

# THE MILITANT

INSIDE

**Celia Sánchez:**  
a maker of Cuban history

— PAGE 8

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## Buchanan puts forward fascist agenda in Iowa

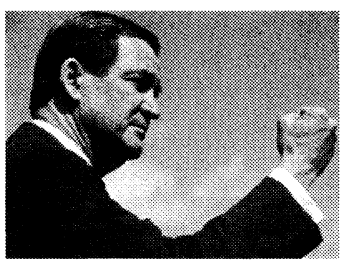
Ultrarightist tries to win workers with radical demagoguery

BY NORTON SANDLER

STORY CITY, Iowa — Patrick Buchanan was the winner in the February 12 Republican party presidential caucuses in this state. The ultrarightist politician came in second in the race with 23 percent of the vote, just three points behind Sen. Bob Dole, whose campaign has stagnated. Lamar Alexander came in third, and Steve Forbes, the wealthy magazine owner who had gotten a flurry of attention with a reactionary flat-tax scheme, ran a distant fourth.

Leading up to the caucuses, which elect delegates to Republican county conventions and carry out a straw poll for the presidential nominee, Buchanan campaigned across Iowa, appealing especially to workers and farmers with his radical, right-wing demagoguery. In a typical appearance, a cheering audience of more than 250 packed the American Legion hall here in Story City February 10 to hear him.

The majority of the crowd, which spanned several generations, were farmers and their families. In addition to wearing Buchanan campaign emblems reading "Go Pat Go," many also wore stickers popular at recent farm protest meetings that say, "Family farms yes, corporate pork no." The couple of Blacks in the otherwise all-white crowd



Amid capitalist economic depression, rise of figures like Buchanan (inset), are part of march toward fascism and preparation for wars driven by interimperialist competition. U.S.-led slaughter in Iraq (above) in 1990-91 was harbinger of coming conflicts.

were part of the national media crews that flocked to Iowa to cover the campaigning.

Buchanan is advancing a fascist program during his campaign that has gained increased attention and legitimacy in bourgeois politics following his victories

in an Alaska Republican poll and the Louisiana caucuses. In Louisiana he was backed by David Duke, for many years a notorious Ku Klux Klan leader who now espouses his racist views as

Continued on Page 6

## Book launchings at Havana fair celebrate titles by Cuban leaders

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL  
AND BRIAN TAYLOR

HAVANA, Cuba — A highlight of the International Book Fair held here in mid-February was the joint launching of two books by Cuban revolutionary leaders. One, published in Spanish by Editora Política de Havana, is *Pombo: un hombre de la guerrilla del Che* (Pombo: A Guerrilla with Che), by Cuban brigadier gen-

eral Harry Villegas, also known as Pombo, who spoke at the event. The other, published by New York-based Pathfinder Press, is *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, by Ernesto Che Guevara, one of the central leaders of the early years of the Cuban revolution.

About 100 people attended the February 10 event, hosted by Editora Política, the publishing house of the Central Com-

mittee of the Communist Party of Cuba.

Villegas fought in many of the decisive battles of the Cuban revolutionary war in the late 1950s as a member of Guevara's column in the Rebel Army. Later he was part of the general staff of the guerrilla forces that fought with Che, first in the Congo (now Zaire) and then in Bolivia.

After Guevara's capture and murder by the CIA-directed Bolivian army in October 1967, Villegas led the six surviving guerrillas to break through the army encirclement. Based on the diary he kept, *Pombo: A Guerrilla with Che* is Villegas's previously unpublished account of the Bolivian campaign, from his arrival in La Paz, Bolivia, in July 1966 to his return to Cuba in March 1968.

*Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War* is Guevara's account of how the July 26 Movement and the Rebel Army, led by Fidel Castro, waged a struggle that culminated in a mass armed insurrection and the overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictatorship by Cuba's workers and peasants in 1959. The new Pathfinder book makes available for the first time in English all the articles written by Guevara as part of the *Episodes* series. Previous versions of the book have long been out of print.

Among those attending the book presentation were numerous members of the Central Committee and Political Bureau of the Cuban Communist Party as well as ranking officers of the Revolutionary Armed Forces. These included Political Bureau members María de los Angeles

Continued on Page 10

## Tensions rise between Beijing, Taiwan gov't

BY BOB MILLER

As tensions between the governments of China and Taiwan rise, Washington has stepped up its aggressive moves against Beijing. In late December, a U.S. aircraft carrier passed through the straight between Taiwan and mainland China. The Clinton administration is now talking about possible trade sanctions against the Chinese government.

On January 30 Chen Jian, the spokesman for the foreign ministry, said China was "highly concerned" over Washington routing of the aircraft carrier *Nimitz* through the Taiwan Strait on December 19. "We would hope that a state of stability in the Taiwan Strait could be maintained against any intervention by foreign forces," Chen said.

A White House official asserted that the warship's route was due to weather conditions.

An editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* on January 31 titled "Bring back the seventh fleet" applauded the threatening move and encouraged "sending a U.S. carrier and battle group through the Strait every now and then." The editorial concludes, "Taiwan's plight, and the US response to it, are a proxy for American relations and reliability in the entire region."

At the heart of the dispute between Beijing and Taipei is the reunification of China.

Statements by China's prime minister  
Continued on Page 12

## NATO uses 'war crimes' to extend role in Bosnia

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

The NATO occupation force in Bosnia extended the scope of its military aggression a bit further when two Belgrade-backed Serb officers, Gen. Djordje Djukic and Col. Aleksa Krsmanovic, were taken handcuffed from a prison in Sarajevo and flown in a U.S. C-130 cargo plane to the United Nations war crimes tribunal in the Netherlands February 12.

Djukic, a close aide to chauvinist Serb general Ratko Mladic, and Krsmanovic, along with nine other military men, were apprehended by Bosnian government officials between January 20 and February 2. Four of the soldiers were released February 10 and five more were freed February 12 because they were not on the tribunal's wanted list.

NATO secretary general Javier Solana called the transfer operation a "further indication of NATO's active support for the work of the International War Crimes Tribunal." Tribunal spokesman Christian Chartier said no charges have been filed against the two officers, but the tribunal claims the right to hold them indefinitely. "This is a continuing investigation," he asserted.

In response to the arrests Mladic ordered his forces to sever all contacts with

Continued on Page 3

The Northeast Militant Labor Forum invites you to a

### Report back from Havana book fair

New York City

Sunday, Feb. 25, 1 p.m.

Hear a first hand report from the launching of *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, along with *Pombo: A Guerrilla with Che* by Cuban Brig. Gen. Harry Villegas, at the seventh Havana book fair.

Meet and speak with several Militant reporters who attended the fair and workers' assemblies preparing the April congress of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC).

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editor of *Ernesto Che Guevara's Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*

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## Strike ends at Belgium airline

Workers at Sabena, the Belgian national airline, ended a three-day strike February 8 after shutting down flights to and from Brussels. The workers have waged a series of one-day strikes since last year against company plans to freeze wages, increase working hours, and change work rules. The fight began when Sabena management dumped wage agreements, trying to reverse slumping company profits.

## Canberra steps up role in Asia

Australian prime minister Paul Keating has been taking steps to strengthen Canberra's military and economic role in Asia. In December, Keating signed a defense agreement with the government of Indonesia, headed by President Suharto. Suharto was the general in charge of the army during the bloody 1965 crackdown against government opponents that killed hundreds of thousands of Indonesians. This is the first bilateral military pact with an Asian country for the Australian government, which has been under Washington's "security shield" since World War II.

Government officials in Australia and New Zealand are negotiating measures to join the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Free Trade Area. Both nations are excluded from the East-Asian Economic Caucus, an economic relationship among a group of Asian countries.

## Strikes mark end for Swazi king

"Crippling strike action and the recent political turmoil in Swaziland marks the beginning of the end" for the monarchy of 28-year-old King Mswati III, wrote Adrian Hadland for *The Star*, a major Johannesburg news daily. "The monarch and his self-appointed cabinet face an increasingly confident and militant pro-democracy movement," Hadland added.

The right-wing Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) in South Africa charged that the Swazi labor movement was infiltrated by African National Congress members from South Africa to destabilize Swaziland. Jabulani Nxumalo, the assistant secretary of the Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions, said the AWB wanted to protect the Swazi tribal system because it thrives on racism and



Some 10,000 Chechens demonstrated in Grozny against Russian troops February 6, while protesters built shelters on palace grounds. The week of protests ended after Russian soldiers fired on a rally February 10, killing six people. Up to 30,000 people have died in Moscow's bloody war against Chechnya.

tribal nepotism like the old apartheid system in South Africa. "The AWB so-called warning is an insult to the Swazi nation," he stated. "Who wants to be warned by rejects?"

## Shell admits arming Nigeria cops

The multinational oil giant Shell recently admitted sending weapons to Nigeria to help arm police. Activists charge that the cops functioned as death squads that slaughtered Ogoni people protesting against environmental devastation of their lands. "Shell has purchased sidearms — handguns — on behalf of the Nigerian police force who guard Shell's facilities. But once imported, the arms remain the property of the Nigerian police," said Shell spokesman Eric Nickson.

Mobile cops killed 15 people in the village of Umechem in 1990, where peasants angered at the pollution were attacking Shell facilities. Shell pulled out of the

Ogoni region in 1993.

## Washington targets the Sudan

Clinton administration officials announced February 1 the closing of the U.S. embassy in Sudan, claiming that the Khartoum government refused to guarantee the safety of U.S. government personnel from terrorist attacks. Washington includes Sudan on its list of nations that supposedly sponsor international terrorism.

The United Nations Security Council passed a U.S.-backed resolution January 31, demanding that Khartoum "comply...without further delay" with the extradition of three men accused of participating in the June 1995 assassination attempt on Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak. The Sudanese government was given 60 days to respond, after which Washington may seek to impose sanctions or other punitive actions.

## Haitian gov't restores Cuba ties

Jean-Bertrand Aristide announced February 6 that the Haitian government was reestablishing diplomatic relations with Cuba. The move was Aristide's last official act as president before swearing in the country's new president, René Garcia Préval, February 7. Cuban foreign minister Roberto Robaina attended the inaugural ceremony.

The late Haitian dictator, François (Papa Doc) Duvalier, broke relations with Havana more than 30 years ago in response to pressure from Washington. His son, Jean-Claude Duvalier, was overthrown Feb. 7, 1986, ending 30 years of a U.S.-backed family dictatorship.

## Oil workers strike in Peru

Some 2,000 oil workers in the northern region of Peru are waging a strike against the privatization of the state oil enterprise, *Petróleos del Perú*, that is threatening to extend across the country. The oil workers union began the strike on February 1, when more than 20 union members were arrested for blocking the entrance to the refinery in Talara.

According to government plans, the Talara refinery will be the first one to be privatized and 1,500 workers dismissed. "The protest action has paralyzed the operations of production in the northern region of the country," declared Miguel Freitas, the secretary general of the oil workers' union.

## Mexican troops attack protesters

Some 1,000 Mexican soldiers and cops attacked a group of 500 Indian peasants and oil workers February 7, who occupied an oil well in Nacajuca. For a week, thousands of angry workers and peasants have occupied and blockaded oil wells of the state-run *Petróleos Mexicanos* (Pemex) in the Gulf Coast state of Tabasco.

Pemex officials said the protesters took over 60 sites. At oil wells in one county, Chontal peasants burned tires at a barricade made of pipes, tree trunks and sand. The peasants are organizing sit-ins and roadblocks to protest Pemex job cuts and the sale of its petrochemical plants, as well as environmental damage and ruined crops caused by the oil company.

## N.Y. cops force teens in lineup

New York cops ordered 15-year-old Shaka King, a Black youth, into their unmarked car January 17 and drove him to the 24th Precinct station house where he and his friend were forced to participate as "fillers" in a police lineup. "I told them I wasn't interested," King said February 2, "but they wouldn't take no for an answer. I was afraid to run because I thought they might shoot. So I went with them."

King's attorney, Joseph Fleming, announced he was filing a class action law suit against the police department. "This is unlawful imprisonment," he said. "Would they do the same thing to white youngsters? We think the answer is no."

## Managers guilty in mine blast

David Steele, former general superintendent, and Russell Faulk, former foreman of Pyro Mining Co., plead guilty January 29 to federal mine safety charges that arose after a 1989 western Kentucky coal mine explosion that killed 10 miners. Both men were accused of lying about unsafe conditions, including gas buildups, in order to enhance company profits. U.S. District Judge Joseph McKinley agreed not to link the trial of the two managers with the deaths of the 10 workers by banning any mention of the deaths at the trial. Sentencing is set for May 13.

— MAURICE WILLIAMS

## THE MILITANT

### Fight Buchananism!

Patrick Buchanan's presidential campaign has picked up steam. The ultrarightist politician is putting forth a fascist program aimed at building a movement, not just winning votes. The 'Militant' explains how working people can fight Buchanan, from his scapegoating of immigrants to the 'cultural war.' Don't miss a single issue!



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# London unable to kill Ireland talks

BY MARTIN HILL

LONDON — The British government has been unable to use a bombing here to derail the pressure for peace talks on the future of Ireland. "We are not at the end of the road to peace," British prime minister John Major told Parliament February 12, in a speech the *New York Times* described as "solemn" and "conciliatory." The February 9 explosion near the Canary Wharf office complex in east London killed two people and injured around 100. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) claimed responsibility for the blast, which went off 90 minutes after the group warned it was ending a year-and-a-half cease-fire.

The bombing occurred at a time of growing anger among Irish nationalists at the British government's delays in holding all-party talks on the future of Ireland. Less than two weeks earlier Major rejected the recommendations of the "Mitchell commission," which proposed all-party talks move ahead in parallel with "phased disarmament." London had demanded total "decommissioning" of the IRA before holding negotiations that included Sinn Fein, the leading party calling for an end to British domination of Northern Ireland.

Major countered the Mitchell report by proposing elections within the six counties of Northern Ireland, where the pro-British Unionist majority has been gerrymandered since 1921, to establish a Constitutional Convention. Sinn Fein, the Dublin government, and the Social Democratic and Labour Party all rejected this as a scheme to return to the hated sectarian

Stormont regime that ruled the north in London's interests from 1921 to 1972.

Major's immediate stance after the bombing was to continue to push for the proposed elections in Northern Ireland and ban ministerial-level contacts with Sinn Fein. Irish prime minister John Bruton agreed to meet with Major about the election proposal. The Dublin government announced February 13, however, that it would resume formal contacts with Sinn Fein, which were halted briefly after the bombing.

In Washington, the Clinton administration said it would continue to meet with Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams and said it would not reconsider its approval of visas for Sinn Fein leaders to visit the United States.

Adams told Irish television, "Our efforts to build a peace settlement must be redoubled." Asked to condemn the bombing, the Sinn Fein leader said he did not have to make clear his party's commitment to the peace process. "The proof lies in the risks we have taken over the past few years," he said. "That is not to say that the IRA don't have to take responsibility for their actions," he added.

As discussion raged as to whether the bomb meant a return to ongoing military operations by the IRA, Joe Sullivan on the Falls Road in Catholic West Belfast told the *New York Times*, "I think they were just firing a shell across the British bow. They were responding to British intransigence and entrenchment." However he added "We are afraid now. There is apprehension" that the old violence will return.



Militant/Julie Crawford

March of 10,000 in Derry, Northern Ireland, January 28 remembering 1972 "Bloody Sunday" massacre reflected space open to press fight against British rule in Ireland.

This was a common sentiment in Northern Ireland. A Catholic woman shopping on the predominantly Protestant Shankill Road in Belfast said, "I would have been too afraid to come here before the cease-fire — and I would avoid it again if the hostilities start up."

"We always said that if the IRA didn't get what it wanted, then out would come the guns again," one Protestant man in the Waterside area of Belfast told reporters.

But others also criticized Major. "I think it could be because of his refusal to get involved in talks," said Ann Cooke, who is Protestant.

Within an hour of the blast, Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) police in Belfast were appearing with automatic weapons and flak jackets, road blocks were mounted, and cars searched. The RUC said that where necessary it would ask for

support from the British army, which has recently been largely confined to barracks.

Two days after the bombing, 50 people joined a protest action called by Saoirse outside Bellmarsh prison in London, where five Irish republicans are presently in a special lockup unit. Saoirse is the campaign to free Irish political prisoners.

Speaking to the protesters, Patricia Campbell said, "Some people have asked me what is the future of Saoirse now. I say we keep it going. Things may be different, but for us the process is still in place."

Other pickets commented on the bombing. "I was stunned after the bombing," one said, "and unsure about coming on this protest. Then I decided I had to go."

*Martin Hill is a member of the Transport and General Workers Union. Pete Clifford contributed to this article.*

## NATO extends military aggression in Yugoslavia

Continued from front page

the NATO occupation force in Bosnia February 8 until the officers and the soldiers were released. Radovan Karadzic, the other principal leader of the pro-Belgrade forces in Bosnia, reversed the command the next day. Serb leaders said although they would continue to cooperate with the NATO military force, they would only meet with such officials on territory under their control. Chauvinist Serb military officers have continued to uphold the ban, however.

NATO military officials previously hinted that the 60,000 soldiers under their command in Bosnia would not seek to detain any of the 52 people indicted by the tribunal for alleged war crimes. Both Karadzic and Mladic have been indicted by the imperialist-crafted tribunal.

"IFOR [NATO implementation force] troops have the authority, but not the obligation, to detain indicted war criminals," Lieut. Col. Mark Rayner, a NATO spokesman, said February 12. Rayner said NATO soldiers would not be "searching for them or tracking them down."

But in face of the defiant stance of the Belgrade-backed Serbs in Bosnia Washington moved to teach them a lesson, turning over the two arrested officers to the Hague, and stepping up talk about more aggressively pursuing those charged with war crimes. The occupying forces are using the issue of the war crimes tribunal to

take another step in their war preparations in Yugoslavia. Far from intervening to stop the brutal warring by the different gangster regimes there, Washington, London, Paris, Bonn, and the others have all deployed troops in order to advance competing imperialist interests in the region. All of them hope to lay the basis for restoring capitalism in Yugoslavia, and to gain an edge on their rivals in the process.

"The international community is not going to allow Karadzic and Mladic to escape," state department spokesman Nicholas Burns declared February 12. "They can't hide forever. Sooner or later they will stumble into a NATO checkpoint and they will be brought to justice."

U.S. defense secretary William Perry said February 13 the arrest of alleged war crime suspects would be "greatly facilitated by getting better information to the NATO forces on the identities, the pictures of these indicted war criminals."

"NATO does have instructions that if they come across any indicted war criminals they are to detain them and turn them over to the international tribunal," he said.

Bosnian Serb leaders were infuriated by the arrest of the two military leaders and said the extradition will aggravate tensions with the NATO occupation force. "This is a scandal — this is not justice," Dragan Bozanic, a spokesman for the Bosnian Serbs, said. "We are headed in the wrong direction. This can only harm

the effort to make peace."

Karadzic, who made a defiant public appearance in Banja Luka February 9, called the tribunal "ridiculous." "It is not a court or a tribunal. It is a form of legal lynching," he said. To reach Banja Luka, the *Washington Post* reported, a motorcade carrying Karadzic and his entourage passed at least four imperialist checkpoints without any attempt to arrest him.

**Washington 'insists on compliance'**

U.S. assistant secretary of state Richard Holbrooke said in Hungary February 9, he would not tolerate any obstacles to Washington's plans. Holbrooke, who helped draft the Dayton agreement imposed on the warring factions, flew into Yugoslavia February 11 for arm-twisting negotiations in Zagreb, Sarajevo, and Belgrade.

