32-hour work week with no cut in pay. It also opposes the two-tier employment policy, known as *precaire*, that allows part-time and casual work. AC! is planning a demonstration March 23 against cuts in unemployment benefits.

Marxist magazine, books sell well in France

BY NED DMYTRYSHYN

PARIS, France — During the third week of January, the international team of supporters of the Marxist magazine *Nouvelle Internationale* sold over US \$400 of revolutionary literature and 25 copies of the magazine.

This brings total sales of communist lit-

erature since mid-December to over \$5,000 including 326 copies of *Nouvelle Internationale*. The second best seller after *Nouvelle* is the *Communist Manifesto* with 53 copies sold so far.

Last week volunteers from the United Kingdom, Canada, the United States, and France were joined by three students from

Paris. One of them, Christine, a student at St. Denis university, talked to fellow students gathered around a literature table.

Alexandra Musseau, 23, a student at the Sorbonne university bought *Nouvelle* no. 5, which features the article "Imperialism's March Toward Fascism and War" at a table in downtown Paris. "I have passed by tables many times over the past four years but on this occasion I stopped," she said. "The signs targeting the Juppé plan, opposing the imperialist troops in Yugoslavia, and defending the Cuban revolution hit a cord. Many people of my age have a 'no way out' attitude but from the discussion at the table I have begun to appreciate that an alternative is possible, that Marxism is relevant."

"I'll take *Nouvelle* no. 2. I'd like to learn more about the fight for the independence of Quebec" said Philippe, a student at Nanterre university. He was interested in the article "Land, Labor and the Canadian revolution."

A central aspect of the team's work this week was building the January 20 concert in solidarity with Pennsylvania death-row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal. The concert was sponsored by the Movement Against Racism and for Friendship of the People (MRAP), and supported by several unions and political organizations. An activist in MRAP joined the *Nouvelle* sales team at the Jussieu university campus. She handed out leaflets and hawked *Live From Death Row*, Abu-Jamal's book recently published in French. The concert attracted hundreds of mostly young people.

Another highlight of the week was an open forum sponsored by the Movement of the Young Communists of France (MJCF), the youth organization affiliated with the Communist Party, in the Seine et Marne department on the outskirts of Paris. *Nouvelle* supporters were invited to set up a table and were joined there by Stephanie, a local MJCF member. A lively discussion was held on whether young communists should focus on social or clearly political, communist activities. During the discussion, Stephanie said that her experience in the last few weeks on similar tables showed that many youth can be attracted to political struggles and communist ideas.

Why 'Militant' supports Quebec independence

Continued from Page 14

Quebec to Yugoslavia.

The working class has no interest in defending the Canadian capitalist state, its borders, its police, or its imperialist army. Our challenge is to overthrow it and replace it by a government of the exploited and the oppressed, like the one in Cuba.

History has proven that as long as Quebecois live under the yoke of the Canadian imperialist state, they will never gain equality. The struggle for Quebec's independence is inseparable from the struggle of the entire working class in Canada against capitalist exploitation. It weakens the very foundation of Canadian imperialism and hastens the day workers in Canada can bring down capitalism. Communists fully support and are part of the fight for Quebec independence.

Finally, Sheehy alludes to remarks made by Parti Quebecois (PQ) leader Jacques Parizeau that the Quebec referendum on sovereignty was lost largely due to the "ethnic vote."

The reactionary positions of PQ

Parizeau represents a layer of Quebec capitalists who think they can get a competitive edge by gaining more powers in Quebec. Like his counterparts in Ottawa, Parizeau's politics are racist, antiworker, and procapitalist. In fact, the capitalists in Quebec who Parizeau represents benefit from the very oppression of Quebecois.

Many Quebecois workers oppose the PQ's reactionary policies and blame them for the fact the majority of non-Quebecois voted "no" in the recent referendum. To wage a thoroughgoing fight for Quebec independence, one which seeks to win other workers as co-combatants, the working

class in Quebec will have to push these misleaders and their mouthpieces in the labor movement aside. This is the same challenge working people face in all struggles today.

The capitalists use the fact that English remains the language of social advancement in Canada as a lever to turn other workers against the rights of the Quebecois. That's how they get a hearing for their claim that the Quebecois' intransigent fight against oppression — not capitalism — is the source of the deepening economic crisis in Canada, and of racist and anti-immigrant chauvinism.

But it is the Canadian capitalist government which has systematically denied Native rights, deported thousands of immigrants, and waged war against workers at home and abroad. A thoroughgoing fight for self-determination for Quebecois — that is, the fight for independence — will strengthen the hands of all fighters against national chauvinism and oppression because it will weaken Canadian imperialism, the main source of oppression and exploitation in this part of North America.

This just underscores the importance for all class-struggle-minded workers and youth to stand 100 percent behind the right of the oppressed to self-determination. In Quebec, that means the right of Quebecois and Quebecois alone to determine their future. It means identifying with the thousands of youth who marched and chanted last fall "We want a country!"

During those mobilizations leading up to the referendum on sovereignty, communists in Canada joined wholeheartedly the campaign for a "yes" vote — calling on all those eligible to cast a ballot to vote yes.

We did so, recognizing that this ballot measure was not *ours*; it was not a referendum the working class would organize that way. It was a referendum organized by a wing of Canada's imperialist government. And it was not a clear measure on Quebec independence.

By actively calling for a yes vote, however, communists and other fighters put ourselves in the best position to campaign for independence. Campaigning for a yes vote also provided the best opportunity to draw the lessons from the fact that the measure was narrowly defeated only due to the overwhelming "no" vote by the non-Quebecois minority.

Not taking enough advantage of that opportunity left it up to bourgeois demagogues in the PQ to use this fact to play on reactionary, anti-immigrant prejudices.

Of course, if a revolutionary government, or a revolutionary mass movement were to organize a referendum, it would ensure that only Quebecois could vote on the question of national self-determination and secession from the Canadian confederation of what is today the province of Quebec.

Ultimately, the fight for Quebec's independence won't be won at the ballot box but through a revolutionary struggle led by Quebecois workers and youth in the streets. Members of the Communist League and the Young Socialists in Canada fight shoulder to shoulder with Quebecois for an independent Quebec that will open its arms to workers of all nationalities and help tear the Canadian prison house apart. The only way forward for workers throughout Canada to rid themselves of their exploiters is to join this struggle as their own.

Affirmative action key to women's rights

The following are excerpts from "New stage of revolutionary working-class politics," a report by Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes adopted by the SWP National Committee on April 29, 1979. The entire section of the portion of the report excerpted below appears in Part I of the three-part *Education for Socialists series Women's Liberation and the Line of March of the Working Class*, under the title "Affirmative Action Gains for Women in Industry and the Way Forward for the Women's Movement."

We are reprinting this item on the occasion of the anniversary of the Roe v. Wade Supreme Court decision of Jan. 22, 1973, which legalized abortion. It is copyright © Pathfinder Press and is reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY JACK BARNES

There is a crisis facing women in this country regarding abortion. The right to abortion — that is, economic, social, and political access — is being brutally cut back. This is not because workers are turning against abortion rights. A Gallup poll released just a few days ago showed there has been no decline whatsoever since 1975 in the percentage of people who support abortion rights. But the economic possibility of having an abortion, and the availability of facilities, have been sharply limited by federal and state legislation. This is one of the "takebacks" the ruling class has implemented since the offensive began in 1974-75.

It will take a social battle to reestablish this right in real life. The "one-sided class war" has come down especially hard on Black and Chicana women, on women of the other oppressed nationalities, and on all working women.

The fight for the Equal Rights Amendment is in crisis, too. The NOW [National Organization for Women] leadership has reduced this struggle fundamentally to organizing political support for Democratic Party politicians, together with attempts to talk people out of taking their vacations in states that have not ratified the ERA [Equal Rights Amendment].

We give the same answer to the crisis of NOW as we do to that of Black organizations such as the NAACP. There is no "independent strategy" for women that can win. There is no tricky tactic that can circumvent the crisis. There are correct tactics, tactics that can move the struggle ahead, but they must be timely expressions of a strategic vision that places the women's liberation movement in a class perspective. That's the only way to assemble the necessary social forces to win the abortion fight, or win the ERA.

Key to the road forward is the transformation, the revolution, that is taking place as women in the labor force push their way into industry. This transformation began as one of the repercussions of the gains of the Black struggle. When the Civil Rights Act was being debated in Congress in 1964, the southern senators tried to prevent its passage by outlawing discrimination in employment on the basis of sex as well as race. They figured that made Title VII, as that clause of the act is known, so ridiculous, even northern liberals would have to vote against it. But it was passed.

This provided a legal opening for the affirmative-action drive by women. It

gave women a legal club to use to force their way not just into jobs, but into basic industry, with its higher wages and greater unionization. Thousands of suits were filed. One stride forward came with the 1974 consent decree in the basic steel industry which established plant-wide seniority and set hiring goals for women and apprenticeship goals for women, Blacks, and Latinos. From 1975 to 1979, women made a big push into auto, mining, and steel.

Jobs in industry are key to women for several reasons. One is that secretaries, teachers, and social workers simply do not have the raw power that industrial workers

gave women a legal club to use to force their way not just into jobs, but into basic industry, with its higher wages and greater unionization. Thousands of suits were filed. One stride forward came with the 1974 consent decree in the basic steel industry which established plant-wide seniority and set hiring goals for women and apprenticeship goals for women, Blacks, and Latinos. From 1975 to 1979, women made a big push into auto, mining, and steel.

Against employers, foremen, politicians

The axis of the women's fight is against the employers, their foremen, their courts, and their politicians—not against fellow workers. To the contrary, women should aggressively *appeal to* all the class-struggle-minded workers on the job, seeking support for women's rights. From our initial experience, we know there is usually a positive response when women fight along these lines. Women in and out of in-

tion and upgrading.

Today, Black, Chicano, and women workers as a group comprise a significant percentage of the membership of the major industrial unions. This makes it easier for other unionists to see why, in the interests of solidarity against the bosses' offensive, they must combat discrimination. This mounting pressure from below, in turn, has forced the majority of the labor officialdom to come out in formal opposition to *Weber*. It is responsible for the USWA bureaucracy's decision to fight the case in the courts and to call the recent civil rights conference.

This is an important new development, a promising new trend in the American labor movement.

Of course, it's just a beginning. There is still a big fight ahead to demand that the labor officialdom throw union power behind this struggle, which it has no intention of doing today. There is still a big job in educating workers, especially white workers and male workers, about their stake in the fight and mobilizing them into action around it.

But the opportunities to do this are greater than ever before. More and more workers are willing to listen and agree when opponents of discrimination explain that affirmative action is vitally and directly in the interests of the working class as a class. Affirmative action is not a charity to make up for the past. It's not — as some argue — a morally correct position but materially disadvantageous to males and whites.

Workers are better able today to grasp aspects of the political economy of discrimination—that discrimination does not mean an extra buck for some workers at the expense of women or of Blacks, Chicanos, or Puerto Ricans; instead, it drags the whole class down in terms of real wages and job conditions, and saps the collective ability to fight back against the bosses.

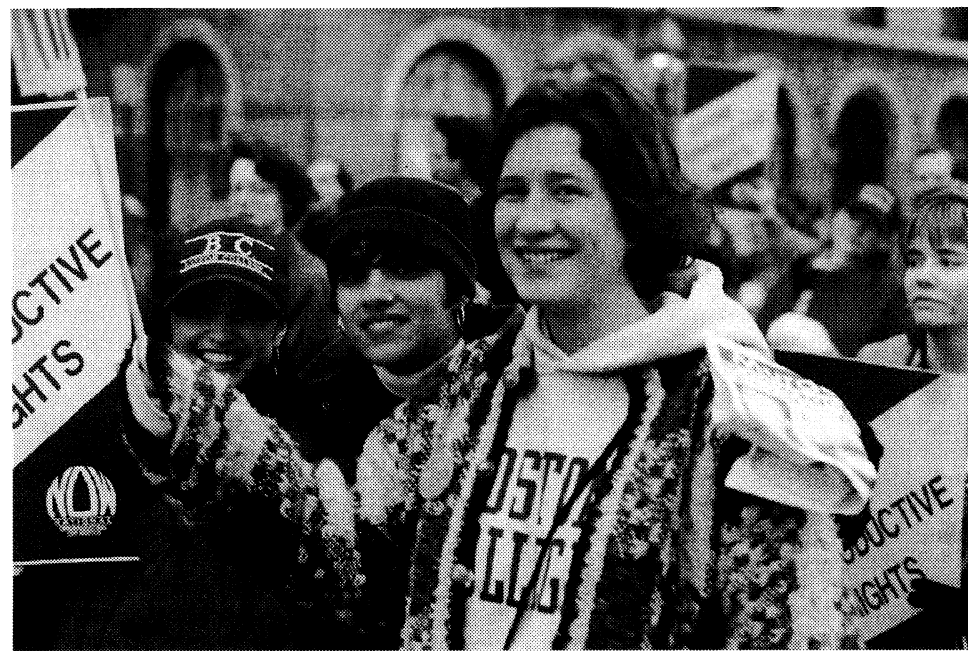
More and more workers are waking up to their class interests, which do not lie in seeking privileges for some. As this happens, they become more capable of seeing the difference between class struggle and class collaboration, between themselves and the union bureaucrats. It becomes clear that it *strengthens* the union to bring in more Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and, yes, women, to make sure that everyone gets the *same treatment*.

