

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Political weapons for today's fighters

— PAGE 7

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Illinois officials reject Curtis parole there

BY NORTON SANDLER

DES MOINES, Iowa—On February 16, Illinois state officials told the lawyer for imprisoned political activist Mark Curtis that they have rejected his request to be paroled in that state. The reason authorities gave was that he does not have any "family" in Illinois.

Meanwhile in Iowa, Curtis supporters report that he has sent three separate articles to the *Militant* newspaper over the past two months, none of which have arrived at the paper. Curtis has filed two requests to prison authorities for information regarding the articles, without response.

Curtis was framed on charges of attempted rape and burglary by Des Moines, Iowa, police in 1988. He was involved in a campaign to defend 17 Mexican and Salvadoran co-workers from the Swift meat-packing company who had been seized by federal immigration agents in a raid on the plant. A few hours after speaking out in Spanish at a meeting organized to confront the federal agents, Curtis was arrested and beaten by the cops, who called him a "Mexican lover" as they bludgeoned him.

After serving over seven years in prison, Curtis won his parole last fall. He remains in the Iowa state penitentiary awaiting permission from Illinois officials for an out-of-state parole.

Curtis applied to move to Chicago, where his wife Kate Kaku lives.

Curtis's attorney Jed Stone was informed by Illinois state corrections official Vivian Sneed that voluminous evidence submitted by Curtis documenting his ten-year relationship with Kaku did not prove that they were "family." Unlike Iowa, Sneed told Stone, Illinois does not recognize "common law" marriage.

In addition, she said, the evidence of

Continued on Page 11

NATO flexes military muscle in Yugoslavia

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

The imperialist occupation force in Yugoslavia once again flexed its military muscles when U.S. Col. Andy Batiste threatened to use A-10 anti-tank planes and Kiowa attack helicopters in a provocation with Belgrade-backed Serb forces February 18. The incident occurred as NATO troops tried to gain access to an arms depot in eastern Bosnia.

"I have above me air support.... I have artillery targeted right here where we are standing and we can use it if we have to," Batiste said to a Serb officer who blocked his entry to the depot in Han Pijesak. "I want you to know that I am going in with or without your permission," he declared with imperial arrogance.

Under the Dayton agreement rammed down the throats of the warring parties in Yugoslavia, imperialist invaders claim the right to inspect any weapons site in

Continued on Page 12

Buchanan win is based on counterfeit socialism

Ultrarightist builds incipient fascist movement

BY NAOMI CRAINE

As his campaign for the Republican presidential nomination picks up steam, Patrick Buchanan has been presenting an increasingly open national socialist, that is counterfeit socialist, program. He purports to speak in the interests of "American workers," against "big business" and the political "establishment."

Fight Buchananism!

See editorial, page 14

With this message Buchanan came in first in the New Hampshire primary for the Republican presidential nomination February 20, winning 27 percent of the vote. Senator Robert Dole, the former front-runner, trailed second with 26 percent.

In speeches filled with vivid, popular demagoguery, Buchanan — who has pointed in the past with admiration to his father's heroes: fascist leader Francisco Franco of Spain, Sen. Joseph McCarthy, and Gen. Douglas MacArthur — is appealing to the emotional energies of people who, under crisis conditions, can find no way forward to destroy the liberal democracy that has failed so horribly and replace it with something historically progressive. In the process, Buchanan is building an incipient fascist movement, solidifying a core of supporters committed to his ultrarightist agenda.



Some 1,200 people line up for job in New Hampshire 1991. Buchanan's anti-capitalist demagoguery wins hearing during period of world depression.

Hot on the campaign trail, he pushes his fake anticapitalism.

"You watch the establishment," Buchanan told a crowd of supporters two days before winning in New Hampshire primary. "All the knights and barons will be riding into the castle, pulling up the

drawbridge because they're coming. All the peasants are coming with pitchforks after them."

In one of his typical stump speeches — increasingly described as "red meat" in the capitalist press — he at

Continued on Page 11

60,000 visit seventh Havana book fair

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL AND SETH GALINSKY

HAVANA, Cuba — Sixty thousand people visited the Seventh International Havana Book Fair, held here February 7-13. Throughout the week, a common scene near the fair site was that of young people hitching a ride back home with a stack of newly purchased books under their arms.

"I would've come to the fair every day

if I hadn't had exams," remarked Roberto Santana, a university student who has been to the last several book fairs, which are held every two years. He came by the Pathfinder Press booth to see its newest titles and talk with the volunteers staffing the booth. Santana was particularly interested in finding out about recent events in France, where a wave of strikes in December pushed back the government's attempt to cut workers' social security.

The Havana book fair offered 1,500 titles from Cuba and around the world. Fifty-two publishers from 26 countries were represented. Those from Spain had the largest presence. Exhibitors also came from Germany, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, India, Russia, Colombia, and France, among others.

Pickup in Cuban publishing

Sixty-eight Cuban publishing houses and other institutions had literature displays with a wide variety of books and magazines — noticeably more than at the 1994 fair. José Donate Llosa, general director of the Havana book fair, noted in the opening ceremony that "Cuba, which had previously produced five books per capita every year, was seriously affected by the special period," referring to the economic crisis that was precipitated in Cuba in 1989 by the sudden disruption of trade and aid from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. "Book publishing reached a low point in 1993," he stated.

"But the revolution's commitment to the right to read, even throughout the special period, now allows us to point to a pickup in publishing," Donate said, adding that "no other country in the world" could have done what Cuba has done the last seven years. While capitalist governments around the world have cut funding for education and cultural activities, Cuba, despite its economic crisis, has managed to increase such spending the

Continued on Page 6

The Northeast Militant Labor Forum invites you to a

Report back from Havana book fair

New York City

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IN BRIEF

Seoul, Tokyo dispute islands

The South Korean military conducted military exercises February 15 involving destroyers, patrol boats, jet fighters, and reconnaissance planes in response to a sovereignty dispute with Tokyo over a bed of islands located about halfway between the two countries. Japanese foreign minister Yukihiko Ikeda demanded February 9 that Seoul cancel plans to spend some \$20 million to build a 250-foot pier on the largest of the islands.

South Korean president Kim Young Sam angrily canceled a meeting between officials of the two countries planned for February 12 and threatened to junk another meeting scheduled in March. South Korean newspapers reported that the nation's navy and air force were prepared to seize any Japanese fishing boats that cross into South Korean territorial waters.

Yeltsin seeks reelection in Russia

On February 15 Russian president Boris Yeltsin announced he is a candidate for president in the June 16 elections. Yeltsin promised to end delayed payments in wages and pensions as well as his bloody and unpopular war against Chechnya. "We are obliged to untangle the Chechen knot much more quickly — within months," he stated, while ruling out an immediate troop withdrawal.

Hours after announcing his candidacy, Yeltsin fired the head of Russian State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company, Oleg Poptsov. According to the *New York Times*, Yeltsin's aides said he was displeased with the TV coverage of Moscow's assault on the Chechens. Igor Malashenko, the president of NTV, a leading television network, joined Poptsov in a news conference February 16 in a show of solidarity. "The people who are trying to force journalists to engage in propaganda in the long run undermine their own chances of success," he said.

Mandela bans public weapons

South African president Nelson Mandela announced February 15 a ban on spears, clubs, and other weapons at public events. "Let me make it abundantly clear that anyone who elects to defy the laws of the land will be punished fully," he told



South Koreans protest in front of the Japanese embassy in Seoul February 15 against Tokyo's claim to a group of small islands about halfway between the two countries. The dispute involves valuable mineral and fishing rights.

the South African Parliament. Mandela said carrying such weapons to political rallies and marches creates an atmosphere that could easily deteriorate into bloody riots.

Mandela said February 2 that the government would consider all violence and killings as criminal and not as a political issue. Supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) have fomented massacres in KwaZulu-Natal, where some estimate that more than 14,000 people have been killed in a decade of violence. IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi declared that IFP followers would fight to defend their "God-given right to carry their cultural" weapons "whenever they wish."

Caribbean hit by banana dispute

The Clinton administration filed a complaint with the World Trade Organization in mid-February seeking to force the European Union to end its policy of setting aside some of the Union's market for banana producers in Africa, the Pacific and the Caribbean. Edsil Edmonds, St. Lucia

ambassador to the United States and the Organization of American States, told *Carib News* that Latin American banana exporters, especially the U.S. firm Chiquita, already controlled more than two-thirds of the European market and were attempting to capture the entire market at the expense of African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries.

Edmonds said if Washington's complaint is upheld the results could be devastating for countries in the Caribbean, which are already burdened with an over supply of bananas and a drop in prices. Caribbean diplomats in Washington, Brussels, and London, one of whom noted that Chiquita is a large financial contributor to both the Democratic and Republican parties, said the Clinton administration is pressing ahead with the complaint to protect Chiquita's interests.

Workers in Honduras protest

Hundreds of workers took over the streets in Honduras February 12 demanding a minimum wage increase. Union members blocked roads linking central and northern Honduras and some protesters built barricades with burning tires.

Colombia president indicted

Colombian president Ernesto Samper was charged February 14 of illegal enrichment, falsifying documents, fraud, and cover-up by the country's chief prosecutor Alfonso Valdivieso. Samper, engulfed in a political storm since July when his campaign treasurer testified that the campaign received at least \$6 million from cocaine dealers, could face impeachment. In a taped interview with the *New York Times* that he later denied making, Samper said

February 16, "What I am seeking is to be able to leave in a dignified way."

Cops kill another Black youth

Christopher Thomas, a 28-year-old Black man, was shot in the head by a police officer in Paterson, New Jersey, February 13. The killing came one year after a Paterson cop killed 16-year-old Lawrence Meyers.

Some young men threw bottles at the cops, smashing the windshield of a patrol car, after word of Thomas's death spread through the housing project where he was shot. "He wasn't armed. He wasn't killing anybody, so why would anyone shoot him?" asked Joyce Pitts, the 55-year-old aunt of Thomas. "When are we going to get justice here?" one man asked the *New York Times*.

Nazi flags down at Ft. Bragg

The *News & Observer* of Raleigh, North Carolina, reported that U.S. army commanders ordered soldiers of the 82nd Airborne at Fort Bragg to pull down all flags, including Nazi and Confederate flags, because they were divisive and disrupting the base. Three 82nd Airborne paratroopers were charged in December with the murder of two Black people. The police stated two of the GIs were racist skinheads who expressed hatred of Blacks. Five soldiers from the same army division were caught in their barracks in January wearing racist skinhead attire and posing with a Nazi flag for a magazine photographer.

Cases reversed in Philadelphia

The district attorney's office in Philadelphia, which is reviewing 1,400 arrests made from 1987 to 1992, stated that it would seek to reverse 43 new cases because of corrupt cops. This would bring the total number of cases and convictions reversed in the 39th Police District to 99.

Six former cops confessed to planting drugs on people, robbing them, and lying on police reports. Almost half the people whose convictions were overturned filed federal lawsuits or indicated to city officials their intentions to sue, which could cost the city millions of dollars. "An enormous amount of damage has been done," stated Bradley Bridge, a public defender who said he sent prosecutors a new list of cases he wanted overturned. "There are many more to come," he added.

Anti-immigrant order signed

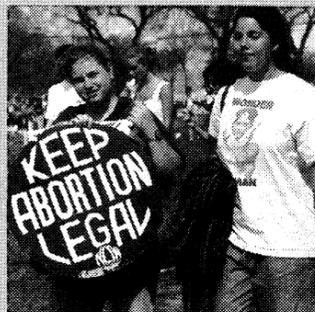
U.S. president Bill Clinton signed an executive order February 13 that would penalize companies that knowingly hire undocumented workers from receiving federal contracts for one year. "American jobs belong to America's legal workers," Clinton blustered. Federal officials raided a construction site in Atlanta arresting 20 Mexicans and Hondurans February 12, in an assault against immigrants linked with the presidential decree.

— MAURICE WILLIAMS

THE MILITANT

Defend abortion rights

The right to safe, legal abortion is central to the struggle for equal rights for women. Rightist terrorist John Salvi, who murdered two clinic workers, is part of a violent wing of anti-abortion activists who seek to eliminate these rights. The 'Militant' is on the scene covering the trial of Salvi and other actions in defense of women's rights. Don't miss a single issue!



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String of fatal accidents shows disregard of rail barons for workers' lives, safety

Maryland: 11 die in head-on collision

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C. — "MARC Train Was Traveling Too Fast," read the headline of the *Washington Post*. "Train wreck probe focuses on MARC engineer," echoed the *Washington Times*. These headlines and other media coverage indicate the direction of an investigation by National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB) authorities into a deadly collision of two passenger trains here February 16.

In less than 48 hours NTSB member John Goglia concluded, "Clearly the focus is moving toward the operator [engineer] and the signal." Though the tracks had not been cleared of all the wreckage Goglia said there was no evidence of defects in the tracks or the braking system on the commuter train.

Over the past decade U.S. railroads have recorded substantial increases in productivity and profits resulting from "cost cutting" measures. These include reduction in crew sizes, a longer workweek for train crews, and centralization of dispatching for the control of train movement. Little attention is being given to the effects of these measures on rail safety.

Eleven people were killed and 26 others hospitalized when the commuter train, operated by Maryland Commuter Rail (MARC), on its way to Washington's Union station collided just north of city limits with a departing Amtrak train headed for Chicago. All of the fatalities were on the four-car commuter train. Among them were the engineer, two crew members, and eight passengers — all young workers on a weekend leave from a federal Job Corps program.

The collision occurred on tracks owned and operated by CSX Transportation railroad. CSX also provides the crews to operate the commuter trains. A CSX spokesperson identified crew members killed as engineer Richard Orr, 43; and conductors James Major and James Quillen, 48 and 53 years old respectively. They had an average of 25 years service on the railroad.

At the time of the collision the commuter train was being pushed by its locomotive from the rear. A cab section with controls in a passenger car at the opposite end allows the engineer to operate the train from that end, with the passenger car as the front of the train. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and other railroad unions have long opposed this procedure because it places passengers at the point of impact in a collision and provides no protection for the engineer.

On impact, the two 130-ton engines of the Amtrak train ripped open the 60-ton lead passenger car of the commuter train. All the fatalities were on that front passenger car. Maryland Transit administrator John Agro Jr. defended the push-pull procedure as "standard operating practice in the railroad industry." He said that pushing on the inbound trip avoids the problem of diesel noise and exhaust at the entrance to Union station and; that turning the train after each trip or placing an engine on each end would be too costly.

Rail barons reject safety devices

Rail companies have also resisted recommendations for reinforced fuel tanks and engine designs that would protect fuel tanks from rupture during a collision or derailment. In this case the mangled passenger car ripped open the fuel tanks on the Amtrak leading engine, spilling diesel fuel into the passenger car.

The fuel ignited into a fireball trapping many of the victims inside. Eight of the 11 people who died were killed by fire, not the crash itself. Investigators have also said that escape routes were poorly marked and that many of the windows failed to open, blocking the escape of those trapped in the burning cars. Many of the bodies were so charred they could only be identified through dental records and DNA tests.