"We are here to insist on full compliance with Dayton — no exceptions, no changes," he declared. "We consider this as the first serious challenge to the Dayton agreement." The assistant secretary of state said the commander of the NATO occupation force in Bosnia, U.S. admiral Leighton Smith, "can use force as he sees fit... whenever he feels that the mission is in danger."

The Bosnian government announced

February 12 that it would not arrest individuals suspected of alleged war crimes without approval from the so-called international war crimes tribunal. The announcement followed meetings with Holbrooke.

Another headache for the imperialists popped up in Mostar, when hundreds of Croatian supporters of the regime in Zagreb protested European Union official Hans Koschnick's plans to reorganize the city and impose a central administration. Several hundred people occupied the European Union offices, smashed two of its cars, and jumped and rocked the car carrying Koschnick for more than an hour.

Meanwhile, Russian Gen. Pavel Grachev, in Belgrade to sign a defense agreement with the Serbian regime, called for the immediate release of Djordje and Krsmanovic. Moscow continues to grumble about NATO expansion plans. "Russia would seek to take measures to safeguard its own security," the Russian general said February 10. If NATO were extended, Moscow would "seek partners in the east" as well as countries of eastern and central Europe, and among the member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States in order to form a future military-political alliance," he added.

## Bonn set to deport Bosnians

BY CARL-ERIK ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM — State governments in Germany and the federal government in Bonn agreed January 26 on a plan to deport 320,000 Yugoslavian refugees back to Bosnia. Beginning July 1, single adults and couples without children will be forced to leave and families with children will be deported after the middle of next year. Authorities say they will grant a few exemptions for students and people who have been tortured or raped.

"They have to understand that they were guests in our country as long as the war was going on. Now its time for them to go home," said Günther Beckstein, the Bavarian minister of domestic affairs, shortly after the plan was announced. He pointed to the growing unemployment in Germany — which officially hit 10 percent in January — as a justification for the deportation order.

The refugees from Bosnia were only

granted temporary permits to stay in Germany. The same policy has been applied in Sweden for 3,000 of the 60,000 Bosnian refugees here.

The Swedish daily *Svenska Dagbladet* reported that the plan caused protests among the different refugee organizations in Germany and unrest among many of the refugees from Bosnia who don't want to be forcibly returned there.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) — responsible under the so-called Dayton peace agreement for the "repatriation" of 2 million Bosnians who have been forced to leave their homes — criticized Bonn's plan. "It's too early to decide to use force to bring people back to Bosnia," said Ron Redmond, a UNHCR spokesman in Geneva. The governments of Germany, Switzerland, and Austria are seeking bilateral agreements with the Bosnian government to send back the refugees.

*Socialist Educational and Activist Weekend in London, England*

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**Friday, Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m.**

"The Fight Against Imperialism's March to War in Yugoslavia" Speaker: Marcella FitzGerald, Communist League, who participated in the December 1995 actions in Paris.

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**6 p.m.**

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**Classes on:** "The Social Mobilizations in France and the Fight for Quebec Independence," "Lessons of the Gulf War," and "The Spanish Civil War: Sixty Years On."

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# Socialist workers chart course to counter capitalist march toward fascism and war

## Leaders of SWP trade union work discuss Buchananism, imperialist war drive

BY PAUL MAILHOT

NEWARK, New Jersey — Socialist Workers Party members who lead the party's trade union work met here February 10-11 to discuss what measures communist workers must take to begin stepping up the campaign against capitalism's slow but sure breeding of fascist currents and preparations for war. Young Socialists were among the SWP trade union leaders there, as were members of the YS national steering committee.

The meeting took place just days before presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan — a fascist demagogue who increasingly pretends to speak not only for the interests of the "hard-pressed middle class" but also of the working class — placed a strong second in the Republican Party caucus voting in Iowa.

In response to the deflationary pressures resulting from the declining curve of capitalism and the drive towards fascism and war it breeds, the socialists placed selling Pathfinder books and pamphlets to co-workers on the job, defense and emulation of the socialist revolution in Cuba, and participation in the resistance of working people to capitalist austerity at the center of revolutionary class-struggle work in the unions today. Through these efforts communists look to win more of a new generation of young fighters to socialism, and to build the SWP.

Some two dozen members of the national steering committees responsible for directing the work of Socialist Workers Party members in the industrial unions attended the meeting. These unions include the International Association of Machinists (IAM), Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), United Auto Workers (UAW), United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE), United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and United Transportation Union (UTU). Also attending were several members of the party's National Committee and a number of trade unionists from several other countries.

This national leadership meeting followed nationwide gatherings of socialist workers active in all the above unions, as well as a series of weekend conferences held in every branch of the Socialist Workers Party. These meetings embraced the campaign to increase sales of revolutionary literature to workers, fighting youth, and others who are beginning to question the prerogatives of the capitalist rulers.

### Drive toward fascism and war

As part of this effort, socialists pledged to seek out and participate in the working-class resistance that continues to break through against the capitalist offensive — from the ongoing fight of the Caterpillar workers in Illinois and Pennsylvania, to the fight of IAM workers at Boeing in Seattle for a contract, to the spontaneous demonstrations of New York building maintenance workers for better health care and against two-tier wages for new workers, and union organizing efforts throughout the country.

Socialist workers will also continue their efforts to join struggles of youth and to involve workers in activities to defend socialist Cuba, abortion rights protests, struggles against police brutality, and actions for affirmative action.

The political discussion at the meeting was initiated by a report given by Jack

Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. "In early December we explained that imperialist war preparations had begun against Yugoslavia.

"Today, the tensions bred by the imperialist economic crisis and competition are fueling war preparations in other parts of the world as well. It doesn't look like the Taiwan Strait may ever again be crossed

in asserting its military dominance in Europe. As it consolidates its aggressive campaign it will prepare to overthrow the workers state in Yugoslavia.

But Yugoslavia is not the only place in the world where the imperialist tendency toward war is manifesting itself.

The sharpening conflict between China and Taiwan is a growing concern in Washington. Major articles in the capitalist press are sounding an alarm as Beijing continues military exercises off the coast of Taiwan, reaffirming its right to reunite with Taiwan, a right acknowledged by Washington in 1972 following talks by then-President Richard Nixon and Chinese Premier Chou En-lai.

"Taiwan's miscalculations, China's emotional reactions and the United States' inattention have created tensions that could escalate into combat soon," writes Charles Freeman, a former assistant secretary of defense, in an editorial column in the February 15 *New York Times*. The piece, which simply assumes Washington will be deeply involved in hostilities there, warns of the disastrous consequences for U.S. capitalism of a war between China and Taiwan. Freeman notes Taiwan is "an island fortress with a well-trained army and cutting edge weaponry." This registers not "inattention" but calculated probes that

are not wholly under Washington's control!

Recently, military forces from Greece and Turkey have also nearly come to blows after an accidental wreck of a Turkish ship on a small island just off the coast of Turkey. Warships, airplanes, and commandos from both countries positioned themselves for battle over territorial claims. Direct intervention by the U.S. State Department has slowed down that military confrontation for now.

Washington's unilateral actions in dampening the crisis highlighted the competition between U.S. imperialism and the European powers, who found themselves hampered by divisions among themselves in trying to protect their own national interests.

Many of the socialist unionists participating in the meeting were veterans of the working-class campaign to oppose Washington's war against Iraq in 1990 and 1991. They drew on their experiences in the factories, plants, and mines to point out how the campaign against the imperialist war drive — directing communists' energies to the working class — strengthened the party.

When the capitalist class called upon the whole country to come together "behind our boys under fire" and tie on yellow ribbons in "support of the troops," communists and other vanguard workers stood up to that pressure, which was a pressure to stop thinking in class terms — in the factory and in the world. They continued to advance a working-class position against the carnage that workers were being drawn toward. Several meeting participants noted that carrying out this campaign increased the size, strength, and moral fiber of the party. Barnes emphasized that imperialist war is the byproduct of the capitalist system. "The greatest text on war, by far, is Lenin's *Imperialism*. But it is not a book directly about war, it is about the inevitable tendencies of capitalism in a concrete stage of its history — its final stage.

"The impetus behind the war drive is the normal workings of the law of value and the capitalist class, when its interests

are threatened, relying on the nation state system to bring force to bear against competing capitals. In fighting the war drive, we can't start with the war. We have to start by explaining its root cause and ruling class policies, plans they are not fully in control of once they're kicked off."

### Goals of the working-class campaign

The socialist unionists at the meeting decided that the most important way to organize the fight against Washington's war preparations is to advance an international proletarian approach to politics. It begins with fighting for solidarity with workers around the world, building the unity of workers in struggle, and charting a political course toward workers acting independently of the capitalist class and in their own interests.

Ambitious goals were adopted at the meeting to concretize this effort. The trade unionists decided to organize a national effort to sell 500 copies of the *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War* by Che Guevara to co-workers on the job by April 1. This important new book published by Pathfinder describes the organization of the revolutionary vanguard that drew the masses of Cuban workers, peasants, and youth into the struggle to overthrow the hated Batista dictatorship. Workers in the United States reading this book will get an appreciation how average working men and women can transform themselves in struggle and are capable of deeds they never thought possible — fighting for the revolutionary social transformation of society.

The *Episodes* book campaign will aid putting involvement in coalitions and activities in defense of Cuba at the forefront of what communist workers do in the unions. The socialist trade unionists reaffirmed that Cuba remains at the center of world politics and defense of the vanguard of a living dictatorship of the proletariat must be at the heart of building a communist movement in the United States.

The *Episodes* book campaign is the lead item of a perspective adopted at the meeting for socialist workers to begin selling at least 400 books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder every month on the job. Socialist workers would give special emphasis to issues nos. 7 and 10 of *New Internationalist*, which contain the articles "The Opening Guns of World War III," and "Imperialism's March toward Fascism and War."

Another important book that will be prominent in this campaign is the *Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions* by Jack Barnes, which is a handbook for the generation of workers coming into the factories today who are increasingly searching for ways to struggle against the horrors of the capitalist crisis. The book opens with the lessons of the fight against the Iraq war and the effects of the prolonged squeeze on working people. It describes how a revolutionary party centers its work in the most powerful sectors of the working class in order to most effectively fight for victory of the proletariat over its oppressors.

"A great value in selling the *Changing Face* book along with other titles to co-workers is that it transparently explains who we are," commented Barnes at the meeting. "A worker who reads it knows exactly what socialists stand for and why we center our work among industrial workers and their unions. The *Changing Face* book puts to rest the greatest charge against socialists — that somehow what we say and what we do are different. It even gets co-workers to help — sometimes they alert us when there is a divergence between our actions and 'what the book says.'"

### Changing jobs when necessary

In addition to deciding on a goal of selling Pathfinder books on the job, the socialist workers at the leadership meeting decided that in situations where it was not possible to sell at least two books or pamphlets on the job every month, members of the party should look to change jobs. So-



Jingoistic cover of February 3-9 *Economist* illustrates how imperialist drive toward war extends beyond Yugoslavia.

FACING UP TO RUSSIA	page 19
WHY THE NET IS SLOW	page 70
FAREWELL, EMU?	pages 14 and 39
AFRICAN DEMOCRACY	pages 17 and 35



cialist workers, like all workers, hold down a job in order to live, but in addition where they work is an important arena for their political activity. This proposal was introduced after a full day of discussion as the best way to concretize what revolutionary workers should be doing in the factories.

In motivating this proposal one speaker at the meeting recalled a speech given by Socialist Workers Party founder James P. Cannon who explained, "We are a small party and we can't go colonizing all over the lot. We must colonize in those places which offer the best opportunity at the time, and when this opportunity which we seize at one occasion proves later on to be not so fruitful, we have got to shift our people."

The socialist trade union leaders also projected signing up 400 co-workers as members of the international Pathfinder Readers Club by May 1 in order to continue expanding the number of workers who are regularly buying Pathfinder books. For a \$10 yearly fee members of the readers club enjoy at least a 15 percent discount on all Pathfinder books, and other special discounts.

In order to advance the campaign against the imperialist war drive the participants at the meeting also decided to work with members of the local branch units of the Socialist Workers Party to sell revolutionary propaganda — the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International* magazine, and Pathfinder books — in front of every factory where two or more members of the Socialist Workers Party are working.

These motions were put forward in a report by Paul Mailhot on behalf of the Political Committee, entitled "Organizing the Working-Class Campaign Against the War Drive and Fraction Goals." The meeting was given the powers of the National Committee in the matters relating to trade union work. The motions were discussed and debated during a special commission meeting of the trade union steering committee members. After two sessions, lasting some five hours, final proposals — amended and strengthened — were brought into the larger meeting.

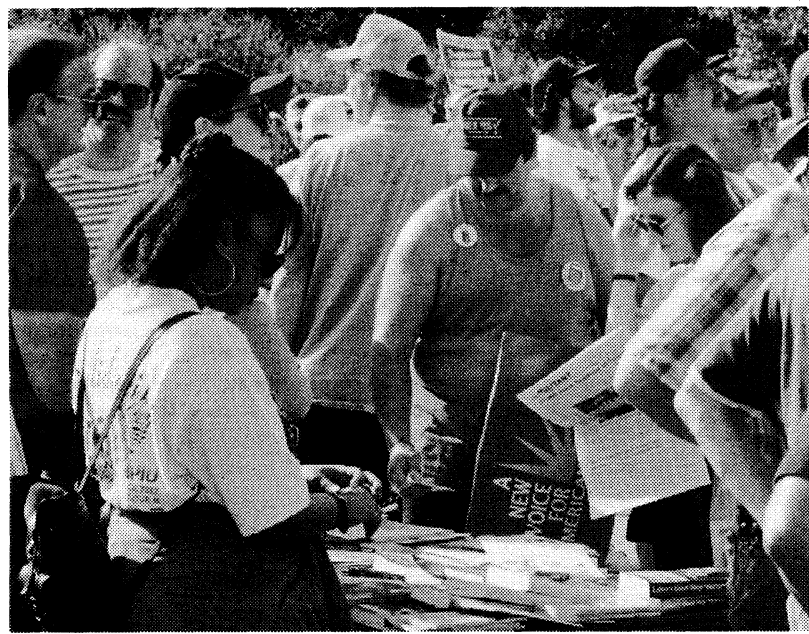
"We are going to be viewed differently than in the past if we carry out what we are proposing here," said James Harris, a meatpacker from Atlanta. "Our co-workers like the fact that we sell books. It shows that we value them and we think they are capable of changing the world."

At the General Motors plant in Tarrytown, New York, where five copies of the *Episodes* book have already been sold, Abby Tilsner reported that union members are interested in signing up for the Pathfinder Readers Club. One co-worker, after only a little bit of discussion approached her recently and said, "I want to join your club."

#### Answer to Buchanan campaign

Many of the trade unionists at the meeting spoke about the importance of selling Pathfinder books on the job as discussion heats up about the Buchanan campaign. Communist workers report that some co-workers are initially being taken in by this rightist demagogue.

Dennis Richter, a member of the UTU in Morgantown, West Virginia, explained that some co-workers with rightist ideas are bolstered by the victories scored by Buchanan. "One guy was aggressively promoting his reactionary views after Buchanan won the Louisiana primary," Richter said. "It made me go back and read *Fascism and Big Business* [by Daniel Guerin, published by Pathfinder]. You have to be able to get in the middle of the discussion and explain the whole picture of the crisis of the capitalist system and how forces like Buchanan are a product of it."



Militant/John Sarge

**Selling communist literature at picket line of Detroit news strikers, Sterling Heights, Michigan. Socialists set goals to increase sales of Pathfinder books to co-workers.**

"As imperialism marches toward war it's important to remember that it marches toward fascism also. That is a precondition to breaking down skepticism in the working class and among youth about supporting 'national' aggression," said Barnes in his report. Central to the march toward fascism is putting "foreigners and outsiders in their place," and war is an extension of that policy. Barnes pointed to Buchanan's proposal to erect a fence across the Mexican border to keep immigrants out as an example of how such a policy can become a trampoline for aggression.

"What is increasing today are the breakdowns, confrontations, and polarizations which bring with them the search for radical solutions to a capitalist democracy that offers you nothing more than corruption and inability to deliver anything meaningful worth living for," Barnes said.

"The first phenomenon we face under war preparations is not the immediate effects of a war, it's the more accelerated march to national socialism — that is fascism. That is what is concretely counterposed to our answer to the crisis, which is proletarian internationalism and a fight by the working class to take power.

"The more openly fascist content of the Buchanan tendency today — the anti-capitalist demagoguery that creeps in — becomes clearer by the week," Barnes said. "He makes his appeal to 'middle class and working class Americans' as he attacks the corporate elite. The attraction is growing among some liberal commentators and even among a number of individuals in and around the union officialdom. Phil Gramm attacks Buchanan for denouncing the 'financial foundations of capitalism.' But Buchanan drove Gramm out of the race."

Buchanan is the "Republican Presidential candidate most eager to disparage Big Business," writes Francis Clines in the February 15 *New York Times* after covering a rally for the right-wing candidate in New Hampshire.

"Look what's going on in our country," Buchanan was quoted as saying to his audience. "When AT&T lops off 40,000 jobs, the executioner that does it, he's a big hero on the cover of one of these magazines, and AT&T stock soars." This radical rhetoric on the evils of capitalism is coupled with attacks on the rights of immigrant workers, the rights of women to abortion, and the rights of Blacks to affirmative action.

"In Louisiana many commentators said Buchanan had received the 'kiss of death' when David Duke of the Ku Klux Klan endorsed his campaign," Barnes pointed out. "Furthermore they said the fact that Buchanan did not unequivocally denounce that endorsement meant he would surely lose overwhelmingly. But that proved not to be the case, to the contrary."

#### Fascism can be popular

"Long before Buchanan even launched his 1992 campaign for president we explained that he was attempting to build a fascist movement by reaching out from a right-wing conservative milieu. Conservatism can never be a popular movement, but fascism can be," Barnes said. Buchanan often refers to his campaign as a cause or a movement.

"It's the march toward fascism, the march toward the radical popular solution

to the growing crisis that dominates the preparation for war. This is what is accelerating today," he said.

As the breakdown deepens — not only in this country but around the world — the message of a Buchanan gets broader resonance, Barnes noted. When headlines in Iowa highlight events in Germany where unemployment rate is suddenly one of the

highest since before the recovery from World War II, and as other — and unexpected — developments take place, these turn into bigger votes for Buchanan. It may also turn into a few dozen people who want to do some street fighting for him a little later on, such as a more aggressive "plantgate" team like the one his cadres deployed in Iowa.

"Under these conditions and with the rise of the fascist movement, the vanguard of the proletariat has to have the tone that it is ready to move into action in defense of the working class. It has to have a cadre that is prepared. This can only be accomplished by prior work and conquering working-class norms and values that become habits, and establishes its cohesion and ability to move together as a combat party under these conditions," explained Barnes.

Meeting participants adopted a number of motions on the final day of the meeting aimed at reinforcing the collective work of communist workers in industry. In order to maintain politically viable and functioning fractions in industry (where 2 or more members of the party are working together in plants), the trade union leadership meeting decided that wherever members of the party are working for an extended period of time by themselves, they should join with others who are organizing to get in where another member of the party is working, or to get into a new plant together.

In response to a debate that took place regarding sleeping on the job at the meeting of socialist workers in the United Steelworkers union earlier in January, the national trade union leadership meeting decided to urge party members to move to another job if they find themselves in a job situation where workers are spending a good amount of their time sleeping while at work.

Meeting participants thought this unusual motion helped reinforce the collective decision of the party to put communist political work on the job at the center of trade union work. If the majority of one's co-workers are sleeping during breaks and other times it is difficult to sell communist books and build the activities of the party.