There are more and more openings for us to explain and move forward along this axis of struggle.

But we must add the point we made in the March 30, 1979, *Militant* editorial: The kinds of struggles that established the principle of affirmative action will not be sufficient to defend or extend it. More powerful forces and a more conscious leadership are going to be necessary for that.

The *Militant* editorial noted that the civil rights laws were won without the unions really entering the fray. The editorial continued: "This is a new period, in which the capitalist economy is wracked by crisis; in which the employers are driven to harsher and harsher antilabor attacks in order to defend their profits. This is a period of polarization of class forces."

"The only class that has an interest in defending affirmative action is the working class. And the fight to defend affirmative action must be taken right to the center of the only mass organizations of the working class — the unions."



Militant/Linda Joyce

Some 2,500 people marched in Boston Jan. 22, 1995, to defend abortion rights and protest the murder of two clinic workers. The fight to defend the right to abortion and affirmative action are at center of the struggle for women's liberation.

have when it comes to winning women's rights or anything else.

Opening doors to basic industry

But it's more than that. Opening the doors to basic industry has a powerful impact on the consciousness and self-confidence of women, and on the way that men view their female coworkers. Many deeply ingrained attitudes change rapidly. The interconnections between the workers' struggle against class exploitation and women's struggle for economic independence and full equality come to life. Sexist prejudices begin to break down.

The women's movement needs to make the same kind of shift that is necessary for the Black and Chicano movements. To win the ERA, abortion rights, and the other demands of women today will take a stronger, different kind of movement than a decade ago, with a different kind of leadership. But the forces exist to build such a movement.

Working women, and especially women in industry, have to lead this process, orienting the women's movement towards a strategic axis that can push the movement forward. This includes, of course, the fight against discrimination and harassment on the job. It's not sexual harassment only. The term is too narrow. The fight against sexual harassment is one aspect of the much broader fight of working women — the fight against the harassment of women as a sex, against discrimination, and for the right to get jobs, to hold them, and to have full rights on those jobs.

At the same time that working women need to become involved in the women's movement, they must also take their struggles into the unions, to win support for a b o r t i o n rights, pregnancy benefits, the ERA, and other needs.

This is the direction the women's liber-

ation movement must go. Not toward the antiabortion forces that support birth control. Not toward women cops or detectives....

This came through clearly at a District 31 conference of USWA [United Steelworkers of America]. An older, Black, male worker got up at this conference and explained:

We have to support the women. The bosses are doing to them just what they did to us when we first came in the mill. They're trying to drive them out. Women still have to fight to establish their right to remain in industry.

This Black steelworker predicted that with the next major downturn, women will face a concerted drive to push them out of industry.

He was absolutely right....

But we have to recognize the different positions of Blacks and women in industry today, the different stage women are at in getting into industry and staying there.

Women face greater obstacles because of their small numbers and their newness in industry. They have to fight the bosses, the foremen, and the whole setup just to prevent themselves from being driven out of the plants. Often the forms don't exist for women to work through these problems and figure out how to use their unions to defend their rights. Special women's committees, as in District 31 of the USWA and in many auto locals, can provide such a form.

Added to this are the special obstacles women face, because of the character of women's oppression in class society, in becoming self-confident leaders of their class and their unions in leading their male coworkers. This is a bigger problem for women than for Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed national minorities....

The importance of fighting 'Weber'

The fight by women to get into industry and hang on there also underscores the centrality of the affirmative-action question and the *Weber* case. The importance we have given this fight has been proven correct by one simple thing: the growing number of workers, including male workers and white workers, who are beginning to understand that affirmative action is a class question, a question that involves the effectiveness of their unions. The ability to explain this through the *Weber* case is made easier by the fact that the suit also challenges union collective bargaining rights around the issue of job discrimina-

for further reading

Communist Continuity and the Fight for Women's Liberation

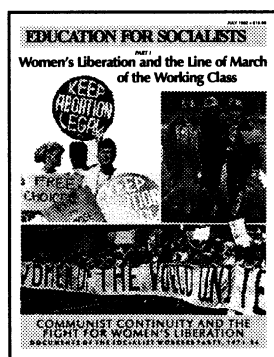
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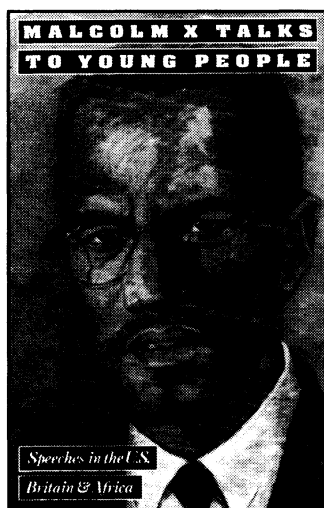
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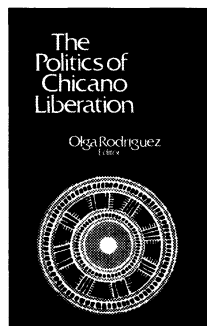
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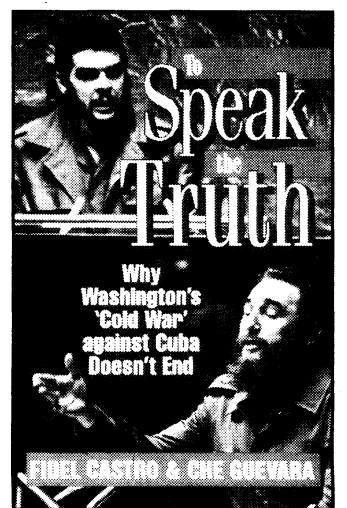


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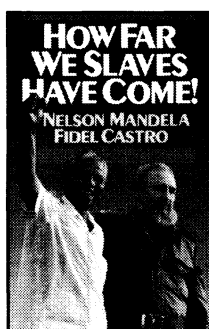
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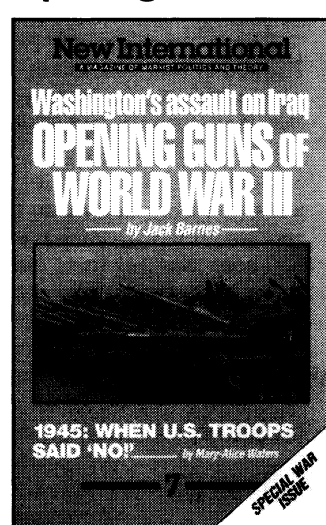
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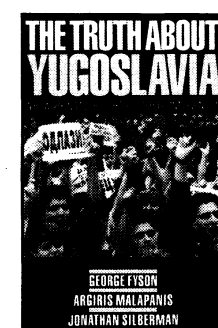


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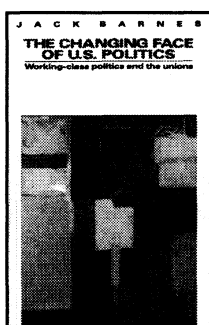


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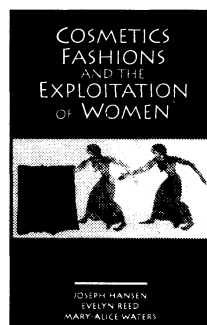
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Rebel Army schools trained fighters with guts

In February 1996 Pathfinder Press will release a new edition of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War — 1956-58*, including material never before available in English.

In conjunction with the publication of this book, the *Militant* is running a series, titled "Pages from Cuba's revolutionary history." This series features articles by and about combatants of the July 26 Movement and the Rebel Army, which led the revolutionary war that overthrew the U.S.-backed tyranny of Fulgencio Batista and opened the socialist revolution in the Americas. Many items will be translated for the first time from publications in Cuba.

Below is the second installment — a description of the Rebel Army school organized in April 1958 at Minas del Frío in the Sierra Maestra mountains of Cuba.

These accounts by Rebel Army fighters, published originally in the Cuban press, were collected and included together in *Che: Sierra adentro* (Che: Deep in the Sierra) by Froilán Escobar and Félix Guerra (Havana: Editora Política, 1988). As Guevara recounts in *Episodes*, this school was set up under his personal direction, as was a second one set up in late 1958 in the Escambray mountains of Las Villas province. Evelio Laferté, military instructor at the school, had been a lieutenant in Batista's army who had been captured in battle and then decided to join the Rebel Army.

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Evelio Laferté: Right after I decided to pass over to the Rebel Army, Fidel sent for me. I was in La Mesa and he was in Montería — this was during the preparations for the April 9 strike. Fidel spoke to me at length (we had already talked previously, and it had a big influence on my state of mind, resulting in my request to join the Rebel Army. I recall that we spoke for more than four hours — Hernando Chacón was there — and Fidel had laid out the idea of a military school in the Sierra.) I could now see that the idea had taken concrete form, and he left it in my hands. This was all done utilizing Fidel's style of exchanging opinions, which often led people to believe the idea had come from them.

Luis Crespo: The Minas del Frío school was created because there was a problem with recruits from the cities who arrived without even knowing how to shoot. When many of them began to fire, instead of shutting their left eye, they would shut the right one. Shots would go here, there, everywhere but near the target. So we put up a pole for target practice, and asked people, "Which eye are you using? This one? OK, we're going to cover the other one." And then they would say, "No, no, I can't see." That's when Fidel said that we had to create a school to teach the people to shoot.

Laferté: It should be added that Fidel put considerable emphasis on the ideological aspect, on developing consciousness among comrades who, for lack of supervision, had been allowed to join. There was much impulsiveness and enthusiasm, but little political clarity. So the school had not only a military structure, a staff of supposedly professional instructors (I was the only one with some experience in this regard); but comrades were also brought there who were more developed ideologically. From the very first moment, Che sent officers there who had spent a considerable period of time in the Sierra.

Military and political training

Ernesto Che Guevara: All the young recruits who we are unable to incorporate for lack of arms and want to remain with us, join the academy. They are put under a regime of strict discipline and very severe training. Out of this we hope to get some good officers in a brief period of time.

Laferté: Young people were sent by different leaders from the various fronts. Some had the status of recruits, while others were officers — comrades with some responsibilities. As I understand it, Che participated with Fidel in planning out the school — this was after the second battle of Pino del Agua and Che's activities in La Otilia. As head of the zone where Minas del Frío was located, and because of his military rank, the school fell directly under Che's command, we reported directly to him. In other words, the specific responsibility for running the school was ours, but all the general questions were under the responsibility of Che.

This should be pointed out, because it seems that many comrades, half joking and half serious, blamed us for a certain military-type atmosphere in the school. However, as the comrades who spent time with him know, Che had a certain aspect of his personality that was even more demanding than the military cadres who were professionally trained, among whom the question of discipline was more formal. With Che, however, discipline was a question that went to the very heart of things. We were surprised by Che's methods, extremely harsh methods aimed at achieving discipline and forming habits of behavior that never strayed into indiscipline.

The organization of that school — which in the beginning was somewhat idealistic, somewhat far removed from the realities of life here in the Sierra — began with a plan of study, with a whole schedule. There was an hour to rise, an hour for meals — meals that often didn't exist anywhere but on the schedule — and there were various assignments. I recall that there were classes in tactics, including both the theoretical and practical aspect.

And it was there that certain of my prejudices began to come out. To put it bluntly, it really rankled to teach people who, in short, had defeated us. I was not especially eager to transmit knowledge to people who in practice had shown that while they had not received their knowl-



Institute of Cuban History

Above, "Ñico López School for Recruits," established by Guevara at Rebel Army camp at Caballete de Casas in Las Villas. Photo shows assembly of combatants to commemorate anniversary of death of Cuban independence fighter Antonio Maceo, Dec. 7, 1958. This was second school established after the one at Minas del Frío.

At right, Che Guevara (left) and Fidel Castro (center) talk with Evelio Laferté, former lieutenant in Batista's army who joined Rebel Army and was instructor at Minas del Frío school.



edge in school, they had it instinctively.

Guevara: At that time enemy aircraft dominated Cuban airspace. The first facility built in the zone in front of you, that zone where I believe there is now an electrical plant; at the time there were more trees. However, the enemy discovered it in two weeks, and from then on every morning and afternoon for three months we were bombed. That was the test our column faced.

Educated ourselves for victory

There the troops also learned the ABCs. In our column there was a man whose nom de guerre was Moisés, named Pablo [Rivalta], who is today in our army, he was with our column and taught the ABCs to the peasants. Ninety percent of our column was illiterate when it left Las Mercedes for Las Villas. Through the work of education — both political education and the bombs — we educated ourselves for victory.