The second engine on the Amtrak train

was equipped with crash resistant fuel tanks. No explanation has been given as to why the older engine without crash resistant tanks was placed in the lead of the train.

For years the movement of trains was controlled by dispatchers who supervised a few operators, each responsible for a limited amount of track known as blocks. That system was dismantled in a drive to cut the workforce. Most railroads now rely on a centralized remote dispatching system. In this case the signals and switches were controlled by the CSX dispatching center in Jacksonville, Florida, where each dispatcher is responsible for 300 to 400 miles of track.

Company had removed signal

The collision occurred as the Amtrak train was attempting to cross over and re-enter another track — it had earlier crossed onto the track the MARC train was on in order to bypass a freight train in its path. The commuter train had made a station stop about three miles away. On approach to the station it should have received a yellow signal, called an approach signal, indicating to the engineer to slow to 30 miles per hour. That should have been followed two miles later by a stop signal so that the Amtrak train could complete its movement through the crossover.

NTSB investigators say they recovered the event recorders from the commuter train, which is supposed to record the locomotive's speed and other operations. Investigators claim it shows the train's speed at 63 mph just after leaving the station.

Just before the crash the device recorded an emergency application of the train's braking system slowing its speed to 40 mph at impact. Goglia told CNN news that he did not suspect a defect in the signal even though it had not yet been tested.

Goglia speculated that the engineer became distracted during the station stop, forgot about the approach signal, and departed the station as if the track ahead was clear. He conceded, however, that under the CSX signal system the approach signal may not have been displayed until after the commuter train had passed that location.

In an "overhaul" of its signal system CSX removed a signal that would have been located after the commuter train left the station. Had it still been in place it would have reminded the engineer he was nearing a stop signal. So far CSX has declined to answer why the signal was removed.

Railroad companies have also resisted installing what is known as the Cab Signal Automatic Train Control System (CSS). Under this system a device in the engine receives and replicates the signal displayed along the tracks. This enables the crew to know what signal indication they are currently running on, even if they inadvertently missed seeing the previous signal. Each signal requires the train to operate at a designated speed. If the train continues to exceed that speed within a set limit of time the train brakes are automatically initiated bringing it to a stop.

In this case the CSS system might have helped to save 11 lives.

Sam Manuel is a conductor for Conrail in Washington, D.C., and a member of United Transportation Union Local 454.

California: train derails, explodes

BY VANESSA KNAPTON

LOS ANGELES — On February 1, a Burlington Northern-Santa Fe (BNSF) freight train carrying hazardous chemicals crashed on the Cajon Pass, near San Bernardino, killing two workers and injuring the engineer. It was one of the worst train accidents to date in the southern California region.

The crash occurred after the brakes malfunctioned and the train began accelerating down the curving mountain pass. The brakeman and conductor jumped off just

before the train hurtled off the tracks at more than 50 miles per hour.

Forty-five of the 49 cars derailed, as well as the four locomotives. Some of the cars contained hazardous materials, such as butyl acrylate and denatured alcohol, used to make paint and adhesives. On impact, the cars exploded into flames and started a fire that lasted for days.

Nearby Interstate 15 was closed for 30 hours due to the smoke and noxious fumes, and several hundred residents in the surrounding area had to be evacuated. The wreckage left chemicals seeping into the ground, potentially contaminating the area's water supply.

This is at least the fourth serious crash on the Cajon Pass in six years. A total of six people have been killed and over 30 injured in these wrecks.

Preliminary reports on the disaster showed that the emergency brakes worked on only the first 10 out of 49 cars. After a 1994 crash on the same pass, the Federal Railroad Administration (FRA) determined that if the train had a working two-way end-of-train device (ETD), the crash could have been prevented. This system allows the crew to make an emergency brake application from the rear of the train.

Two-way brake system 'inoperable'

The two-way devices were conceived as a substitute for the cabooses that used to be at the rear of all freight trains, where a crew member could apply the emergency brakes. They were eliminated by the railroad companies in the mid-1980s as the bosses slashed crews. Although two-way ETDs were installed in many trains following the 1994 wreck, many of them did not work. The train that crashed February 1 had the device, but according to a U.S. Department of Transportation report issued February 6, "such braking systems were not operable."

The FRA issued an emergency order February 6 requiring all railroads using the Cajon Pass to equip trains with a means to apply the brakes from the rear of the train.

Instead of covering the precise reasons for this crash and others, the big-business media have focused on an FBI investigation of possible sabotage. The February 11 *Los Angeles Times* said the FBI is checking into "a signal set improperly" and implied the crew members are at fault for the crash because "no one pushed the button at the back of the train that activated the [two-way ETD] system before the train started down the hill."

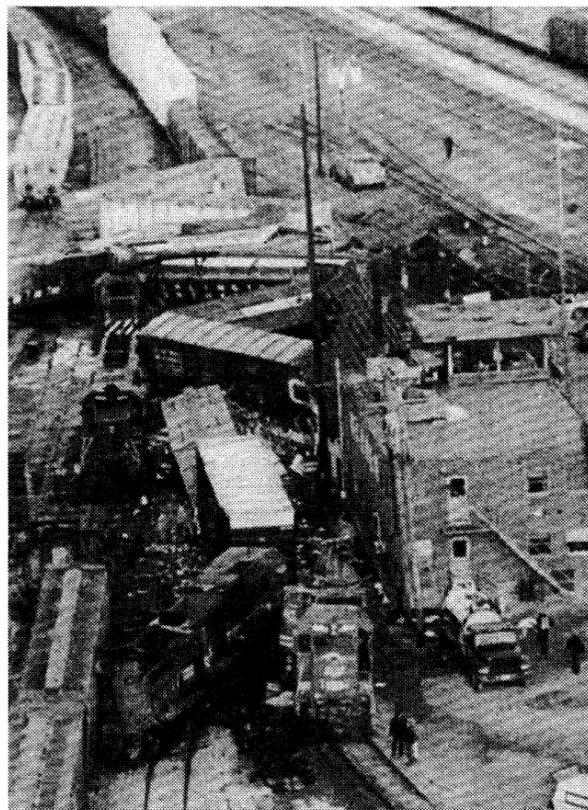
These comments fly in the face of the facts. According to reports in the *San Bernardino County Sun*, the crew members tested the brake system three times before starting down the hill.

Discussion has been raging among unionists in the BNSF yards in Los Angeles about this wreck. "Just to save money, they eliminated three crew members and risked the safety of workers and the general public," said one worker. "But their profits increased!"

"It could have been any one of us," another noted.

Since two-way ETD equipment has not proven reliable, workers are pointing to the need for reinstating cabooses and crew members on the rear of the trains. One BNSF employee said, "They were running trains down this hill for 50 years without wrecks like these. They used to have cabooses!"

Craig Honts and Barry Fatland contributed to this article. Knpton, Honts, and Fatland are members of the UTU and work for the BNSF in Los Angeles.



Rail yard in St. Paul after train crashed into office

Minnesota: train plows into rail yard

BY JON HILLSON

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — A railroad worker's worst nightmare turned into reality here moments before midnight February 14. A Burlington Northern-Santa Fe (BNSF) freight train lost its air brakes, and hurtled off the main line at nearly 50 miles an hour into the Canadian Pacific-Soo Line switching yard.

The 89-car train derailed, smashed into idling engines and unattached railcars, demolished part of the yard office, and sent nine workers to the hospital.

The sight and sound of engines, gondolas, grain hoppers, and boxcars popping off tracks into and onto each other — while crushing the wooden yard office like a matchbox — drove one thought through a stunned Dave Hatch, 50 yards away in an engine. "All I could think was 'how many are dead?'" the soft-spoken senior switchman said.

That no one was killed, worker after worker said, was "beyond belief."

Spokesmen for the BNSF rushed to claim that the accident was a result of "sabotage," an allegation that stamped the initial sensational media coverage here.

Agents for the FBI combed the crash site, and interrogated BNSF carmen, as the railroad announced a \$10,000 reward for anyone providing information leading to a conviction of those responsible for the wreck.

But, as one railroad unionist suggested, echoing the sentiments of many coworkers, "that just gets the BN out of any liability [for the accident]."

Less than 48 hours later, Pat Cariseo, a spokesman for the National Transportation Safety Board stated that the collision "was an accident."

Many workers, however, believe the wreck was an accident waiting to happen. "We struck for 47 days [in 1994] because we know the railroad's not safe," said veteran CP-Soo switchman Jeff Grab. "But the politicians didn't listen."

As a result of the ensuing concessions contract, Soo Line crews, like those of other freight carriers, were slashed to a conductor only, along with an engineer. The brakeman's classification was virtually abolished as part of the profit-driven assault by the rail barons on railroad labor and union rights.

"You cut the crew, you take away all the knowledge transferred from one generation to another," Grab said, "and you take away one set of eyes to watch with."

This cutback did away with the cabooses from which brakemen or conductors could

Continued on Page 7

The Fight for Black Freedom

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Malcolm X talking to students at Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama, February 3, 1965, shortly before his assassination. Malcolm argued that the fight against racism is part of a worldwide struggle. "There is no better example of criminal activity against an oppressed people than the role the U.S. has been playing in the Congo," he said in January 1965.

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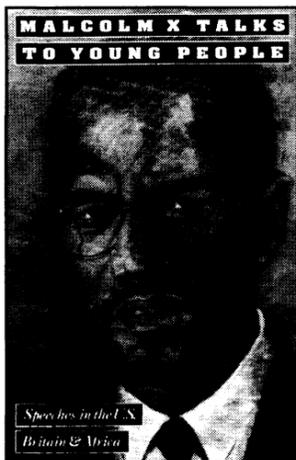
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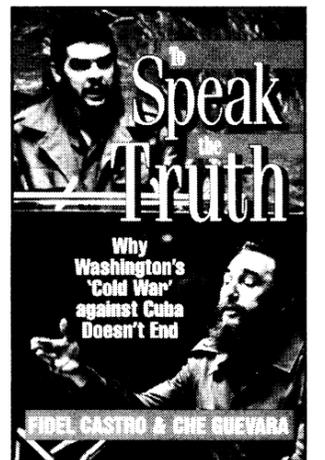


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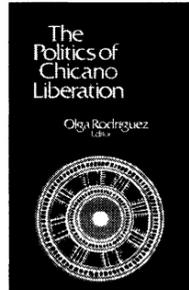
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Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

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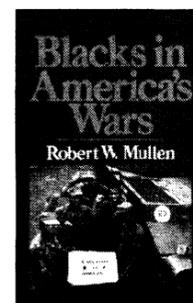


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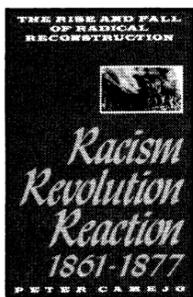
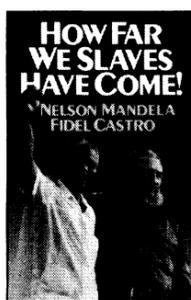
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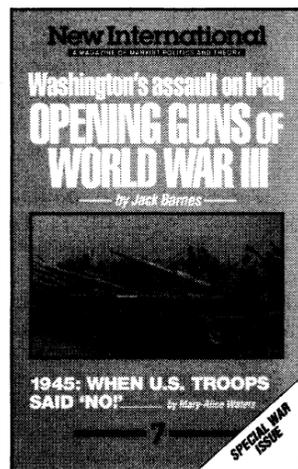
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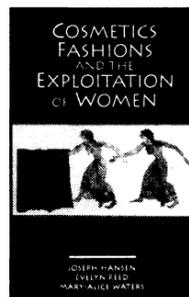
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'If something is yours by right, fight for it'

As part of the *Militant's* commemoration of Black history month, we are printing below excerpts from two speeches given by Malcolm X in the three weeks before his assassination on February 21, 1965.

On February 4, during a visit to Selma, Alabama, Malcolm spoke to 300 young civil rights fighters at Brown Chapel AME Church. The excerpt printed here is taken from *February 1965: The Final Speeches*, where it appears under the title "The house Negro and the field Negro."

The second selection is from a speech Malcolm X gave at the London School of Economics on February 11 to a meeting organized by the school's Africa Society. In it he spoke against U.S. military intervention against liberation forces in the Congo (today Zaire)—a theme he returned to often in the final months of his life.

Washington backed the proimperialist government of Moise Tshombe, who in January 1961 had helped overthrow and murder the leader of the Congo's first independent government, Patrice Lumumba. In 1964, after Tshombe was installed as prime minister, Lumumba's followers led a revolt. Belgian troops and hired mercenaries, including U.S. planes flown by U.S. pilots, were sent to crush the uprising. The selection here is taken from *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*.

Both speeches are © Pathfinder and are reprinted with permission.

BY MALCOLM X

If the federal government does not find it within its power and ability to investigate a criminal organization such as the Klan, then you and I are within our rights to wire Secretary-General U Thant of the United Nations and charge the federal government in this country, behind Lyndon B. Johnson, with being derelict in its duty to protect the human rights of twenty-two million Black people in this country. And in their failure to protect our human rights, they are violating the United Nations Charter, and they are not qualified to continue to sit in that international body and talk about what human rights should be done in other countries on this earth. [Applause].

I have to say this, then I'll sit down. Back during slavery, when Black people like me talked to the slaves, they didn't kill 'em, they sent some old house Negro along behind him to undo what he said. You have to read the history of slavery to understand this.

There were two kinds of Negroes. There was that old house Negro and the field Negro. And the house Negro always looked out for his master. When the field Negroes got too much out of line, he held them back in check. He put 'em back on the plantation.

The house Negro could afford to do that because he lived better than the field Negro. He ate better, he dressed better, and he lived in a better house. He lived right up next to his master — in the attic or the basement. He ate the same food his master ate and wore his same clothes. And he could talk just like his master — good diction. And he loved his master more than his master loved himself. That's why he didn't want his master hurt.

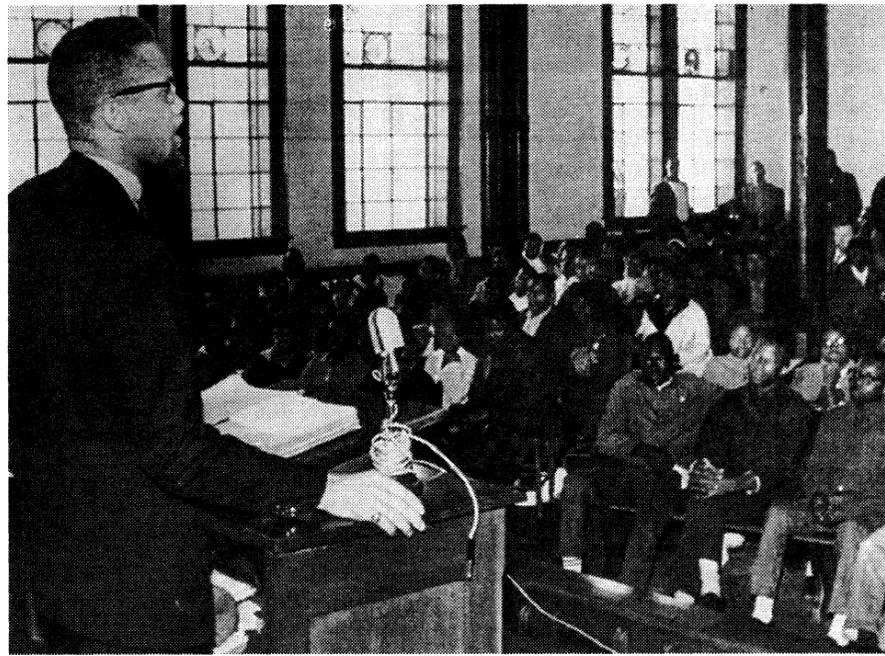
If the master got sick, he'd say, "What's the matter, boss, we sick?" [Laughter] When the master's house caught afire, he'd try and put the fire out. He didn't want his master's house burned. He never wanted his master's property threatened. And he was more defensive of it than the master was. That was the house Negro.