The meeting also decided that the trade union fraction leaderships, which were recently elected at meetings in January and February, should schedule at least one face-to-face meeting this spring to make sure that the campaigns decided upon are progressing and that political questions coming up in the unions are being discussed and decided on.

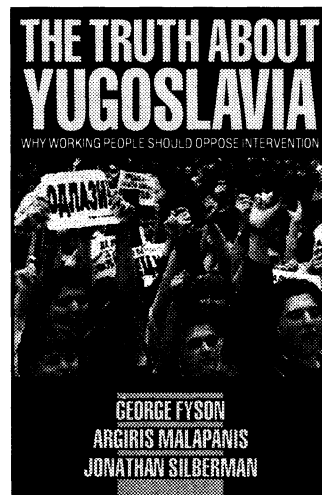
Over the past nine months very few such meetings took place and trade union steering committee budgets built up considerable surpluses. The meeting participants in Newark decided to forward these surpluses to be used for the national work of the party, and start with a clean slate for the trade union work in the spring.

Meeting participants also discussed the increasing openings that exist

**Continued on Page 14**

## Books for Working-Class Campaign Against NATO's 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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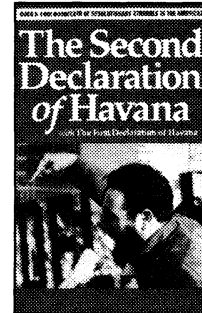
**The Truth about Yugoslavia**  
WHY WORKING PEOPLE SHOULD OPPOSE INTERVENTION

George Fyson, Argiris Malapanis, and Jonathan Silberman

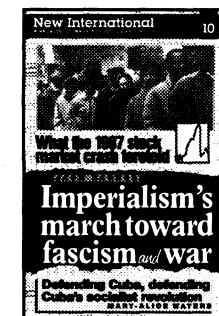
#### The Second Declaration of Havana

CUBA'S 1962 CALL FOR REVOLUTION IN THE AMERICAS

Booklet **\$4.50**



**Imperialism's March toward Fascism and War**  
Jack Barnes  
In *New International* no. 10 **\$14.00**

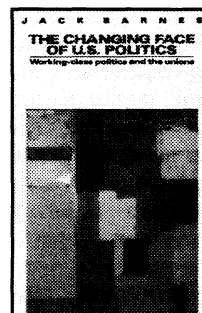


#### The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

WORKING-CLASS POLITICS AND THE TRADE UNIONS

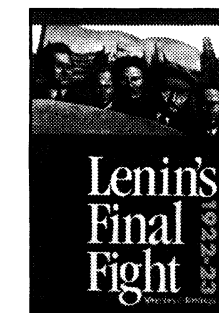
Jack Barnes

**\$19.95**



#### Lenin's Final Fight

The record of Lenin's last, and most concentrated, political battle against a growing privileged layer, as he



sought to set the Communist Party on course to strengthen the alliance of workers and peasants and the union of soviet republics. **\$19.95**

#### Opening Guns of World War III

WASHINGTON'S ASSAULT ON IRAQ

in *New International* no. 7 **\$12**

#### ALSO FROM PATHFINDER:

#### Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism

V.I. Lenin

Booklet **\$3.95**

Available from your local Pathfinder bookstore. See listing on page 12, or write **Pathfinder** 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. Fax (212) 727-0150. Please include \$3.00 postage and handling for the first title and \$.50 for each additional title.

# Buchanan advances fascist agenda in Iowa

Continued from front page

a Republican party politician. "Buchanan doesn't share my racial viewpoint," Duke said recently, "but on most other issues he's very close to me. Of course my people are helping him. He's not too pleased about it," Duke added, "but the white folks in Louisiana who have voted for me are going to help Buchanan bushwhack [Republican presidential candidate Phil] Gramm."

Buchanan's goal is to use his presidential bid to build a movement committed to his ultrarightist program. He outlined his goals for waging a "cultural war," in his address to the 1992 Republican Party convention. In summing up the Louisiana caucus victory Buchanan opined, "This isn't a victory for the man, it's a victory for the cause. We can win this battle for the soul of the country. We can take back our country."

"I've been right to life my whole life," stated Buchanan in opening his remarks here. "When I become president I will appoint Supreme Court justices who will overturn that abomination called *Roe v. Wade*."

Referring to the cultural war he later said, "The first battle line is our public schools. God, and the Bible, and the Ten Commandments have been driven out of the public schools. In California, they don't celebrate Christmas or Easter, but they celebrate UN Day and Earth Day. They even celebrate something called national coming out day, and I'm not talking about a debutante ball."

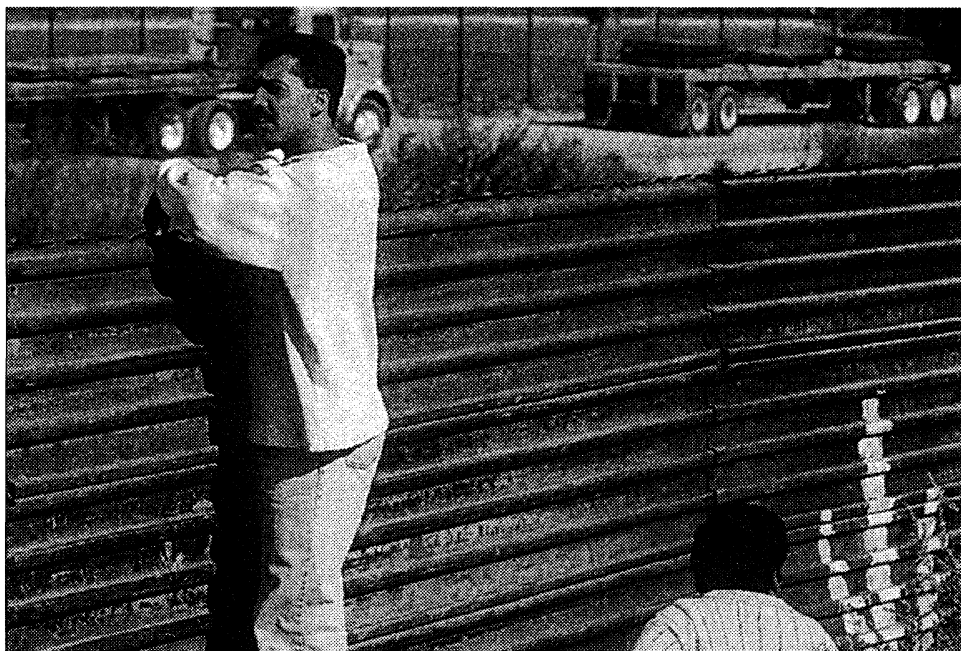
Buchanan has tried to tap into the growing resentment many across the country feel over sinking real wages, mounting farm debt, and increased economic instability. It is common for Buchanan to refer to the "working class." His socialist-sounding rhetoric is wrapped in the banner of American nationalism. In one recent speech he said, "When [U.S. trade representative] Mickey Kantor goes to Geneva to negotiate a trade deal, sitting at his elbow is not some working-class guy who says my job's on the line, it's the CEO or lobbyist from some Fortune 500 company who says put this in here so we can export our factory to Indonesia."

His demagoguery has targeted immigrants working in meat-packing plants here as the scapegoats responsible for low pay in that industry and for driving down "the real wages of the real Iowans."

The ultrarightist is the candidate with the most momentum at this point. Following Buchanan's strong showing in Iowa, Dole began to shift his rhetoric. Campaigning in New Hampshire February 13, the Senate majority leader said, "Corporate profits are setting records and so are corporate layoffs," purporting to show some concern for workers.

## Demagoguery aimed at farmers

Buchanan's criticism of the owners of large-scale factory hog farms that are spreading in this state is popular with many farmers. There are 45,000 fewer farms in Iowa now than there were in 1970. In the past five years some 500 large-scale hog raising facilities have gone on line in the state. These facilities pose further economic ruin for many farmers as they try to compete with the spread of large-scale hog confinement operations capable of sending tens of thousands of hogs to market each year. In addition, small farmers are receiving little benefit



Fence above divides Tijuana and San Diego county. Buchanan takes vicious stance toward immigrants, calling for a 2,000-mile fence along the Mexican border.

from increased international sales of agricultural products.

The large-scale factory-type production of pigs "is a major threat to the existence of the Iowa family farm," Buchanan told the crowd. "I know the Republicans in the state legislature here don't agree with me on this but you people at the local level have the right to use your own zoning laws to deal with a threat to your way of life," Buchanan stated.

Buchanan has put up billboards in many cities that focus on the fact that factories have relocated from Iowa to other countries. With the candidate standing next to a bearded worker, they read, "Buchanan, He'll bring the jobs home."

He blames the bipartisan passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) as responsible for the job loss and the woes afflicting farmers. "I oppose every single paragraph of these agreements that sell out American workers and American sovereignty," Buchanan told the crowd.

"We are asking our people to compete with people who make a buck-fifty an hour. At the Ford plant in Wayne, Michigan, workers were paid \$30 an hour in wages and benefits. At the Ford plant in Hermosillo, Mexico, it's a couple of bucks an hour that's being paid."

He claims that only four people on the national scene "opposed GATT and NAFTA — Ross Perot, Jesse Jackson, Ralph Nader, and me, Pat Buchanan. The *Wall Street Journal* called us the Hal-loween coalition," he said.

## National socialism

During the campaign, Buchanan plant-gate teams have leafleted factories here. Workers exiting the Fawn Engineering plant one January afternoon received a leaflet signed by Buchanan backer Brian Gavin. "I am a 'working-class' American who has worked long, hard, dirty hours to support myself and my family," stated Gavin in the text. "I know what it is like to live paycheck to paycheck, and go out on strike (as a UFCW member). I have worked as a grocery-store clerk 'throwing' freight, and cleaned bathrooms as a janitor. I have worked seven days a week, week after week, at modest wages and grateful to be employed rather than be unemployed."

"Pat Buchanan values and respects hard working men and women like you and me," Gavin continues. "Pat Buchanan celebrates the traditional values, fundamental beliefs and solid virtues that made America Great. Pat Buchanan wants to save and strengthen what is best in America."

A particular target is Washington's 1995 bailout of the Mexican government. "The American people on the hook now for \$50 billion dollars for a bailout" that benefited "Chase Manhattan, Citibank, and Goldman-Sach's," emphasized Buchanan. "Illegal immigration is soaring. We've got to start looking out for our own country and our own people first."

## 'Embryonic world government'

Buchanan stated that the government in Washington today is "surrendering our sovereignty to an embryonic world government that liberals call the 'new world

order....' A global government is developing slowly and perceptively. We can't surrender our sovereignty to it." Buchanan cited the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Court as proof of the growing world government. To a big applause, he stated, "When I take oath that new world order is going to come crumbling down."

He criticized the recent court marital of U.S. Army soldier Michael New for refusing an order to serve in a United Nations "peace-keeping" operation in Macedonia. "Michael New," the candidate stated, "is a home schooler, a Christian who volunteered to serve his country. He said he wasn't going to fight for the U.N. Michael told them he had taken an oath to the U.S. Constitution. It's Bill Clinton who should be discharged from the service of his country," Buchanan said to a loud roar.

Buchanan has taken a stand against the U.S. military build-up in Bosnia today, saying "Atrocities have been committed on all sides and America has no business being there." During his presidential bid four years ago, his line was, "I don't understand a foreign policy which sends half a million troops around the world to liberate Kuwait and then sits idle while Croatia, a Christian, Catholic country, is being raped and brutalized by a Stalinist regime in Belgrade."

Outside the Story City meeting a group of half a dozen students from Iowa State University handed out leaflets defending free trade and opposing Buchanan's protectionist policies.

That same evening Buchanan joined several other Republican candidates at a rally in a Des Moines church to "defend marriage." This anti-gay event was sponsored by The Report, a right-wing organization that targets gays for scapegoating. Some 200 defenders of gay rights held a counterdemonstration outside the church where the Republican candidates spoke.

## Students fight for gay rights

JOELLYN MANVILLE  
AND JASON WEAVER

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah — Salt Lake City high school students are involved in a showdown against politicians and rightists over the students' rights to form gay, lesbian, and bisexual support groups in Utah high schools. In December students at East High in Salt Lake City petitioned to form the Gay-Straight Alliance, prompting an attempt to ban registration of the group.

Despite a statement from the Utah Attorney General's Office that the students have the legal right to form such clubs, the Utah Eagle Forum, members of the State Senate, Gov. Mike Leavitt, and Sen. Orrin Hatch have teamed up to find a way to outlaw the clubs.

State Sen. Charles Stewart claimed that homosexuality "is a divisive issue for the whole society. It is drawing a line in the sand of what is civil and bestial. What is human being and what is animal." Stewart convened a secret meeting of members of the Utah State Senate, in violation of state law, to plan strategies to deny the students their rights.

Stewart has suggested the state forego \$100 million in federal education funds in order to get around the Equal Access law and ban the club. Other politicians propose banning all nonacademic clubs in order to defeat the students.

More than 200 people jammed the Capitol rotunda February 6 to defend the students and condemn the secret meeting. That same night, people poured into a meeting of the Salt Lake City School Board to show solidarity with the students.

More than 170 people turned out for a February 9 Militant Labor Forum on the issue. Members of the East High Gay-Straight Alliance, Young Socialists, National Organization for Women, and ACLU, as well as union activists and other high school students gathered to discuss ways to continue defending the democratic rights of the students. Students from at least four other Salt Lake City high schools announced their intention to form Gay-Straight Alliances at their schools.

The School Board is scheduled to meet February 20 to decide whether to allow the

club or ban all nonacademic clubs. High school students, gay rights activists, and supporters of democratic rights plan to mobilize for the February 20 school board meeting to support the club.

Joellyn Manville is a member of the Young Socialists and a founding member of the East High Gay-Straight Alliance. Jason Weaver is a member of the YS.

## Young Socialists Fund Drive

The Young Socialists launched a \$10,000 fund drive on January 1 that will last until March 3.

The funds raised will enable YS members to carry out national and international responsibilities and meet expenses for the YS headquarters, as they build the first national convention of the YS in Minneapolis, Minnesota, April 6-7.

Listed below are the goals and payments received by YS chapters and at-large members.

City	Goal	Paid
Boston	750	410
Cleveland	500	0
Los Angeles	1,000	123
Miami	400	30
New York	1,500	240
Newark	300	0
Philadelphia	300	0
Pittsburgh	150	0
Salt Lake City	600	285
San Francisco	1,000	225
Seattle	1,000	385
Twin Cities	1,000	0
Other		1,517
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$9,350</b>	<b>\$3,215</b>

Anyone interested can contribute to the fund drive. Please send pledges or contributions to: Young Socialists, P.O. Box 2396, New York, N.Y. 10009. Tel: (212) 475-6482.

## FOR FURTHER READING

EDUCATION FOR SOCIALISTS

**The Fight Against  
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Forty Years of Struggle Described  
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EDUCATION FOR SOCIALISTS

**What is American Fascism?**  
Workers' leaders assess Father Coughlin's Social Justice  
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Workers' leaders assess Father Coughlin's Social Justice  
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James P. Cannon and others

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James P. Cannon and Joseph Hansen

Workers' leaders assess Father Coughlin's Social Justice movement and Mayor Frank Hague's dictatorial antilabor regime in Jersey City in the 1930's, and the anticommunist crusade led Sen. Joseph McCarthy in the 1950s. \$8.00

Available from bookstores listed on page 12, or write: 410 Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Fax (212) 727-0150. Please include \$3 postage and handling for the first title and \$.50 for each additional title.



# More locations in Paris will sell Pathfinder titles

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.

Titles from Pathfinder will soon be available at several more locations in Paris, Marcella FitzGerald reports from

bookshops ordered from Pathfinder for the first time. In one small bookshop, which ordered 35 different titles, the proprietor explained that many of the books he ordered were no longer available in French, although they had been once. He considered it important that such books be available for a new generation, and he took pride in making available books that were now difficult to find.

"Among the titles he ordered were *The*

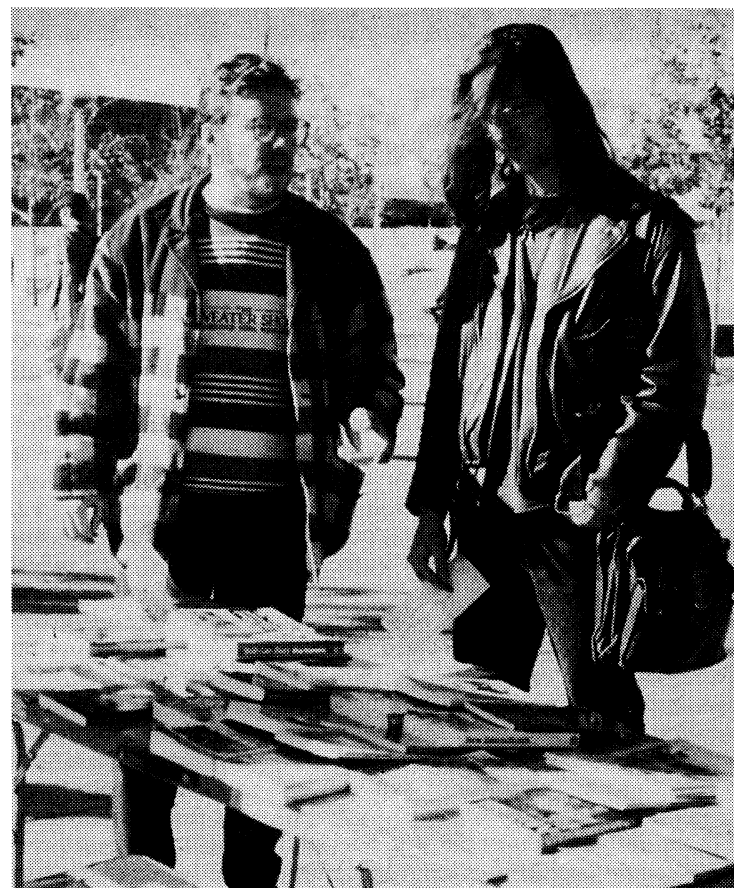
title on Malcolm X, and *Socialism and Man in Cuba* by Che Guevara," Vanessa Knapton reports. "Another bought *To Speak the Truth* [by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara] and issue no. 8 of *New International* on Che. He joined the readers club because he wants to buy the *Bolivian Diary* and *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War* later when he gets more money. Another person had been to Cuba to study dance and wanted to go again. She bought the pamphlet by Fidel Castro *Cuba Will Never Adopt Capitalist Methods*."

In all, students bought \$70 in literature during the three hours the table was up.

*The Second Declaration of Havana* is back in stock, reissued in a new printing. The document, which has served for more than 30 years as Cuba's manifesto of revolutionary struggle, was read by Fidel Castro at a mass rally of one million in 1962.

A powerful indictment of imperialist rule, *The Second Declaration of Havana* points to the example of the Cuban revolution as the road forward for fighters and youth throughout the Americas. This printing includes photos of factory workers and peasants lining up to add their signatures to the historic document.

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Selling Pathfinder books in downtown Denver, Colorado.

Militant/Horace Kerr



## PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

By Michael Baumann

the French capital.

"Pathfinder representatives have been visiting bookshops here this week," she wrote in early February, "in the wake of the welcome response to street tables here featuring Pathfinder books. Since December, more than \$7,000 in books and pamphlets by revolutionary and communist leaders have been sold from these tables.

"Another important new opening has been to begin to place Pathfinder titles in bookshops that sell only French-language material. Recently one of the big book-selling chain stores here opened an account with Pathfinder.