There we were all forged; there we learned to scorn the enemy's weakness despite all his might. We came to understand that there were things more important than weapons, that there was a power much greater than the force of arms, and that victory would belong to the people. Our morale grew with each passing day.

There was no food either. And when there was, it was a can of condensed milk, or black beans, sometimes without salt.

Laferté: The plan of study included tactics, a little on armaments (very rudimentary since we had virtually no weapons to use). We had some target practice (I don't know whether it was Crespo who led it), some very rudimentary exercises. We built some equipment similar to what military schools use for target practice. The aim was to help train the young men in the correct method of firing, since one of the problems was not

knowing which eye to close. Later Comrade Celia [Sánchez] sent us some old guns with which we began to carry out some practice, a little more lifelike, although still without firing. Together with this, importance was given to the ideological aspect, an assignment carried out largely by Comrade Rivalta, who we then knew as Moisés Pérez.

In regard to installations we were utilizing the house belonging to the peasant Mario Sariol. Later the very same comrades at the school, who were coming in greater number, built the school, built the installations we used, improved the defenses. They built up some installations in a mine that we used: a tunnel with considerable capacity that we decided to use for antiaircraft defense. In other words, in addition to theoretical and practical classes, the school had the objective of creating material installations. Clearly, that too was interrupted, so the courses were not very regular. Those same young men had to go to Las Vegas de Jibacoa, to San Lorenzo, which was where the tools and materials were arriving, the construction materials: zinc, wood, etc. In addition, other comrades — officers above all — had to leave to fulfill other military tasks.

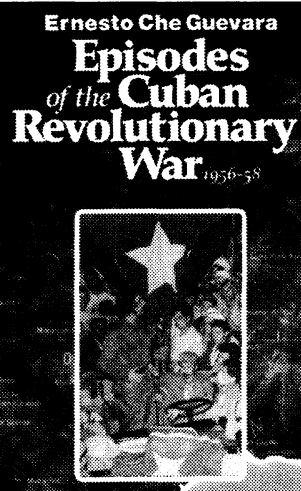
In other words, conditions did not exist to develop a course of study as we had conceived it: where young men would be locked away with a whole series of conditions and facilities available to them. But what appeared at the time to be a disadvantage, was not such a disadvantage in real life. And if the school is seen not as a peacetime school but as a school in wartime, it can be seen how it worked marvels.

'Lily-liver disease'

For example, there came to be an additional assignment at the school (and I believe that the comrades remember this as something that today makes us laugh, but bothered us to no end at the time): preoccupation with the enemy planes came to constitute an assignment here, and I recall that Che had a word for the effect of the planes on our spirits: "lily-liver disease." Anyone who suffered an attack of lily-liver disease during an air attack was suspended from that assignment. And this test was conducted five or six times a day.

Continued on Page 9

Special pre-publication offer



Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War — 1956-58

Ernesto Che Guevara

Ernesto Che Guevara, Argentine by birth, became a central leader of the Cuban revolution and one of the outstanding communists of the 20th century. This book is his firsthand account of the military campaigns and political events that culminated in the January 1959 popular insurrection that overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship in Cuba.

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Continued from Page 8

Miguel E. Rivero: Once the school of Minas del Frío had been installed, the enemy aircraft began to bomb, and Che ordered then-lieutenant Rogelio Acevedo to install a .30 caliber machine gun on the summit of the hill and open fire on the aircraft. The machine gun was in place for four or five days, and during that time the planes did not appear. There were some desertions, however. Che gathered everyone together and I recall his words:

"Many of you have come here to brag, but you are mistaken: guerrilla struggle is long and hard. Whoever wants to leave can do so. What we don't want are people coming here to sit around and eat. Getting food costs us too much effort."

As a result, some people left, and Che commented, "There is no better way to purify our Rebel Army. Those we have let go are suffering from an acute case of lily-liver disease."

Laferté: After each air attack we would generally call a formation, to count the men, to find out if there had been casualties. I recall only one direct hit from the air. The victim was Cansín, a shoemaker, who one day ran in desperation,

charged into a grove of trees, and got his head blown off.

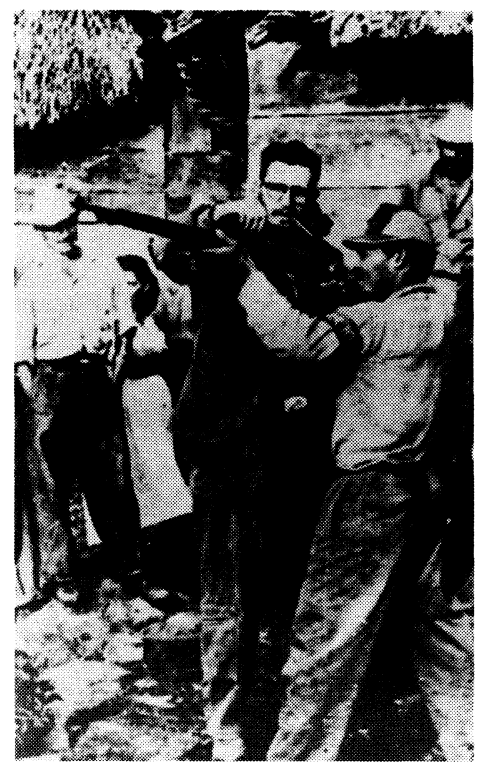
Che frequently came to the school and at times spent two or three days with us. He sat down to review every aspect of the school, and to give us guidelines for when he would not be there.

Really, the first impression I had of Che (to be sure, under circumstances in no way pleasant for me, and justified too by the bad reputation he had been given of me) — my first impression was of his personal aspect, his clothing, his type of beard, his almost Mongolian, Oriental features, his ironic expression, his gaze. He aimed a few words at my expense, until a peasant from the region came to my rescue, explaining my participation and my conduct as a soldier from the official army (at the time I had not yet asked to join the Rebel Army). Despite that clarification, I retained a poor impression of Che, an impression that was eventually overcome through daily contact here in the school, through the unconditional support he gave to our efforts at the school — a support that at times, however, came like bursts of gunfire, as he made clear his concern for certain

things I did not understand, and that I came to understand later, with time.

As part of organizing the school, Fidel wanted us to come up with certain kinds of oaths for the recruits. The kind of oath we were familiar with was the classic one that existed in the army, which involved God, the word of God, "I swear before God and Country, the Flag" — that sort of thing. We sent two drafts, one of which, by accident, included the word God; accidentally, because we had not intentionally put it there. I recall that this one had to go through Che to get to Fidel.

Che replied to us in a letter that he had not sent the oath on because, in his view, it was not correct to make someone swear to something in which he did not believe. That he, for example, did not believe in God, and that no one was capable of making him believe in God. That was his reply to us. At the time, it seemed to me that the reply was not very good politics, because the concept I had of politics was to make concessions. But for Che, when it came to questions of fundamental principles, no concessions were possible; it was wrong to try to enlist men through deceit.



Council of State Office of Historical Affairs, Havana
Fidel Castro instructs combatant

Two Cuban youth leaders invited for U.S. visit

BY MACEO DIXON

BOSTON, Massachusetts — The Faculty-Student Cuban Youth Lectures Committee based at Roxbury Community College here has just announced it has invited Cuban youth leaders Maika Guerrero and Iroel Sánchez to come to the United States in April for a series of lectures on campuses. The group, made up of professors and representatives of student organizations, is also seeking additional invitations for the two Cuban youth from other academics and university departments around the country.

Guerrero, 20, and Sánchez, 31, are researchers at the Center of Study for Youth in Havana, which, according to information provided by the lectures committee, "does research and provides information on the situation facing Cuban youth, particularly with respect to employment, education, and culture."

Obtaining a broad range of invitations from academic figures — university officials, professors, and recognized student organizations — will maximize the possibilities for the two Cubans to get visas to travel to the United States.

"I'm very excited about the possibilities of these lectures," said Claudia Kaiser-Lenoir in an interview. Lenoir is a professor of Romance Languages at Tufts University here. She is also one of the central organizers of the planned visit, along with Tom Reeves, professor of Social Sciences

at Roxbury Community College, and Thomas Bidell of the School of Education at Boston College.

"This is the first lecture project of the committee since it transferred its center to Boston from the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis," she said. The lectures committee organized a similar visit by two other Cuban youth leaders in the spring of 1995.

"The biographies of Guerrero and Sánchez are very impressive," Lenoir continued. Guerrero is a student of nuclear engineering and president of the Federation of University Students (FEU) at the Advanced Institute of Nuclear Science and Technology in Havana. Guerrero became a student leader at age 14. From 1990 to 1992 she served on the executive committee of the Federation of High School Students in Havana. She organized an international student brigade of youth who visited the Caribbean island last year.

Guerrero has also assumed national responsibilities for the FEU. She is a member of the Committee on International Relations of the student federation. She is also a member of the Union of Young Communists (UJC).

"Sánchez is second editor in chief of the Avril (April) editorial house," Lenoir said, "which publishes books, pamphlets, and periodicals geared towards Cuba's youth." Sánchez has served as a volunteer on the Cuban internationalist mission in Angola,

she added.

He took part in battles against the racist army of apartheid South Africa, which led to the defeat of Pretoria in 1988 and set the stage for the independence of Namibia and the overthrow of the white racist regime inside South Africa. Sánchez is also a member of the UJC.

"Both have participated in several voluntary agricultural work brigades in Cuba and have traveled throughout Europe," Lenoir said.

Lenoir said the lectures committee is working with urgency to obtain additional invitations by early February. She also explained that because of the Cuban Assets Control Regulations of the U.S. government no honoraria or speaking fees will be given to the two Cuban youth. However, monies will be needed by the committee to cover the cost of travel, phone calls, and other lecture expenses.

More information on this project can be obtained from the Faculty-Student Cuban Youth Lectures Committee, Caribbean Focus Program, c/o Tom Reeves, Room 3-353; Roxbury Community College, 1234 Columbus Avenue, Boston, MA 02120.

Phone: (617) 427-0060 ext. 5151.

Fax: (617) 541-0339.

E-mail "mcd@world.std.com" or

"lslater@world.std.com".

Invitations addressed to the two Cuban youth can also be sent to the same address, Lenoir said.

Atlanta activists: 'Learn truth about Cuba'

BY ARLENE RUBENSTEIN

ATLANTA — A meeting to broaden opposition to the U.S. government's economic embargo of Cuba was a feature of King Week '96, a week of activities organized to commemorate the life of civil rights leader Martin Luther King.

"Dr. King did not run from unpopular causes," Rev. Emory Searcy Jr., told the

crowd at Ebenezer Baptist Church. "Learn the truth about Cuba for yourself," he continued. "Don't be afraid to say the blockade of Cuba is wrong, and that it's got to go." Searcy, a leader of Clergy and Laity Concerned in Atlanta, initiated the January 9 program.

Sponsors included the Atlanta Network on Cuba, American Friends Service

Committee, and several area ministers.

The keynote speaker was Rev. Lucius Walker, executive director of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO). Walker discussed the efforts of Pastors for Peace to continue to bring humanitarian aid to Cuba.

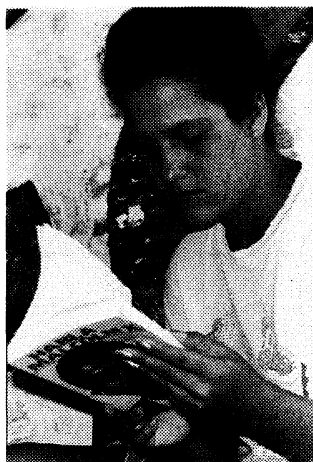
José Luis Ponce-Caballo, first secretary of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., was also invited as a guest speaker. He was unable to attend, however, due to the blizzard that made travel out of the U.S. capital impossible that weekend.

Organizers of the meeting plan to bring Ponce to Atlanta later this spring.

Contribute to the Books for Cuba Fund

Pathfinder will have a exhibit of revolutionary literature at the International Book Fair in Havana in February. In addition, many Cuban libraries have requested donations of Pathfinder books. If you want to make these invaluable political tools available to Cuban workers and youth, make a contribution to the Books for Cuba Fund. Expenses include the books themselves, shipping, and air fare.

Make checks payable to the *Militant*, earmarked for the Books for Cuba Fund, and send to: 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.



Survival in the Time of the Blockade Changes in Cuba Today

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Clinton, Dole prepare attacks

Continued from front page

ture to move ahead in adopting large portions of his plan, which includes slashing Medicare and Medicaid — programs for the elderly, disabled, and impoverished — by a total of more than \$150 billion.

"The Congress and I are near agreement on sweeping welfare reform," Clinton continued. "We agree on time limits, tough work requirements, and the toughest possible child-support enforcement."