But then you had some field Negroes, who lived in huts, had nothing to lose. They wore the worst kind of clothes. They ate the worst food. And they caught hell. They felt the sting of the lash. They hated their master. Oh yes, they did.

If the master got sick, they'd pray that the master died. [Laughter and applause] If the master's house caught afire, they'd pray for a strong wind to come along. [Laughter] This was the difference between the two.

And today you still have house Negroes and field Negroes. [Applause]

I'm a field Negro. If I can't live in the house as a human being, I'm praying for a wind to come along. If the master won't treat me right and he's sick, I'll tell the doctor to go in the other direction.



Malcolm X addressing young activists in Selma, Alabama, February 4, 1965.

[Laughter] But if all of us are going to live as human beings, as brothers, then I'm for a society of human beings that can practice brotherhood. [Applause]

But before I sit down, I want to thank you for listening to me. I hope I haven't put anybody on the spot. I'm not intending to try and stir you up and make you do something that you wouldn't have done anyway. [Laughter and applause]

I pray that God will bless you in everything that you do. I pray that you will grow intellectually, so that you can understand the problems of the world and where you fit into, in that world picture. And I pray that all the fear that has ever been in your heart will be taken out, and when you look at that man, if you know he's nothing but a coward, you won't fear him. If he wasn't a coward, he wouldn't gang up on you. He wouldn't need to sneak around here. [Applause] This is how they function. They function in mobs — that's a coward. They put on a sheet so you won't know who they are — that's a coward.

No! The time will come when that sheet will be ripped off. If the federal government doesn't take it off, we'll take it off.

Another example of how this imagery is mastered, at the international level, is the recent situation in the Congo. Here we have an example of planes dropping bombs on defenseless African villages. When a bomb is dropped on an African village, there's no way of defending the people from the bomb. The bomb doesn't make a distinction between men and women. That bomb is dropped on men, women, children, and babies. Now it has not been in any way a disguised fact that planes have been dropping bombs on Congolese villages all during the entire summer. There is no outcry. There is no concern. There is no sympathy. There is no urge on the part of even the so-called progressive element to try and bring a halt to this mass murder. Why?

Because all the press had to do was use that shrewd propaganda word that these villages were in "rebel-held" territory. "Rebel-held," what does that mean? That's an enemy, so anything that they do to those people is all right. You cease to think of the women and the children and the babies in the so-called rebel-held territory as human beings. So that anything that is done to them is done with justification. And the progressives, the liberals don't even make any outcry. They sit twiddling their thumbs, as if they were captivated by this press imagery that has been mastered here in the West also.

They refer to the pilots that are dropping the bombs on these babies as "American-trained, anti-Castro Cuban pilots." As long as they are American-trained, this is supposed to put the stamp of approval on it, because America is your ally. As long as they are anti-Castro Cubans, since Castro is supposed to be a monster and these pilots are against Castro, anybody else they are against is also all right. So the American planes with American bombs being piloted by American-trained pilots, dropping American bombs on Black people, Black babies, Black children, destroying them

completely — which is nothing but mass murder — goes absolutely unnoticed....

They take this man Tshombe — I guess he's a man — and try and make him acceptable to the public by using the press to refer to him as the only one who can unite the Congo. Imagine, a murderer — not an ordinary murderer, a murderer of a prime minister, the murderer of the rightful prime minister of the Congo — and yet they want to force him upon the people of the Congo, through Western manipulation and Western pressures. The United States, the country that I come from, pays his salary. They openly admit that they pay his salary....

If you recall reading in the paper, they never talked about the Congolese who were being slaughtered. But as soon as a few whites, the lives of a few whites were at stake, they began to speak of "white hostages," "white missionaries," "white priests," "white nuns" — as if a white life, one white life, was of such greater value than a Black life, than a thousand Black lives. They showed you their open contempt for the lives of the Blacks, and their deep concern for the lives of the whites. This is the press....

No African troops win victories for Tshombe. They never have. The only war, the only battles won by the African troops, in the African revolution, in the Congo area, were those won by the freedom fighters from the Oriental province. They won battles with spears, stones, twigs. They won battles because their heart was in what they were doing. But Tshombe's men from the central Congo government never won any battles. And it was for this reason that he had to import these white mercenaries, the paid killers, to win some battles for him. Which means that Tshombe's government can only stay in power with white help, with white troops.

Well, there will come a time when he won't be able to recruit any more mercenaries, and the Western powers, who are

really behind him, will then have to commit their own troops openly. Which means you will then be bogged down in the Congo the same as you're bogged down over there now in South Vietnam. And you can't win in the Congo. If you can't win in South Vietnam, you know you can't win in the Congo.

Just let me see. You think you can win in South Vietnam? The French were deeply entrenched. The French were deeply entrenched in Vietnam for a hundred years or so. They had the best weapons of warfare, a highly mechanized army, everything that you would need. And the guerrillas come out of the rice paddies with nothing but sneakers on and a rifle [Laughter] and a bowl of rice, nothing but gym shoes — tennis shoes — and a rifle and a bowl of rice. And you know what they did in Dien Bien Phu. They ran the French out of there....

The African revolution must proceed onward, and one of the reasons that the Western powers are fighting so hard and are trying to cloud the issue in the Congo is that it's not a humanitarian project. It's not a feeling or sense of humanity that makes them want to go in and save some hostages, but there are bigger stakes.

They realize not only that the Congo is a source of mineral wealth, minerals that they need. But the Congo is so situated strategically, geographically, that if it falls into the hands of a genuine African government that has the hopes and aspirations of the African people at heart, then it will be possible for the Africans to put their own soldiers right on the border of Angola and wipe the Portuguese out of there overnight.

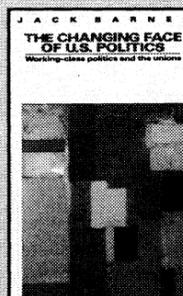
So that if the Congo falls, Mozambique and Angola must fall. And when they fall, suddenly you have to deal with Ian Smith.² He won't be there overnight once you can put some troops on his borders. [Applause] Oh yes. Which means it will only be a matter of time before they will be right on the border with South Africa, and then they can talk the type of language that the South Africans understand. And this is the only language that they understand. [Applause]

I might point out right here and now — and I say it bluntly — that you have had a generation of Africans who actually have believed that they could negotiate, negotiate, negotiate, and eventually get some kind of independence. But you're getting a new generation that is being born right now, and they are beginning to think with their own mind and see that you can't negotiate upon freedom nowadays. If something is yours by right, then you fight for it or shut up. If you can't fight for it, then forget it. [Applause]

1. In 1954 the French army suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of Vietnamese liberation forces at Dien Bien Phu. The U.S. government moved in, however, to replace France as the dominant imperialist power in the region.

2. Ian Smith was the prime minister of the white-minority regime administering the British colony of Southern Rhodesia, today Zimbabwe.

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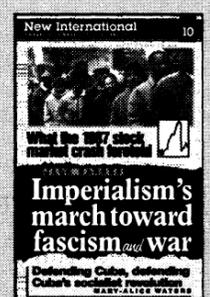
What the 1987 Stock Market Crash Foretold

Defending Cuba, Defending Cuba's Socialist Revolution

Mary-Alice Waters

The Curve of Capitalist Development

Leon Trotsky



\$14

Havana book fair

Continued from front page last two years.

The best-selling titles in the fair's bookstore, which sold in pesos in a section adjoining the exhibition hall, were an array of previously scarce children's books, led by *La edad de oro* (The Golden Age) by José Martí. Also popular were science textbooks and titles by and about Cuban revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara.

Hundreds bought copies of a newly reprinted two-volume selection of works by Guevara, as well as a new book by Editora Política, *Pombo: un hombre de la guerrilla del Che* (Pombo: A Man of Che's Guerrilla), by Cuban brigadier general Harry Villegas, who fought with Guevara in Cuba's revolutionary war in 1957-58 and later in the Congo and Bolivia.

Titles on display at the fair ranged from *Los cultos afrocubanos* (Afro-Cuban Religions) by Cuban writer Miguel Barnet, to an anthology of Antonio Gramsci, to books on virtual reality. A few religious institutions, such as the Cuban Council of Churches, a Baha'i group, and the India-based Ananda Marga, had literature booths as well.

In the exhibition hall, books and other materials were sold in dollars only. Unlike previous years, however, a small quantity of books were bought by Cubans. Since the decriminalization of foreign currency in 1993 a greater number of Cubans now have access to dollars. One high school

country, called Joven Club (Youth Club), encourages young people to learn to use computers and, despite severe limitations of equipment, computer courses in the high schools and universities are highly popular. Cubans are increasingly relying on computer use to overcome the limitations of paper supplies and other resources, as well as a way to communicate internationally and combat imperialist efforts to isolate Cuba.

A number of exhibitors demonstrated their computer services, including projects to make publications available on CD-ROM, such as José Martí's complete works. One booth belonged to the Press Information Center, sponsored by the Cuban Union of Journalists, which now provides quick access to all major Cuban newspapers in digitized form.

One popular display at the fair, sponsored by an Italian-Cuban joint enterprise, was a flight simulator module. Crowds lined up to climb inside a mock cockpit for the demonstration of the use of virtual reality technology.

The hunger for literature here was evident at several book launches. One of the new releases that sparked the greatest discussion was *Mi Verdad* (My Truth) by Vitali Vorotnikov, published by Abril and launched at the fair. Based on Vorotnikov's daily working notes from meetings of the Soviet Communist Party's Political Bureau, of which he was a member from 1983 to 1990, it gives his views on the *perestroika* policies that he believes led to the destruction of the Soviet Union.

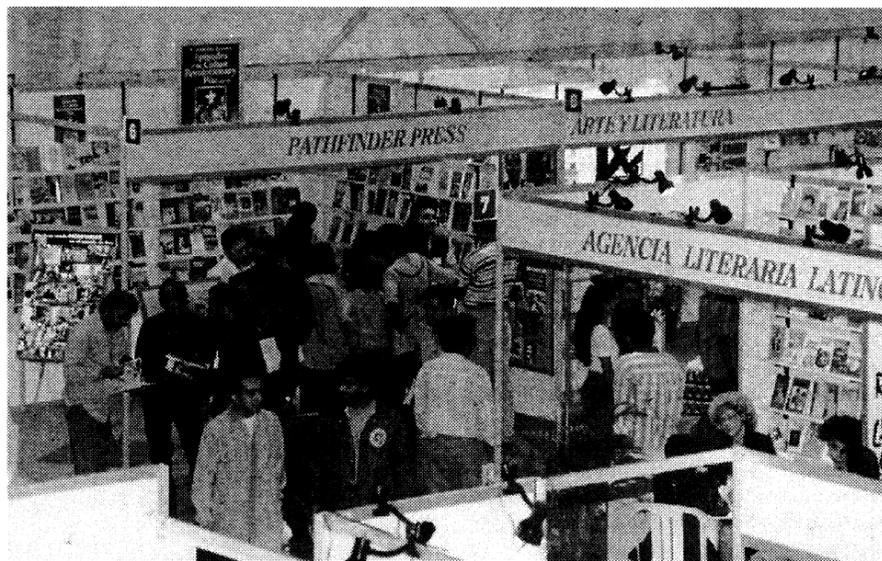
Another title that drew a lot of interest was Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*. Pathfinder launched its new English-language edition of this book at the Havana fair jointly with Editora Política's presentation of *Pombo: A Man of Che's Guerrilla* (see article in last week's *Militant* and facing page).

The Pathfinder booth, which occupied a central location at the book fair, was one of the most popular. Organized by Pathfinder Distribution in London, it was staffed by an international team of volunteers including Pathfinder supporters from Australia, Canada, Iceland, and the United Kingdom. They showed books to and discussed world politics with a nonstop stream of visitors all week. Many were attracted by the large reproduction of the cover of *Episodes* and colorful displays of books by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, Fidel Castro, Guevara, Malcolm X, James P. Cannon, and other revolutionary leaders published by Pathfinder.

A number of people were already familiar with Pathfinder literature. Some Cubans had obtained Pathfinder books from members of the Young Socialists during the Cuba Lives international youth festival here last August. Others had frequented the Pathfinder booth at one or more previous book fairs or international conferences. In some cases, like Roberto Santana, they came to resume a political discussion they had begun at the 1994 fair and to discuss the reading they had done in the meantime.

Irina Valiente, 19, a medical student, came to the Pathfinder stall several days in a row and sat in a chair reading for hours. She finished *Habla Malcolm X* (Malcolm X Speaks) and read an article from *Nueva Internacional* magazine titled, "Defending Cuba, Defending Cuba's Socialist Revolution," by Mary-Alice Waters. "That article is the clearest explanation of the situation in Cuba today that I've ever read," she remarked emphatically, adding that she was planning to organize discussions on it with other youth.

Antoinette Melchor, another student, spent several days reading a Spanish-language edition of *Problems of Women's Liberation* by Evelyn Reed. "Every machista in Cuba should read this book," she said. "It explains a lot of things about



Militant/Brian Taylor

Partial view of the Seventh International Havana Book Fair February 7-13, where 52 publishers from 26 countries were represented. 60,000 people visited the fair.

women's real place in history, like how women were the ones who domesticated animals and began to cultivate plants for food many centuries ago."

Many passersby were drawn to an attractive photo display showing communist workers in numerous cities around the world selling revolutionary books — at picket lines, plant gates, demonstrations, and international book fairs. It helped answer a commonly asked question: Isn't it hard for communists to carry out political work in the imperialist countries?

Interest in political developments in capitalist countries was high. Discussing the Million Man March in Washington, D.C., a 14-year-old high school student referred to Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan and asked, "Wasn't the organizer of that march accused of involvement in the assassination of Malcolm X?" Others expressed curiosity about the pro-independence upsurge in Quebec. Many people had heard about the fight for justice for Mumia Abu-Jamal. A good number knew about the case of framed-up union and political activist Mark Curtis in Iowa and were glad to hear about the state parole board's decision to grant Curtis parole, even though he is still behind bars.

One young man looked for books to shed light on the current imperialist war drive against Yugoslavia. "I think U.S. intervention will only make things worse in Bosnia, but I want to understand what's really going on there," he said.