"Over the course of the week three

*Leninist Strategy of Party Building* by Joseph Hansen, the two-volume *Revolutionary Continuity* by Farrell Dobbs, and the five issues of *Nouvelle Internationale* that have so far been published."

In total, 9 stores ordered 101 books and pamphlets over the course of the sales visits.

Two students at the University of California - Los Angeles joined the Pathfinder Readers Club in early February after seeing on campus a table displaying a range of Pathfinder titles.

"One bought *Nelson Mandela Speaks*, a

# Socialists discuss 'Episodes' with co-workers

BY GREG MCCARTAN

Socialist workers who are members of industrial unions have taken a goal of selling 500 copies of the new book from Pathfinder, Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War* — 1956-58, by April 1. The article by Paul Mailhot elsewhere in this issue discusses this goal and the campaign to sell Pathfinder books by worker-Bolsheviks in the United States.

Socialists in many cities are also taking goals to sell the book to young people, readers of the *Militant*, and those engaged in strikes, social protest action, and other political activity. Final goals for the sales

campaign should be sent to the *Militant* business office by February 20. The campaign will run up to April 1, the eve of the Young Socialists national convention. Goals are to include all sales since the book was released last month — including the pre-publication offer.

The articles below describe some of the results of this campaign so far, and the discussions by communists on the job with co-workers on the Cuban revolution and the fight of the working class to organize to make a revolution and take power in the United States as well.

Please send reports on sales totals to the *Militant* business office by 12:00 noon each Tuesday.

one of several panelists who participated in the Global Exchange tour joined the Pathfinder Readers Club and bought *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*. Another participant in the tour who attended the forum visited the Pathfinder bookstore the following day to discuss his impressions of the Cuban revolution. He decided to purchase a copy of *Episodes*, as well as a Readers Club membership. In addition to books on Cuba, he was interested in the *New International* no. 10 and *The Truth about Yugoslavia*.

Attracted by a poster with Che Guevara's picture on it advertising the *Episodes* book in the window, a young visitor from Georgia came into the San Francisco Pathfinder bookstore. He didn't know who Che Guevara was, but had seen his picture around. As a college student studying the Caribbean, he was very interested in learning more about the Cuban revolution. He decided to buy a copy of the book and a Pathfinder Readers Club membership after finding out that he could get a discount with the membership card at the Pathfinder bookstore in Atlanta.

Ilona Gersh, a Chevron refinery worker in Utah, and a member of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers union, Local 2-931, wrote in:

Enclosed is \$23 contributed by two of my co-workers to help finance the *Militant* reporting team in Cuba.

Both of them bought copies of *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*. One bought it after he and I spent a night shift reading and discussing the first few chapters. He had begun to work through the introduction of the book when it was printed in the *Militant* several weeks ago. He was pleasantly surprised to find the book very readable. I came back to the control room later that night to find that he had flipped to the back of the book. "Is this written by the same person who started the book?" he asked.

I think he isn't the only one who will learn from the book that it was through making the revolution that the Cuban revolutionaries transformed themselves into socialist men and women with the confidence they needed to lead the workers and peasants to power.

The other co-worker is an operator I hadn't yet had a chance to talk politics with. Our discussion started when he saw the book and told me he had seen other

Pathfinder books about Cuba in a bookstore in Hawaii, where he grew up. Che was one of his heroes as a youth.

Roni McCann, a sewer and member of UNITE dropped a note to say:

One of the cafeteria tables at the Hugo Boss men's clothing garment shop in Cleveland, Ohio, became a lively center of discussion February 8.

A couple of us were looking at *Episodes*, and talking about the revolution in Cuba. We called another worker over who is from Ecuador. "Come check out this book I'm reading," I said. He took one look at it and said, "Roni, are you a communist? I didn't know that."

After I told him I am a communist he said he thought it was good because we need all kinds of views. For the few minutes left in the break we talked about Che and the Cuban revolution. Another *Militant* subscriber added, "If you are fighting for what you believe in and people don't agree with you, they will call you a communist — but it's not bad to be one!"

A worker who immigrated from Romania several years ago, who reads the *Militant* and often tells me how he never expected capitalism to be so brutal, got a copy of *Episodes*. "You know," he said, "I had a lot of political education in Romania as a member of the communist youth, but I'm only starting to understand now. You can't understand things that are forced on you."

Mary Martin, a member of the International Association of Machinists who works at Northwest Airlines in Washington, D.C. reported:

In Washington, D.C., a co-worker of mine in the International Association of Machinists who had never expressed interest in the recent French strikes or in the *Militant* coverage on Yugoslavia walked past a copy of *Episodes* that was lying on the break room table. When he saw it he backed up to take a closer look.

He sat down and read a couple of chapters and then asked to borrow the book, saying he didn't know much about the Cuban revolution, but he wanted to learn more. He said he did know something about the Chinese revolution, and that after seeing Fidel Castro's speech in Harlem last fall he wanted to check out Cuba. He decided to buy the book.

Campaigning with <i>'Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War'</i>		
City	Goal	Sold
Atlanta	25	20
Birmingham, AL	40	13
Boston	60	24
Brooklyn	100	39
Chicago	50	19
Cleveland	30	16
Des Moines	32	19
Detroit	60	20
Greensboro, NC	45	15
Houston	30	10
Los Angeles	100	40
Miami	50	20
Morgantown, WV	27	8
New York	130	50
Newark, NJ	125	61
Peoria, IL	25	9
Philadelphia	45	24
Pittsburgh	40	3
Salt Lake City	60	24
San Francisco	95	29
Seattle	80	33
Twin Cities, MN	60	28
Washington, D.C.	75	16
<b>TOTAL SO FAR</b>	<b>1384</b>	<b>549</b>
<b>IN THE UNIONS</b>		
IAM	90	
OCAW	60	
UAW	110	
UFCW	12	
UMWA	7	
UNITE	40	
USWA	60	
UTU	80	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>459</b>	

IAM—International Association of Machinists; OCAW — Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; UAW— United Auto Workers; UFCW— United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA — United Mine Workers of America; UNITE— Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees; USWA — United Steelworkers of America; UTU—United Transportation Union.

Ellen Berman in San Francisco reports:

The campaign to sell *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War* — 1956-1958 got a boost in the San Francisco Bay Area last week at events on Cuba. A group that made a trip to Cuba sponsored by Global Exchange reported back to meetings, and Sergio Martínez of the Cuban Interests Section was on a speaking tour in the area.

Two union members bought the *Episodes* at a meeting of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) where Martínez spoke. Five more copies were sold to other OCAW members who are in the midst of contract negotiations on the job at several refineries in the Bay Area. A literature table featuring *Episodes* was set up at a public meeting for Martínez at the Mission Cultural Center. In addition to two copies of that book, participants bought copies of *New International* no. 10, featuring "Imperialism's March toward Fascism and War" and the Spanish-language edition of *How Far We Slaves Have Come*, speeches by Fidel Castro and Nelson Mandela in Cuba.

At a Militant Labor Forum entitled, "Report Back on Cuba. Celebrating the 37th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution,"

# Celia Sánchez: a maker of Cuban history

## Revolutionary fighter was a central organizer of rebel recruitment network

In conjunction with the publication by Pathfinder of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War 1956-58*, the *Militant* is running "Pages from Cuba's Revolutionary History." This series features accounts by and about other leaders and combatants in the fight to topple the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship and bring about the first socialist revolution in the Americas. The following article on Celia Sánchez is the fifth installment in the series.

Celia Sánchez was a leader of the July 26 Movement in Manzanillo, located close to the Sierra Maestra mountains. In 1956 she organized cells of peasants in the mountains prepared to join and assist the landing of the rebel expedition, which landed in south-eastern Cuba in December of that year to begin the revolutionary war.

In the early months of the war, Sánchez was a central organizer of the rebels' supply and recruitment network, taking responsibility for sending groups of reinforcements to the Sierra Maestra. In October 1957 she became a permanent member of the Rebel Army itself, serving on its general command. At the time of her death in 1980, she was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and secretary of the Council of State and Council of Ministers.

Pedro Alvarez Tabío is director of the Cuban Council of State's Office of Historical Affairs and Publications. The article excerpted below appeared originally in *Bohemia*, May 4, 1990. The translation is by the *Militant*.

### BY PEDRO ALVAREZ TABÍO

As soon as she returned to Manzanillo following her meeting with Fidel on February 16-17, 1957, at the farm of Epifanio Díaz in the foothills of the Sierra Maestra, Celia devoted herself to preparing conditions for the arrival and organization of the group of reinforcements agreed to at that meeting, and sending them off to the Sierra.

In Santiago, Frank País gave instructions to all the cells of the July 26 Movement in Oriente province to have their best combatants ready to go. The selection was to be based on a combination of factors. It should not only involve militants whose cover was "burned," in underground work, although these comrades would logically be prioritized in the selection. Above all they had to be comrades proven in action, politically developed, and in good physical condition to withstand the rigors of guerrilla struggle. With regard to the militants in the Manzanillo region, from Yara to Campecheula and Media Luna, the responsibility rested with Celia and the other cadres of the Movement in the region.

The original idea of distributing the combatants in houses in Manzanillo had the advantage that by dispersing the forces, the capture of a large number of the reinforcements could be averted in the event of an enemy surprise or an informer. Its drawback, however, was the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient quantity of suitable locations, and of the dispersal itself, which would make the preparatory work more difficult, under the conditions in which Celia was carrying out her activities in Manzanillo.

A few days after her return, constantly moving from one hiding place to another, Celia moved to the house of René Llópiz. Llópiz managed the La Rosalía farm, a vast rice farm located 10 kilometers from the city, in the Palmas Altas barrio, next to the Bayamo highway. There he had his house, some 300 meters from the road, and less than 500 meters from the Manzanillo jail.

Upon arriving, Celia realized she had found the place she was looking for to assemble the entire contingent of reinforcements. The house was very close to a dense field of marabú. No one would have imagined that men could be hidden in the midst of such a thorny and inhospitable plant. The very proximity to the troops guarding the jail was an additional guarantee. Who would think that the temporary camp for the reinforcements would be set up under the very noses of the enemy? Everything depended on the care taken and the measures adopted to avoid calling attention to themselves.

This decision was typical of Celia. On that occasion, perhaps more than any other during her activity as a clandestine fighter, she demonstrated fully her qualities for this type of struggle: daring, ingenuity, the ability to mask all suspicious movements, the discipline she demonstrated and that she knew how to instill and demand from all those around her.

The first combatants arrived in Manzanillo around February 26, when they began to be sent from Santiago in groups of two and three. The usual reception point was the house of Felipe Guerra Matos on the outskirts of the city. From there, Guerra Matos himself or another comrade transferred the combatants to Llópiz's house, where Celia greeted them, vaccinated them against tetanus and typhus, and then sent them to the marabú field.

Celia displayed tireless activity during the days of the marabú field camp. She was on top of all the details concerning the transfer of combatants and arms; the supply of food, cigarettes, medicine, and items of every type; and attending to the needs of each one



of the men assembled there. Moreover, she participated in all the work being conducted at Llópiz's house, helping with cooking, washing clothes, and preparing uniforms.

One day the owner of the farm, who was not involved in what was going on, surprised Celia in the house during one of the periodic visits he made to see his manager. He was quite upset to see Celia, since he knew very well who she was and what she was involved in, and how much she was being sought by the police. His presence there compromised things, as he insisted that she leave immediately. And he didn't even know the most important thing: that his farm was serving as a camp for more than 50 combatants, and that his very bedroom—which he used on occasion to take a nap or spend the night—was serving as the main storehouse for uniforms and other supplies. But Celia did not scare off. She assured him that she was not leaving, and insinuated dire consequences that supposedly might happen if there were any indiscretion or denunciation to the repressive forces.

Some 53 men were eventually assembled in the La Rosalía marabú field. The contact point approved by Fidel was the farm of Epifanio Díaz, where Che would be waiting. In two trucks, Celia organized the transfer of the contingent close to Cayo Espino. From that point on they continued on foot. During the night of March 15 the reinforcements left for the Sierra. When they met up with Fidel in La Derecha de la Caridad at the end of the month, the rebel detachment was equal in size to the number of combatants who had come on the Granma.

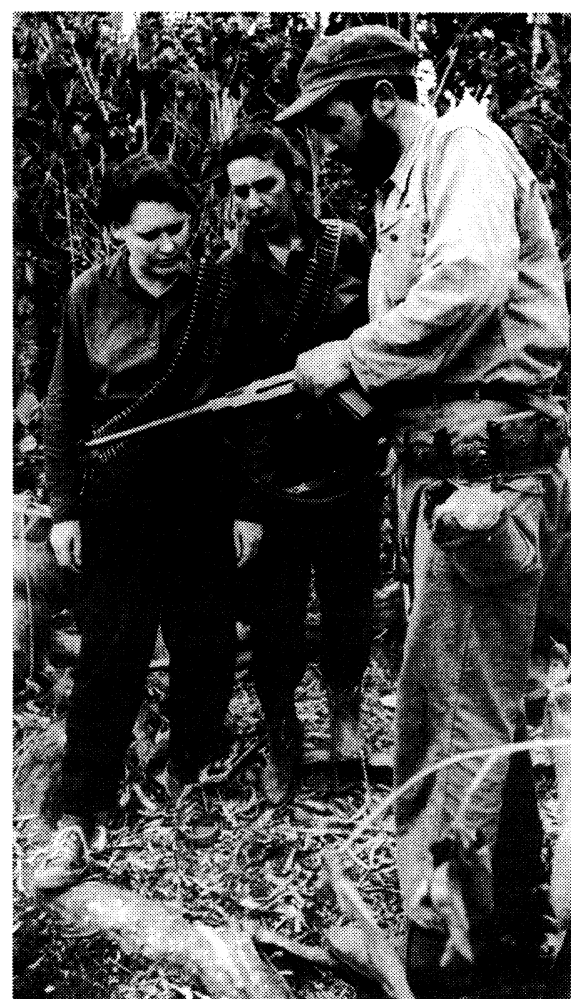
### A maker of history

One might think that Celia would have a right to take a brief rest after the departure of the marabuzaleros. She had successfully carried out the delicate and complex mission assigned her by Fidel. Thanks to her ingenuity and sense of organization, to her discretion and discipline, and to her tireless activity, the first large group of reinforcements from the city to the guerrillas was assembled, prepared, and sent to the Sierra without being discovered.

But for Celia there was no rest. The very day in which the trucks set off from the marabú field for the Sierra, she left Llópiz's house and returned to Manzanillo to continue her work of tirelessly searching for resources for the guerrilla troop, and preparing the conditions to fulfill the next special mission she had received from Fidel.

Celia initially planned to accompany the marabú field contingent to the Sierra. After her discussion with Fidel at Epifanio's farm, after hearing his plans for the active participation of women in the guerrilla struggle, and after having lived several hours with the guerrilla combatants and received an injection of optimism and confidence in the future of the struggle, for Celia there could be no other aspiration than to join the rebel detachment as a permanent member.

But her plan was altered at the beginning of March when she received word that Fidel had agreed to be interviewed by another



Council of State Office of Historical Affairs, Havana  
Above, Haydée Santamaría, Celia Sánchez, and Fidel Castro in the Sierra Maestra, May 1957. Sánchez, a leader of the July 26 Movement, organized peasants to join the rebel expedition. Left, Celia Sánchez counting money raised for the rebel army.

U.S. journalist interested in going up to the Sierra. The mission of organizing the reception and transportation of this visitor up to the hills again fell to Celia. Moreover, Frank was arrested in Santiago March 9, while preparing to send a second shipment of arms and ammunition to the marabú field. Although the work in Santiago continued to progress, it did not seem appropriate to weaken even further the Movement's leadership by incorporating Celia in the Sierra at that moment.

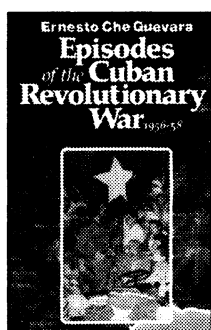
Possibly it was during this period of her clandestine life, after her first trip to the mountains, that Celia came to assume her status as documentary executor of the revolution. One factor that certainly had a bearing on this decision was the circumstance that, in carrying out her activity in Manzanillo—the way station for the Sierra—Celia became in practice the fundamental line of communication between Fidel and the Movement's leadership in the cities. But what seems certain is that this decision by Celia was made almost unconsciously at first, as a result of the historical consciousness that was part of her very nature.

Celia was immersed in history, of which she herself was to become an actor. From her childhood she had been imbued with the history of her country through the example of her father's passionate patriotism. Celia quickly realized that she had been called upon to take an active part in what was undoubtedly the most important chapter in this history. Early on she was able to recognize that in addition to the urgent immediate tasks posed by the struggle on a daily basis, it was necessary to devote attention to assembling a documentary testimony of that struggle. For example, she preserved detailed balance sheets of expenses from December 1956, during her activities to obtain resources for the survivors of the Granma expedition.

From the beginning these preservation efforts were extended to the messages, notes, and documents generated by other comrades of hers, and soon not only the materials she herself received, but also those she asked for and guarded in anticipation of the revolutionary victory. From the first months of 1957, the documentary collections preserved by Celia or turned over for safekeeping to persons whom she held in total confidence in Manzanillo began to grow daily. Historians or biographers today can reconstruct in minute detail the truthful story of that heroic

Continued on Page 11

### Special offer from Pathfinder



### Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War 1956-58

"Revolutions rarely, if ever, emerge fully ripe, and not all their details are scientifically foreseen. They are products of passion, of improvisation by human beings in their struggle for social change, and are never perfect. Our revolution was no exception."

—ERNESTO CHE GUEVARA, 1961

*Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War* is a firsthand account of the military battles and political campaigns that culminated in the January 1959 mass armed insurrection that overthrew the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship.

Guevara's *Episodes* shows how he and other Rebel Army combatants were transformed by their experiences into battle-tested leaders of working people in Cuba.

Writing with clarity and humor, he shows how the revolution's social program emerged out of deepening class-struggle experience by workers and peasants themselves. He explains how the Rebel Army and July 26 Movement grew into a movement capable of leading millions to carry through a socialist revolution in the years after the 1959 victory.

Guevara's *Episodes* appears here complete for the first time in English. This new edition contains letters and other documents written by Guevara during the war.

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# Nat'l Network sets actions against U.S. policy toward Cuba

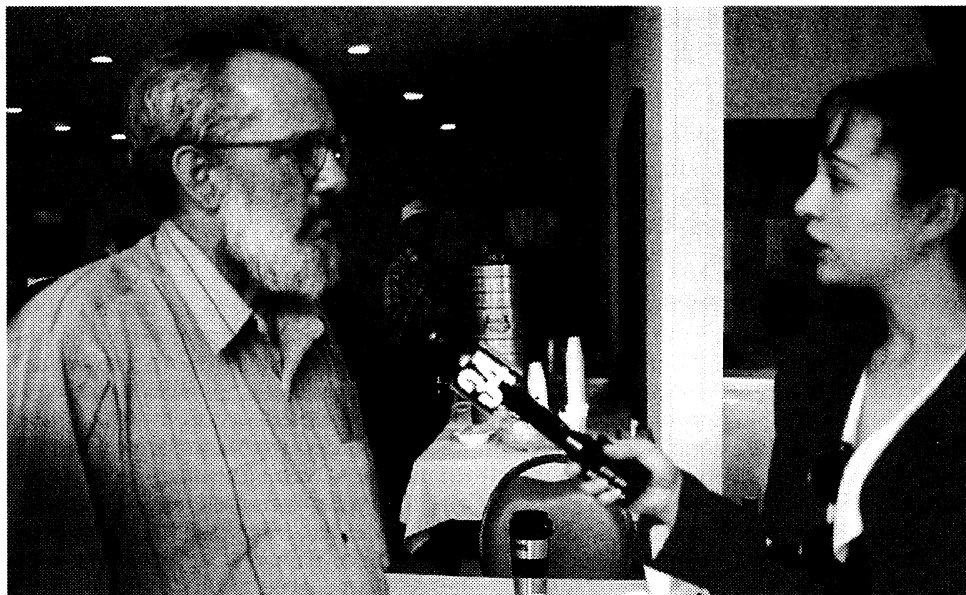
BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

LOS ANGELES — At a broadly attended meeting here, the National Network on Cuba set a six-month schedule of educational and protest activities in the United States, as well as trips to the Caribbean country, to widen opposition to Washington's unremitting economic war against the Cuban revolution.