Senate majority leader Bob Dole, currently the lead contender for the Republican presidential nomination, responded that the difference was not in the figures but in "values." He accused Clinton of "defending the status quo" in welfare, Medicare, and other programs. "In every generation, Americans made...sacrifices," Dole said. "Now we have to do that in this generation."

This exchange got to the heart of the "budget" dispute between Clinton and many of the Republicans — how far to take their ideological campaign to demand that workers tighten their belts and sacrifice. The "values" Dole cited included "personal responsibility" and "self-reliance." In other words, trying to convince working people that they are the problem in society.

The latest episode in the budget debate is the negotiations between the White House and Congress

Continued on Page 12

Auto workers step up sales of socialist books

Pathfinder, located in New York with distributors in Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom, publishes books and pamphlets by revolutionary and working-class leaders. Pathfinder bookstores are listed in the directory on page 12.

Marty Ressler, a member of the United Auto Workers union at General Motors in Tarrytown, New York, writes:

"Supporters of Pathfinder Press who work on the assembly lines at the Tarry-

town GM plant had a discussion at the end of the fall circulation drive of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New International*. We decided to see if we could show around and sell more books from local Pathfinder bookstores on the job. The results were fairly impressive.

"We sold \$171.50 worth of books. They included: 10 on or about Malcolm X; *Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*; *Fascism: What It Is and How to Fight It*, by Leon Trotsky; *The Truth About Yugoslavia*; *Blacks in Amer-*

ica's Wars; and *An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*. "Workers at Tarrytown face the closing of the plant, which is the oldest auto plant in the country, in about six months. Discussions about how workers such as ourselves could fight to defend our lives and livelihoods against the rampant downsizing that is going on in companies such as AT&T and GM are popular and thoughtful ones."

The Pathfinder bookshop in London re-

ports an increase in sales of *The Truth About Yugoslavia: Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention*, following a feature review of the book by the daily newspaper *Morning Star*.

Headlined, "Revealing the facts behind the NATO intervention," Will Podmore reports that the authors "argue passionately against NATO military intervention in the war-torn country."

Authors George Fyson, Argiris Malapanis, and Jonathan Silberman "show convincingly that intervention is just a cover

for the selfish interests of the NATO powers and that it will delay, not promote, a durable peace."

Much of the material in the book, including photographs, draws on a trip to Yugoslavia by a team of *Militant* reporters, who spoke with workers and students in a number of cities across the country.

Citing the example of the Cuban revolution today, the introduction to the book concludes: "It is along such lines of class struggle and internationalism that working people in Yugoslavia can defend their common class interests and reconquer what previous generations began to achieve with the revolution of the 1940s. In the process they can create a society based on human solidarity, in contrast to the rivalry, brutality, and bloody conflict that is the true product of the crisis of the world capitalist market system."

The Association for the Fulfillment of Land and Humanity in Lebanon participates in an annual cultural fair in Beirut and includes as part of their exhibit a section of Pathfinder books. Some 50 books were sold during the week, including 9 on the Marxist view of anti-Semitism, the struggle of the Palestinian people, and the state of Israel; 13 on the Cuban revolution; 7 on the fight for women's liberation; and 9 by or about Malcolm X.

The new stirrings in the struggle for Chicano liberation — and interest in learning about the battles waged in the 1960s and 1970s — has prompted PBS to schedule airing of a four-hour documentary series, "Chicano!" The series will run in April in the western United States and, according to producers, seeks to be the Mexican-American equivalent to "Eyes on the Prize."

Pathfinder has just released a new edition of *The Politics of Chicano Liberation*, edited by Olga Rodríguez. The book is written by participants in the struggle, and contains reports and resolutions adopted by the Socialist Workers Party on the revolutionary struggle against national oppression waged by Chicano workers and youth.

The book covers the rise of the Chicano liberation movement in the 1960s and 1970s, recounting the battles against racist discrimination, cop brutality, and harassment by immigration police. Organizing drives by the United Farm Workers union, the Chicano Moratorium against the Vietnam War, and the fight to establish affirmative action are all documented in this work.

The PBS documentary shows both the interest in books such as *The Politics of Chicano Liberation*, and the potential to sell the title today among co-workers, students, those involved in social protest action, and to retail bookstores as well.

Hundreds protest cop killing of N.Y. youth

BY AL DUNCAN

ELMONT, New York — On December 30, shortly after 3 a.m., Anthony Raymond of the Nassau County police shot Christopher Wade to death. Wade, a Black man in his 20s, was killed as he was returning from the store. The killing has provoked outrage in this Long Island city and the surrounding New York area.

Several hundred people took part in a march and rally here January 6 demanding justice for Wade. Demonstrators marched from the spot of the killing to the Nassau County 5th District police station. Raymond worked out of this location.

Protesters called on Governor George Pataki to appoint an independent prosecutor to look into the shooting, and for Attorney General Janet Reno to investigate killings of this type by the police of Black and minority youth. They also demanded that Raymond be suspended from the police while the investigation into this murder is taking place.

The cops' version of the killing is that Raymond observed Wade acting "suspiciously," supposedly talking to

someone in a stopped car in a known drug area.

After exchanging a few words, the cop got out of his cruiser and pushed Wade against a picket fence to frisk him. While trying to call for help, the police claim that Raymond noticed that Wade's left hand was holding a gun under his arm pointed at the officer's chest.

The cop shot Wade repeatedly, and the young man fell to the ground. As Wade was lying on the ground, Raymond reloaded his weapon and shot him twice more, firing a total of 16 times.

"The guy was down, he had a gun in his hand, he was still moving, and I'm scared," Raymond later told cops investigating the shooting. A spokeswoman for the County Medical Examiner's office said Wade had been shot nine times suffering wounds to "the brain, heart, lung, aorta, liver, and kidney."

The only known witness to part of the



Family and supporters of Christopher Wade speak to reporters. In front are his children Mini and Chris Jr. Behind them from left are his brother Vincent Wade; his fiancée Ernie Augustine; his brother Charlie; attorney Stephen James; and Rev. Eugene Kennedy.

shooting is Rev. Eugene Kennedy, who was at home at the time. Kennedy witnessed the shooting of Wade as he was lying on the ground.

The pastor stated that he did not see a gun in Wade's hand or in the area surrounding him. Moreover, people in the

neighborhood explained to this reporter that Wade was not the type of person who would be carrying a gun.

"I knew Chris nearly all my life," said 25-year-old Vernon Steward, who also lives in Elmont. "Chris was the type of person that got along with just about everybody in the neighborhood."

Residents' opinion of Raymond was the exact opposite.

According to Stephen James, the family's lawyer, Raymond was known for enforcing his own "personal curfew."

"He had run-ins with working people, men, women, and children," James said. "The only thing they had in common was they were all Black people."

Contributions to help with legal costs can be sent to the Christopher Wade Legal Fund, c/o Attorney Stephen James, 1 Cross Island Plaza, Suite 206, Rosedale, NY 11422.

Antiracist protest counters Ohio Klan rally

BY JANICE ORTEGA

COLUMBUS, Ohio — On January 6 the Ku Klux Klan held a demonstration here on the steps of the State Capitol to protest the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday.

Several hundred demonstrators turned out to oppose the Klan's rightist, anti-working-class message. Later that afternoon over 60 people attended a planning meeting sponsored by the Columbus Anti Racist Action (ARA), a network of antiracist groups.

The activists discussed how to expand the ARA, how to attract a more multicultural membership, and how to build bigger counterdemonstrations to oppose future Klan rallies. They also debated whether anti-Klan demonstrators should go into the "pen" — territory the cops rope off to encircle the area where the Klan will speak. Anyone wishing to hear the racists or yell at them from close range has to pass through a metal detector and be frisked by the cops.

Those who voted to stay outside the pen voiced concern about violence, especially by the cops and mounted police. One young woman explained, "I don't want to get trapped inside that pen. The cops have the billy clubs and the mace. We don't."

Many protesters traveled some distance to counter the rightists. A young woman

from Brooklyn, New York, said she came to protest the Klan "because their racist ideas are from the past."

Fourteen students drove here from the University of Pittsburgh. Most of them belong to the New Youth Culture, a group they are just now starting up. One of them said, "Everyone has a right, but they've taken it too far. We have the right to oppose them and that's what we're here for."

Some anti-Klan rally participants staffed a Pathfinder table and many people stopped to look through the revolutionary books and pamphlets, and the *Militant* newspaper. A student from Ann Arbor, Michigan, said he and his friends "heard some of the Klan members here today were from Michigan, so we felt a responsibility to come." Asked if he wanted the *Militant*, he said he had \$1 left, so his friend pitched in to help buy a copy. "I really do want to buy it because it has a lot on Che. He's my man." He is interested in the new book *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War* and took Pathfinder's address.

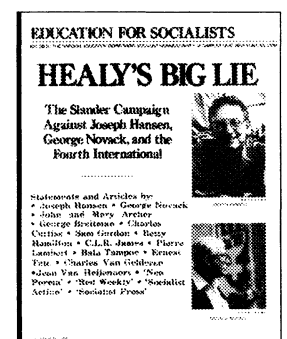
One passerby from China exclaimed, "It's so rare to see these books here!" He arrived in the United States one month after the government crackdown on pro-democracy students at Tiananmen Square. He picked up a copy of the *Militant*.

A man from Columbus and a woman from Cleveland were looking at the titles on the book table and discussing the day's events. She said authorities should have banned the Klan from speaking. He responded, "If they do that then pretty soon they're going to ban us from speaking. That's how our rights slip away and people don't realize it." He signed up on the Young Socialists mailing list and she purchased two books.

Education for Socialists

A New Probe by the Workers League against the Communist Movement
Record of an Antilabor Outfit,
from the Gelfand Harassment Case
to the Campaign against Mark Curtis
\$5

Healy's Big Lie
The Slander Campaign against Joseph Hansen and George Novack, and the Fourth International
\$10



Available from bookstores listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax (212) 727-0150.

Mark Curtis Defense Committee prepares to move to Chicago

BY REBECCA GETTLEMAN

DES MOINES, Iowa — "The new challenges facing Mark Curtis are going to be in Chicago," John Studer, national coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, told the weekly meeting of the group at the Forest Avenue Library in the Des Moines Black community January 9. "Therefore, the defense committee has to be in Chicago."

Curtis, a union militant and member of the Socialist Workers Party, has been imprisoned in Iowa for the last seven years on frame-up charges of rape and burglary. Curtis was arrested, beaten by the police and framed up while he helped organize a successful union campaign to defend 17 coworkers from Mexico and El Salvador who had been seized in a federal immigration raid at the Swift packing plant in Des Moines where they worked. The cops who brutalized him while in custody called Curtis a "Mexican lover, just like you love those coloreds." These two police officers were found guilty of battery by a U.S. district court judge in 1992 and ordered to pay \$11,000 in damages.

After an eight-year-long fight, the Iowa State Board of Parole granted Curtis parole on November 21. He remains behind bars awaiting approval from state officials in Illinois, where he has requested to be released. Curtis's wife works in Chicago and he plans to live, work, and be active in politics there.

"We expect that Mark will walk out the front gate of the Iowa State Penitentiary sometime in February," Studer told the meeting. "He will be met by a delegation of unionists and other supporters of his fight for justice and speak to the press. We already know that both the *Des Moines Register* and a number of the area TV stations are planning to cover his release. Mark will explain that he is going to Chicago to resume his political activity outside prison walls and to pledge his support to those who remain behind bars fighting for justice — from Leonard Peltier to Mumia Abu-Jamal."

"Then he will get in a car and travel to Chicago," Studer said.

"This will mark the most significant turning point in the defense campaign since Mark was arrested and beaten in March 1988. We will no longer be fighting to win Mark's release from prison. We

have succeeded and he will no longer be incarcerated," Studer continued.

"Instead, Mark will face new challenges. He will have to deal with whatever restrictions are imposed on him by Iowa and Illinois parole authorities. Along with thousands of others, Mark will also face additional challenges from a series of 'sexual predator' laws recently adopted in Illinois. These laws, have been enacted under a bipartisan propaganda barrage concerning the alleged 'special' character of sex offenses, which justify the suspension of basic constitutional rights for those who are released from prison after serving time for convictions on these charges. This legislation is a blow to political rights and can potentially be used by those who supported the frame-up to target Mark and harass him."

"Also hanging over Mark's head is the \$80,000 financial judgment won by the family of the woman he was framed on charges of attacking as part of the efforts of supporters of the police to break Mark and his supporters," Studer said.

"We must expect that forces like the anti-labor group called Workers League will press to use the 'sexual predator' laws and the financial judgment to launch new attacks on Mark, to attempt to block his participation in politics, and to deal blows to the political rights of all those who are propelled into action today to defend themselves from the attacks by the government and the employers."

Studer reported that Curtis has secured two lawyers in Chicago: Jed Stone, a criminal defense attorney, who will work to hasten his parole and limit the extent of the restrictions the authorities may seek to impose; and Matt Piers, a noted civil liberties lawyer, who has agreed to serve as Mark's general counsel, prepared to respond rapidly to any new legal attacks that may arise.