Of those who had been to the Pathfinder stand at previous book fairs, many had read that publisher's Spanish-language edition of Leon Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed* and now wanted to read the Spanish edition of *In Defense of Marxism* by the same author. Orlando Hernández, a retired dock worker and veteran of Cuban internationalist missions in Angola and Ethiopia, spent hours at the booth reading *The Revolution Betrayed*. "There used to be a stigma against Trotsky in this country," he said. "Now it's possible — and important — to read him" in order to understand the roots of the crisis in the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries.

'History of the Russian Revolution'

One of the most sought-after books this year was Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution*. Many visitors who had studied in the Soviet Union and knew Russian well browsed through a copy of Pathfinder's three-volume edition in the Russian original and asked how they could get copies to study it. Others were interested to hear that Pathfinder is planning to publish a Spanish-language edition of *Lenin's Final Fight: 1922-23*. Volunteers in Havana and Matanzas have been helping to translate documents for this book from Russian to Spanish and to improve existing Spanish translations of Lenin by checking them against the Russian originals.

Not all Cuban visitors at the Pathfinder exhibit were pro-revolution. "Things aren't going well here," said a computer science student. "They always say that those who are against the revolution want to return to the days of [dictator Fulgencio] Batista. But having capitalism isn't the same as returning to that period."

José Gutiérrez, a young security guard at a textile plant outside Havana, had a different view. "We're having meetings in all our factories to discuss how we, as workers, can get Cuba through the special pe-

riod. It hasn't been easy, but together we've managed to resist for the past six years." He was referring to workplace meetings under way to prepare for the April convention of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC).

Gutiérrez returned to the book fair another day to attend the launching of Guevara's *Episodes*. Like many others, Gutiérrez was impressed by the quality and attractiveness of the new Pathfinder edition. "This book is wonderful," he said. "And I'm very happy it's being sold in the United States too."

Answer to lies in 'New York Times'

A number of people who stopped by the Pathfinder booth remarked that they had read in *Perspectiva Mundial* the reply by Mary-Alice Waters, editor of Pathfinder's *The Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che Guevara*, to an article by Thomas Lipscomb in the November 26 *New York Times* on Guevara and the guerrilla campaign he led in Bolivia in 1966-67. Waters's letter, printed in full in the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, and in abbreviated form in the *Times*, refuted Lipscomb's allegation of sharp political differences between Guevara and Fidel Castro.

"It was important to take on the lies in the *New York Times*," commented journalist Víctor Pérez Galdós, who works for Radio Progreso. "The letter answered them point by point and with facts, not general phrases."

At the end of the book fair, the national directors of the Joven Club network invited Pathfinder volunteers to take the book exhibit to a national youth conference they were organizing in the city of Santa Clara, capital of Villa Clara province and Cuba's third-largest city. The entire display was packed up and transported by bus. At the end of the conference the books will be donated to the University of Santa Clara library.

Pathfinder books at previous book fairs have been donated to other libraries in the cities of Havana, Holguín, and Matanzas.

"For us this is an important part of the book fair," said Pathfinder president Mary-Alice Waters, who was in Havana for the event. "We want these books to be available for those in Cuba who are interested in reading them."



Militant/Brian Taylor

Visitors reading at Pathfinder booth. Many were familiar with Pathfinder from previous book fairs.

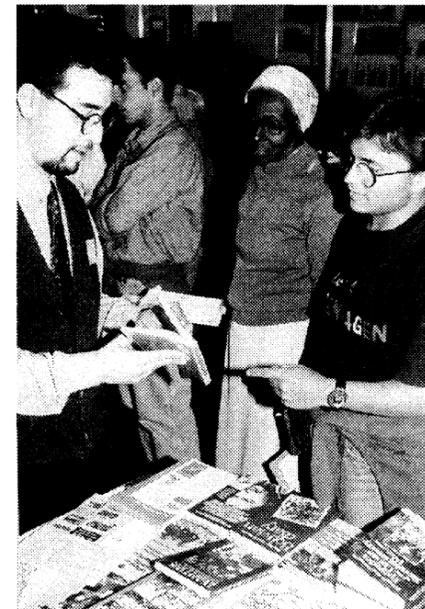
student, for example, came by the Pathfinder stand to get a copy of *Nueva Internacional* with the lead article "The Opening Guns of World War III," which he said was a birthday gift from his father.

New magazines on culture and politics

A range of periodicals were on exhibit. The Union of Young Communists (UJC) and its publishing house, Abril, have resumed publication of several magazines, including the quarterly cultural magazine *El Caimán Barbudo* (The Bearded Alligator), which reappeared after an absence of almost five years.

Two new magazines on culture and politics have sparked considerable interest in this country, *Temas* (Themes) and *Contracorriente* (Countercurrent). Both are forums of debate and discussion. *Contracorriente*, for example, which assistant editor Rubén Zardoya describes as a magazine defending Marxism against the prevailing capitalist ideology in the world, has run articles that take up subjects like prostitution in Cuba, the political impact in Cuba of the collapse of the Soviet regime, and Marxism in Latin America.

Another feature of this year's book fair was the prominence given to promoting the use of computers. A national network of youth recreation centers around the



Militant/Brian Taylor

The interest in working-class politics attracted many book fair participants to the Pathfinder exhibit.

Political weapons for today's fighters

Remarks by editor of Che Guevara's 'Episodes' at Havana book fair launching

The following are the remarks by Mary-Alice Waters presented at a public meeting at the Havana book fair on February 10, which launched two books by Cuban revolutionary leaders. The first title is *Pombo: un hombre de la guerrilla del Che* (Pombo: A Man of Che's Guerrilla) by Harry Villegas, also known as Pombo, brigadier general in the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) of Cuba. It was published in Spanish by Editora Política of Havana. The second book is Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, recently published in a new English-language edition by Pathfinder Press of New York. Waters is the editor of *Episodes* as well as of *The Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che Guevara* published by Pathfinder in 1994.

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

On behalf of Pathfinder I would like to thank Editora Política, compañero Pombo, and all of you, for the opportunity to participate in this launching, an event which is so full of history.

The books that are being launched here today are not what is commonly perceived as history books dealing with the past, however important that past may be. They are political weapons for today and tomorrow. They not only testify to the qualities of the fighters of the past, they also demand to be used by the fighters of the present and future.

Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War and *Pombo: A Man of Che's Guerrilla* are and will remain weapons for new generations born many years after the battles and struggles in the Sierra Maestra that forged the cadres who were capable of, and — even more important — dared to, lead an armed insurrection of the fighting people of Cuba:

- to overthrow the Batista tyranny;
- to change the course of history in the twentieth century by establishing the first Free Territory of the Americas;
- to chart a course independent of the interests of the strongest and most arrogant imperialist power on the face of the earth;
- and to open the door to the socialist revolution in our hemisphere.

The example Cuba provides the world, both in the past and today, is the capacity of ordinary men and women to transform themselves as they struggle to change the world.

Those who dared to storm heaven

Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War, written in Che's clear and eloquent words, is the story of ordinary human beings who dared to storm the heavens, to borrow a phrase from Marx's tribute to the self-sacrificing toilers who brought the



Photo by Merengue

Speakers at public meeting at Havana book fair on February 10, which launched two books by Cuban revolutionary leaders. From right, Irida Aguirrechu of Editora Política; Harry Villegas (Pombo), brigadier general of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba, and author of *Pombo: A Man of Che's Guerrilla*; and Mary-Alice Waters, editor of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*.

revolutionary Paris Commune into being.

So, to those who have been asking us why Pathfinder has published this book today, our answer is simple: because it is needed.

It is needed by working people and youth in countries like the United States who are not only looking for answers to the growing problems they face, who are not only trying to figure out how to resist, to fight back, but also — and most important — to develop the capacities and virtues that will allow them to win. In order to continue that effort day after day they have to know what a revolutionary is; what qualities are at the core of a revolutionary's life.

We live in a world dominated by sharpening competition between the imperialist countries, a blind force that compels them:

- to force wages down;
- to impose brutal and increasingly dangerous — indeed deadly — working conditions;
- to slash spending on health care benefits and education opportunities for the great majority;
- to use immigrants as super-exploited labor and as scapegoats, while simultaneously threatening to unleash trade wars;
- and to try to deepen divisions among working people on the basis of race, sex, religion, and language.

We see growing social polarization and

the new rise of fascist currents in the imperialist countries, including in the United States.

Sixty thousand troops under the command of the imperialist NATO alliance, dominated by the Yankee colossus, are occupying combat-ready positions in Central Europe, on Yugoslav territory. They are not there to maintain peace; going in was one thing, getting out will be another.

Crisis-ridden imperialism

This is a world where many people — above all a new generation for whom crisis-ridden imperialism in its long and convulsive decline is the only reality they have known — are beginning to look for answers, for better ways to fight back.

And as they do this, they are attracted to those they see vilified, slandered, and embargued by the same powers they themselves are learning to detest.

Naturally, their eyes begin to turn toward Cuba. Workers on strike in the United States who read the lies in the press about their own fight, and know they are lies, begin to be open to consider the evidence that those same forces also lie about Cuba.

These workers begin to ask themselves why Cuba is so hated by the same people who are trying to crush them, why the Cuban people are the target of economic warfare waged by the empire to the north.

have been ignited by fallen transformers. They searched for and pulled dazed coworkers from the debris, and rallied the spirits of workers pinned under cars until rescue workers arrived.

'We've been expecting something'

"A lot of us have been expecting something," longtime CP-Soo switchman Dave Heath noted, referring to a dangerous routine of gas and propane cars being automatically "humped," or rolled into various tracks, at excessive speeds. "That's what I thought this was. There's something still to come."

It did, just 24 hours after the wreck. Another BNSF train derailed, 200 miles northwest of Minneapolis outside Audobon, Minnesota, sending 14 of 59 Seattle-bound cars onto the ground. Fifteen of a shipment of one hundred 55-gallon drums of fuel additive ruptured in the accident, just beyond downtown power lines near the edge of the tracks, thus averting a major disaster. No one was injured this time.

Jon Hillson was a switchman on the BN in 1992-93, and on the CP-Soo Line in 1993-95.

Rail bosses show disregard for safety

Continued from Page 3

watch the train, and, if it lost braking power from the engine, put it into emergency and bring it to a halt.

Instead, freight trains are equipped with telemetry devices that monitor air brake pressure. Special telemetry devices that serve as two-way braking systems can be activated by the engineer for emergency stops. The BNSF train, which became a runaway when it lost braking power, was cabooseless, and its telemetry device, like those on many trains, was not "armed" with a two-way braking system.

The NTSB has recommended that all major railroads install this equipment by March 31 of this year, a suggestion rejected by BNSF chief executive officer R.D. Krebs as "not practical."

'BN is the culprit'

Kate Button, a BNSF conductor was in a safety class with 30 co-workers the day after the crash. "The wreck was what everybody talked about," she said. "And everybody said, 'If there was a manned caboose or an armed telemetry device, this never would have happened.'"

"The BN offers a reward," Button said, "but it's the real culprit."

The BNSF train roared onto CP-Soo track because a main line switch for another train was left open. The BNSF dispatcher was unable to reline the automatic switch back to keep the out-of-control train on the main line. And many railroad workers here are looking for answers as to why the switch could not be manually overridden.

Even though there were only precious minutes to warn the CP-Soo workers on duty about the runaway, many railroaders had no idea it was heading for them. Dave Hatch said he "never heard a word" on his radio.

And Gary LaValley, an experienced engineer, who was sitting in his engine "at ground zero" heard "nothing" on his radio. Seconds before his engine was hit full force by the runaway, a co-worker shouted to LaValley, "There's a runaway in the yard!"

"I had five seconds to get below the window when I saw that light barreling down on me," LaValley said.

Though shaken by the disaster, uninjured switchmen, engineers, carmen, yard clerks, and others ran towards the wreckage, despite the very real possibility of explosions from leaking fuel which could

And they want to know how Cuba has been able to resist, to stand up to Washington so effectively, for so many decades.

This is the world context in which books like *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, and Pombo's account of the struggle in Bolivia, are so needed — as much to answer these questions as to show concretely how and why the Cuban revolution triumphed and has endured; to show how young fighters successfully charted a road to power against seemingly insuperable odds.

This book — with its 32 pages of photos, battle sketches, lists of weaponry and orders of battle, extensive political chronology and glossary — captures the reality of the massive social struggle of that time and makes more understandable today this decisive stage of the Cuban revolution.

Without the help of many of you who are present here this afternoon, this book would not have been possible. And for that we thank you profoundly.

Sold at schools, factories, picket lines

In the United States, this book will be sold not only in bookstores but also:

- in the universities and high schools;
- in the factories and at the factory gates;
- on the picket lines, like those of the 30,000 building maintenance workers who were still out on strike in New York last week;
- in activities defending immigrants' rights;
- in the demonstrations of thousands of youth like those who have demanded freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, unjustly convicted and sentenced to death;
- in actions in defense of abortion clinics under attack by rightist forces;
- in the fields and at protests of small farmers.

And it will be sold at similar activities in other countries around the world as well.

As the introduction says:

"This book is dedicated to a new generation of fighters around the world for whom the example of the Cuban revolution and the line of march of its victorious Rebel Army still show the way."

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Santiago uprising: a harbinger of victory

Pathfinder Press has just released a new edition of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War—1956-58*.

To promote this book the *Militant* is running "Pages from Cuba's Revolutionary History." This series features articles by and about combatants of the July 26 Movement and the Rebel Army, which led the revolutionary war that overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista and opened the socialist revolution in the Americas. The July 26 Movement took its name from the date of an attack in 1953 on the Moncada garrison in Santiago.

This week's installment focuses on the Nov. 30, 1956, uprising in Santiago de Cuba—the second largest city of the Caribbean country—and in other parts of Oriente province. The uprising, led by July 26 Movement leader Frank País, was timed to coincide with the scheduled arrival of Fidel Castro and 81 other revolutionaries aboard the yacht *Granma* to begin the revolutionary war in the Sierra Maestra mountains.

Some 800 young fighters were organized to take part in the Santiago revolt, according to participant Vilma Espín, although only 200 were actually utilized. Militarily unsuccessful, the action had major political repercussions throughout Cuba that contributed to the success of the revolutionary war. Many of the veterans of the uprising were later incorporated into the Rebel Army.

Frank País was the founding leader of the Oriente-based Revolutionary National Action, which participated in the 1955 fusion that formed the July 26 Movement. País became the new organization's central leader in Santiago and Oriente. In the early months of the revolutionary war he played a key role in sending supplies and reinforcements to the Rebel Army. País was murdered by Batista's police on July 30, 1957. Some 60,000 Santiago residents attended País's funeral, and a week-long general strike shook the city and much of the island.