Representatives of local coalitions and national organizations that belong to the network decided to keep up a campaign to defeat legislation pending in U.S. Congress that would tighten Washington's economic embargo on Cuba; call protests to condemn attacks by border patrol agents against a recent humanitarian aid caravan to Cuba organized by Pastors for Peace; urge member

groups to build a delegation of U.S. trade unionists to the 17th congress of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC) in April; and organize a contingent of hundreds of students, young workers, and other youth from the United States to go to Cuba in July as part of a U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange.

The National Network on Cuba (NNOC) is a coalition of local and national groups that organize activities in opposition to U.S. policy toward Cuba. Some 60 people attended the February 10-11 gathering here, representing 40 organizations from 23 cities. Three new groups were voted into membership, bringing the total number of affiliates to 75.



Militant/Carole Lesnick

NNOC cochair Andrés Gómez (left) at press conference during network meeting

The newly admitted organizations are the New Mexico Committee to Normalize Relations with Cuba, the Miami-based Jewish Cultural Center, and the Milwaukee Coalition to Normalize Relations with Cuba.

José Luis Ponce and Sergio Martínez, first and third secretaries of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., completed speaking tours during the NNOC meeting.

Continued on Page 10

## Cuban leaders speak on campuses in California

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — José Luis Ponce, one of Cuba's principal U.S. diplomatic spokespeople in the United States, conducted a six-day, morning-to-night speaking tour of southern California in early February.

He spoke at a series of campus meetings in the Los Angeles area, San Diego, and Santa Barbara. At Pasadena City Hall, Mayor William Paparian presented Ponce with the key to the city on February 5. In



Militant/Harry Ring

José Luis Ponce speaking at February 10 forum in Los Angeles

all, the Cuban diplomat addressed more than 500 people during his visit, which received considerable press coverage.

The windup of the tour was a February 10 public forum at Loyola Law School, which was part of the proceedings of the National Network on Cuba (NNOC) meeting (see article above). Thabo Ntweng and Paula Solomon, leaders of the Los Angeles Coalition in Solidarity with Cuba that sponsored the event, chaired the forum. Andrés Gómez and Leslie Cagan, national cochairmen of the NNOC, joined Ponce on the platform.

Angela Sanbrano of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) also gave greetings. Sanbrano introduced herself as the U.S. national coordinator of the São Paulo Forum, which is comprised of political parties throughout Latin America and the Caribbean that function in the workers movement. The forum has organized five continent-wide gatherings — the first in São Paulo, Brazil, in 1990 and the most recent in Montevideo, Uruguay, last year. Sanbrano announced that CISPES and the National Network on Cuba will be making efforts to build the sixth meeting of the São Paulo Forum in July in San Salvador, El Salvador.

The audience of 125 contributed more than \$2,000 toward the work of the Los Angeles Coalition.

Ponce is the first secretary of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C. Because Cuba is denied normal relations by Washington, the interests section, which functions out of the Swiss embassy, substitutes for a regular diplomatic mission. The U.S. government has its own interests section in Havana.

Ponce is a veteran Cuban revolutionary. Before entering the diplomatic service, he

was a journalist for the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina.

The tour was organized by the Los Angeles Coalition in Solidarity with Cuba. Activists in the group said a noteworthy feature was the extent to which various campus organizations took the initiative in organizing and publicizing the half dozen college meetings.

In the past 18 months, the coalition has sponsored or promoted four speaking tours for representatives of the Cuban revolution. This has led to increased ties with campus activists. Several leaders of the Los Angeles coalition said they saw the success of this tour as a stepping stone for renewed activity to defend Cuba.

At the February 5 Pasadena City Hall gathering of media representatives, community activists, and local business people, Mayor Paparian told Ponce of his opposition to the embargo. "While it may be dangerous for a city mayor to sail the murky waters of international politics," Paparian said, "and while I cannot change the foreign policy of the United States as it applies to your country, let me say that as an individual I have the freedom to say that I do not approve of it."

The next morning, the Pasadena *Star News* featured a front-page account of the event. The *Star* said Paparian, an Armenian American, "recalled that many Armenians who fled their country during Turkish oppression in World War I found refuge in Cuba and flourished there." The *Herald Tribune*, another local newspaper, attacked the Pasadena mayor for his stance on Cuba in an editorial three days later.

There was other media coverage as well, including a two-part feature interview with Ponce in *La Opinión*, the largest Spanish-language daily in the Los Angeles area, headlined "J. Ponce: Cuba changed but remains socialist."

At his public meetings, Ponce sketched the enormous social gains of the Cuban revolution — in education, health care, the fight to eradicate racism and women's oppression, and above all the internationalism of the workers and farmers in Cuba.

### 'A truly sovereign government'

It took a revolution to achieve these gains, he explained at Cal State Los Angeles, because of the legacy of U.S. domination — a legacy of unemployment, absence of health care for millions especially in the countryside, illiteracy, racism and the superexploitation of women. To tackle these problems, he stated, demanded "a truly sovereign government, which is what we won in 1959."

At Santa Barbara City College, and elsewhere, he cited the revolution's gains in uprooting racist discrimination. He likened the situation of Afro-Cubans prior to the revolution to that of U.S. Blacks who lived under the Jim Crow system of segregation.

He added that while Cuba has made great advances in the fight to eradicate racism, "We're not satisfied. We want to go further."

After the meeting a student commented on how impressed he was by this response. Here in this country, he observed, "people feel we've done enough" and there's a drive to take back gains like affirmative action.

A highpoint of Ponce's busy day in Santa Barbara was a meeting at Casa de la Raza, where he received a warm welcome from some 40 young Latino activists. At the University of California, San Diego, a well attended meeting was sponsored and built by the Latino campus paper, *Voz Fronteriza* (Voice from the border).

### Measures to deal with harsh necessities

In his various appearances, Ponce described the economic difficulties confronting Cuba since the collapse of aid and trade at preferential prices with the former Soviet Union and countries of eastern Europe.

Responding to a frequent question, he explained Cuba's need to win investments from abroad and to promote tourism. He underlined that Cuba was taking these steps out of harsh necessity, not out of any desire or intention to move toward a capitalist economy.

To the contrary, he declared, the income derived from capitalist investments in Cuba is needed precisely in order to help preserve many of the social programs of the revolution.

"We're simply trying to regroup our forces so after a while we can continue our socialist development," Ponce said at the February 10 forum. The measures adopted by the revolutionary government so far have begun to pay off, Ponce said, pointing to a 2.5 percent growth in Cuba's gross domestic product in 1995 after four consecutive years of decline. The main reason for these results, Ponce noted, is not the economic measures in and of themselves, but the reality that "the Cuban leadership looks at, and is part of, workers and farmers for constructing a new society, their own society."

At the University of California, San Diego meeting Ponce pointed to the growing resistance in the former Soviet Union to the drive toward privatization and integration into the world capitalist market. He predicted that a fight for socialism will re-emerge in that country.

At each meeting, the Coalition in Solidarity with Cuba had a table for those seeking more information about the Cuban revolution and, invariably, there was great interest.

There was also a good response to activists building next July's Youth Exchange trip to Cuba. In the course of the tour, one activist said, more than 20 young people signed up for more information about the NNOC-sponsored trip.

Laura Anderson and Craig Honts, members of the United Transportation Union; and Carole Lesnick, a member of the United Auto Workers, contributed to this article.



BY TAMI PETERSON

SAN FRANCISCO — Sergio Martínez, third secretary of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., toured the San Francisco Bay Area February 5-8 before continuing on to Los Angeles to participate in activities there connected with the conference of the National Network on Cuba.

Martínez spoke to over 150 students at Sonoma State University, Laney College, and University of California-Berkeley in the course of the visit. The discussion covered a broad range of topics. They included the conversion of state farms into agricultural cooperatives, the new tax system in Cuba, women's rights, prostitution, and the role of workers in shaping fiscal and other measures adopted by the government in an effort to reverse the economic decline that followed the end of trade at preferential prices with the former Soviet bloc countries.

Martínez attended a breakfast with the Central Labor Council on the morning of February 6. He also brought greetings of solidarity to a meeting of 75 members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union Local 1-5 organized to discuss national oil bargaining contract issues.

At a pot luck dinner held next the day, Martínez had a discussion with 20 activists involved in defending Cuba.

The Cuban diplomat spoke to a crowd of over 80 people at the Mission Cultural Center on the evening of November 7. His talk was preceded by a report from members of the US-Cuba Friendship Caravan who were bringing computers to Cuba. The caravan was stopped at the U.S.-Mexico border near San Diego January 31. Federal agents arrested 11 of its members, beat up several caravanistas, and confiscated the computers.

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# Cuba network meets

Continued from Page 9

They capped off their California visit with a public forum on the evening of February 10 titled "Survival in the Time of the Blockade — Changes in Cuba Today" (see articles on page 9).

## California tour sets example

During the NNOC meeting, many delegates pointed to the success of these tours, which won new layers of youth and others to oppose Washington's aggression against Cuba, as an example to be emulated by network affiliates across the country. The week before the visits by Ponce and Martínez, Armando Amieva, also an official of the Cuban Interests Section, completed a similarly productive speaking tour of four cities in Iowa.

Ponce and Martínez urged Cuba solidarity activists to continue their efforts to defeat legislation, introduced in Congress by Sen. Jesse Helms and Rep. James Burton, that would significantly tighten Washington's embargo of Cuba. Different versions of this bill were approved by the House of Representatives on September 21 and by the Senate on October 19. A joint congressional conference committee could convene in March to come up with a compromise version.

The NNOC meeting agreed to keep up its campaign to oppose the Helms-Burton bill. In the course of this discussion, however, many participants said that it is unlikely that either the White House or Congress will take steps to loosen the U.S. economic squeeze on Cuba in the near future.

Leslie Cagan of the Cuba Information Project, and one of the NNOC national cochairs, said that recent tighter government enforcement of U.S. travel restric-

tions to Cuba point in the direction of a harsher stance by Washington. Cagan provided anecdotal evidence of increased harassment by immigration agents of people returning from Cuba to the United States.

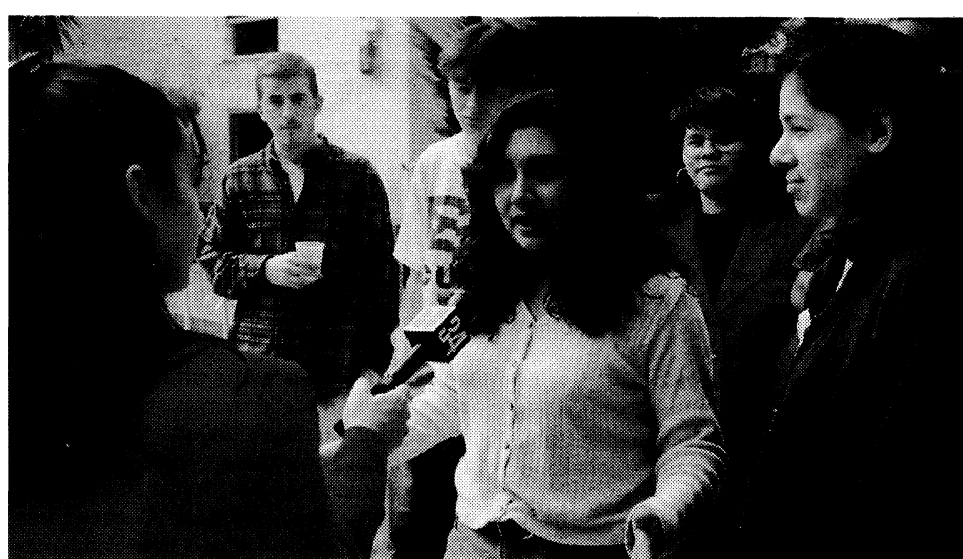
## Attack on aid caravan

Another such example is the attack by border police and federal agents on a humanitarian aid caravan to Cuba. On January 31 dozens of cops with tow trucks and other vehicles cordoned off the U.S.-Mexico border near San Diego when 70 drivers in 30 vehicles organized by Pastors for Peace attempted to cross into Tijuana, Mexico, carrying 325 computers destined for Cuban hospitals. The cops seized the material aid by force, injuring two dozen caravan participants in the process and arresting 11 of them who were later released on bond.

Pastors for Peace had organized five previous caravans to Cuba since 1992 with humanitarian aid, including computers. This was the first time the government decided to enforce its travel restrictions, which prohibit such trips without a U.S. treasury department license, by halting participants physically and confiscating all aid.

Three days before the network gathering the government wound up its antidemocratic campaign another notch.

On February 7, the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO) and Pastors for Peace were served with a subpoena to testify before a grand jury in Buffalo, New York, on February 22. The subpoena demands complete records from IFCO-Pastors for Peace with the names of participants and other information on the fourth and fifth "Friendshipment" caravans to Cuba,



Militant/Carole Lesnick

Adrianna Sánchez tells TV reporter about plans for youth exchange to Cuba

which took place in November 1994 and July 1995 respectively.

Tom Hansen of Pastors for Peace, an NNOC affiliate, gave a brief presentation on these developments during the first day of the Los Angeles meeting. He said that in response IFCO is organizing two other border crossings with newly donated computers for Cuba in San Diego and Vermont on February 17.

The activists gathered here decided to publicize and urge participation at these crossings. The meeting also called on Network affiliates to organize demonstrations on February 16 and 17 at U.S. federal buildings in cities across the country to demand that the government drop all charges against the 11 caravan members, rescind its subpoena to Pastors for Peace, and release the humanitarian aid destined for Cuba.

"If the government can get away with this assault without paying a very high political price, the entire Cuba solidarity

movement and basic democratic rights of all will be dealt a serious blow," Andrés Gómez, executive director of the Antonio Maceo Brigade and one of the national cochairs of the NNOC, told the media at a news conference the next day. "As a Cuban I feel this is an act of barbarism against Cuba in which it is people who suffer." The Antonio Maceo Brigade is a Miami-based organization of Cubans who support the Cuban revolution.

The February 11 press conference — called by the network to protest the attacks on the caravan — was covered by Channel 34, the main Spanish-language television station here; the local affiliate of Pacifica Radio; and the Spanish-language daily *La Opinión*.

The participants also assessed the outcome of three regional demonstrations in October demanding an end to the U.S. economic blockade of Cuba. Some 400 people took part in the San Francisco ac-

Continued on Page 14

# Havana Book Fair launches Che's 'Episodes'

Continued from front page

García and Division General Leopoldo Cintra Frías, commander of Cuba's Western Army. Frías commanded the Cuban forces in Angola during the decisive defeat of the South African army at Cuito Cuanavale in 1988. Other Central Committee members present included Manuel Piñero, for many years the head of the Central Committee's Americas Department, as well as Rolando Alfonso, and Ramiro Valdés. Noel González, from the department of propaganda work for the Central Committee, and Alberto Rodríguez Arufe, deputy head of the international relations department of the CC, were also present.

## Rebel Army veterans

Also in attendance were a number of veteran combatants of the Rebel Army who had directly aided in preparing the annotation, maps, photo captions, glossary, and other parts of *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*. They included Brig. Gen. Miguel Lorente, Col. Enzo Infante, and Col. Enrique Dorta. Col. Leonardo Tamayo, known as Urbano, another of the three Cuban survivors of the Bolivian campaign, was introduced from the audience.

Iraida Aguirrechu, who was responsible

for the editorial preparation of *Pombo: A Guerrilla with Che*, introduced the author and pointed to some of the highlights of the new book. Villegas, she noted, "gives answers to questions such as: why was Bolivia chosen to initiate this action for the liberation of the Americas, and what was the role of the Bolivian Communist Party?"

## 'No loss of confidence by Che'

Villegas told the audience that "our youth will find in this document a strong message." Pombo's firsthand account of Guevara's leadership of the guerrilla forces, and his diary entries written in the heat of the events, indicate "no trace of weakness, nor loss of confidence, nor loss of faith in the prospect of victory or the future," he said.

Likewise, in Che's own diary of the Bolivian struggle, Villegas noted, "there is not a single moment, even on the last day of the diary, October 7, [1967,] that Che shows any sign of feeling defeated. All his actions were a battle cry." A new English-language edition of that book, titled *The Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che Guevara*, was published by Pathfinder in 1994.

Pombo emphasized that Che was a product of the Cuban revolution. "Che's view," he said, "of giving everything for

humanity, his deep sense of sacrifice, his profoundly revolutionary attitude, the keen sense of values reflected in Che's work — all this came together in our country. It's precisely in our country that all these views matured. For this reason," Villegas added, referring to Cuban president Fidel Castro, "I think Che too was part of the great school of Fidel."

Understanding these facts, Villegas remarked, "is decisive for us at this time, when the enemy is again trying to find differences between Che and our commander in chief."

## Differences between Castro, Guevara?

One example of what Pombo was referring to was an article featured prominently by the *New York Times* in its Sunday, November 26, issue. The article, by Thomas H. Lipscomb, attempted to convince its readers, among other things, that in the final hours before his assassination on October 9, Guevara told his captors "that Castro failed him at a crucial time."

Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *The Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che Guevara*, wrote a reply to the *Times* editors refuting the lies in the Lipscomb article. In its December 18 issue, the *Militant* published the full text of her letter, which the *Times* ran in an abbreviated form.

Following Villegas's remarks, Aguirrechu announced Pathfinder's publication of Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*. She introduced Waters, who is also the editor of this new book by Guevara, adding that she is the "president of Pathfinder Press and a member of the Socialist Workers Party, a party that is our friend and is in solidarity with the Cuban revolution." Aguirrechu, who collaborated in preparing the new Pathfinder book, added that Editora Política will bring out a new Spanish-language edition of the book in a few months' time. Pathfinder will publish the English-language edition of *Pombo: A Guerrilla with Che* this year as well.

## A political weapon for today

"The books being launched here today are not history books about the past," Waters noted in her remarks, "however important the history they recount may be. They are political weapons for today."

"*Episodes* and *Pombo's* book are weapons for a new generation, born many

years after the battles and struggles of the Sierra Maestra forged the cadres that proved capable of leading — and, above all, *dared* to lead — an armed insurrection by the fighting people of Cuba," which overthrew the Batista dictatorship and "opened the doors to the socialist revolution in our hemisphere."

Waters said Pathfinder had published this book because "it is needed. It is needed by working people and youth in countries like the United States who today are seeking answers to the growing problems they face and are trying to learn how to resist, fight back, and, most importantly, to win."

## Cuban revolution shows the way

The editor of *Episodes* pointed to the conditions in today's world, which is marked by sharpening interimperialist rivalry, attacks on workers' social gains by capitalist governments everywhere, the rise of fascist-type currents, and an imperialist drive toward war against Yugoslavia. In this world, Waters said, many workers and young people seeking an alternative begin to look to the example of the Cuban revolution as the road forward. For them, *Episodes* "shows concretely how and why the Cuban revolution triumphed and has endured," she stated.