"Facing Mark and his supporters are not renewed debates about what happened in 1988," Studer noted, "but potential new attacks in 1996. We have won his freedom. Now we must organize to defend his rights outside prison walls."

Moving base of defense to Chicago

"To do this effectively requires that the defense committee, which has worked hard for more than seven years to win



Militant/Selva Nebbia

Winning support for Curtis at April 1989 women's rights march in Washington, D.C. Defense effort has entered new stage with his parole after eight-year fight.

Mark's release, pack up its files and equipment and move to Chicago," Studer said. "This is where Mark will be. This is where new attacks on him and his rights will come. This is where he has retained new lawyers to help meet these challenges. This is where the political and fundraising center for his supporters must be based."

Studer proposed that Curtis supporters gather at the Pathfinder Bookstore in Des Moines, where the defense committee has shared office space, to help prepare the move.

"We need to go through all our files," he said. "Some of them can be prepared for permanent storage as historical files — for the information of students of working class history and as a resource for others seeking examples to study to prepare to meet new government attacks. Others can be put into shape to be readily accessible and sensibly organized in order to meet new attacks as they arise."

"We need to put all the financial records of the defense fight into a balanced statement summarizing what we have raised and spent over the last seven years," Studer said. "Taking these steps will put Curtis supporters in Chicago in the best situation to carry forward the political and fundraising work of the committee from its new base in Illinois."

Studer also announced that he would be moving to Chicago to help make the transition go smoothly.

Over the weekend of January 13-14, volunteers spent many hours poring through the files and preparing them for the move. Studer and Hazel Zimmerman, secretary-treasurer of the committee, headed up a team to sort through the political files of the committee. Barbara Bowman, a local volunteer, coordinated a team organizing the financial files.

Julia Terrell, former treasurer of the defense committee, and Curtis's next door neighbor at the time of his frame-up, came in and donated a painting made by her son-in-law of the apartment where Mark Curtis lived in 1988.

Defense committee files organized

Supporters organized a file of photographs recording many key turning points in the fight. These included photos of the demonstration in support of the "Swift 17" a week after Curtis's arrest; the founding meeting of the defense committee; the unionist speaking to the court on the day of his sentencing; his meeting in prison with Andile Yawa, a representative of the African National Congress Youth League of South Africa; of attacks on the bookstore and defense committee headquarters; of delegations to the parole board to urge his release and to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations to present his case; and of the meeting

held the night of his being granted parole.

Committee support group mailings, literature, correspondence, minutes of meetings, and summaries of campaigns to gather letters to the parole board were put together for each of the seven years of the committee's existence.

Materials issued by supporters of the cop frame-up to attack him and disrupt his defense effort, along with answers from the defense committee, were filed.

Files were prepared covering numerous other campaigns over the life of the defense fight — from defending Curtis's right to receive material in Spanish in prison to countering the decision of prison authorities to deny him a copy of the pamphlet *Why Is Mark Curtis Still in Prison?* issued in 1995 by Pathfinder Press.

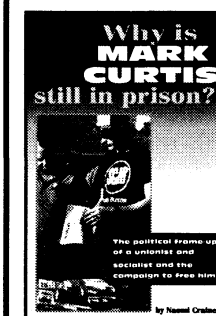
Files from each of Curtis's legal fights — from his trial and appeals, to his federal civil rights lawsuit victory against the cops who beat him the night of his arrest, to the harassment damages suit against him — were organized in chronological order for easy reference. Financial files for each year were pored over and ledger sheets balanced against bank records. Over the next two weeks, volunteers plan to compile a concise one-page financial summary of the entire seven years of fundraising for public release.

As Illinois authorities are winding up their review of Curtis's request to be paroled there, the defense committee is well on its way to being prepared to move its base to Chicago, in fighting trim for the next phase of the defense effort.

To help with the move, and to prepare for what comes next, the committee has been conducting a fund campaign to raise \$25,000. So far \$19,785 has been collected and an additional \$3,129 pledged toward this drive.

To contribute, write to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311.

Why Is Mark Curtis Still in Prison?



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

by Naomi Craine

Available in English, Spanish, and French \$6

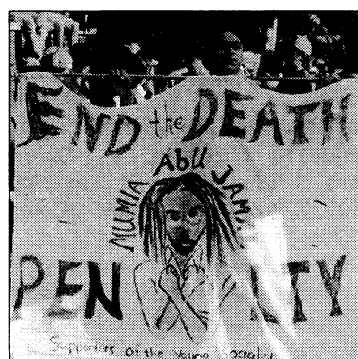
Available at bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax (212) 727-0150. Or contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa, 50311. Tel: (515) 246-1695.

Young Socialists First National Convention and Organizing Conference

April 6-7 Minneapolis, Minnesota

The Young Socialists (YS) invites students and young workers involved in or interested in planning activities to:

- Oppose US-NATO imperialist war drive against Yugoslavia • Defend the Cuban revolution • Fight for Black freedom and against racist attacks on immigrants • Defend abortion rights • Support striking workers • Oppose police brutality • Defend Mumia Abu-Jamal, Leonard Peltier, Mark Curtis • Oppose cutbacks in education and affirmative action



Imperialist governments around the world, led by Washington, drive towards war in Yugoslavia, while their assaults on working people continue. But these attacks meet increasing anger and resistance from the factories, streets and campuses of France to the picket lines of newspaper strikers in Detroit and maintenance workers in New York and defenders of affirmative action in California.

WE CAN FIGHT BACK! JOIN US!

Clip and Mail to Young Socialists, P.O. Box 2326, New York, NY 10009. Tel: (212) 475-6482.

- ☐ I am interested in attending the YS convention
☐ I am interested in joining the Young Socialists
☐ Enclosed is \$10(US) for a 12-week subscription to the *Militant*

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Clinton, Dole grind ax

Continued from Page 9

over raising the national debt ceiling, currently \$4.9 trillion. Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin said that \$5.8 billion due to bondholders on February 29 could put the U.S. government debt over that limit. Before then, White House officials say, Social Security checks and other payments due to workers may be delayed. On March 1, a \$30 billion payment for Social Security and other benefits is due. Until now, Rubin has kept up payments to the bondholders and stayed below the debt ceiling by juggling government employees' pension funds.

Like other temporary spending agreements over the last couple months, a bill to raise the debt ceiling will most likely include many other measures that are part of the package of social cuts.

A short-term spending bill currently in Congress, dubbed the "Balanced Budget Down Payment Act," would continue monies for government agencies whose funding expires January 26, at as little as 75 percent of last year's levels. This measure would eliminate a provision in the previous interim agreement that had protected federal employees from being laid off without pay. House Appropriations Committee Chairman Bob Livingston declared January 23, "If we're going to get serious" about cutting spending "then furloughs and rifs [reductions in force] will have to take place."

'War on crime'

Clinton devoted a substantial portion of his State of the Union speech to the so-called war on crime. He announced plans to have the FBI investigate youth gangs; to prosecute more teenagers as adults; to evict anyone convicted of selling drugs from public housing; and to urge states to require inmates to serve at least 85 percent of their sentences. The president nominated Gen. Barry McCaffrey, currently the chief of the U.S. Southern Command in Panama, as the new "drug czar."

One of the "special Americans" Clinton chose to point to in his address was Jennifer Rodgers, an Oklahoma City cop who was part of the response to the April 1995 bombing of the federal building there.

Clinton highlighted these special guests as part of his virulent "antiterrorism" rhetoric. He reiterated his call for Congress to pass legislation he proposed after the Oklahoma City blast, which would restrict democratic rights.

The president also vowed to "sign an executive order to deny Federal contracts to businesses that hire illegal immigrants."

Another special guest who sat in the front row of the House gallery along with the president's wife was Aaron Feuerstein, the owner of Malden Mills, a Massachusetts textile plant that burned to the ground in December. Feuerstein has been held up as a hero by the big-business press and politicians for agreeing to pay his employees for a few weeks after the fire and reopening the operation very rapidly — again under dangerous conditions.

Whitewater doesn't go away

In what London's *Financial Times* described as an "unwelcome backdrop" to the State of the Union speech, the president's wife, Hillary Clinton, was subpoenaed to testify before a federal grand jury. On January 26 she will answer questions about documents related to the "Whitewater" scandal that were recently found in the White House. They were under subpoena and had supposedly been missing for two years.

"Whitewater" has come to stand for a conglomeration of accusations of improper financial and business dealings by the Clintons — fairly mild ones within the range of what businessmen and bourgeois politicians normally do. The affair has dogged the Clinton administration on and off throughout his tenure. Like all political scandals, how far it goes from here will depend in large part in how well the president does in carrying out the interests of the capitalist class.

—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Stop NATO War Drive Against Yugoslavia: Emulate the Cuban Road. Speaker: Susan Zárate, Socialist Workers Party, member of Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers union. Sat., Feb. 3, 7:30 p.m. Dinner 6 p.m. 2546 W. Pico Blvd (2 blocks west of Vermont). Translation into Spanish. Donation: \$4. Dinner: \$5. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Eyewitness Report from Mexico. Speaker: Marilee Taylor, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Transportation Union. Taylor visited striking bus workers and other unionists in Mexico. Fri., Feb., 2, 7:30 p.m. Dinner 6 p.m. **Defend Abortion Rights.** Panel discussion. Fri., Feb. 9, 7:30 p.m. Both events at 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Translation into Spanish. Donation: \$4. Tel: (312) 829-6815.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

The Struggle for Black Equality and Freedom. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party, member of International Association of Machinists. Fri., Feb. 2, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Malcolm X on Imperialist War: Lessons for Today. Fri., Feb. 2, 7:30 p.m. 2490 University Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Police Brutality. Speaker: Margarita Rosario, Parents Against Police Brutality. Fri., 2, 7:30 p.m. 59 4th Ave. (corner of Bergen). Donation: \$4. Tel: (718) 399-7257.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Stop NATO War Drive Against Yugoslavia: Emulate the Cuban Road. Speaker: Doug Jenness, Socialist Workers Party, member of

United Steelworkers of America. Sat., Feb. 3, 7:30 p.m. Dinner 6 p.m. 1103 E. Carson St. Donation: \$4 for forum, \$6 for dinner. Tel: (412) 381-9785.

BRITAIN

London

Hands Off Iraq! Lift the Sanctions! Speaker: Caroline Bellamy, Communist League, member of Transport and General Workers' Union. Fri., Feb. 2, 7 p.m. 47 The Cut (nearest tube: Waterloo). Donation: £2. Tel: 0171 401 2409.

Manchester

Yugoslavia — Imperialism's March toward Fascism and War. Speaker: Tim Rigby. Fri., Feb. 2, 7 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £2. Tel: 0161-839-1766.

CANADA

Vancouver

The Fracturing of Europe and the NATO War Drive in Yugoslavia. Speaker: Mike Barker, member of the Hospital Employees Union. Fri., Feb. 2, 7:30 p.m. 3967 Main St. (between 23rd and 24th). Donation: \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

New York City strikers say, 'help us win'

Continued from front page

World Trade Center, emphasized that the central issue for the SEIU is the two-tier wage set up the company is trying to impose. According to the employers' plan, it would take the lower tier six years to reach full pay, and the new workers would not receive health benefits for their first six months on the job. "We are not even talking about a wage increase right now," Farina said. "We are negotiating over the two tiers." Currently all union members make the same wages and benefits regardless of seniority. By establishing a two-tier wage and benefit structure, "they want to break the union," Farina stated.

"Two-tier wages are designed to break the union down," another striker agreed. "The members make the union. If a new hire makes \$7 an hour working next to someone doing the same job for twice that, he will think 'why should I strike?' when something comes up. What would he have to fight for? We stand for no divisions," he said. "It is the building owners who want divisions."

Medical benefits are the second-most discussed issue on the picket line. Farina explained that three years ago the bosses slashed medical benefits, decreasing the covered amount 10 percent and raising the deductible (the amount an individual must pay before the insurance coverage kicks in) from \$100 to \$500.

Larry Adams, another porter, said that

the group of 700 union members at the World Trade Center have experience walking the line. In 1978, he related, the Trade Center workers were locked out. "The Port Authority wanted to throw us out," added Farina. Larry Adams remembers that the workforce was picketing for two weeks. They won a wage increase and kept the union, Adams said.

Private maintenance companies, known as cleaning contractors, bid on contracts to win the service and maintenance work for the buildings organized by the SEIU. The workforce remains the same, but the company for which they work can change. One company, ABM, recently won the WTC contract by underbidding its competitors to the tune of \$6 million, according to the strikers. "ABM underbid, and now they want to implement it through this contract." They cut their prices, "now they want to cut our wages," another striker said. Adams laughed, "I bet they haven't gone down on the rent" they charge their tenants. "Where's the money going?" asked another porter, referring to the amount building owners saved by signing with ABM.