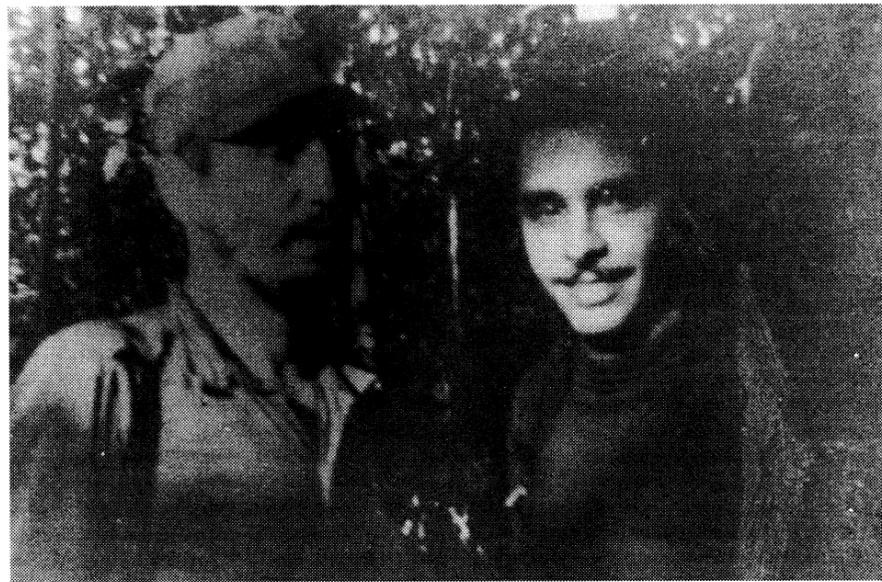
Enzo Infante, author of this account, was a participant in the Santiago uprising. He later served as the July 26 Movement's provincial coordinator in Oriente, Camagüey, and Havana, and was a member of its National Directorate. He is currently a retired lieutenant colonel in Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR).

The following is excerpted from an article published in the Nov. 27, 1966, *Verde Olivo*, FAR's magazine. The translation and subheadings are by the *Militant*.



BY ENZO INFANTE

Frank was the real and effective organizer of the July 26 Movement in Oriente. He devoted all his energy and enthusiasm to the task of building an apparatus for armed action. Through these efforts he revealed the



Fidel Castro with leader of Santiago uprising Frank País, in the Sierra Maestra, February 1957.

most striking aspect of his personality: his extraordinary qualities as an organizer and clandestine leader. Whatever situation came up, he always responded with a correct answer. In every case he set an example and knew how to draw out useful experiences for himself and the organization. "My tasks in fulfilling the responsibility I have been given and honored with, require all my time. Cuba and the revolution need me. All my efforts must be devoted to them," he said.

To carry out this decision he gave up his other responsibilities, resigning as a teacher at the El Salvador School in Santiago de Cuba.

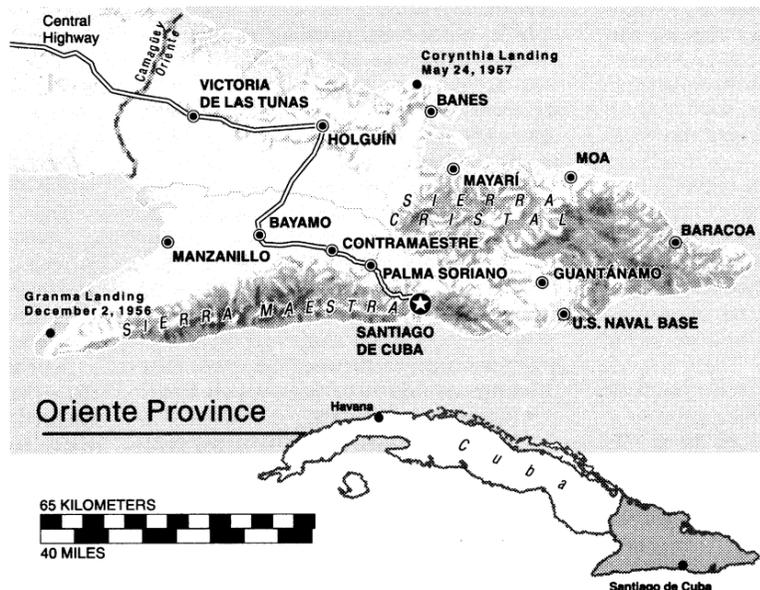
Beginning September 1955, all the energy he was capable of was given over to the revolution, which obsessed him. He continued being a teacher, but now in the highest of schools: the revolutionary struggle. And out of the many-sided aspects of practical work, he assimilated the objective logic of life, he learned and he taught.

In his work he had the assistance of a fellow teacher and fellow fighter, with an equal passion for the revolution: Pepito Tey. One can say that Pepito was a complement to Frank. Cheerful, laughing, and friendly in his personal relations, he knew how to be strict, demanding, and completely responsible as a leader. Very discreet, a good organizer, extraordinarily courageous and coolheaded, he had earned the full confidence of all the leaders of Santiago's cells even before he took over Frank's work dur-

ing the latter's trip to Mexico.

He had participated together with Frank in the organizational work in the province. Having been a rail worker on an express train line, he used his contacts with this sector to construct an efficient network of distribution and communication.

One Sunday, in the middle of November [1956], a meeting was held above the Lido Club, on the terrace in Vista Alegre, at the home of Emiliano Corrales (an exemplary



one looked at one another and then at Frank, who continued.)

"The possibilities of a general strike are uncertain. Work in this direction has not advanced enough to be able to rely on it. It is possible that the strike will become generalized if the landing and our actions are successful.

"The fundamental objective of the actions must be to impede the movement of the tyranny's forces toward the landing site.

"Fidel will land in some part of Cuba between 5:00 and 8:00 a.m. of the indicated day, which will be five days after his departure from Mexico. We will receive word of the day of his departure and should understand that five days later, at the hour I indicated, he will be arriving somewhere in Cuba; we don't know where. As soon as we know the landing site we must cut all communication between and within the provinces and between municipalities, to prevent the units of the large garrisons from shifting their forces or rapidly getting to the landing site. We must cut all communications and take whatever military installations we can, to seize arms for the combatants and to seize the cities, in the form of insurreccional barricades that draw in the entire people."

Pausing, he scanned the faces of everyone there. Someone asked, "Will we wait to find out the landing site, or will we act five days after the departure?"

Frank shifted himself in the chair and said, "We must have everything ready and act when we know Fidel has landed."

"But how will we find out about the landing? As soon as the army learns of it they will surely keep the news secret and take all the necessary measures. How can we help Fidel at the opportune moment if the army is the first to know about it?"

"If we know that Fidel will arrive five days after his departure from Mexico, why not coordinate the actions?"

After a general exchange of opinions, it was agreed that the exact date would be five days after receiving the notice, and actions would be carried out on that day.

It occurred to no one that natural phenomena or fortuitous events might alter the calculated time of the trip.

As Fidel would say in his speech of November 30, 1959, "It's true that the instructions were to wait for our arrival. Nevertheless, the impatience and ardor of the comrades of Santiago de Cuba..."

After deciding the time to strike, Frank announced: "To give you an idea of what we must do, Pepito will read from a book that explains the Hamburg insurrection." Pepito immediately began to read aloud about the 1923 uprising in the city of Hamburg, Germany, organized by the Communist Party. After he finished—which included reading

part of a proclamation by Ernst Thaelman—everyone knew that owing to the failure of a counterorder to arrive in time, Hamburg was the only city to rise up and was ferociously crushed. It was deduced that the rebels had been left on their own.

One person, who had followed Pepito's reading as closely as everyone else, said, as a joke, "And what if the same thing happens to us, and we are stood up?" At that moment Léster rose to his feet and said in a firm voice: "Fidel Castro doesn't stand anyone up!" The rapid response put a quick end to that remark and the incident dissolved without further importance. Later there was discussion on how to build barricades and establish communications between different sectors, all of it related to the reading.

It was explained that our greatest forces would be concentrated in Santiago, because a triumph in that city would provide sufficient resources to distribute arms in other

fighter who later was murdered in Havana by Ventura's hordes). Attending were Frank País, Pepito Tey, and Léster Rodríguez, together with the leaders of the July 26 Movement's action cells in Santiago de Cuba. There it was explained what everyone had anticipated and expected, due to the feverish activity they had been ordered to carry out in recent days. In explaining the plan for the general insurrection, Frank spoke in the following terms:

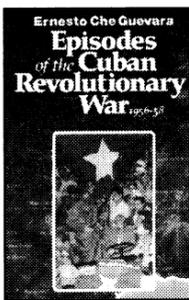
"The moment we've all been waiting for is nearly at hand. Fidel will keep his word of returning to Cuba this year. At the meeting in Mexico, the situation was discussed, as was our request to postpone the beginning of the struggle in order to assemble the necessary minimum of equipment. Fidel felt it was more important to take advantage of the year's upheaval and the growth of the revolutionary struggle. By delaying the beginning of the action, the mood of unrest would be lost without any guarantee of attaining more organization or getting more equipment.

"Therefore, we should analyze the situation we face in order to fulfill the commitment we made. Counting on your efforts, I accepted the commitment to rise up at the indicated moment in support of the landing. I felt I could do so because I know the attitude of you all. Léster and I will explain the plan and the role of you and your groups." (A deep silence reigned. Every-



José (Pepito) Tey

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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places.

Plan for uprising concretized

The discussion immediately turned to the main points of the plan of action. These can be summarized as follows:

- a) Blockade, bomb, and capture the Moncada garrison.
- b) Control the whole city, for which it would be necessary to wipe out the offensive positions of the enemy inside its perimeter, including the positions of the National and Maritime Police forces.
- c) Take the Antonio Maceo Airport.
- d) Support the prison break from Boniato jail and control access to the city.
- e) Neutralize, through revolutionary contacts, the personnel of the Naval District, giving it the opportunity to join the triumphant movement.
- f) Take over the public services offices and the radio stations, calling the people to insurrection and general strike.
- g) Gather weapons, since our supply was insufficient for arming all the combatants.
- h) Convert the city into a bulwark of the insurrection, and as an offensive post for taking other localities.

The general garrison would require a house in the center of the city where the group leaders would be in permanent contact by telephone, and in which the leadership of the movement would be located. A house on San Félix at the corner of Santa Lucía was chosen for this purpose. Places needed to be selected where the members of the groups would be quartered. First-aid kits would be located in sites near where the actions were to take place. Since arms were scarce, not all the committed volunteers could participate in the initial actions; others would stay in reserve and be armed with weapons taken in the struggle and used where needed. The line of positions used for blockading the garrison was explained, as well as the means to be employed, and the invitation that would be offered to other revolutionary sectors to participate in the uprising.

Orders were given to be ready to fulfill the instructions on quartering as soon as these were given. Frank explained his decision not to go home and to observe strict clandestinity to avoid arrest in the coming days.

A general staff was announced, which would direct the actions, consisting of Frank, Pepito, and Léster. The general staff would hold specific discussions with each group, to go over the concrete details of their plan of action, for which they would be contacted at the proper time.

It was explained that once military actions began and while they were occurring, the general staff would assume command of all activities. Supplies of arms, equipment, and uniforms were verified.

The meeting ended in the afternoon. The feeling of anxiety that bothered its participants disappeared. Now the concern was to efficiently fulfill the agreements. A huge responsibility weighed on their minds. Without speaking, the look on the comrades' faces expressed their firm intent to do their duty.

Fidel Castro interview

On Monday, November 19, the day after the meeting, the newspaper *Alerta* stated on its front page: "The offensive plans of the disrupters will not result in even the slightest disturbance,"—Batista." Appearing on the same page was an interview with Fidel Castro in Mexico, in which he ripped the tyrannical attempt to make the people and the army believe that the expeditionary army of the July 26 Movement had the support of mercenaries and supporters of Trujillo.

In that interview Fidel stated: "...If within two weeks of the publication of this interview there is no national solution, the July 26 Movement will feel free to initiate at any moment the revolutionary struggle as the only solution. We fully reaffirm the promise of 1956..."

In the following days meetings with the leaders selected to command the different



Santiago de Cuba uprising, Nov. 30, 1956. View of the central police station, destroyed in the fighting by the rebels. Demonstration prior to the sacking demanded end to U.S. support of Batista dictatorship.

action groups were held in the house of Arturo Duque de Estrada, on Desiderio Fajardo Street, near the Placita de Crombet. There the members of the general staff made known the objective and gave instructions on how to organize the plan of action, recommending vigilance and a check of the places where the events were to take place. Once the plans were laid out, discussion proceeded.

The actions were initially scheduled to begin at 6:00 a.m., later changed to 7:00 a.m., when there would be fewer military personnel in the streets since 6:00 a.m. was

die. In many places around the country it was the same.

First shots burst

On Friday morning, November 30, as the residents of Santiago began their morning activities, the shots of the first actions announced the beginning of one of the most heroic days in the history of their glorious city. Groups of young men clad in the olive drab uniforms of the new revolutionary army, announced, by their actions, the resumption of the revolutionary war.

In the heat of combat the revolutionaries of Santiago imagined themselves meeting the expeditionaries, landing in some part of the island, and perhaps even taking a city. Their shouts openly proclaimed: "Fidel Castro has arrived! Down with Batista! Long live free Cuba! Long live the revolution! Long live the July 26 Movement! Freedom or death!"

It has been shown that at such moments, the shouting of slogans fires people up and gives them more confidence. The enthusiasm of the revolutionaries reached levels of near paroxysm during the actions. The solidarity shown them by the people made them proud of the road they had chosen.

Meanwhile at the site of the general garrison, amid feverish activity, Frank, Haydée, Armando, Vilma [Espín], Asela [de los Santos], Gloria Cuadras, Ramón Alvarez, and other comrades of the Movement, gave instructions and directed the various actions, as reports were received.

The hours passed... One of the most emotional days in Santiago de Cuba's memory transpired, comparable in many ways to the uprising of José Maceo in the Little War [of 1879] and of July 26, 1953. The insurgent



Frank País (center) during April 1957 trial of accused participants in Nov. 30, 1956, Santiago de Cuba uprising, and captured Granma expeditionaries. At far left, Léster Rodríguez. Also in photo is Antonio Dario López.

when the guards changed shifts, as did the various patrols.

Frank selected a group of comrades to inform the various provincial municipalities of the general plan, and to explain the need to carry out their tasks on the assigned day with the resources at hand, because no more could be sent. On November 25, immersed in the final preparations, the awaited news came.

On November 27 the police violently repressed students demonstrations in Havana, Guantánamo, and Matanzas, producing more than 25 wounded. The following day, as a protest, the students of Santiago organized a demonstration that was broken up by gunfire. Later they lit a bonfire near the university and threw Molotov cocktails at a small building of the Cuban Telephone Company.

As a consequence of the repression, the country's universities and high schools went on strike, carrying out protest meetings and demonstrations. The level of agitation among the students contributed to maintaining a general mood of popular unrest. Conditions clearly existed for a revolutionary upheaval. Amid this atmosphere of tension, feverish work was done, and on the morning of November 29 the call to general quarters was issued in Santiago.

Days before, Haydée Santamaría, of the Moncada assault, and Armando Hart, both representing the national leadership of the Movement, had arrived to participate in the actions.

That night in numerous houses of the city, groups of determined youth were concentrated, awaiting daybreak and with it the fight, without thinking which of them might



Funeral march of 60,000 for Frank País in Santiago de Cuba, July 31, 1957.

forces drew a balance sheet. In the early hours of that day, three of their best fighters had died in combat with the enemy. It is said that before dying, Pepito Tey, displaying his daring and coolheadedness, climbed the Intendente hill, hugging the wall until reaching the main door of the police station, throwing a Brazilian hand grenade at it, but it didn't explode. He leaped to recover it and then exclaimed: "I said these little pineapples weren't worth a—"

Tony Alomá, serious and rebellious, had raced up the outdoor steps of Padre Pico only to fall dead after reaching the last step of the sidewalk of Santa Rita Street. The courageous Otto Parellada, facing enemy fire closing in on him at his post after setting the police station on fire, died on the roof of the old institute. The three deaths in Santiago occurred in the most difficult action of the day, from a strategic point of view, on the top of the hill they were assigned to take. They fulfilled their promise. Cuba had three new martyrs.