Immediately following the book launch, dozens of people flocked to the back of the hall to snap up copies of the two books. Throughout the weeklong fair, one of the most popular books at the Pathfinder booth was *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*. Titles by Guevara were among the best-sellers at the book fair as a whole, organizers reported.

Pathfinder's *Episodes* was the subject of an interview with Waters on the nationally broadcast station Radio Progreso. She was also interviewed on both the Spanish- and English-language programs of Radio Havana, which is broadcast by shortwave throughout the Americas. "If you read *Episodes*... it does make sense why the U.S. government hates the Cuban revolution so much," said Waters at the Havana Radio interview.

Cuban TV and Radio Rebelde also reported the launching of the two books. The February 14 *Granma*, the country's main daily, published an interview with Waters along with a photograph of her at the Pathfinder booth at the Havana fair.

## Help 'Militant' bring you best coverage from Cuba

An international team of *Militant* reporters — including Mary-Alice Waters, editor of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*; *Perspectiva Mundial* editor Martín Koppel; *Perspectiva Mundial* staff writer Róger Calero; Seth Galinsky, a rail worker in Miami; and Brian Taylor, an airline worker in Washington, D.C. — is in Cuba to cover the 1996 Havana Book Fair, one of the major cultural events in Latin America. They will also provide firsthand reports on meetings in factories, farms, and other workplaces to prepare for the April congress of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC).

To make this unique reporting trip possible, your generous contribution is needed now toward the \$10,000 necessary for travel and other expenses. So far readers have contributed \$4,250. 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.



Militant/Sukul Baul  
Members of international youth brigade to Cuba interview sugar mill workers January, 1995.



# Battle is on against legacy of apartheid

BY GREG ROSENBERG

Opponents of measures to address the legacy of apartheid continue to lose ground in South Africa.

In a January 8 speech on behalf of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress marking the organization's 84th anniversary, ANC president Nelson Mandela referred to "a struggle which intensifies with each passing day, to define the agenda of the democratic order."

While political violence has declined in most of the country since the old regime was swept aside in the 1994 nonracial elections, violent assaults on workers and peasants are on the increase in KwaZulu-Natal province. These are being fomented by supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party, headed by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Home Affairs minister. Elements of the police force in the province have joined in the bloody forays.

On Christmas day, an armed mob of 600 to 1,000 IFP supporters rampaged through Shobashobane, near Port Shepstone on the Indian Ocean. They hacked or shot 19 people to death, razed homes and looted the area.

Most Shobashobane residents are supporters of the ANC. The attackers were shouting "*bulalani amaqabane*," (kill the comrades), reported Amos Nyawose, whose relative, an ANC leader, was killed in the raid.

On January 29, South African police commissioner George Fivaz said police planned to arrest more than 100 suspects, at least 10 of them cops, in connection with the massacre.

The stoking of violence by Inkatha supporters and sections of the police is seen as an attempt to forestall democratic local government elections in the province, scheduled for May. The ANC won more than 70 percent of votes cast last November, when such elections were held everywhere except KwaZulu-Natal and the Cape Town metropolitan region. A similar result in May would undermine Inkatha's provincial stewardship and its claim that it speaks on behalf of all Zulus.

## 'Elections without violence'

"As a movement," Mandela said in the ANC anniversary speech, which was delivered to more than 10,000 people in Khutsong township outside Carletonville, "we must commit ourselves to continue to conduct our election campaign as we have done before, without resort to violence and intimidation. We call on other parties thus to commit themselves as we do, in both word and deed.

"Furthermore, we must ensure that the people themselves take up the struggle for an end to violence and the creation of a climate conducive to free political activity, especially in KwaZulu-Natal."

Mandela, in his capacity as president of South Africa, has urged a call for an *imbizo* — a mass conference involving all Zulu traditional leaders — at which all issues in dispute can be aired. On January 25, Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini endorsed the call for the *imbizo*. The Inkatha National Council gave its agreement January 28. A date for the meeting will be announced soon.

The determination by millions of South African working people to expose the wanton murder and brutality organized by

the former apartheid government officials has also provoked sharp disagreements.

In December, former apartheid defense minister Magnus Malan and 19 co-accused were formally charged with 13 counts of murder in connection with a 1987 massacre in KwaZulu-Natal. Those accused included two former defense chiefs, the former chief of Staff Intelligence, former chief director of Military Intelligence, four former KwaZulu police, and Zakhele Khumalo, deputy secretary-general of Inkatha.

## Malan trial opens March 4

The indictment documents extensive collaboration between the South African military, KwaZulu homeland police, and Inkatha in organizing murder squads, up to and including an "extraordinary" meeting of the state security council in Cape Town after requests by Buthelezi for "protection."

One military intelligence officer named in the indictment allegedly granted permission for the squads to target "persons whose death would have a positive impact on the Inkatha Freedom Party."

The Malan trial is set for March 4, and brought protest from South African deputy president F.W. deKlerk, head of the National Party, and others.

Malan and others have refused to go before the newly-established Truth and Reconciliation Commission, stating they are innocent and have nothing to reveal. The commission is charged with investigating gross human rights violations committed between March 1, 1960, and Dec. 5, 1993. It is chaired by Desmond Tutu, a cleric who was a prominent campaigner against apartheid.

Already, more than 2,000 people have submitted requests for amnesty. Revealing one's involvement in crimes committed is the central precondition for receiving amnesty.

Commenting on the commission's work, Mandela said during the ANC anniversary speech that "vengeance is not our goal. The building of a new nation at peace with itself because it is reconciled with its past, is our objective. Let us all therefore tell the truth that has to be told...."

The ANC president emphasized that "much still remains to be done to build a common sense of nationhood...It is in this context that we must continue the struggle to give life to what we said in the Freedom Charter — that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people as a whole.

"But the national reconciliation for



South African students protest to demand end to racist discrimination in education. The fight for equal access to education is one battleground against apartheid legacy.

which we continue to struggle," Mandela added, "cannot be founded on the preservation and perpetuation of the old order of white privilege and black deprivation. True reconciliation does not consist in merely forgetting the past. It does not rest with black forgiveness, sensitivity to white fears, and tolerance of an unjust status quo, on one hand, and white gratitude and appreciation underlined by a tenacious clinging to exclusive privilege, on the other."

## A new apartheid mini-state?

South Africa's Constitutional Assembly is in the final stages of the drafting of a new constitution, the deadline for which is May. The assembly includes representatives of all parties in the coalition government, except Inkatha, which has been boycotting it.

A continuing debate is whether the constitution will grant a *volkstaat*, a white Afrikaner preserve. ANC leaders have long publicly rejected the call for a new apartheid minstate, cloaked in demagogic appeals for Afrikaner self-determination.

The *volkstaat* forces have been fighting a losing battle: The latest attempt to present an Afrikaner united front fell flat in early January, when the Foundation for Equality Before the Law — set up last November to "protect Afrikaner rights" — held a rally in Pretoria. Despite endorsement from such prominent voices as the Transvaal Agricultural Union and former police commissioner Johan van der Merwe, only about 1,000 people showed up. A clash ensued within the crowd when an attempt was made to burn the new South African flag.

## Steps on land reform

Several modest steps forward have been taken over the past month to advance land reform. The overwhelming majority of agricultural land in South Africa is in the hands of white capitalist farmers.

In January, the ANC-majority National Assembly passed a bill guaranteeing protection for labor tenants by ending evictions and giving them the right to buy, within the next four years and with some state assistance, the land they have occupied for years. Their employers are compelled to either sell the land or provide alternative compensation to the farm worker.

Other bills have been approved by committees and still require parliamentary approval. These would protect communal land rights, including recognition of informal land rights, which were difficult to "prove" under apartheid law.

Additional proposals have been put forward by Derek Hanekom, minister of land affairs, in a "Green Paper on Land Reform."

The proposals include allocating government grants of up to 15,000 rand (about U.S.\$4,250) to help landless people and poor peasants buy or improve land. The buying of state-owned land would be included in these categories.

"I think if this kind of unreasonable legislation keeps on coming through, farmers will leave," said Graham McIntosh, president of the Natal Agricultural Union, responding to the Land Reform Bill. The South African Agricultural Union, an organization of capitalist farmers, may challenge the bill in the Constitutional Court, McIntosh added.

Members of the Freedom Front voted against the land bills in the national assembly. "The property rights of tenants on farming units will lead to tension and uncontrollable situations," a spokesman complained.

The Land Claims Commission, established in 1995 with the passage of land restitution legislation, has now received more than 5,000 claims from blacks demanding the return of land stolen from them under apartheid rule.

# Celia Sánchez, a rebel organizer

Continued from Page 8

and harsh struggle, thanks in large measure to Celia, to her clear vision; to her keen sense of history; to her tireless efforts, carried out with a feverish passion, to jealously preserve the documentary sources of this history.

With each passing day the repressive forces' pursuit became more intense in Manzanillo. Celia was by then the most wanted person in the city. One day, in the middle of April, she was hiding out together with Carlos Iglesias—an important cadre of the Movement in Oriente known as "Nicaragua"—at the home of Pancho Saumell in Manzanillo, awaiting the arrival of the comrades from Havana who were to bring the U.S. journalist.

## Offsetting the tension

There was uncertainty, since they had heard that Armando Hart (who together with Haydée Santamaría was responsible for sending the journalist) had been detained in Havana, and no word had been received from Haydée. At that moment a bomb exploded at the corner outside the house. Immediately the repressive forces were deployed and began to search the entire block. Celia and Nicaragua tried to es-

cape climbing over the back wall but saw it was impossible. Then with the greatest cool-headedness, just when the soldiers were entering through the main door with revolvers in hand, Celia made it into the street through a small side window leading to the office of the house's owner, and she and Nicaragua passed through the street as naturally as could be, passing right by their pursuers.

As soon as the search was over they returned, confident that it was now the safest of places precisely because it had just been searched. This gave a real fright to the owner of the house and his wife, who had been trying to convince Celia to leave since the previous day. In the midst of the argument, there was a knock at the door. It was the soldiers again. For the second time Celia and Nicaragua slipped through the side window, and for the second time they returned at midnight, once the enemy had withdrawn.

This led to an attack of nerves by the mistress of the house. In a state of near hysteria she screamed that she was going to die, while her husband paced back and forth barefoot with his hands on his head, constantly looking through the curtains out onto the street. Celia, unperturbed, an-

nounced she was going to sleep and did so, after leaving Nicaragua to keep watch on the couple.

When daybreak came, after a good night's sleep as if nothing unusual had happened, the argument was resumed. Celia went to make some coffee, while those in the house pleaded with her to leave right away.

Then there was again a knock on the door. Again there was general alarm, as Celia went into the kitchen to look for the coffee maker. This time it was Haydée, who arrived almost out of breath. In the midst of the commotion, she informed Celia that the journalists (Robert Taber and Wendell Hoffman from the U.S. television network CBS) had arrived in Bayamo the previous day, and were awaiting the contact who was to bring them to Manzanillo, and that it was necessary to act immediately.

But Celia's main concern at that moment was elsewhere, perhaps as a way of offsetting the tension: she was determined to have a cup of coffee before heading out into the street. In the end, the coffee remained unmade, and, to the great relief of the owners of the house, Celia and her companions departed.

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Continued from front page

Li Peng and editorials in Communist Party papers on January 30 raised the issue of setting a timetable for the reunification of Taiwan with the Chinese mainland. Following the return of the British colony Hong Kong and Portuguese colony Macao to Chinese rule in 1997 and 1999 respectively, unification with Taiwan will become a top priority, the statements said.

Prime minister Li warned the president of Taiwan, Lee Teng-hui, that his government's policy of seeking greater international recognition, including attempts to rejoin the United Nations, are the same as advocating "independence for Taiwan." China has long maintained that any declaration of independence by Taiwan would lead to a military response from the mainland.

With the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949, the defeated Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, which had the full backing of U.S. imperialism, fled to the island of Formosa, also known as Taiwan. With a population of 21 million, Taiwan is considered a breakaway province of China.

When the People's Republic of China was recognized by Washington and relations normalized in 1972, the agreement stated, "The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is part of China."

The official position of the ruling Nationalist Party in Taiwan is for reunification. By this, however, the capitalist class in Taiwan — one of the top-ten exporters of capital in the world — has never meant coming under the rule of the Beijing government. With Washington's encouragement, Taipei has been on an energetic campaign to increase its international recognition. Last May Clinton allowed President Lee of Taiwan to visit the United States to attend a reunion at Cornell University, despite the strong opposition of Beijing. Lee also offered the United Nations a \$1 billion gift in an unsuccessful attempt to win a UN seat.

## Possibility of war

The Chinese army has sponsored a string of missile tests near Taiwan and stepped up military exercises on the east coast facing Taiwan. In mid-February, Beijing was preparing for one of its largest military exercises in the strait.

According to a January 24 *New York Times* report, Chinese officials sent "unusually explicit warnings to the Clinton administration that China has completed plans for a limited attack on Taiwan" that could be mounted in the weeks after presidential elections there on March 23. A senior U.S. administration official told the *Times*, "They can fire missiles, but Taiwan has some teeth of its own."

Both Beijing and Taipei are heavily armed with top-of the line military hardware, and have stepped up their armament acquisitions in recent months. China is a recognized nuclear power. In past decades, at least, U.S. nuclear weapons have been stationed in Taiwan.

Taiwan has undertaken a "robust military buildup," as the *Times* put it. This year Taiwan will take delivery of 150 U.S.-made F-16 fighters and 60 French Mirage 2000 fighter-bombers. Last year Taiwan began deploying the first squadrons of its own new fighter, based on the F-16 design. In addition, the U.S. government approved recent deliveries to Taiwan of airborne command and surveillance aircraft that, according to the *Times*, "give its airforce a distinct air combat superiority over the mainland."

Beijing will be buying 72 SU-27 fighter planes — top Russian fighter jets — from Moscow as a prelude to licensing the production of the warplanes in China.

A February 11 article in the *New York Times* described the situation as "pistols are drawn and the threat of military confrontation hangs in the air like grenade smoke."

As this conflict unfolds, Washington is once again making noises about slapping trade sanctions on Beijing. The pretext is the charge that the Chinese government violated nuclear nonproliferation agreements by selling parts to the governments of Pakistan and Iran. Beijing denies the sales were nuclear-related.

Bob Miller is a member of UAW Local 980 in Edison, New Jersey.

The Militant Labor Forum is a weekly free-speech meeting for workers, farmers, youth, and others. All those seeking to advance the fight against injustice and exploitation are welcome to attend and participate in these discussions on issues of importance to working people.

At the Militant Labor Forum you can express your opinion, listen to the views of fellow fighters, and exchange ideas on how best to advance the interests of workers and farmers the world over.

## ALABAMA

### Birmingham

**The U.S. War Against Iraq: Five Years Later.** Fri., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 111 21 St. South. Donation: \$4. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

## FLORIDA

### Miami

**Cuba Today: What Workers and Youth Can Learn.** Also a firsthand account of workplace meetings in Cuba in preparation for the national convention of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC), and a discussion in general of the life of Cubans. Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54 St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

## ILLINOIS

### Chicago

**The Fight for Black Rights Today.** Fri., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 545 W. Roosevelt. Donation: \$4. Tel: (312) 829-6815.

## MICHIGAN

### Detroit

**Malcolm X: Revolutionary Internationalist.** Speaker: Doug Douthat, Socialist Workers Party, member of the United Auto Workers union. Sun., Feb. 25, 4 p.m. 7414 Woodward Ave. (one block north of Grand Boulevard). Donation: \$4. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

**Malcolm X: His Revolutionary Legacy Today.** Speaker: Bill Estrada, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey (Corner of Raymond Blvd.) Donation: \$4. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

## UTAH

### Salt Lake City

**In the Spirit of Crazy Horse, Free Leonard Peltier!** Presentations by activists in the fight to free Leonard Peltier. Peltier, a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM), was framed up on charges of murdering two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1975. Fri., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m.

**A Discussion of the Newly-Published Pathfinder Book *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War — 1956-1958* by Ernesto Che Guevara.** Fri., March 1, 7:30 p.m.

**Women's Liberation Today: What We can Learn from the Beijing Conference.** A panel of women's rights fighters, including some who attended the Beijing conference. March 8, 7:30 p.m.

All events held at 147 East 900 South. Donation: \$4. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**The Fight for Women's Equality: Defend Abortion Rights and Affirmative Action.** Panel discussion. Sat., Feb. 24, 7:30 p.m.

**Report back from Cuba.** Speaker: Brian Taylor, Socialist Workers Party, member of International Association of Machinists, recently returned from Havana Bookfair. Fri., March 1, 7:30 p.m.

All events held at 1930 18th St. N.W. (Florida and 18th, entrance on Florida). Donation: \$4. Tel: (202) 387-2185.

## NEW ZEALAND

### Auckland

**Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War — 1956-58.** Celebrate the recent publication by Pathfinder of the first complete English edition of Ernesto Che Guevara's account of the forging of a revolutionary leadership. Speaker: Russell Johnson, Communist League. Sat., Feb. 24, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

## 'Militant' on the Internet

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

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

The internet site includes a menu item to browse the last four issues, as well as the capability to search by key word all the *Militant* articles that have been put on line over the past year.

# Ankara, Athens avert military clash

Continued from back page

an act of treason. You [Simitis] have only one thing left to do: Resign."

Antónis Samarás, leader of the right-wing Political Spring, said, "It is an unprecedented national defeat. The Simitis government did not give in to the Turks' aims 99 percent, but 100 percent under the pressure of the Americans."

Communist Party general secretary Aleka Paparíga stated in Parliament, "That the Greek government would come and publicly thank the U.S., we had not foreseen. Why are you thanking them... because today Greece's sovereignty in the Aegean is officially being disputed?"

At a February 1 rally of several hundred organized by the Athens Labor Center, called to press for wage demands against the bosses' association, marchers arrived behind the Greek national flag. Speaker

after speaker denounced Simitis for his "betrayal."

In Turkey Necmettin Erbakan, leader of the Welfare Party (Refah), the largest in parliament, denounced Ciller "Why are we taking down our flag and withdrawing from our own soil?" he demanded. "These islands are ours."

"They have nothing to do with America or the West. Protecting and guarding our own soil is our own duty," he added.

In the last elections Refah, described in the big-business press as the party of "Islamic fundamentalism," won the votes of many in the working class shanty towns around the big cities.

The recent conflict over the islet left working people in both countries worried that sooner or later they will be drawn into a war in the region. A seamstress who works in a garment factory here told this

reporter, "I am Turkish and just recently moved here. What's going to happen to me and my family should war break out? I am against this. I watch Turkish TV and so many people have said we won't die over a piece of rock."

In a discussion at the Athens airport one worker, a PASOK supporter, responded to the criticism of Simitis, said, "Are they are nuts or what? What was the alternative? War!"

Another worker, a young woman, stated, "Once your sovereignty is attacked there is no choice. You have to fight; I would send my children to war over this."

The fact is that whether the white cross on a blue background (the Greek flag), or the white crescent on a red background (the Turkish flag) flies over the islet has nothing to do with the interests of working people in either country.

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**Tweak, tweak** — In Brazil, the *San Francisco Chronicle* reports, a series of Cuban-sponsored travel ads feature the slogan, "Do what eight (U.S.) presidents were not able to: Invade Cuba."