Many opinions abound on the role of the cops outside the Port Authority. Their presence cannot be missed, with barricades set up near truck entrances and cops posted at every corner in the area, many well away from Port Authority property.

Farina said that the heavy cop presence

gives the impression that the picketers are a threat. Early in the strike, the media floated stories about strike-related violence. "They say we're slashing tires, breaking windows," he said. "We're out here with signs, walking around. They're out here with barricades, trying to make it look like there's something going on."

Some trucks are making deliveries despite the picket lines. One worker said, "truckers going in don't realize we're one of the biggest unions in the city. They are coming after us. If they can beat us, then they'll come after the rest of them." He added, "This battle is for all unions."

The owners have hired some scabs since the strike began. "We don't have anything against the scabs," said Larry Adams, "It's the people hiring the scabs."

Tom Grace, a utility man for 12 years and a Vietnam war veteran, is thinking bigger than the local strike. "If I knew then what I know now, I wouldn't have gone to Vietnam." He said thoughtfully, "they send us [overseas] to make money for big corporations, and I just won't go anymore." Of the strike, Grace said with confidence, "We are going to win. You can be assured of that."

Contributions to the Local 32B-32J Strike Fund can be sent to SEIU, 101 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-1906. Donations will be used to supplement the \$50 a week strike benefits that members are receiving.

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

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

SWEDEN

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

Weird these foreigners — “Don’t touch Indian counterparts during business meetings or place your feet on a chair or table, as this is considered disrespectful.” — *Los Angeles Times* advice for



Harry Ring

business travelers column.

Waste not, want not — According to AP, new Philip Morris

documents disclose that the company removes nicotine from tobacco that is to be thrown away and adds it to other batches to help firm up the addiction.

The caring society — A California state commission voted to authorize Los Angeles County to make a 25 percent cut in the relief allotments for more than 90,000 poor and homeless people. It would slice their current \$285 monthly check to \$212.

Proud profession — “You learned quickly you couldn’t trust any inmate and you couldn’t be polite, or they’d take it as a sign of weakness.... Basically, my job was to make sure they didn’t kill

anyone or escape. That was it. But somehow it was a job you took pride in, though that’s hard to explain to outsiders.” — Josh White tour guide and ex-guard at the Moundsville, West Virginia, hell-hole prison, now a tourist site.

Twinkle twinkle — As a public service, we continue to report on best buys in the mansions of bankrupt Orange County. This week’s special, a \$16.5 million home perched on a Laguna Beach cliff and featuring a rotating bed, enabling occupants to contemplate the stars through a domed ceiling.

It’s all done with mirrors? — With Barney’s flagship Beverly Hills store peddling such items as

a suede bustier for \$1,595, it seemed surprising when the chain went belly up. Particularly with a spokesperson explaining: “The Beverly Hills store has done incredibly well. We couldn’t be more pleased. All our stores are doing great.”

‘A few bad apples’ dep’t — James Trimble was busted in Des Moines, Iowa, where police said they found \$20,000 worth of amphetamines in a van he was driving. A member of the Urbandale police force, Trimble allegedly used his youth work in DARE (Drug Abuse Resistance Education) to skim off drugs. The chief of police said he was “fairly confi-

dent” Trimble was the only cop stealing drugs.

It does give them a bad name — Quebec City police officials backed off on telling cops to stay away from Dunkin’ Donuts where, apparently, they spend a good deal of their time. The police chief sent a letter to the doughnut chain expressing “deepest regret to see your corporate name associated with the bad image that stems from the visit of our members to your establishments.”

And pump up the fat and cholesterol — An apology is not enough. We think Dunkin’ Donuts should be commended for helping to keep the cops off the street.

Revealing reading on the Yugoslav revolution

BY GREG McCARTAN

Two Education for Socialists bulletins contain reading on the Yugoslav revolution for all who want to learn the truth about imperialism’s war drive against Yugoslavia today. Combined with books listed on page 4, the documents help refute the guise of a “peace-keeping” force and of neutrality under which NATO is mounting its aggressive policy.

Following a devastating bombing and invasion of Yugoslavia in 1941 by the

Yugoslavia’s economy out of the orbit of capitalism was the implementation and extension of the December 1946 nationalizations.”

Despite being weakened due to the counter-revolutionary policies of the regime, these fundamental gains of the workers movement remain.

Chester’s article is contained in the bulletin, *Workers and Farmers Governments Since the Second World War*. Other articles in the bulletin take up the Algerian, Chinese, and Cuban revolutions. Chester gives the reader a good feel for the sharp class conflicts and revolutionary upheavals coming out of World War II, especially in Europe.

Workers states in Eastern Europe

A second Education for Socialists bulletin, *Class, Party, and State and the Eastern European Revolution*, records the evolution of a discussion among revolutionaries on the Eastern European workers states between 1946 and 1951.

The bulletin documents the factual, theoretical, and programmatic questions taken up by communists responding to the changed world situation coming out of World War II.

The possibility of the establishment of workers states without a communist leadership of the working class was never excluded by communists, but it was seen as something that could happen only, as Russian Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky wrote, “under the influence of completely exceptional circumstances (war, defeat, financial crash, mass revolutionary pressure, etc.).” In that case, Trotsky added, “the petty-bourgeois parties, including the Stalinists, may go further than they themselves wish along the road to a break with the bourgeoisie.”

The bulletin contains an extensive article by Socialist Workers Party leader Joseph Hansen, “The Problem of Eastern Europe,” written in 1949. The questions posed in the upheavals in Europe deal “with the touchstone of the proletarian revolution and the heart of Marxist politics — the class character of the state,” Hansen writes. “When we deal with this question, the utmost scientific scrupulousness is required of us.”

Hansen takes up arguments advanced by some in the international communist movement that shied away from recogniz-



Partisans, who led movement against Nazis and local capitalists, in Yugoslavia, 1942.

ing Yugoslavia and Eastern Europe as workers states.

After a careful examination of the question, drawing on writings of communist leaders such as V.I. Lenin and Trotsky, Hansen concludes that in “a country where the rule of the bourgeoisie as a class has been broken and the principal sectors of the economy nationalized, we must place the state in the general category of ‘workers state’ no matter how widely or monstrously it departs from our norms. This change cannot occur without a civil war although this civil war may also be a

mutation of the type, differing in important respects from our norms.”

A resolution on the Yugoslav revolution, adopted by the Fourth International at the time, concludes the bulletin. The document puts as a central task defending “the conquests of the Yugoslav revolution against world imperialism and against the Soviet bureaucracy.” This included “mobilization of the international revolutionary vanguard and of the proletarian masses of all countries for concrete actions in defense of the conquests of the Yugoslav proletarian revolution.”

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

February 5, 1971

Price 10¢

NEW YORK — The Women’s Strike Coalition, which has carried out two successful actions since the Aug. 26 women’s demonstration in New York, has now set itself the task of responding to attempts to cut the heart out of the liberalized New York State abortion law passed last year. Bills have been introduced in the New York legislature (13 in all) which propose a multitude of restrictions to the law. Among the most dangerous is one which states that “an abortion may be obtained only to save the life of the mother.”

The Women’s Strike Coalition intends to respond to this blatant attempt to quietly abolish the gains women have made in fighting for free, legal abortions in New York, by organizing a massive demonstration to take place at the legislature in Albany during the last weeks of March — to coincide with the legislature’s debate on the abortion law.

The Coalition is also planning a city-wide Women’s Liberation Conference at Barnard College on the weekend of March 6. Most of the work of organizing the conference is being done by Barnard and Columbia Women’s Liberation groups, with the office of Barnard Women’s Lib-

eration serving as the organizing center for this Coalition activity.

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

February 2, 1946

Twenty thousand Chinese students marching through the streets of Shanghai on January 13 defied police efforts to disperse them and shouted at Americans along the route: “Why don’t you go home?”

Leaders of the students said the demonstration was part of a nationwide movement demanding establishment of a democratic China and withdrawal of United States forces.

The following day thousands of students again paraded in Shanghai’s streets. They demanded that American troops quit China and shouted “Down with imperialism!”

Besides the desire of the Chinese people to solve their problems without interference from Wall Street’s forces, they have other reasons for urging immediate withdrawal of American troops.

The Chinese people suffer daily from the brutality of American military police. “In railroad stations crowds cringe back from the ugly little batons that American M.P.’s carry,” says Robert P. Martin, correspondent for the N.Y. Post. “Those clubs have been used.”

Education for Socialists

Bulletins available from Pathfinder

Workers and Farmers Governments Since the Second World War

By Robert Chester \$6.00

Class, Party and State and the Eastern European Revolution

\$7.00

Available from bookstores listed on page 12 or order from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: 212-741-0690. Fax: 212-727-0150.



1949 demonstration in Belgrade to protest economic blockade of Yugoslavia by Moscow under Stalin.

Let's upset Clinton's plans

Bill Clinton says the "economy is the healthiest it has been in three decades." Healthy for who? Not for working people.

Average real wages in the United States are exactly where they were 10 years ago. For lower-paid workers, today's earnings buy less than those at the end of the 1970s. Despite periodic pompous noises from President Clinton, the minimum wage has remained at \$4.25 per hour, well below the poverty line.

Unemployment remains at historically high levels, especially considering that right now the economy is still in the upturn of the current business cycle. And among those who are employed, the hours are longer, the line speed faster, and working conditions are increasingly hazardous. (This doesn't bother Clinton, of course. He even invited the owner of a fire-trap textile mill to his speech as a guest of honor.)

The fact is, the economy isn't so healthy for the bosses either, in the sense that they can't squeeze out the level of profits they are accustomed to and that they require to expand their robbery of the wealth produced by workers and farmers. That's why big business continues its grinding offensive against the working class, through downsizing, speed-up, multi-tier wage scales, and other attacks workers are all too familiar with.

For the same reason, all the capitalist politicians in Washington are in substantial agreement on trying to take back the forms of a social wage that working people have conquered — Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, and unemployment compensation, to name a few.

Their only dispute — and it is a real one — is over how open and blunt they can be in trying to convince working people we must sacrifice for the sake of the bondholders and big business. They are debating tactics on how fast to move in assaulting these gains and in attempting to create pariah layers in society through scapegoating immigrants, working people forced onto

the welfare rolls, and others.

Whether these scoundrels pass a budget before the presidential elections or not, the Clinton administration and Congress are already moving to put in place pieces of their plan piecemeal. How much of it they can actually implement depends largely on how much resistance the working class puts up — not just to the "budget" proposals, but to the bosses' assaults in the workplace as well.

Right now the 30,000 members of the Service Employees International Union on strike in New York, who are fighting against two-tier wages and health-care cuts, are in the forefront of this resistance. The SEIU strikers, the striking newspaper workers in Detroit, Teamsters picketing a dairy in Wallington, New Jersey, and other fighting workers are the only obstacle Clinton, Dole, Gingrich, and Co. face in their assault on our class.

Clinton outlined the bosses' program in his "State of the Union" speech. Working people need our own program — one presenting demands for jobs for all above everything else, and a program that can point toward international working-class solidarity.

Such a program would include:

- A 30-hour workweek for 40 hours pay and a massive public works program to rebuild schools, hospitals, roads, and other social necessities — to create more jobs.
- Raise the minimum wage immediately.
- Defend and extend affirmative action to combat the race and sex discrimination the bosses use to divide working people.
- Full employment compensation at union-scale pay for as long as a worker is out of a job.
- Equal rights for immigrants. Second-class status for any worker hurts the entire class.
- Solidarity with all striking workers — their battles are ours!

Free Abdel Rahman now!

The conviction and lengthy prison terms handed to Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman and nine other men are a flagrant violation of democratic rights that deserves the condemnation of all working people. It was the legal sanctioning of a pure frame-up cooked up by the FBI largely through a government agent provocateur with a record of lying even under oath in court.

Though the defendants were charged with a massive plot to bomb buildings, bridges, and tunnels in the New York area, there was very little physical evidence to substantiate the accusations. For Abdel Rahman and some of the others, the "evidence" against them was a couple of phone calls or the fact that they knew each other. Throughout the trial, the prosecution and big-business press campaigned to smear the defendants as "Islamic fanatics," in an attempt to dehumanize and convict them ahead of any verdict.

From the beginning, the government's case was based almost entirely on the word and the entrapment operation of an FBI stool pigeon. Emad Salem, a former Egyptian intelligence agent who admitted in court that he has lied to almost everyone he ever met, had a resume that included snitching for the Immigration and Naturalization Service in exchange for citizenship. He was paid \$1 million for his services in this case, and now receives \$2,700 per month in the FBI's witness relocation program.

Salem actually set up the operation, renting a warehouse where explosives were supposedly prepared. Several witnesses testified Salem duped them into thinking they would be going to Bosnia to fight with Muslim forces there.