Numerous comrades were wounded and some arrested; but the spirit that drove them was now stronger. Despite their understandable concerns, they felt satisfied. They had been capable of discharging their duty. The army of the tyrant, immobilized in Moncada, requested reinforcements from Havana.

Meanwhile at the Ermita sugar mill, the action groups of the Movement in the Guantánamo region assaulted and took the Rural Guard post, cutting telegraph and telephone lines, cutting the rail line, and heading off into the mountains to become a guerrilla column, which operated briefly in the Sierra Canasta zone.

In Chaparra an action group—among whose members was Paco Cabrera Pupo, who later became a commander—attacked the La Cadena munitions dump, seizing its arms, which were incorporated into the struggle in the Sierra Maestra.

In many points of the country the insurrectional action unleashed by the July 26 Movement brought into sharp relief the combative disposition of the revolutionary forces and the level of popular support.

Hope revives with Granma landing

Two days later, on December 2, the people shook with emotion and enthusiasm upon learning of the expeditionary landing in Niquero. Fidel had arrived aboard the *Granma* to fulfill his promise; and hope revived. The brief euphoria of the tyrant due to the results of November 30 was answered by the euphoria of the people and the fighters over the arrival of the supreme leader of the revolution.

The banners of insurrection were unfurled to a new combative wind and the forces quickly regrouped. Although the tyranny tried to minimize its importance and emphasized its "insignificance," the expeditionaries of the *Granma* in the Sierra Maestra were, as comrade Raúl Castro would say... "the little motor that set in motion the big motor of the masses," the correct strategy of leading the people in the struggle against Batista.

The great unknown factor now became clear.

November 30, 1956, was a link in the struggle begun on July 26, 1953. It constitutes a historic chapter whose results can be analyzed today.

Antiabortion thug on trial for murder

BY MARY NELL BOCKMAN

DEDHAM, Massachusetts — Opening arguments were presented February 14 in a suburban Boston courthouse here in the trial of antiabortion activist John Salvi. Salvi's attorney admitted to the jury that

his client, a 23-year-old New Hampshire resident, killed two workers and shot five others at the Planned Parenthood and Pre-Term clinics on Dec. 30, 1994, but claims that Salvi was insane at the time. He urged that Salvi be found "not guilty by reason

of mental illness."

A dozen witnesses, including some of those shot by Salvi, identified him as the gunman. An employee at Pre-Term testified that Salvi shouted "This is what you get. Pray the rosary," as he shot clinic receptionist Lee Ann Nichols ten times. Like Paul Hill, the ultrarightist who murdered a doctor and clinic escort in Pensacola, Florida, 18 months ago, Salvi regularly protested and harassed patients outside clinics that perform abortions, including the two he attacked.

He was arrested in Norfolk, Virginia, two days after the killings after spraying gunfire at the outside of another clinic there. At several points in the jury selection and preliminary proceedings, Salvi requested the right to speak to the jury detailing his views, which the judge denied. In a written statement he held up on February 6, photographed by the only camera permitted in the courtroom and re-

produced in the press, he stated that he was "pro-life, pro-welfare state, pro-family and pro-Catholic labor union." He said, "I have taken part in many pro-life protests outside of 1031 Beacon St. Brookline [the address of the Planned Parenthood clinic] and have been filmed protesting by pro-choice escorts on several occasions." Salvi went on to reiterate his right to address the jury and stated, "If I will be convicted then I

plead insane." The following day, after another written statement was confiscated by court officials and he was again denied the right to speak, Salvi overturned the defense table and was dragged from the room. Since then he has not been allowed pen and paper in court. Salvi is part of the wing of the antiabortion movement that advocates violent assaults on doctors and clinic workers to stop abortions. He reportedly has advocated "stronger action" at protests in front of the clinics.

Two protesters supporting Salvi showed up on the first day of jury selection outside the Dedham courthouse holding signs saying, "Salvi Saved Lives" and "Execute Murderers, Abortionists and Accessories."

A dozen defenders of abortion rights with signs demanding Salvi's conviction and an end to the terrorist attacks on clinics demonstrated at the courthouse on the day of the opening arguments in the trial. About 50 pro-choice demonstrators showed up outside the Planned Parenthood clinic February 10 at the monthly demonstration to counter the regular mobilization of anti-choice forces there. Activists on the picket line discussed the need for visible protests at the Salvi trial and signed up to participate.

The Massachusetts National Organization for Women, which organized the march and rally on the first anniversary of the killings, has opposed public protests at the courthouse and instead advocated a "monitoring presence." They have issued no public statements since the trial began. Planned Parenthood agreed to the judge's request to refrain from public comment during the trial and canceled a press conference scheduled after the jury toured the clinics where the shootings occurred.

The trial is expected to last another three weeks.

— YOUNG SOCIALISTS AROUND THE WORLD —

Miami YS sponsors campus forum

This column is written and edited by the Young Socialists, an international organization of young workers, students, and other youth fighting for socialism. For more information about the YS, write P.O. Box 2396, New York, NY 10009. Tel: (212) 475-6482, Fax: (212) 388-1659.

BY VERÓNICA POSES AND IVÁN ROSERO

MIAMI, Florida — "What do you think should be done in Yugoslavia?" asked a young Jamaican student at Florida International University, in a forum about Malcolm X sponsored by the Young Socialists here. He was referring to the need to demand that U.S. and NATO troops get out of Yugoslavia immediately. This and other questions, ranging from the Cuban revolution to how the ideas of Malcolm X are still useful today, reflected the diversity of topics touched on during the discussion.

The meeting, titled "Malcolm X: His Relevance Today," was the first of a series of forums the YS is planning on sponsoring at this university in the coming months. A total of 11 people attended. Part of successfully building this forum were the many discussions at tables set up with Pathfinder literature, along with the *Mili-*

tant newspaper and the Spanish magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*, the three days prior to the meeting.

The YS has also started a series of classes on the *Communist Manifesto* and is cosponsoring a class series on the book *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, along with the Socialist Workers Party.

These activities are a central part of the efforts the Miami YS is making towards building the Young Socialists national convention in April, meeting its goal towards the \$10,000 national YS fund drive, and building the U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange this coming summer.

The youth exchange is a project of the National Network on Cuba to allow U.S. youth to see revolutionary Cuba for themselves.

Come to the

Young Socialists National Convention and Organizing Conference

April 6-7, 1996
Minneapolis, Minnesota

For more information contact
Young Socialists, P.O. Box 2326,
New York, NY 10009
Tel: (212) 475-6482

Socialists raise goals to sell 'Episodes' to workers

BY GREG MCCARTAN

Building on initial sales of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War — 1956-58*, socialists in several cities have raised their goals for getting the book into the hands of coworkers, youth, and those involved in social protest action. Atlanta increased by 10, from 25 to 35; Pittsburgh upped by 15, from 40 to 55; and Twin Cities, Minnesota, jumped 20, for a new total of 80.

Socialists who are members of the industrial unions have also taken a goal of selling 500 of the new Pathfinder book to coworkers on the job. The campaign ends April 1. Next week we will publish the nationwide goal for sales of *Episodes* throughout the United States.

"We've sold 47 so far!" reported steelworker and Young Socialists leader Megan Arney from St. Paul, Minnesota. "At a forum celebrating the publication of the book last Friday we sold five copies. I've sold two on the job to coworkers, and I am selling another one tonight." Another book has been sold to a member of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers union, and six to people active in organizations building solidarity with the Cuban revolution.

Jeff Grab, a member of the United Transportation Union who works on the CP-Soo Line railroad, sent a message to the forum. "This is a work for all people," Grab wrote. "Whether one is pro, con, or neutral on the issue of the Cuban revolution this is undeniably a rousing tale beautifully told. Like the revolutionary army bursting out of its cradle in the Sierra Maestra, this work deserves Mainstreaming. Whether it makes it or not remains to be seen, but it is the best I've read in years."

"We are also building the Young Socialists convention that will be held here in early April," Arney reported. "We've been talking to student activists at the University of Minnesota about our national meeting. Six have bought copies of the book."

Pathfinder supporters and socialists in a number of cities are planning book launchings and other events to celebrate the publication of the book — including in Philadelphia March 2, in Los Angeles the following weekend, and in Des Moines in mid-March. In New York and Newark, supporters are hitting

the streets this week to build a Militant Labor Forum featuring Waters, who will be giving a report-back from the Havana book fair (see ad on front page).

Norton Sandler from Des Moines reports that six copies of *Episodes of the Cuba Revolutionary War* were sold during the recent tour of Iowa by Armando Amieva, third secretary of the Cuban government's interests section in Washington, D.C.

Organized by the Iowa Network on Cuba, the tour included speaking engagements on college campuses, discussions with industrial workers, and press interviews. "A lot of people looked through the book and were interested in it, and it opens the door to sales of other books by Pathfinder as well," Sandler said. "Three people in Ames who helped organize the tour purchased copies of the book, as well as two people in Sioux City," where Amieva spoke to 45 students at Morningside and Briar Cliff colleges.

As they participate in protest actions, strikes, and picket lines, socialists are showing the book around and explaining why what Guevara relates is of crucial importance for fighters today.

Thousands of unionists are expected to join a labor protest in Hamilton, Ontario, February 24 as part of an upturn in labor resistance to the offensive by the wealthy minority and their government against the wages, rights, and social gains of working people.

"Hamilton is a steel city," reports Rosemary Ray, a leader of the Communist League in Toronto. "Thousands of steelworkers will participate in this action



Interest in *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War* was high at Havana book fair. Above, Linda Harris (left), volunteer from Australia at Pathfinder booth, shows book to a Cuban.

against government cuts, and of the 1,000 union buses already coming, 500 are from the teachers union. We're going to be talking to people all day long, holding up *Episodes* and *New International* no. 10, to get information into people's hands about imperialism's march toward fascism and war and how working people can organize a revolutionary struggle to take state power and establish our own government," she said.

Socialist Workers Party militants who are members of trade unions are using the *Episodes* sales campaign as a springboard to increase overall sales of communist literature. Socialists in eight unions have adopted monthly goals to increase sales of Pathfinder books sold to coworkers on the job, sign up dozens of new industrial workers as members of the Pathfinder Readers Club, and boost the number of weekly sales of communist literature at factory gates. The *Militant* will run these goals and provide regular progress reports on this campaign as well.

Campaigning with 'Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War'		
City	Goal	Sold
Atlanta, GA	35	20
Birmingham, AL	40	15
Boston	60	24
Brooklyn	100	39
Chicago	50	19
Cleveland	30	17
Des Moines	32	19
Detroit	60	20
Greensboro	45	18
Houston	30	10
Los Angeles	100	53
Miami	50	27
Morgantown	27	8
New York	130	60
Newark	125	61
Peoria	25	9
Philadelphia	45	24
Pittsburgh	55	15
Salt Lake City	60	27
San Francisco	95	31
Seattle	80	33
Twin Cities	80	47
Washington, D.C.	75	20
TOTAL SO FAR	1,429	616
IN THE UNIONS		
IAM	90	7
OCAW	60	9
UAW	110	15
UFCW	12	
UMWA	7	
UNITE	42	2
USWA	60	
UTU	80	17
TOTAL	461	50
GOAL	500	

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.

Buchanan puts forward national socialism

Continued from front page

tacked the callousness of big business. "When AT&T lops off 40,000 jobs, the executioner that does it, he's a big hero on the cover of one of those magazines, and AT&T stock soars," he declared. To approving cheers, he railed against "this idea of these new businesses, these cold-blooded characters with the green eyeshades."

In a February 15 *Washington Post* column, Richard Cohen said Buchanan is "hearing the pain of the American worker. It's more than the other candidates have done.... [Clinton's] Labor Secretary Robert Reich has made it his mantra — and now Buchanan of all people is stealing his thunder."

Immigrants and workers in other countries, however, are portrayed as the source of joblessness and falling wages in the United States. Speaking on the TV show "This Week with David Brinkley" on February 18, Buchanan said, "We're going to take it [America] back for the folks who are losing their jobs, and most of those are single women. Go down to the textile mills of South Carolina. Look in the bewildered faces of those women, and you'll know who's losing their jobs when Bob Dole cuts those trade deals and when he sends \$50 billion to bail out Mexico."

He tries to appeal not just to workers who are white, but to all "Americans." Talking about immigration, Buchanan continued, "You have a problem of wages being driven down, especially from minority Americans. These folks will work hard for two bucks an hour. Americans can't live on two bucks an hour."

"It must have been made in Mexico," Buchanan said when a microphone went dead at one of his campaign talks in New Hampshire, according to *El Diario*. The New York Spanish-language daily also quoted him saying, "We've made an analysis of the Great Wall of China. It's an excellent model" for a barrier along the U.S. border.

Would put U.S. fleet in Taiwan Straits

Buchanan's appearance on the Brinkley

show, where he dominated the discussion with several prominent TV news figures, highlighted several aspects of his program.

Liberal commentator Sam Donaldson asked the candidate, "Should the United States... preserve Taiwan's independence by force of arms" from an attack by Beijing. Buchanan, who has frequently been dubbed an "isolationist" for his opposition to Washington's military interventions in Iraq and Bosnia, said yes.

"I would start with an airlift of modern aircraft, and I would sell the Taiwanese whatever they needed in terms of anti-submarine naval forces. I would move the Seventh Fleet right in that particular area, and then I would tell the Chinese again, 'We have told you don't do this.' I think China would wake up and listen...because I would shut off trade with China." He earlier suggested the governments of Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan should be expected to develop nuclear weapons to counter "Pyongyang building nuclear weapons, China having them."

On the same program, Cokie Roberts queried Buchanan about a column he had written on women. "Rail as they will against 'discrimination,' women are simply not endowed with the same measure of single-minded ambition and the will to succeed in the fiercely competitive world of western capitalism," she read.

The column "was a defense of wife and motherhood and the idea that many women find complete fulfillment, as my mother did, in raising nine kids and staying home," Buchanan replied. At the same time, he said, "In my world view women ought to have the right to compete on equal terms with men...I am not in favor of affirmative action or quotas or anything like that...Women are competing and doing well in every single field, Cokie. You know that."

In addition to glorifying women as wives and mothers — he introduces his wife, Shelley Buchanan, as his nominee "to replace Hillary Rodham Clinton" — the rightist politician holds up his sister, who is his campaign manager, as a model of a hard-working single mother who also

deserves support.

In the week leading up to the New Hampshire vote, Buchanan distanced himself from a couple of his backers, as facts about their racist backgrounds became public. Susan Lamb, a county chairwoman of the Buchanan campaign in Florida, was forced to resign February 16 when it came out that she was also a leader of the National Association for the Advancement of White People.