Harry Ring

**'Too cheap to meter'** — The Tennessee Valley Authority has been licensed to operate the Watts Bar nuclear power plant. Initiated in 1972, the plant was almost licensed in 1985. But, amid ongoing protests, the feds ordered hun-

dreds of safety modifications. It was originally estimated that the plant would cost \$370 million. That's now up to \$7 billion.

**Sure, like the government** — The National Research Council disclosed that in a 1950s Air Force experiment, 102 indigenous Alaskans and 19 GIs were given doses of radioactive iodine without their consent or knowledge. A member of the federal panel told AP that "the researchers were good people who did what seemed to be appropriate at the time."

**National security?** — In southern Iowa, a freight train derailed, including seven boxcars loaded with 700-lb. bombs. One car split

open, scattering 24 bombs. Families in the immediate area were evacuated. A state fire marshal said his team was permitted to go near the bombs, but not an eighth derailed boxcar carrying a shipment of wine.

**See, it's easy** — People have to understand that in the new labor market there are no rules, no lifetime jobs, no security," advises economist Julianne Maleaux. What to do? You have to "have a portfolio of skills."

**Return of the (con) artists?** — Anheuser Busch — maker of Budweiser, etc. — and five small breweries, petitioned the feds to require microbrewers to disclose if they contract out

production of their product to the industry biggies. They assert that the makers of Samuel Adams regularly do so. They also want the Plank Road Brewery label to say that it's a Miller's product, and likewise with Blue Moon and Coors.

**The sane society** — New York is probably the homeless capital of the United States. Reportedly, it's also where the latest status symbol of the ultrarich is to spend millions for a home, pour more millions into renovating and decorating, and then not move in. The coolest case, we thought, was the couple that bought a mansion, stocked it with old masters, and then settled into a nearby hotel

with a better view.

**Everything's up-to-date in Cyber City** — Each new computer software program assertedly makes life simpler. ("Just click on the button"). Meanwhile, it's estimated that there will be more than 200 million calls to consumer support phone lines this year. The solution? Another software program — one that will assertedly diagnose and resolve "most" of the common problems.

**Inside dope?** — It's only a comic strip, but we think Dilbert's boss was on to something when he suggested that the support hotline for the company's new software program have an unlisted number.

## Could N. J. train crash have been prevented?

BY JANE HARRIS

HOBOKEN, New Jersey — What seemed to be a normal rush hour here in New Jersey Transit's Hoboken Terminal came to a screeching halt in seconds on February 9, as an eastbound commuter train collided into a westbound at a nearby interlocking, a place where two lines cross. The impact caused both trains to de-

### UNION TALK

rail. The two engineers and one passenger were instantly killed, and 162 passengers were injured.

Co-workers were stunned and shocked with the sober realization that it could have just as easily been them who died.

While the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB) said it was still gathering evidence, the agency held a press conference less than 48 hours after the accident. NTSB chairman James Hall strongly suggested that eastbound engineer John DeCurtis had been at fault. He said DeCurtis had six infractions, neglecting to mention this was over a 39-year career. Only two of these involved signals and DeCurtis had not been disciplined in seven years. The *New York Times* headline the next day, however, read, "Engineer in Fatal Train Collision Had a Record of Running Signals."

At the press conference, Hall omitted the fact that Terry Abbott, general chairman of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers at New Jersey Transit, had noted several reports of signal irregularities in the vicinity of the accident.

Workers here are sorting out what they think might have happened and why.

Jim Stanley, a longtime engineer, said, "There is no way anyone should work a 14-and-a-half-hour job with a four-hour break. At least an eight-hour break is needed at a decent place where you can really sleep."

He was referring to the fact that since 1992 DeCurtis started his workday about

6 p.m., ran trains until about 1 a.m., took a legally required four-hour break in a passenger yard in Suffern, New York, and then drove an early train back into Hoboken in the morning. On the day of the crash, management asked him to make an extra run. Had he lived, this would have put his workday under the legal limit of 16 hours, including the four-hour break, bringing him into Hoboken at 8:44 a.m.

The NTSB is "studying" whether this particular split shift, aggravated by too short a break and no proper facilities in which to rest, may have contributed to the accident. Meanwhile, many engineers, whether or not they think DeCurtis went by a stop signal, have no need of any academic studies. Experience has taught them that this is not a safe way to work.

Split shifts are common at New Jersey Transit. Of the 268 engineers, 62 work in shifts of more than 12 hours, with a four to five hour break. NJ Transit executive director Shirley DeLibero explained why at a press conference: it saves the agency money. It would cost the railroad \$200,000 a year just to eliminate the three nighttime split shifts by hiring three more engineers, she said.

Following widespread publicity of the split shifts, New Jersey Transit officials announced February 13 they are considering ending them for nighttime workers.

Some engineers are pointing to another decision that puts profits ahead of public safety: the fact that in the entire Hoboken division, no lines are equipped with cab signals and automatic braking systems. These devices make sure the train is stopped if the engineer does not respond properly to a given wayside signal. Federal law mandates these devices only where trains run 80 miles an hour or more, thus exempting Hoboken division trains.

Another device that could have prevented the accident from taking place, again one which is not required by law, is one that will derail a train failing to stop at a red signal connected with an interlocking. Far less damage and perhaps no lives would have been lost had the eastbound train (if in fact it had a stop signal) derailed traveling at seven miles an hour, instead of hitting the other head on.

Additionally, over the last two decades, crew consist, or the elimination of crew members, has contributed to accidents. In the case of passenger trains, many firemen (basically assistant engineers) were cut on passenger runs. Just like a copilot on an airplane, an additional trained employee in the engineer's cab makes the run safer.

The bosses weigh the expense of hiring more workers against their bottom line — and we are feeling the cost. Safety is a question rail workers need to fight for ourselves. A major challenge we face as we try to find effective means to fight for a safer railroad is the fact that rail workers are organized by many different craft unions instead of one strong industrial union that would better enable us to create safer conditions for ourselves and those who ride the trains.

Jane Harris is a locomotive engineer at New Jersey Transit and a member of the United Transportation Union Local 800.

## — CALENDAR —

### CALIFORNIA

#### Oakland

**Conference and Direct Action.** Conference to learn more about the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, activist framed up on murder charges. Speakers: Sanyika Shakur, former prisoner, author; Michael Parenti, author, political analyst; Muhjah Shakir, Bay Area Network to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal; Noelle Hanrath, Equal Justice USA, Defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Sat. March 2. Registration 9 a.m. Direct action 3 p.m. Workshops, plenaries, seminars, action. *Castlemont High School, MacArthur at 85th St. Donation: \$5-\$25. For more information, call The SF Bay Area Network for Mumia (415) 648-4505. Fax (510) 845-8816.*

### GEORGIA

#### Atlanta

**Celebrate Pathfinder Press.** Speakers: Arlene Rubenstein, Socialist Workers Party; Marla Puziss, who participated in January 1996 team to France to sell communist literature following the massive labor mobilizations; Miguel Virgilio, construction worker, former youth activist in Mexico. Sat., Feb. 24, 7 p.m. Dinner 6 p.m. 803 Peachtree St. (Between 5th

and 6th St.). Donation: \$5. Dinner: \$5. Tel: (404) 742-9759.

### ILLINOIS

#### Chicago

**Rally/March: Women's Future - World's Future.** Fri., March 8, noon. Rally begins at Federal Plaza and will proceed to the State of Illinois Bldg.

#### Forum/Teach In: Beijing and Beyond

— **Women's Rights to Economic Justice.** Sat., March 9, 9:30 p.m. DePaul University, Lewis Hall, Wabash and Jackson. Donation: \$5.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Teach-In!** Speaker: Ramona Africa, MOVE member and only adult survivor of the 1985 bombing of the MOVE house in Philadelphia. Mon., Feb. 26. 6 to 9 p.m. Wayne State University Student Center Bldg. (main campus - room 289). Sponsored by Pan African Student Union, WSU Chapter of Refuse and Resist! endorsed by the Coalition to Stop the Execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal. For more information, call (313) 275-8979.

## — 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

### THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

February 26, 1971

Price 10¢

NEW YORK, Feb. 15 — Rallies, teach-ins, marches, and picket lines protesting the U.S. incursion into Laos exploded from one end of the country to the other last week.

Demonstrations called by SMC [Student Mobilization Committee] and other groups took place on Feb. 10 in New York; Boston; Washington, D.C.; Philadelphia; Seattle; San Francisco; Newark; Chicago; Detroit; Cleveland; Ann Arbor; Denver; Boulder, Colo.; Dayton, Ohio; Minneapolis; DeKalb, Ill.; New Haven, Conn.; and other cities.

Considering the short notice on which they were called, in some areas the actions were very large. In Ann Arbor, 4,000 University of Michigan students followed their rally with a mass meeting that voted to launch an antiwar strike of the school. In Boston, feeder marches from MIT, Harvard, Boston University, and Northeastern University swelled the antiwar crowd on Boston Common to 10,000. Students from the University of Washington organized a demonstration of 2,000 in Seattle. In New York, the SMC, New York Peace Action Coalition, Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, and other groups built a massive picket line of 3,000 in Times Square. More than 1,000 marched in San Francisco.

High school students figured prominently in the Laos invasion protests in New York and other cities. Feb. 9 walk-outs at Washington Irving, F.D.R., and Stuyvesant high schools led to an organized strike at Stuyvesant Feb. 11, which the principal described as 80 percent effective. A high school Student Mobilization Committee was formed in the city Feb. 12 at a meeting of 50 representatives from 16 high schools.

### THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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

February 23, 1946

Throughout India, British imperialist troops and police are murdering demonstrators who protest the imprisonment of Indian National Army men. Hundreds of unarmed Indians have fallen under withering machine-gun fire.

Wave after wave of mass protests, aroused by the British imperialist trial of Indian National Army men, has swept the country since last November.

But the deep-rooted cause of the demonstrations lies in the unbearable conditions of poverty, disease and near starvation of the Indian masses. Each new outburst against ruthless British rule has exhibited the mounting fury of the Indian masses.

The largest demonstrations have occurred in Calcutta and Bombay. But assemblies of Indians in Madras, Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow and Amritsar have been attacked by police and British troops armed with machine-guns and lathis (long bamboo clubs used by the Indian police.)

The immediate cause of the demonstrations was the imprisonment and court martial of soldiers of the Indian National Army. This Army was formed under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose, who accepted aid in the fight for India's liberation from the Japanese.

The INA was uncompromisingly anti-British. The Indians regard its soldiers and officers as heroes in their struggle for independence.

Leaders of the All India Congress Party and the Moslem League toured the cities together recently "trying to restore order." According to a February 14 Associated Press dispatch Communist Party (Stalinist) leaders joined these "peace squads."

But the angry masses attacked and stoned the automobile carrying the treacherous "peacemakers."

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## All-party talks on Ireland peace now

Working people across the world, especially in Ireland and Britain, need to step up the demand for the British government to stop stalling and open all-party peace talks now, without preconditions, following the bomb that went off in London February 9 killing two people.

Many people interviewed in the press said the bombing was only to be expected, given the lack of any progress towards negotiations. They gave the lie to the claims of Britain's prime minister John Major and Unionist politicians that Protestants bitterly oppose talks. A poll published in the October issue of the *Shankill People* newspaper in Belfast reported that nearly half the Protestants in the north of Ireland support negotiations without preconditions.

The explosion was a rude reminder to Prime Minister John Major and the British government that they had not defeated the Irish Republican Army when the IRA declared a unilateral cease-fire 17 months ago. London responded to that initiative by throwing up obstacle after obstacle to talks. The bombing came less than two weeks after Major's outrageous proposal for an "elected" negotiating body — in an occupied and gerrymandered sliver of the country of Ireland — that many see as a return to the days of the pro-British Stormont rule. The bomb was a shot across the bow, as one man in Belfast put it.

The cease-fire led to a reduction in tension and more relaxed lives for working people and youth in the north of Ireland. At the same time harassment by the armed forces of the state did not cease. As Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams put it in an article in the February 12 *Guardian*, "We watched as Private Lee Clegg [who had been jailed for shooting dead a young girl] was released and then promoted...as Irish prisoners were mistreated in English jails, as plastic bullets were fired at peaceful demonstrators, as RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary] raids wrecked nationalist homes. We pointed out, with growing desperation, that there could be no negotiated peace without peace negotiations."

Major's stalling flows from the weakness of the British ruling class. They have no plan for what they want to come out of negotiations, but know that they cannot expect to take at the negotiating table what they have not won on the ground. However in today's world of increasing instability, economic crisis, and competition between the imperialist countries, they are forced to confront the fact that 75 years of armed repression have failed to break the resistance to British rule in the six counties of Ireland still corralled inside the United Kingdom — as the British state is properly called.

The driving force of this resistance comes from the Catholic working-class ghettos of the north, where two weeks ago 10,000 people marched in protest at the 1972 massacre of civil rights demonstrators by the British army. The march was bigger than in previous years and included for the first time substantial numbers of people from the south of Ireland, showing the effect of the cease-fire in making people more confident to engage in politics.

The British government is also under pressure from its rivals in Washington. The economic and political interests of U.S. imperialism would be far better served by a united Ireland subject to its domination than the current partitioned market in which British imperialism cannot establish stable conditions for business. That's why the Clinton administration has taken its distance from Major and sought to play the peace broker in Ireland. But the U.S. imperialists will have to confront in their turn the aspirations of the Irish people, who have not spent 700 years fighting to throw off British oppression only to kowtow before another master.

There will be no peace in Ireland until it is independent and free. Workers and youth worldwide can help by throwing our weight behind the pickets to defend Irish political prisoners, the marches demanding the British troops get out of Northern Ireland, and the call for all-party talks now.

## National Network on Cuba meets

Continued from Page 10

tion and 300 in Chicago on October 14. In New York, 3,000 people turned out for a similar march on October 21, which coincided with the 50th anniversary commemoration of the founding of the United Nations and the New York visit of Cuban president Fidel Castro. The three demonstrations, as well as a number of other local activities, were initiated by the NNOC.

Most participants described the protests as a modest success. "There was no objective basis for big actions in the streets," said Holly Fincke of the Venceremos Brigade. "Cuba was not a main issue in the press before the October actions. Given this, the size and the youthfulness of those who turned out, as was the case in San Francisco, can be pointed to as positive."

Carol Thomas of the Boston-based July 26 Coalition said the success of the October actions should be viewed in light of numerous other activities in defense of Cuba, which took place around the world in September and October, "including solidarity conferences in India and South Africa, and marches of thousands in Italy, Britain, and other countries."

The considerable number of college students and other young people who came to the action in New York, Thomas noted, points to the need for the network to do more work in solidarity with Cuba among youth.

Thomas, along with Maceo Dixon and Tanya Teller, also from Boston, reported that a faculty-student committee based at Roxbury Community College in that city has invited two Cuban youth leaders to do a speaking tour of college campuses across the United States. Dixon said that more than 100 professors and student leaders have sent invitations to Iroel Sánchez and Maika Guerrero, two researchers at the Center for Studies of Youth in Havana, to speak at U.S. schools in April.

The NNOC agreed to encourage its affiliates to support and build this effort.

### U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange

Ten youth were among the delegates at the Los Angeles meeting, including Ty Moore and Scott Winn, who were representing the Seattle-Cuba Friendship. Moore said that his group had just organized a fundraiser with 70 people to build a youth brigade to Cuba this summer, which the network had decided to organize at its last meeting in Miami. "Over 20 young people have already signed up for this brigade," he said. Other participants reported similar responses to this project in their cities.

The Network decided to organize up to 500 young people to go on this trip, which is now called the "U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange." The dates for the trip are July 24-August 5. Participants will be hosted by the Union of Young Communists (UJC) in Cuba and will take part in the July 26 celebration commemorating the 1953 attack on the Moncada barracks by fighters of the July 26 Movement.

Young people on this brigade will stay with families in Santiago de Cuba and Guantánamo. They will join Cuban volunteers doing work in agriculture in those areas, participate in a summit of U.S. and Cuban youth, and spend several final days in Havana.

The New York-based Cuba Information Project will organize the travel. The NNOC has set up a task force with more than a dozen representatives of political organizations and local coalitions that belong to the network, which is charged with organizing outreach for the youth exchange.

The NNOC also set guidelines to ensure the broadest possible participation of youth from across the United States on this trip. National organizations can have up to

30 members on the brigade and delegations from each city may not exceed 10 percent of the total number of participants.

"The U.S. government has lied to us about Cuba and about Fidel Castro," Adrianna Sánchez of the Twin Cities Network on Cuba told Channel 34 at the February 11 press conference. "We demand an end to the travel ban and the right to see Cuba for ourselves." Sánchez and Lorena Gaibor of the New Jersey Network on Cuba told the press the network plans to reach out to the NAACP, South Christian Leadership Conference, National Organization for Women, and numerous student and other groups not affiliated to the NNOC in order to build the U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange.

Several youth activists noted that they became involved with the network last year as a result of the work of local Cuba coalitions building a U.S. delegation of more than 200 to the Cuba Lives International Youth Festival, which took place in Havana in August. Festival participants had agreed on the idea of this youth exchange.

The NNOC task force ordered a pamphlet produced by Avri, the editorial house affiliated with the UJC, with speeches by Fidel Castro and other Cuban leaders at the Cuba Lives festival. The booklet will be used as a tool to build the upcoming youth exchange.

### CTC congress

The NNOC meeting also decided to urge affiliated groups to build a delegation of trade unionists, including union officials and rank-and-file workers, to go to Cuba to attend the April 25-30 congress of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers.

"The 17th Congress of the CTC will probably be one of the most important political meetings in Cuba this year," said Ignacio Meneses in his report to the meeting. Meneses is the coordinator of the Detroit-based U.S.-Cuba Labor Exchange, which is organizing the U.S. delegation to the CTC congress.

A few participants said that this trip offers the opportunity to reach out to factory workers and unionists involved in recent battles in the labor movement — like the Detroit news strikers, United Auto Workers members at Caterpillar fighting for a contract, and the building maintenance workers in New York City who won a contract after a one-month strike in January.

Representatives of several member groups reported on plans for additional trips and material aid campaigns to Cuba. The Venceremos Brigade, for example, is organizing its 27th contingent to the Caribbean island in April.

Meneses reported that CTC general secretary Pedro Ross and other Cuban trade union leaders will address a Cuba solidarity conference in Montreal March 15-16. The network agreed to help organize delegations from several U.S. cities to this meeting as well.

The meeting also decided to support efforts by the Atlanta Network on Cuba to build a welcoming event in Atlanta this summer, when the Cuban athletes arrive to participate in the Olympic games in that city. The group will also organize social and other activities during the Olympics the Cuban athletes who attend.

An election for national coordinators of the network was held. Leslie Cagan of the Cuba Information Project, Andrés Gómez of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, Marilyn McKenna of the Chicago Cuba Coalition, and Ignacio Meneses of the U.S.-Cuba Labor Exchange were elected unanimously. Holly Fincke, a former coordinator, declined nomination.

The NNOC set its next meeting for September 28-29 in Pittsburgh.

## Socialist trade unionists meet

Continued from Page 5

among working-class fighters today to expand the knowledge of and support for the Cuban revolution and work together with others to defend Cuba. This begins with sales of the *Episodes* book and other Pathfinder titles on the Cuban revolution, which show that it is possible for the working class to take power. And unlike any other country in the world, there continue to be millions of workers and youth on the island who would like nothing better than the extension of the socialist revolution, and are eager to discuss with others around the world who would also like to make that happen.

A rich package of activities in defense of Cuba was pointed to at the meeting. These include the possibility for U.S. workers to participate in the national convention of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers in Havana, April 25-30; the upcoming tour of Cuban youth leaders in the United States being sponsored by the Faculty-Student Cuban Youth Lectures Committee in Boston; and the youth exchange to Cuba July 24 to August 5, hosted by the Union of Young Communists.