These convictions are part and parcel of imperialism's holy crusade against toilers who are Muslim or who

come from parts of the world predominantly Muslim. They are a piece with Washington's most recent tack in its campaign to crush the workers state in Yugoslavia, where U.S. generals are also raising the specter of plots by "Islamic fundamentalists" to justify their latest war moves.

As part of their anti-Muslim "antiterrorism" campaign, U.S. officials dredged up a little-used sedition law that allows the government to jail someone based solely on their associations and intent, whether or not any crime was ever committed.

The last time Washington tried to use a seditious conspiracy charge was against a group of Puerto Rican nationalists in Chicago in 1987. Such laws can and will be particularly used against trade unionists, Black rights activists, and other working-class organizations and fighters.

In his State of the Union speech, Clinton renewed his demand for so-called antiterrorism legislation. The president's proposal includes: giving the president broad powers to declare an organization "terrorist"; trying noncitizens accused of "terrorism" in a special court in secret session; holding the accused in preventive detention without bail; allowing the use of illegally obtained evidence; expanding the use of police wiretaps; and permitting convictions on the basis of secret evidence.

The New York sedition trial, as well as the bombings of the World Trade Center in New York and the federal building in Oklahoma City, are the main pegs Clinton has used to push this.

Any such measures will be used against the entire working class. That's why working people should oppose Clinton's anti-Muslim campaign and demand, "Free Abdel Rahman and the other defendants now!"

Why 'Militant' supports Quebec independence

BY SUSAN BERMAN

MONTREAL, Quebec — In the letters column, Robert Sheehy takes exception with the *Militant's* coverage of the struggle of Quebecois for their national rights and self-determination. For workers, farmers, and youth in Canada to recognize and act on the fact that the Quebecois are an oppressed nation is a life and death question.

As the *Militant* has explained, Quebecois are the largest oppressed nationality in Canada. Representing 22 percent of the population, they are a French-speaking people who have faced systematic discrimination in Canada on the basis of their language.

The oppression of Quebecois dates back to the defeat of revolutionary struggles of the 1830s for land, a republican form of government, equal rights for all, and the

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

separation of church and state against British colonial rule. These struggles united French- and English-speaking working farmers, workers, and merchants

The ruling class institutionalized discrimination against French speakers to prevent another united struggle of the oppressed and exploited.

The founding act of the Canadian federation, the British North America Act of 1867, denied the national character of Quebec, significantly limiting its political powers. The constitution imposed a dual-language and religious school system in Quebec. This has been at the heart of maintaining linguistic divisions and segregation.

The maintenance of semi-feudal relations on the land for some time retarded the development of Quebec's economy.

Despite the fact that 80 percent of Quebec's population is French-speaking, until the 1970s English was the dominant language of work and life in Quebec.

The capitalists pay Quebecois lower wages. This puts a downward pressure on all wages, increasing profits for the employers. The rulers foster anti-Quebecois prejudice and chauvinism to keep workers divided and weaken our capacity to fight capitalism.

Use of military to maintain oppression

These are the conditions that have fueled the struggles of Quebecois against national oppression for decades. Canada's rulers have shown their willingness to use the full force of their state to stop these struggles, including in 1970 when the federal army was sent into Quebec to quell an upsurge in the national struggle. Today, Reform Party leader Preston Manning proposes using the Canadian army again if Quebecois decide to separate from Canada.

In the 1970s, as a result of decades of mobilizations, Quebecois won important affirmative action gains, mainly codified in Law 101, passed in 1977. For the first time French was recognized as the normal language of work and life in Quebec. The wage gap was significantly reduced and gains were made in improved social services and education.

But the oppression of Quebecois continues. Language-segregated schools and hospitals remain. French-speaking people in Canada still earn some 16 percent less than those who speak English. As the capitalist economic crisis deepens, the social gains made over the last quarter century are being eroded.

Quebec has the highest poverty rate of all the provinces in Canada, despite the fact that it is the second most industrialized. In 1993, nearly 21 percent of Quebec's population was living below the poverty level.

Quebec has one of the highest high school dropout rates in Canada. English speakers in Quebec are twice as likely to get a university diploma as those who speak French. Private endowments guarantee better quality care at English-language hospitals and English-language universities.

A struggle for equality and dignity

The struggle of Quebecois against oppression is first and foremost a struggle for equality and dignity. It is also a fight that can reinforce the entire working class by strengthening our unity against the employers.

Sheehy refers to the fight for an independent Quebec as "setting up their own little racist state." It appears that he doesn't feel the same way about the U.S. or the Canadian imperialist states. "What would be your attitude to a balkanization of the U.S. and how would that benefit labor?" he asks.

The Canadian state is an instrument of class rule used by Ottawa to maintain its system of capitalist exploitation and oppression against all working people — to terrorize us, divide us, and keep us in the chains of wage slavery.

The capitalists use Canadian nationalism to get us thinking of ourselves as "Canadians," rather than as workers. Under the banner of the maple leaf, they seek to get us to fight their wars, accept their attacks on our wages and working conditions, and oppose fellow workers who refuse to bow down to their demands — from

Continued on Page 5

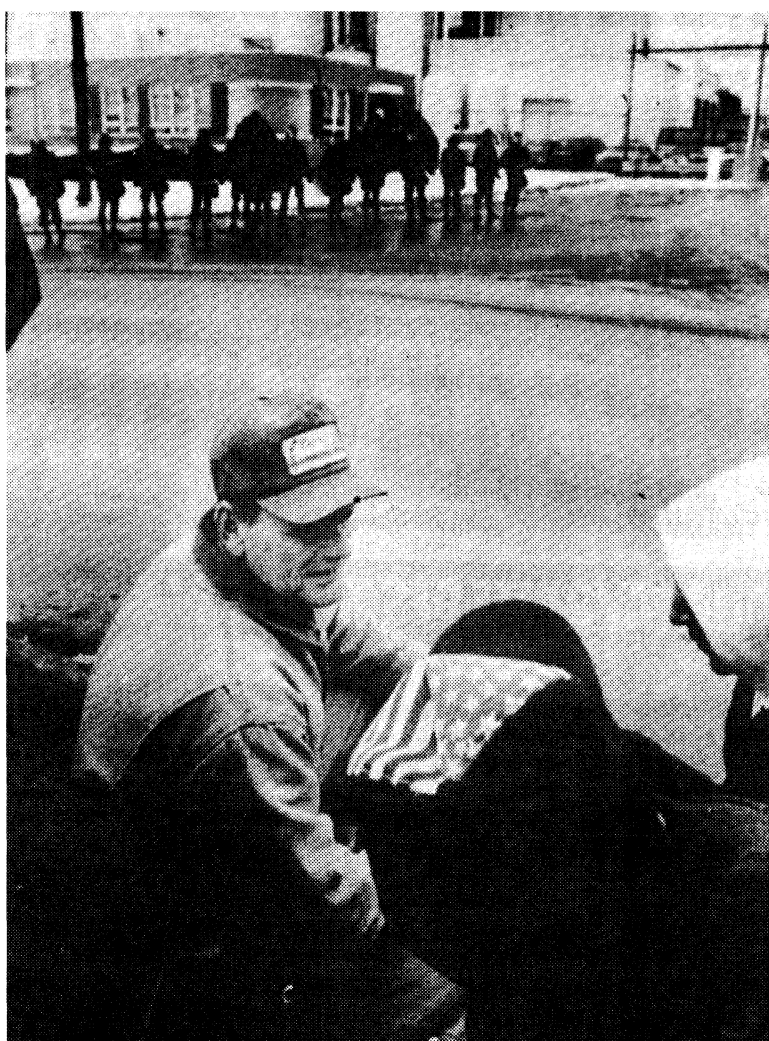
Teamsters in New Jersey battle union busting

This column is devoted to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on their living standards, working conditions, and unions.

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines about what is happening in your union, at your workplace, or

agement they continue some production.

On December 14, hundreds of strikers and members of Teamsters Local 584 from New York City rallied outside the plant gate. The Bergen County "rapid deployment" cops were mobilized to the plant in riot gear. Hackensack judge Kevin O'Halloran slapped an injunction on the union limiting pickets to 18. Members of Teamsters local 680 at Tuscan



Striking Teamsters huddle around a barrel of fire to keep warm as they picket Farmland Dairy plant in Wallington, New Jersey, in mid-December. Police across street make sure company trucks get through picket lines, in attempt to break unionists' resolve.

ON THE PICKET LINE

other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

Members of Teamsters Local 680 at Farmland Dairy in Wallington, New Jersey, have continued to picket around the clock in sub-freezing temperatures since their strike began on December 10 in response to union-busting contract proposals.

Central to this battle is Farmland's plan to initiate a new third tier. While base wages are about \$16 an hour and those on the second tier get \$3 an hour less, the new third tier would have a base wage of \$11.25. Len Myers, president of Local 680, said in an interview that the company is also demanding new hires pay for their own medical coverage with a \$3.31 an hour wage deduction. "The whole picture is to break the union," Myers said.

Workers on the picket line also explained that Farmland is part of a master agreement with some 30 milk processors in New York and New Jersey. Concessions won by Farmland could be used by the other companies to reopen their contracts and push for the same takebacks.

Of the 200 Teamster-organized workers at the plant some 35 crossed the picket line. Along with newly-hired scabs and man-

Dairy voted to contribute \$75 to \$100 from every paycheck to support the Farmland strikers. Teamsters are also leafleting area supermarkets with flyers saying "Inexperienced scab workers are producing the Farmland Milk on this store's shelves." "Purchase your milk elsewhere," the leaflet adds.

Irving Oil workers continue fight

Striking workers at the Irving Oil refinery in Saint John, New Brunswick, turned down another "final offer." They voted by 82 percent on December 9 to reject the most recent company demands.

The latest contract offer would eliminate the jobs of 55 strikers and offer a "reorientation" program to the other 131. The refinery would rehire those who "successfully complete" the program. It would fire those who, in the words of company general manager Robert Chalmers, "were so bitter from their experience that they would not be productive in the workplace."

All but one of the members of the union executive committee are among those who would lose their jobs.

"There is no seniority or other rationale for the names they

picked of those to be fired," explained striker Cathy Dube. "It's union-busting, pure and simple," said Dan Farrer, another striker describing company demands.

The proposed contract would also gut almost every clause in the previous collective agreement. New company regulations would include 22 rules for which a first violation would be grounds for firing. These include the loss or suspension of a drivers license due to an alcohol offense, smoking in a prohibited area of the refinery,

and violation of plant safety rules.

Engaging in an argument with a scab who remains employed by the company would also be grounds for firing. The company calls it a "zero tolerance" policy.

The strike began on May 12, 1994. The workers are members of Local 691 of the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union of Canada (CEP).

Following the latest vote, Chalmers held the first company press conference since the beginning of the strike to denounce the

workers and say that all negotiations with the union were finished. He followed that up with an open letter to all strikers saying, "This note is simply to put on record that some of the terms of the last offer are no longer available." The letter lamented the December 9 vote by workers turning down the company demands even though the executive vice president for Canada of the CEP had strongly recommended a vote in favor.

Frank McKenna, premier of the province of New Brunswick, joined the company chorus on December 20 when he said that he would not intervene to pressure the company to negotiate anew.

The latest company plan was a slightly-modified version of one that strikers rejected by a 90 per cent vote on November 10.

The two votes have angered company officials because, they say, the strike is hurting sales and disrupting Irving Oil's business plans, including its expansion into markets in the U.S. northeast. The union has waged a widely-publicized boycott campaign against Irving Oil products across eastern Canada and in the U.S. state of Maine.

Prior to the November 10 vote, the union told the company that it had dropped opposition to the key issues that provoked the strike, including the company demand to lengthen the work week of shift workers from 37.5 to 42 hours and of day-shift workers to 40 hours. Since the strike began, 48 workers have crossed the picket line and 25 have taken a voluntary severance package. "Picketing and the boycott campaign continues," said union president Larry Washburn. "We're going to hold out as long as it takes to preserve our union."

Bob Miller, member of United Auto Workers Local 980 in Edison, New Jersey; and Roger Annis, member of CEP Local 841 in Montreal, Quebec, contributed to this column.

LETTERS

Quebec nationalism

I fail to see why the SWP would support the Quebec Nationalists and print some of the articles provided from Quebec with their strange distortions of the "history" (?) of their treatment in Canada. What would be your attitude to a balkanization of the U.S. and how would that benefit labor?

Setting up their own little racist state (see their comments on those who voted "no") would only benefit their own local elite.

Robert J. Sheehy
Tecumseh, Ontario, Canada

Immigrants in Greece

On November 11 in Haniá on the island of Crete a public discussion took place on the topic of the economic crisis in Greece and the rights of immigrants. The discussion was organized by the group "Initiative Against Racism" and the main speakers were representatives of a) the Initiative, b) the Movement in Defense of Social and Political Rights, c) the International Forum, and d) the Pan-African Association of Greece.