Tries to distance himself from racists

The day before, Larry Pratt, a co-chairman of Buchanan's campaign, took what the candidate termed a "leave of absence" in face of press reports that he had numerous ties with white supremacist and anti-Semitic forces, such as leaders of the Aryan Nations. Buchanan disavowed such views, but described Pratt as a "very loyal supporter" who should be given a chance to contest the charges. "I have seen too many people abandoned in Washington, D.C.," he said. "This man is under savage attack for two reasons. He's a devout Christian who happens to be strong in favor of gun ownership, and he's standing by with Pat Buchanan. That's why the dogs are on him."

This combative, "antiestablishment" tone is popular with Buchanan's supporters. He won lots of applause at a rally following the Brinkley show where he described conservative commentator George Will as a yapping "poodle" who deserved being swatted with a newspaper during the show. Will's wife is the communications director for Dole's campaign.

Brinkley himself noted that Buchanan had a reputation as a "brawler."

"The statute of limitations has run out on most of those things," the candidate retorted.

Campaigning in South Carolina in January, Buchanan said, "When the federal judge went after the Citadel [and forced it to accept women], who stood with ya? When they tried to rip the old [Confederate] battle flag out of the South Carolina flag, who stood with you?" Buchanan doesn't back down either from his "cultural war," including opposing all abortion and calling for teaching creationism instead of evolution in public schools.

One article on the *New York Times* editorial page described his audiences as "more redolent of the trailer park and the bowling alley than the country club. Some of the folks arrive in cars with rusted-out fenders. Sometimes when Mr. Buchanan warns them to 'calm down,' it is because

he recognizes that a few of the pot-bellied boys in the back would be happy to throw a punch just for the recreation of it." With a typical contempt for working people, the columnist was pointing to the thuggish elements the Buchanan campaign attracts.

Not a conservative

Though he speaks often of "conservatism of the heart," Buchanan's program is not conservative. The presidential contender "has forged an agenda increasingly at variance with that of most conservatives," noted an article in the February 26 issue of the right-wing *National Review*, citing his positions on foreign policy and tariffs. Buchanan's "populism has moved him steadily leftward on other issues," the magazine continues.

In this Buchanan differs from all of the other main contenders in the Republican race, who are competing to carry the conservative standard. One of those candidates, Sen. Phil Gramm, dropped out of the race February 14, after losing in the Louisiana and Iowa caucuses. He immediately said he would not endorse Buchanan. "Our party can never follow the path of protectionism," he said. "It is a dagger aimed at the heart of everything we stand for in the world." Gramm soon decided to support Dole's presidential bid.

After the New Hampshire vote, Rudolph Giuliani, the Republican mayor of New York, declared he would not support Buchanan. He left his options open, saying, "President Clinton, Senator Dole, Lamar Alexander — when you talk about people like that, those are all very good, very decent people."

The campaign for Dole, who until recently was considered the front-runner in the Republican primaries, is in bad shape. An attempt to tap into Buchanan's pro-worker theme backfired when the senator told 300 factory workers in New Hampshire, "I didn't realize that jobs and trade and what makes America work would become a big issue in the last few days of this campaign."

Where has he been?" retorted Buchanan.

Lamar Alexander has been rising in the polls. He finished a close third in New Hampshire, behind Buchanan and Dole. Alexander has faced various accusations over the financial dealings he and his wife carried out while he was the Tennessee governor. "I plead guilty to being a capitalist," he said at one point, trying to justify some lucrative investments.

Socialists counter Buchanan

BY ANDY BUCHANAN

MANCHESTER, New Hampshire — Socialist workers from Boston traveled here to talk to workers and young people before the Republican primary. The old mill town of Manchester is covered with signs for the various presidential candidates. Groups of campaign supporters, including the "Buchanan Brigades," stand at intersections and wave to cars.

The socialist salespeople fanned out in the parking lot of a huge shopping mall with the *Militant*. One middle-aged woman who had "always voted Republican" explained that she was deeply committed to a woman's right to choose abortion, and that she was horrified by the anti-choice positions all the Republican contenders are taking. She was pleased to take a statement issued by the Socialist Workers Party in Boston calling for the prosecution of antiabortion terrorist John Salvi.

Another young woman, who is Black, was rushing to her car but spun around when she saw the socialist paper. "I'm so glad to see you!" she said. She explained that when she was laid off as part of a "downsizing" operation at a local plant, Buchanan supporters had turned up outside the factory to protest the job cuts. The woman said she was initially attracted to this seemingly militant response. "When I saw exactly what they had to say, I thought again," she stated.

Another team of *Militant* salespeople visited Franklin Pierce College in Rindge, New Hampshire. Their literature table, set up inside the college and complete with a large sign saying "Workers say no to Buchanan's fascist" program, became the center of a lively discussion. One young Buchanan supporter denied her candidate was racist or fascist, claiming he "sees everyone as equal." She was answered by three young Black women who expressed their support for the socialists' sign.

Altogether, the campaigners sold 17 copies of the socialist newspaper.

Andy Buchanan is a member of the United

Auto Workers in Boston



BY PATTI IYAMA

HOUSTON — The day after Patrick Buchanan's victory in the New Hampshire Republican primary, copies of the *Militant* were snapped up at a local union meeting of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers (OCAW) here. As soon as they saw the headline, "Buchanan puts forward fascist agenda in Iowa," many unionists at the meeting came over to look at the paper. Unfortunately, underestimating the likely response, I brought only six copies to the meeting and all were quickly sold. One co-worker remarked that Buchanan was a real danger to working people and he was glad to see someone coming right out and openly calling him a fascist.

The central discussion at this OCAW local unit meeting was the lockout by Crown Oil of 271 OCAW members beginning February 5. The local decided to assess the more than 700 OCAW members at Lyondell-Citgo Refinery in Houston \$25 a month for the next six months to help defend the Crown workers against the company's union busting. A support rally planned for February 3 is being sponsored by a number of area OCAW locals.

In the context of the boss's assault at Crown and the rise of fascist demagogue Buchanan, a deepening interest in Pathfinder books was also found among some participants in the union meeting. I showed around copies of the new book, *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War* by Ernesto Che Guevara and *The Truth About Yugoslavia*. Two co-workers made commitments to purchase the Guevara book and I arranged to call on them in the next few days to bring them their copies. Both were quite interested in Che Guevara and wanted to learn more about how the Cubans actually made their revolution.

Patti Iiyama works at Lyondell-Citgo in Houston and is a member of OCAW Local 4-227.

Illinois officials reject Curtis parole

Continued from front page

their long-standing relationship did not show that their "ties" were close enough to satisfy Illinois law.

Curtis and Kaku have begun the process of formalizing their marriage. On February 21 they filed a signed and notarized application for a license with the Lee County Clerk in Iowa, who has jurisdiction over the prison.

Process could take two months

The prison chaplain told Curtis that prison authorities will allow him to proceed with formalizing his relationship with Kaku only if he follows a process that can take up to 60 days. Curtis will have to take part in a special interview with prison officials, wait while the prison forwards notification to Kaku of the explicit crimes Curtis was convicted of, and then he must gain approval for the marriage from the warden.

Only then would the chaplain be able to conduct the ceremony and sign their license, a copy of which Curtis would then send to Illinois.

Almost three months have passed since Curtis's parole was approved by the Iowa State Board of Parole. Supporters of his fight had anticipated that he would be released by now.

From what prison officials have told the union militant, he now faces at least several more weeks in jail before his marriage is formalized. Then he will have to reapply for parole to Illinois. And if the out-of-state parole application is approved, additional time will pass while the decision

is relayed back to Iowa parole officials, from them to the warden, and an actual date for Curtis's release is set.

Letters aid Curtis' fight for freedom

After the parole board ruling in favor of Curtis, supporters from around the world wrote to him with congratulations. Many of the letters note that the writers hope the day he actually walks out the prison door would be as soon as possible.

Another wave of letters is now needed to let Curtis know that his supporters plan to stick by him while he continues to press for his right to parole.

These messages help remind prison authorities of the widespread interest in Curtis's case and that many people are watching what progress is being made toward his release. Letters can be sent to: Mark Curtis #805338, Iowa State Penitentiary, Fort Madison, Iowa 52627.

While the framed-up unionist pushes for release from prison, his supporters have moved the Mark Curtis Defense Committee — formed in 1988 in Des Moines to campaign for his freedom — from Des Moines to Chicago to continue his fight. They intend to continue organizing activities to defend him.

The committee has scheduled its first meeting in Chicago for Tuesday, February 27, at the Agape House, 1046 W. Polk. For more information or to send a contribution, contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee at P.O. Box 477419, Chicago, Illinois, 60647.

John Studer from Chicago contributed to this article.

Yugoslavia

Continued from front page

Bosnia. The NATO occupation forces — twice barred from entering arms depots in the towns of Han Pijesak and Han Kram — met no resistance after the confrontation.

NATO forces raid Bosnian center

In another well-publicized military assault, hundreds of NATO troops raided a house February 15 that NATO officials claimed was a "terrorist training" camp. Eleven men were arrested, including two said to be Iranian military instructors working for the Bosnian government.

A third Iranian detained at the scene was released after showing his diplomatic passport from the Iranian mission in Sarajevo.

"This is a terrorist training activity," said U.S. Adm. Leighton Smith, the commander of the NATO military operation in Yugoslavia, during a walk through the house February 16. "We found something here that is an abomination."

Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic said the camp was an intelligence training center. "We have more places like that in Bosnia for training people to hunt war criminals," Izetbegovic stated in a February 16 television interview. "We will continue that activity."

NATO officials earlier cried about possible attacks against U.S. troops and asserted that the house was a threat to their security. U.S. Col. John Kirkwood told the *New York Times* that no evidence was found pointing to plans for blowing up NATO buildings or harming NATO soldiers. The only "complaint" was that at the intelligence school all the "instructors were Iranians."

Mirza Hajric, a spokesman for the Bosnian foreign ministry, added that the camp existed before the war. "This is very damaging," he said of the NATO slander campaign. "There was a clear political intention to make a political stir."

The raid, rehearsed for weeks according to *Newsweek*, came just before Washington called an emergency meeting in Rome to chastise the rival regimes for not complying with imperialist dictates.

London's *Financial Times* said that the attack "appeared to be part of a western strategy of countering Serb complaints of bias."

Serb general Ratko Mladic cut off communications with NATO officials after 11 military men, including two of his officers, were arrested by Bosnian government authorities. The two officers were later extradited in a U.S. cargo plane to The Hague, the Netherlands, to be investigated for so-called war crimes.

'Dayton II' meeting in Rome

U.S. assistant secretary of state Richard Holbrooke, concerned that the imperialist-imposed plan was unraveling, presided over the meeting in Rome February 17-18 to squeeze presidents Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia, Izetbegovic of Bosnia, and Franjo Tudjman of Croatia. U.S. Gen. George Joulwan, supreme commander of the NATO force, and U.S. Adm. Smith attended the conference, which also included officials from France, Britain, Germany, and Russia.

At the Rome meeting, dubbed "Dayton II," some of the key points supposedly agreed upon were to reunify the divided city of Mostar, establish on schedule a unified administration in Sarajevo, and restore contact with NATO military commanders.

The agreement also stipulates prosecuting those accused of alleged war crimes, moving to suspend UN economic sanctions against Serb forces in Bosnia, and placing no restrictions on movements of the imperialist occupying force.

Mostar, ripped apart by war in 1993, was officially reunified February 20. The *Washington Post* reported however, "barriers fell, allowing freedom of movement between both sides, but only for one hour....By nightfall, checkpoints between the divided city had been restored."

Washington continues to encounter "bumps in the road," as Admiral Smith put it, while trying to impose aspects of the Dayton accords. The latest crisis prompted a former UN official, Michael Williams, to remark, "It would seem... that there are far greater problems than we've been led to believe."

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

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.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Buchananism: What It Is and How to Fight It. Speaker: Andy Buchanan, member United Auto Workers and Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 1, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

French Workers Battle Boss, Government Attacks on Unions, Rights, and Benefits. Speakers: Jeff Jones, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists; Doug Nelson, Minneapolis Community College student, member Young Socialists. Fri., March 1, 7:30 p.m. 2490 University Ave. (Bus #16, at Route 280). Donation: \$4. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Buchananism: What It Is and How to Fight

It. Fri., March 1, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. (corner Raymond Blvd.). Donation: \$4. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

A Socialist Answer to Buchanan's Fascist Agenda. Speaker: Chris Hoepfner, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member. Fri., March 1, 7:30 p.m. 59 Fourth Ave. (corner of Bergen St.). Donation: \$4. Tel: (718) 399-7257.

Manhattan

Buchananism: What It Is and How to Fight It. Speaker: Nels J'Anthony, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 1, 7:30 p.m. 214-16 Ave. A (between 13th and 14th St.). Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 388-9346.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

One Year After the Peso Collapse: Mexico Today, an Eyewitness Account. Speaker: Jim Munro, chair of Philosophy Department, Edinboro University. Fri., March 1, 7:30 p.m. 1103 E. Carson St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (412) 381-9785.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

A discussion of the newly-published

Pathfinder book, *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War* 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. Fri., March 8, 7:30 p.m. Both events held at 147 East 900 South. Donation: \$4. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Patrick Buchanan: The Meaning of His Election Victories. How to Fight Against Ultrarightism. Panel: Representatives of National Organization of Women (NOW), organizer of April 14 March to Fight the Right in San Francisco, Socialist Workers Party, others. Fri., March 1, 7:30 p.m. 1405 E. Madison. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

CANADA

Toronto

Communist League Election Rally. Speaker: Sylvie Charbin Communist League candidate in the by-election in Etobicoke North. Fri., March 1, 7:30 p.m. 827 Bloor St. West. Donation: \$5. Tel: (416) 533-4324.

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 of the best seller *Monster*; Michael Parenti, author, political analyst, local peace activist; Muhjah Shakir, Bay area Network to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal; Noelle Hanrathan, 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. (Directions: 580 East to Golf Links Road exit; right onto Golf Links Road, 3/4 mile to MacArthur, left on MacArthur to Castlemont High 806 MacArthur). Donation: \$5-\$25. For more information, call The SF Bay Area Network for Mumia (415) 648-4505. Fax (510) 845-8816.*

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 Illi-

nois 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.

IOWA

Sioux City

Forum: Native American Inequality Before the Law. Fri., March 1, 1-5 p.m. Morningside College, 1501 Morningside Ave., at the Lincoln Center.

March, Rally and Memorial Dinner for Kimberly Frazier, a Sioux Woman. Frazier, 29 years old, was shot and killed on the porch of her home by a Sioux City policeman. Sat., March 2. March will begin at Cook Park on 4th and Market Sts., at 12 noon and will end at St. Paul Episcopal Church at 6th and Center Sts. For more information on both events, contact Frank Lamere (402) 878-2242; Matthew Yellowbull (712) 277-379; or Corina Drum (712) 258-4174.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Class Series on War and Revolution. The

roots of the conflict in Yugoslavia and a perspective on how to fight against imperialist war. **Lessons of the Working-Class Campaign Against the Imperialist War in Iraq.** Sat., March 2, 4 p.m. **Emulate the Cuban Revolution.** Sat., March 9, 4 p.m. All readings available at Pathfinder Bookstore.