The youth exchange has recently been adopted as a national campaign of the National Network on Cuba, which will be coordinating the effort to get hundreds of young people from throughout the United States to visit Cuba. A special conference in solidarity with Cuba is also being held in Montreal March 15-16, sponsored by

some of the main trade union organizations in Canada.

One of the central activities for all socialist workers this spring will be efforts to build the upcoming national gathering of the Young Socialists in Minneapolis, Minnesota, April 6-7. The national trade union leadership of the Socialist Workers Party pledged that every member of the party in the trade unions would strive to bring a young co-worker or other youth to the convention. The meeting voted that doing this should be any older worker's registration requirement.

This perspective flowed from the discussions of the two day leadership meeting, which aimed to build the type of fighting organization that will win the best of the young generation to revolutionary politics.

It reaffirmed the perspective of the founding document of the communist movement in the United States when it took the name Socialist Workers Party. Adopted in 1938 as the war drive and depression dominated politics, it states that the communist movement "pays particular attention to the young generation of the proletariat. All of its policies strive to inspire the youth with belief in its own strength and in the future. Only the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of the youth can guarantee the preliminary successes in the struggle; only these successes can return the best elements of the older generation to the road of revolution. Thus it was, thus it will be."



# Paperworkers return to work under new terms

BY JOHANNA RYAN

DECATUR, Illinois — Members of the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU) at A.E. Staley Manufacturing Co. here began returning to work January 22 under the terms of a company back-to-work offer. The members of UPIU Local 7837 accepted Staley's offer by a vote of 280 to 220 the week before Christmas. This marked the end of the fight against the company lockout of the unionists which began on June 27, 1993.

The new contract offers jobs to no more than 350 of the over 750 workers who were locked out in 1993. According to some of the workers, Staley reserves the right to contract out any jobs it sees fit, with maintenance workers and the labor pool being the first targets. The provision for 12-hour rotating shifts, which had been the biggest point of opposition among Staley workers, will remain, although rotations will now occur every 28 days rather than every three days as the company had first demanded.

As of mid-January, only about 180 union members had signed up to return to their jobs. Workers who are not reemployed have been promised lump-sum severance payments of roughly \$18,000 under the agreement, reported unionists who had been locked-out.

Local 7837's fight against the company's attempts to worsen conditions for workers in the plant goes back to October of 1992, when Staley, a corn processor, unilaterally imposed a "final offer" the members had rejected. Rather than striking, the local decided on an in-plant strategy of "working to rule" coupled with a publicity campaign against Staley and its corporate parent, British-based Tate & Lyle. After eight months the company locked out the union, accusing it of sabotage and moved rapidly to restart production, using both local temporary agencies and about 500 workers recruited from several states.

Over the next two years the fight at Staley became known to unionists across the United States and internationally. Dozens of locked-out workers became "Road Warriors" who spread the word about their struggle in union halls, churches, and college campuses.

In 1994, workers at Caterpillar's large heavy equipment plant in Decatur and at

Bridgestone/Firestone tire plants joined nationwide strikes against union-busting moves by their own employers, and the Staley workers gained some important allies. "The solidarity among those three unions was a powerful thing for a time," recalled Frankie Travis, a former Staley worker who has traveled around the country speaking on the fight against Staley. "We need more of that kind of unity." Thousands of union supporters from other cities came to Decatur for three sizable solidarity marches called by the three unions.

After being locked out for 18 months, union members received the news in January 1995 that the National Labor Relations Board in Washington, D.C., ruled that A.E. Staley was justified in locking out the union and hiring permanent replacements. As the fight for a contract dragged on, members of the UPIU voted on March 14, 1995, to rescind the union bargaining committee's authority to decide what might be an acceptable Staley offer and direct negotiators to bring in a proposed contract as soon as possible for vote by the membership.

A July 1995 offer from Staley that contained a few changes from the "final offer" was rejected by 60 percent of union members. By December 22, when UPIU members were set to vote on the company's latest offer, members of the United Auto Workers at Caterpillar had been sent back to work by the union heads under the company's 1992 imposed contract. At Bridgestone/Firestone, where the union had made an unconditional back-to-work offer six months earlier, hundreds of workers were still waiting to be rehired. A boycott campaign against Pepsi, the single largest customer for Staley's corn sweeteners, had not forced Pepsi to drop Staley after a year of efforts.

Local 7837 also held elections in December 1995. The new union president, Jim Shinall, ran as a challenge to the local's leadership, claiming that their "militant" tactics had antagonized the company, and promising to win something for workers with a more flexible approach to bargaining. Shinall and his efforts to end the fight against the lockout were featured on the front page of the



Militant/Kay Henricksen

The San Diego Teachers Association reached an agreement with the school district as thousands of striking teachers returned to work February 8. The teachers, who had been working without a contract since July 1, 1995, went on strike February 1. They were demanding a pay hike after going five years without a wage increase.

Sunday edition of the *Herald & Review*, Decatur's big-business daily. Ten days after Shinall was elected, a contract almost identical to the one rejected in July was ratified.

Staley workers express different views on why the lockout ended this way. While most union members I spoke with agreed that the new contract registered a defeat, opinions varied as to how this happened or what else could have been done.

On picket duty a few days before the vote, Gary Still remarked that unions would keep losing as long as the labor laws were stacked against them. "We need to put some money in some pockets and get some legislation" to outlaw permanent replacements, he said.

All three pickets on that shift said that they would probably vote to accept the contract, although they felt the local had been right to take the company on and fight.

Other workers blamed top labor leaders, including the UPIU international tops,

who had publicly pressured Local 7837 to settle. Gary Lamb, the local's incoming vice president, pointed out that despite lavish promises made at the October 1995 AFL-CIO convention, little aid had been forthcoming from the federation's leaders, old or new.

"There's no way I can call this a victory," commented Dan Lane, a leading union activist, "but there were some things we achieved, like just setting the example of a fight. That's what kept bringing people back to Decatur." Boycotting Staley's corporate allies like Pepsi and State Farm Insurance, he said, "could at least enhance our chances, but it couldn't give us the decisive victory." The real solution, Lane said, had to involve mass picketing and reaching beyond the union membership to involve all working people. "If you're going to win, there's got to be a commitment to making the community part of the struggle from the start. Because really, the community is workers."

## LETTERS

### Million Man March I

I was somewhat surprised by the *Militant's* coverage of the rulers' response to the Million Man March (January 22 issue — article by Steve Clark "Stop NATO war drive, emulate Cuban road; socialists organize campaign to defend Yugoslav workers state"). Following the action, "their [big-business press and commentators] class instincts told them they hated what they saw." The *Militant* didn't give any examples of this in the cited article, or, I believe, in its coverage in the weeks following the October 16 action.

The coverage I saw was more favorable following the action. Report-back "town meetings," which often included prominent capitalist politicians, received prominent and positive coverage. Even the sleazy TV tabloids seemed to join the chorus, with features on Black men adopting "unwanted" Black children or serving as role models or mentors for "troubled" youth. Here in Detroit, organizers of the march joined the cops and the mayor in the annual antiyouth campaign around "Devil's Night."

Did the Million Man March have the political character of "working-class mobilization"? Was there a marked difference between the banners, signs, and chants which predominated in the march from the approach of march organizers like Farrakhan and Chavis? Were there a large number of slogans calling for freeing Mumia Abu-Jamal or Geronimo Pratt, or opposing the

death penalty? Did marchers see this action as fighting to defend affirmative action, and to significantly raise the minimum wage and social entitlements like welfare, AFDC, and social security? Was there a clear demand for a massive public works program and defense of Black family farmers?

I don't want to imply that there is some "litmus test" or checklist an action has to pass to merit support, but doesn't there have to be some challenge to at least some of the policies of the capitalist government, the greatest obstacle to the eradication of racism in the world? Was the Million Man March a protest action, either explicitly or implicitly? And if so, in what way? Was the *Militant* wrong not to promote it and build it?

Gary Boyers  
Detroit, Michigan

### Million Man March II

I hope the *Militant* will return to some of the themes in the October 30 article, "Why big turnout for Million Man March?" In particular I think it would be useful to write further and in greater political detail about the specific evolution of Malcolm X, why he left the Nation of Islam and the character of the Organization of Afro-



American Unity he set out to build.  
Geoff Mireolowitz  
Seattle, Washington

### On Ethiopian Jews

I found this article [on Ethiopian Jews in issue no. 6, Feb. 12, 1996] somewhat misleading and vague. The paragraph describing the Ethiopian's immigration to Israel states that "they were brought to special 'absorption centers' where, according to the state, they would be prepared to integrate into Israeli society."

Most Jews that immigrate to Israel live in absorption centers when they arrive. They often stay for six months to a year and while there receive intensive Hebrew language study, called *Ulpan*, as well as aid in adapting to Israeli society. This, of course, includes a heavy dose of Zionist nationalism. Special classes for new im-

migrants are set up in public schools as well.

I know this from my own experience having immigrated to Israel in 1981. I lived in an absorption center for about 6 months, and then went to public school, where I attended some classes for immigrants only. I was also there during the first airlift from Ethiopia, where several thousand came to live in my town, Carmiel.

My point is that these absorption centers are not something specifically set up for the Ethiopian Jews. The very real discrimination was not documented in the way I am used to from the *Militant*, statistics on employment and housing, etc.

It would have been useful to compare the treatment of the Ethiopian Jews to other minority communities, i.e. Moroccan Jews, or even Russian Jews, in terms of housing and employment. These immigrants, primarily workers, have been at the forefront of the battle in the occupied territories. Denied decent housing and adequate employment, and bribed with a promise for better prospects, they have been virtually forced into settling these territories, once again cannon fodder for the Zionist imperialists.

I also don't think the article explained what the main slogans of the Ethiopian protesters meant. I believe what is meant by "...and we are just as Jewish as you are!" refers to the Orthodox Jews' disbelief in the authenticity of the Ethiopian claim to being a "lost tribe" of Jews that dates back centuries.

In short, there are many that charge they are not, in fact, Jews. The charge stems from the racists being unable to believe that Blacks could be Jews.

I would also be interested in a clarification on the suicide statistic. How much greater is the rate of suicide among Ethiopians than others? This statistic is rather abstract without clarification.

I think this protest is very significant. The Ethiopians are expressing the pent-up frustration and outrage at the racist and arrogant treatment they've experienced. As the Israeli capitalists attempt to deal with the deepening crisis of capitalism, the Israeli working class will mobilize. This raises the possibility for a broader social movement in Israel that could link up with the struggle for national self-determination for the Palestinians.

Abby Tilsner  
New York, New York

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.

## 20,000 students rally across Canada

BY VICKY MERCIER

MONTREAL — Chanting "So-so-so, Solidarité," (Solidarity) a crowd of 5,000 college and university students marched through downtown Montreal as part of a cross-Canada day of action February 7, protesting cuts in education and social programs by the federal government. Among the banners in both French and English were, "Education is a right, not a privilege," "Why not tax a bank," and "Social programs don't cause debt."

In all, more than 20,000 students in some 30 cities across Canada joined the protest action. It was called by the Canadian Federation of Students (CFS) and the college and university student organizations in Quebec.

The largest mobilizations took place in British Columbia. About 7,000 each marched in Victoria and Vancouver with rallies in other cities. In Toronto, about 2,000 young people rallied in front of the provincial government legislature.

Bonny Shotropa, a 40-year-old student at Douglas College in Vancouver, said: "I'm worried about tuition fees going up and also cuts to social programs because I'm a single mom on social assistance."

"If we can come together, we can change things. If we come together — all the universities and colleges — the government can't do what it wants," said Cathy De-Lucia from Dawson College at the march in Montreal.

The federal cutbacks, announced in February 1995, aim to reduce by Can\$7 billion, the transfers to provinces for health, education, and welfare, as well as funding for unemployment insurance. On September 20 last year, 8,000 students marched in Montreal.

The transfer payments for education and social programs will henceforth be made in one lump sum to the provinces beginning in April. Each provincial government will decide how the funds are spent. Many students say this erodes the principle of national standards and see it as Ottawa's way to divide and decentralize opposition to the cuts.

**'We're strong when we're all together'**

An important focus of the protests was the huge profits that banks and corporations are making. One student leader who spoke at the end of the Montreal rally said, "It doesn't make sense that students should be obliged to go deeper into debt while the five biggest banks make record profits." He received lengthy applause when he declared, "We're strong when we're all together: Quebecois, anglophone, and Native Indian."

Student leaders of the CFS say the federal government should collect billions in deferred and unpaid taxes of wealthy individuals and corporations rather than make

further cuts in education and social programs. In many cities, demonstrators marched through financial districts to underscore these points.

Many marchers in Montreal carried Quebec flags. Olivier, a student at a community college in Sorel, was asked how he



10,000 students marched in Montreal Jan. 25, 1995, against Ottawa's education cuts. Workers and youth throughout Canada continue to mobilize against cutbacks.

thought the fight against the cuts could be won. He responded, "Vote yes in the next referendum" for Quebec independence. Olivier came to the demonstration by bus along with 100 other students from the community college.

In Vancouver, dozens of teachers came out to the demonstration. Throughout British Columbia, eight locals of the Col-

lege Institute Educator's Association staged rotating strikes for several weeks before the marches, following a breakdown of negotiations.

Students are debating whether to support the teachers' strike. Some activists from Vancouver City College's Langara

campus argued that students getting by on loans didn't need to support teachers making \$50,000 a year.

In Toronto, several hundred demonstrators broke through barricades and entered the Ontario legislature. Some windows and furniture were smashed. Four youth were arrested and face criminal charges of "intimidating a legislature." They are

charged under a never-before-used law dating from 1892 that carries a maximum sentence of 14 years.

**Defending unemployment insurance**

Other important mobilizations against government cuts occurred in the same week as the student protest.

On February 5, more than 5,000 people across the Gaspé region of eastern Quebec and the four provinces of Atlantic Canada mobilized to protest cuts in unemployment insurance. The largest rally was 2,500 people in Tracadie, northern New Brunswick, where many protesters carried Acadian flags. The Acadians are a French-speaking oppressed nationality in that region.

On February 9, workers in Gaspé once again protested the unemployment insurance reform. This time, 3,000 workers in many villages blocked the main highway through the region for several hours.

On February 6, 750 striking workers at the Bridgestone-Firestone tire factory in Joliette, Quebec voted by 84 percent to reject a company "final offer" and continue their strike.

Hundreds of coal miners and their families in Sydney, Nova Scotia, confronted the federal government minister responsible for the Cape Breton region over his refusal to invest money in opening a new coal mine. Twelve hundred miners were laid off from Phalen Mine in November. It is being closed because of unsafe roof conditions.

Provincial government workers in Ontario will soon be staging the first strike vote in their history against threatened layoffs of thousands.

*Mick McDonald from Toronto and Beverly Bernardo from Vancouver contributed to this article. Vicky Mercier is a member of the Young Socialists and the International Association of Machinists at Canadair in Montreal.*

## Athens, Ankara military nearly clash

BY GEORGES MEHRABIAN

ATHENS, Greece — On the night of January 31, Greek and Turkish fleets came within minutes of opening fire on each other. Over 20 ships from both countries were assembled in the eastern Aegean, ready to fight over a 10-acre rocky islet four miles off the Turkish coast. The entire Greek fleet had received orders to depart from bases near Athens and Crete to the conflict zone.

Washington stepped in and pressured both sides, who are NATO members, to back off. Under the U.S. "compromise," both fleets and their flags were withdrawn

from the area.

The conflict is of great interest to the governments in Washington, Bonn, and other imperialist centers as well. By jumping in to head off the dispute ahead of any of the powers in Europe, Washington reinforced its dominant role in the region. German capital, which has heavy investments in Turkey, was dealt a setback. Report after report in the big-business media confirmed this assessment. "U.S. polices Aegean 'while EU sleeps'" read a headline in the February 9 *Financial Times* of London, for example.

This incident is the latest flare-up in very tense relations between the two countries. The last brush with war occurred in 1987 over a Turkish attempt to carry out exploratory drilling for oil in the Aegean Sea. The Greek government claims the Aegean continental shelf and all its possible mineral deposits.

More recently, the capitalist governments have wrangled over Athens's demand for 12 miles of territorial waters. Turkey's caretaker prime minister, Tansu Ciller, stated February 2, "If the territorial waters are taken to 12 miles, I will speak clearly, this is a cause for war." According to U.S. officials, to diffuse the crisis the new Greek government promised not to exercise that option.

**Competition between Ankara, Athens**

The Greek and Turkish governments have also been competing aggressively for oil pipeline deals with Russia and the other soviet republics. Greek capitalists are fighting for a pipeline that would have as a terminal the town of Alexandroupolis in northern Greece, while their Turkish counterparts want a pipeline terminal in Turkey.

The 1974 invasion of Cyprus and the continued occupation of the northern part

of the island by Turkish troops also remains an issue of conflict.

The crisis came at a time of increasing difficulties for both capitalist governments. Ciller, whose True Path Party coalition government was forced to resign last fall due to massive strike wave in opposition to her austerity plans, has yet to form a new government.

Costas Simitis, the new Greek prime minister from the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), had yet to be sworn in on January 31. He had presented an ambitious plan for privatizations and austerity to the parliament on January 29. The Greek rulers had been without an effective government for close to two months as rival factions within PASOK fought it out over who would replace Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu, who is hospitalized and on life support.

Both Ankara and Athens are looking toward the Balkans, the Caucasus, and the Middle East for new markets as a way to increase their profits. This reality in the context of world depression is pushing the Greek imperialists and Turkish capitalists to more and more confrontation and armament. A Turko/Greek war is a genuine possibility in the context of imperialism's war drive against Yugoslavia.

Today Greek troops as well as Turkish ones are stationed in Bosnia as part of NATO's partition and intervention force under Washington's domination.

Opposition to the compromise agreement over the Aegean island was sharp and rapid from bourgeois forces, as well as the labor officialdom, in Greece and Turkey. Miltiádis Evert, leader of the Greek opposition party New Democracy, stated "The removal of Greek troops and the lowering of the Greek flag constitutes

Continued on Page 12

## 'Yes to Quebec independence'

BY KATY LEROUGETEL

MONTREAL — Carole Caron, the Communist League candidate in the federal by-elections called for March 25, launched her socialist campaign in the Montreal riding of St. Laurent on February 10. Speaking at a Militant Labor Forum entitled "No to the Partition of Quebec, Yes to Independence," she said, "My campaign will present a fighting alternative to the social crisis deepening around us."

"Please join us in walking the picket lines of the strikers at Bridgestone/Firestone and Kenworth," Caron, 39, continued. "Come with us to the two days of strike and action against the provincial government cutbacks in Ontario to be held in Hamilton February 23-24, to the women's rights actions being planned for International Women's Day, and to the conference in solidarity with Cuba in Montreal on March 15-16 being organized by solidarity groups

and trade unions."

The front-runner in St. Laurent is Stéphane Dion, the federal government's point man in Ottawa's drive against Quebec's right to independence. He was appointed Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs one month ago.

Caron, who is a member of the International Association of Machinists, explained, "I work at the Canadair aircraft manufacturing plant located in the riding. My boss, Laurent Beaudoin, is the most prominent Quebec capitalist to have spoken out forcefully against Quebec rights during last year's referendum on sovereignty."

"Several of my co-workers were surprised and pleased when they heard I am running against Beaudoin's cronies."

For more information on the campaign, please contact: Socialist Campaign, 4581 St. Denis, Montreal, Quebec, H2J 2L4.