It is worth noting that this was the first time that such an event was organized in Crete and that it had important results even on the practical level: immigrants acquired the possibility of joining labor unions regardless of whether they have a residence permit or not. The Initiative has made an effort around the same question in the town of Réthymno, without response from the labor center there

and the labor misleaders.

Maria Plessa
Haniá, Greece

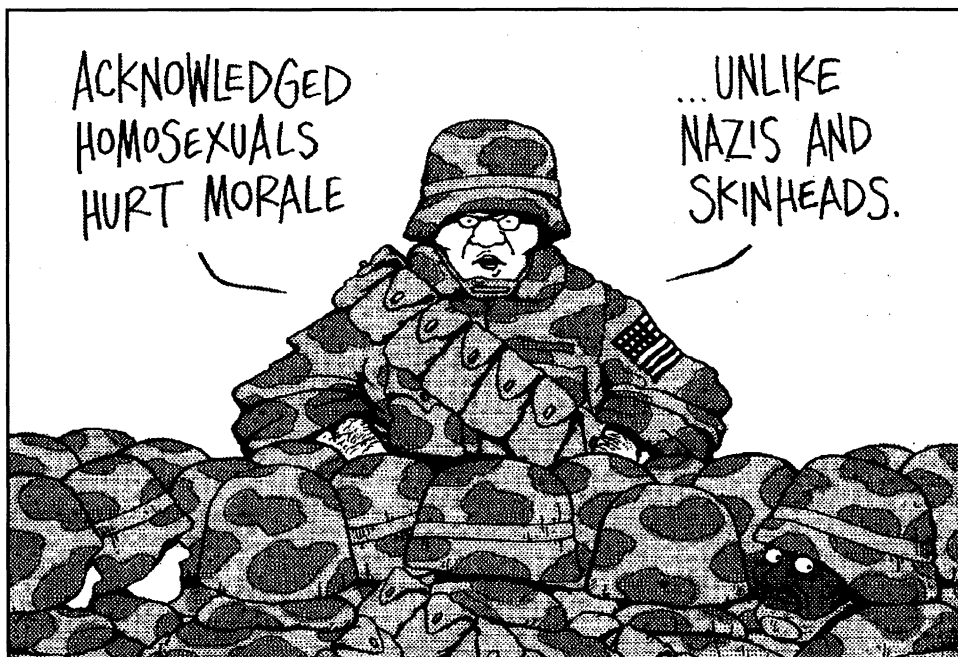
Canadian imperialism

The myth that Canadian imperialism is "gentler and kinder" than other powers has enabled Canadian soldiers to be accepted in many parts of the world as "peacekeepers," often with the approval of anti-imperialist leaders and workers. The Somali people found, to their grief, that the Canadian army there served the interests of imperialism, suppressing working people through torture and murder. The Canadian ruling class has been as brutal as any other, but because of its relative weakness, it is unable to play as heavy a cop role.

Canada was an accomplice in the slaughter of the Vietnamese and took part in the horrific "turkey shoot" bombing of the Iraqi people.

When the Cubans went to the aid of the ANC in the struggle to defeat apartheid, Canada cut off all loans to Cuba. Canadian UN officers in Rwanda have admitted being aware of the impending bloodbath, but say they "could do nothing" and kept silent! Canadian troops took part in the invasion of Korea.

Internally, Canada has commit-



ted genocide against our Native people and continues to do so, albeit less overtly. (The apartheid South African government used our Indian Reservation system as a model for the Bantustans.)

When the Quebecois nation began to demand the right of self-determination in the early '70s, the War Measures Act was invoked, giving the cabinet absolute power, and the army was sent into Quebec. Police were given unlimited power to arrest and hold "suspects" without trial throughout Canada. The draconian cuts to our social wage, as well as restrictions to our democratic and economic rights embodied in the pro-

jected "Omnibus Bill," are typical of a ruling class intent on helping to crush all worker resistance both nationally and globally when its interests are threatened.

Bea Bryant
Blenheim, Ontario

Lies on Che Guevara

In Miami it's a regular occurrence for some of my coworkers to repeat fabricated stories about "how Che Guevara was betrayed by Fidel Castro" — and not only during the political and military campaign in Bolivia. The stories are so preposterous (and heinous) that, while I am explaining the

truth, I sometimes find myself asking, "Where do you get this stuff?," even though I know the answer.

But then I read the response by Mary-Alice Waters to the latest round of lies by Thomas Lipscomb published in the *New York Times* (Dec. 2), claiming that a political division existed between Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, and her unedited letter with the accompanying article by Steve Clark in the Dec. 18 *Militant* (as well as Steve Clark's Dec. 25 *Militant* article on Daniel Collier's rebuttal in the *Times*). These exchanges make it even clearer how broadly this falsification

has been disseminated.

Further, as Karl Marx wrote in 1843 in the German newspaper *Rheinische Zeitung*, "Strange how at the moment a factual newspaper lie is condemned, it is factually lied about."

Janet Post
Miami, Florida

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.

Palestinians elect self-rule council

BY CANDACE WAGNER

Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza went to the polls January 20 for the first time since the occupation of their land by Israel. Yasir Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), was elected president of the interim Palestinian administration, reportedly with 88 percent of the ballots cast. Another 88 candidates were elected as members of the Palestinian legislature.

Fatah, Arafat's organization, won at least 43 of these seats. But Arafat critics, including independents and Fatah activists who ran after being rejected from their party's official slate, won some 40 percent of the seats.

The elections were organized after the Oslo agreement signed September 28 by Arafat and then Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin. Samiha Khalil, an outspoken opponent of the Oslo accord, received 9.3 percent of the vote for president.

Arafat will administer two-thirds of the territory of the Gaza Strip and one-third of the West Bank. But Tel Aviv retains control of all borders and has veto power over questions of land and water usage. The interim Palestinian administration in the occupied territories will negotiate with the Israeli state on the next stages of Palestinian autonomy.

Current Israeli prime minister Shimon Peres called Arafat to congratulate him for the electoral victory and to remind the PLO head of his agreement to revoke the sections of the PLO charter that call for a democratic, secular Palestine in place of the state of Israel. Under the Oslo agreement, the PLO has two months following the first meeting of the Palestinian legislature to revise the charter. Peres said that all 483 members of the Palestine National Council (PNC), the Palestinian parliament-in-exile, will be permitted to return if such a vote is scheduled. The PNC is the only body that can alter the charter. The

newly elected 88 Palestinian legislators are automatically members of this council.

Whether or not to participate in this election was debated by many Palestinian activists. Daoud Talhami, a member of the Palestine National Council, argued against the Oslo agreement and participation in the elections in an article in the *al-Hayat* newspaper.

He said the Israeli rulers want "to rid themselves of as many of the burdens of direct military occupation as possible, while preserving its benefits. These include the acquisition of strategic territory, the appropriation of its water resources and control of its economy."

"This entails risks for Israel," he added. "The Palestinian people are not sheep who can be driven to submit to agreements, or to the calculations and plans of the occupiers."

Other Palestinian groups, including Hamas, the main opponent of the PLO in the independence movement, also decided to stay away from participating or fielding candidates.

Hanan Ashrawi, who has been an outspoken critic of certain abuses of authority by the PLO leadership, argued for participation, although she too is a critic of the Oslo accords. "The agreement is flawed and I have said so from the beginning," she told the *Palestine Report* in November. "But we must deal with reality, not wishful thinking. I would encour-



Hanan Ashrawi campaigns in early January. She was elected to Palestinian legislature from Israeli-occupied East Jerusalem.

age everyone to participate in these elections, because it is a chance to effect real change, and to rectify a negative process."

Ashrawi, one of four women elected to the council, won her seat as an independent. Ashrawi will represent Palestinians

in East Jerusalem, where only a small percentage of Palestinians inside the city itself were allowed to vote. Unlike other towns in the West Bank where Israeli troops had withdrawn prior to the elections, Jerusalem is still under occupation.

The Israeli government claims Jerusalem as its historic capital. In October, the U.S. House of Representatives voted to move the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem by 1999, supporting Tel Aviv's claim. Negotiations on the city's future between the PLO and the Israeli regime are slated to begin in May.

The January 21 *New York Times* reported that hundreds of Israeli policemen sealed off streets, watched from roof tops, videotaped voters, and roughed up Palestinian election observers in East Jerusalem. Fewer than 40 percent of the eligible voters cast ballots there.

In all, 700 candidates campaigned for the 88 legislative offices. According to the Associated Press, 75 percent of the 1 million Palestinians eligible to vote cast ballots.

In a primary to nominate candidates for the Fatah slate, residents of Gaza City elected many who had been jailed by the Israeli regime for their participation in the resistance movement inside the occupied territories.

In selecting the final slate, the Fatah leadership passed over most of these nominations and appointed older candidates, many of whom had lived abroad for years.

A number of the Fatah candidates passed over for the official slate decided to run as independents against intense pressure from the organization's central committee.

"We ask these people, 'Where were you when we were fighting occupation?'" Osama Tibi, 24, told the *Washington Post*. Tibi accompanied one of the Fatah independent candidates. "These people didn't suffer as we did and they are not aware of the people's interests. They are aware of their own interests," he said.

In Bethlehem none of the candidates from the Fatah slate won a seat. Salah Taamari, a Fatah member who ran as an independent, received twice the votes of the sanctioned Fatah candidate.

Taamari returned from exile a year ago, after serving as a PLO commander in southern Lebanon and a leader of prisoners at the Ansar detention camp in the early '80s. He has led volunteer projects to build schools, clean up garbage, and repair damaged houses. "We can't wait for foreign donations," he told a victory meeting. "We have to depend on ourselves."

Nicaragua: students protest education cuts

BY MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — More than 10,000 university students marched here January 16 demanding increased government funding for education and prosecution of the cops who killed two student demonstrators last month.

The Nicaraguan Constitution stipulates that 6 percent of the national budget must go for higher education. Hundreds of students wore T-shirts at the march saying, "6%, the struggle continues," or headbands on which they had written "6%." Even with formal compliance with this provision over the last five years, the universities have all suffered cutbacks in classes, teachers' salaries, and scholarships. In December, the National Assembly passed a law "redefining" the 6 percent in such a way that total funds allocated for education were cut by almost 30 percent.

A December 13 student protest against this move was attacked by the police. Students Porfirio Ramos and Jeronimo Urbina were killed by the cops. Another 60 protesters were wounded, including one youth whose leg had to be amputated.

One of the most common slogans on T-shirts and placards at the January 16 march was, "We demand justice for Porfirio and Jeronimo." The students demanded that the police officials responsible, including national chief of police Fernando Caldera, be tried for murder.

A lower court recommended that homicide charges be brought against the cops in charge. But the Attorney General absolved the cops of all responsibility and called for an investigation of the student organizers instead.

Many of these student protesters were born after the 1979 Nicaraguan revolution that overthrew the Somoza dictatorship; they were children during the decade that the Sandinista National Liberation Front

(FSLN) led the government. The FSLN, which was voted out of office in February 1990, has supported the 6 percent campaign. But no banners or placards of the Front were visible anywhere in the student contingents, and none of the young protesters this reporter spoke with identified with the FSLN.

The police force here is no longer called the Sandinista Police, although police chief Caldera is a long-time member of the FSLN. "It's not that the police and army go around killing people all the time," one student said in an interview. "But when it happens — like it did December 13 — then it's almost impossible to get them punished." The police presence at the January 16 demonstration was low-key. No incidents took place as the march proceeded from the Central American University to the National Assembly.

President Violeta Chamorro has attacked the university students as "elitists." She claims her government is giving priority to extending elementary education.

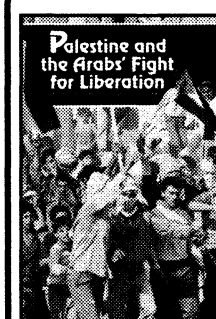
Student leaders respond that the government has imposed fees that prevent many children of working-class and peasant families from attending school. It is their "6%" campaign that is defending free and accessible public education at all levels, they argue.

The university students' campaign has also come under criticism from students and community leaders in the autonomous regions of the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua. Students from the Atlantic Coast, many of them Black and Indian, have demanded that their own two new universities receive a fair share of the 6 percent budget allocation, from which they are excluded in the constitution. They say that the BICU (Bluefields Indian and Caribbean University) and the URACAN (University of the Autonomous Regions of the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua) are

the only universities that teach subjects like rain-forest ecology and Caribbean culture. They also argue that Black and Indian students who come to the universities on the Pacific side are a small minority (less than 2 percent of the student bodies) and sometimes suffer discrimination.

Although some student leaders here in the Pacific region have spoken out in favor of including the BICU and the URACAN in the 6 percent allocation, the National Council of Universities has not taken a position. Student activists are pushing for a vote on their demands in the National Assembly before January 30. FSLN General Secretary Daniel Ortega has called for a moratorium on all strikes and social protests beginning February 1, in anticipation of the February 7 visit to Nicaragua of Pope John Paul II.

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