Classes held at 7141 Woodward Ave. (one block north of Grand Blvd.) Sponsored by the Young Socialists. For more information call (313) 875-0100.

'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 keyword all the *Militant* articles that have been put on line over the past year.

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

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Corporate image — Like other companies, Caterpillar's budget includes getting its logo placed in movies. Perhaps most appropriate for the blood-sucking company is the flick *From Dusk to Dawn*, in which a vampire sports a Cat hat.



Harry Ring

Works well in U.S. — The San Francisco *Chronicle* notes the report that since Nelson Mandela's election, electricity has been brought to 525,000 homes that

were without it, and they plan to add 300,000 a year. In a cogent analysis, a *Chronicle* columnist adds: "One result: Crime is lower in some townships because people stay home and watch television."

Oink — It's reported there will be a film of "shock jock" Howard Stern's autobiog, *Private Parts*. Commented one wag: "Movies about talking pigs are hot this year."

You and UPS vs. the distance mailers — It was a full-page United Parcel Service ad: "Overnight delivery service made the world a better place for capitalism. So why are the rates still based on communism?" It announces that

the flat rate for overnight service, will be replaced by "distance-based pricing," declaring, "Why should you pay for other people's overnight shipments if yours isn't going as far?"

The communist view — That UPS ad neglects to mention what the new rates will be. But if we were of a gambling bent, we'd offer six-to-five that, be the distance short or long, we'll all be paying more.

Really? — A federal grand jury is probing the relationship between the tobacco industry and the Virginia firm Healthy Buildings International. HBI has frequently given "expert" testimony for the

industry, downplaying the effects of second-hand smoke. An ex-employee charges that HBI doctor-ed its evidence and that the company is subsidized by the Tobacco Institute.

'The Lord is my navigator — "We offer freedom to the masses. It's a tough fight...but we're brave. We're well financed. We believe God is on our side." — James Barksdale, head man at Netscape, the brisk-selling software program for accessing the Internet.

Mac the Hook — McDonnell Douglas was penalized by the feds for overpricing spare parts for the C-17 transport plane. For instance,

it outsourced manufacture of a door hook, for which the contractor charged \$389. McDonnell then decided to make the hooks itself, billing the government \$8,842 a piece. For this and other similar infractions, McD shelled out a fast \$182,000.

Add 1 cup melted rubber, 6 tbs. salt... — With a straight face, American Airlines is marketing a cookbook of recipes for its in-flight meals.

Shop early for Valentine's Day — A special offer from New York's Fountain Pen Hospital: "Solid gold fountain pen, Reg. \$8,000. Call for price and availability."

Okinawan activists demand U.S. troops get out

BY RUTH CHENEY

BERKELEY, California — More than 200 people attended a meeting here February 5 for the Okinawa Women's America Peace Caravan, a delegation from the parent organization in Naha City, Okinawa, known as Okinawan Women Act Against Military Violence. The women participating in the caravan are all activists in the movement that recently emerged and has mobilized tens of thousands of Okinawans and Japanese working people to demand the removal of U.S. bases from Okinawa.

The delegation includes teachers, radio broadcasters, hospital workers, and local elected officials. Their visit to the United States was scheduled for February 3-17. It began in the San Francisco Bay Area and included a tour of the U.S. Naval Air Station at Alameda, a large base targeted for shutdown and now being "cleaned up" by the U.S. government for civilian use. In addition to protesting the frequent occurrences of rape and other violations of human rights by the U.S. military, the caravan is publicizing the environmental destruction caused by military bases on the island of Okinawa.

The caravan was also set to visit Washington, D.C., where the women planned to meet with Hillary Clinton, lobby Congress, and hold a press conference. They also planned meetings in New York City and Honolulu.

Several of the women speaking at the Berkeley meeting said the massive protests that occurred last October, in the wake of the kidnapping and rape of a 12-year-old girl by three U.S. soldiers in September, would not have taken place if the 12-year-old girl hadn't insisted on stepping forward to protest her rape, unlike many other victims who have chosen to remain silent and anonymous. "That is what's pushing us out," said Takazato Suzuyo, a Naha City assemblywoman. Speaking in English she said, "Fifty years is enough," adding that if she and the oth-

ers who have come forward to protest the massive U.S. military presence in Okinawa had done so earlier, then this latest rape might never have happened.

The U.S. military occupied Okinawa and directly administered it from 1945 until 1972, when it was returned to Japanese administration.

Takazato and the other women in the caravan are in the U.S. to publicize five demands. The first is that an investigation be made of "all past crimes committed by U.S. military personnel in Okinawa, especially those crimes that constitute human rights violations against women and girls."

The problem is not all U.S. military personnel, Takazato said, "but many start raping as soon as they arrive." She said that the three U.S. soldiers at their trial insisted they were good men, loving fathers and fine husbands, and she believes that is true. But Okinawans have seen the "wild training" these soldiers receive. "They are trained to always be ready to attack and are encouraged to victimize people," she said. "The training dehumanizes them so they no longer view women and children as human beings, but only as objects." She cited Ron Kovics' book, *Born on the Fourth of July*, with its excellent descriptions of the violent training young men receive in the U.S. military machine. She added that everyone should know the "U.S. military forces in Okinawa are very definitely not protecting people."

The caravan's brochure explains that "crimes of sexual violence must be seen not merely as crimes committed by individual soldiers, but as crimes produced by the military system." A major aspect of this is that these crimes are both ignored and covered up by the U.S. military.

The second demand is for a "concrete plan for the reduction and ultimate removal of all U.S. military personnel from Okinawa." Takazato said she didn't "know where the bases should be moved

because I do not want any other people to be similarly violated as we have been. Maybe they could just disappear into space or something."

Takazato also spoke heatedly about the environmental violations of the U.S. military. In her town, Naha, it is widely believed that the U.S. bunkers there hold nuclear weapons and mustard gas. In response, the residents keep goats and rabbits much like U.S. miners kept canaries. "The U.S. is supposed to tell the Japanese government if they bring in nuclear weapons, but the Japanese government never asks. It's a gentlemen's agreement so we can't trust it," she said.

The U.S. military presence especially affects Okinawan children with extreme levels of jet plane noise, helicopter crashes in school yards located next to bases, daily target practice with live ammunition just a chain-link fence away from people's homes, discrimination against bi-racial children, and the presence of mustard gas.

Because the U.S. military now leases fully 20 percent of Okinawa's land, the removal of the bases would mean the return of lands to both private individuals as well as city governments, the government of Okinawa, and the government of Japan. The governor has already put together a master plan for all of Okinawa and each town is now developing their own plans.

But caravan members said the Japanese government has so far done nothing to respond to the demands that the U.S. bases be removed. The women noted that while Okinawa composes only .6 percent of the total land area of Japan, 75 percent of all U.S. military personnel and equipment are located there.

Even though an official body has been set up by Tokyo to consider changes in the treaty that governs the conditions the U.S. military operates under, Miyagi Toshiko, another Caravan activist, said she believes this is just a sham and that the Japanese government will continue to disregard the needs of Okinawans.

The other three demands are for U.S. military personnel to receive "sensitizing" training if they are to be stationed abroad; that the governments of Japan and the U.S. ensure that their existing treaties conform to the Platform for Action that came out of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women that took place in Beijing last year; and that experts on "women's human rights and destruction of the environment be dispatched to Okinawa to investigate and evaluate the actual situation existing today."

After the meeting, video tapes were shown of the October demonstration in Okinawa of 85,000 and of farmers demonstrating for the return of their land.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —



March 2, 1946

Responding to the call of the Egyptian National Committee of Students and Workers for a general protest strike against the British, workers and students tied up Cairo on February 21 and poured into the streets. The demonstrators demanded that the British evacuate its forces from Egypt and get out of the Sudan.

Throughout the morning of February 21, from 100,000 to 150,000 workmen and students thronged the main streets and squares, noisily but peacefully shouting anti-British slogans. Schoolgirls joined the chanting demonstrators for the first time in years. Even boys as young as ten participated.

British troops began the violence. British Army trucks hurtled into a crowd of demonstrators in Ismailia Square at 60 miles an hour, killing and injuring many persons. The crowd closed in on some of the trucks and smashed and burned them.

Troops set up machineguns at main intersections leading to British buildings. British tanks and armored cars, flanked by military police armed with sub-machineguns and riding in jeeps, patrolled the streets.

The Egyptian National Committee of Students and Workers protested against the "barbaric aggression by British soldiers against the unarmed people."

These demonstrations express the deep-rooted discontent of the Egyptian masses which arises from the unbearable conditions prevalent in the country. Living costs have increased three to four times since the beginning of World War II.

TORONTO, FEB 22 — Over five hundred Blacks from across Canada met in Toronto Feb. 19-21 to form a National Black Action Committee (NBAC).

Opening speeches by Cortney Blair and Rocky Jones stressed that the struggle of Black Canadians was the same as the struggle for Black liberation in the U.S. and the West Indies.

George Archer, from Montreal's McGill University, spoke about Canada's role in Africa.

Dave Darbreau, a leader of Trinidad's National Joint Action Council, and Tim Hector, a peasant organizer from Antigua, pointed out that Canadian, U.S. and British domination continue in the West Indies, despite formal "independence." Darbreau pointed out that on "Independence Square" in Port of Spain, the major U.S., British and Canadian banks have the most prominent positions.

The final day of the conference was marked by a workshop on women and the organization of the NBAC.

The leaders of the women's workshop, including Sally Coots, president of the Black Students Association at McGill, stressed that Black women could no longer play a secondary role in the struggle. Despite opposition, she stressed the right of Black women to abortions and child care. Others stressed that these demands must be coupled with Black power over medical and child-care facilities.

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Write to Mark Curtis now

Almost three months after Mark Curtis was granted parole, Illinois state officials have rejected his application to be paroled to that state. Curtis now has to reapply, he's told, after he formalizes his marriage. The process could take months before Illinois officials will even reconsider his application.

At the same time, three articles the framed-up unionist has written and sent to the *Militant* over the last two months have not made their way out of the Iowa state penitentiary in Fort Madison. Curtis's administrative requests for an explanation have not been answered by prison officials.

Now is the time for all supporters of democratic rights

to write the imprisoned unionist expressing their concern and their solidarity.

A new wave of letters will make it crystal clear to prison officials and government authorities that the thousands of fighters around the world who have fought shoulder to shoulder with Curtis for his freedom will not stand idle as the time of his release is postponed further and further.

We urge all *Militant* readers to write Mark Curtis immediately, showing their support for his right to contribute frequently to a newspaper that has carried a regular column by Curtis and for his unflinching effort to win his release on parole (see address in front-page article).

Fight Buchananism!

Working people need to reject and campaign against Patrick Buchanan's agenda. The Republican candidate tries to win a following among working people with his radical, even anticapitalist-sounding demagoguery. But this "socialism" is a fraud, deadly to the working class worldwide.

Buchananism is a product of the period of capitalist development we are living through today. This period was signaled by the 1987 stock market crash, which laid bare the instability and vulnerability of the worldwide capitalist system. The rate of profit that capitalists get on their investments has been falling since the early 1970s. The stock market crash indicated this had reached crisis proportions for the employers, who face sharply intensified competition for markets, materials, and control of different regions, including on an international level.

This competition drives the bosses to cut costs at home — such as downsizing, lowering real wages, and attacking social gains. It also drives them to compete, one nation state against the other, for economic, political, and military domination of the globe. The 1990-91 U.S.-led slaughter in Iraq was the first military conflict in this period where these inter-imperialist conflicts began to come to the fore. Following the Gulf War, it became clear that a worldwide economic depression had set in for the first time in 50 years.

This crisis of capitalism, and the social disorder and instability it generates, breeds radical attitudes — including distrust of the government and established politicians — in the middle class and among layers of the working class. Buchanan appeals to this radicalism, claiming to defend workers and the "little man." He is working to consolidate a cadre around himself, drawing both from inside the Republican party and from thug elements like those who have carried out assaults on abortion clinics.

If the class struggle heats up and working people be-

gin to fight to defend their interests, the forces Buchanan is putting together will be used to try to smash the workers and their organizations, which would open the door to another imperialist world war. That's why it's essential for workers to understand what Buchananism is and where it comes from, so we can effectively fight it.

The only answer to the fake, national socialism that fascist figures are promoting in every capitalist country today is international working-class solidarity — proletarian international socialism. We need to take on the program Buchanan puts forward, and argue it out with co-workers and others. Buchanan tries to divide "American" workers from immigrants and working people in other countries; we need to stand together in our common interests against the capitalist system and for a workers and farmers government. He goes after affirmative action; we need to explain how it is needed to combat divisions within the working class along lines of race and sex.

To answer Buchananism we need to learn from previous struggles, including the fights against fascism in Europe and the United States in the 1920s and 30s, and get a better understanding of what is happening in the world today from articles like "Imperialism's March toward Fascism and War" and "Opening Guns of World War III" in *New Internationalist* magazine. Valuable lessons for how workers can begin to forge the kind of organization needed to take on what is coming — a party of communist workers — can be found in *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*.

Building such a party is the most important work that can be done right now by workers, young people, and others who want to fight against the horrors that capitalism in its decay will attempt to force on us. It is a necessary part of charting a course forward to workers taking power — the way working people did in Russia in 1917 and in Cuba in 1959.

Only labor will fight for safety

The grim consequences of the rail bosses' drive to increase productivity and profits through "cost cutting" measures have been driven home with deadly force this month. Eighteen people have been killed in rail accidents in 21 days.

- February 1 — A freight train carrying hazardous materials crashed on the Cajon Pass in southern California, killing two crew members.

- February 9 — Two engineers and one passenger were killed instantly when two New Jersey Transit commuter trains collided near the Hoboken terminal.

- February 14 — An 89-car freight train slammed into a rail yard in St. Paul, Minnesota, when its brakes failed. Nine railroad workers were injured.

- February 16 — Eleven people died when two cars of a commuter train burst into flames in a collision with an Amtrak train just outside Washington, D.C.

- February 21 — Two workers were killed and one injured when a train derailed near Leadville, Colorado, spewing thousands of gallons of corrosive acid.

In each of these cases the rail bosses, the National Transportation Safety Board, and the government rushed to blame the workers, singing in unison "Operator Error!"

In two cases safety board investigators implied the engineers ran past stop signals. The FBI was called in on two cases to investigate possible tampering with the braking system on the trains. While the bosses later had to back off this charge, they succeeded in smearing the workers in the initial sensationalized press reports.

But the cause of these deadly accidents lies not with errors by workers, signal failures, or faulty safety equipment. These are the inevitable results of the drive by the rail bosses, with the aid of the government, to increase profits. In the last decade trains crews have been cut from an average of five to three, and sometimes two. Many rail workers on commuter lines work in split shifts, often resulting in a 12- to 14-hour workday. Under contract concessions that began in the late 1980s, new hires must accept "force promotions" to conductors

within their first six months and are often forced to become engineers within the first year.

In order to be more "competitive," larger railroads are streamlining their operations by abandoning unprofitable lines. The increase in the volume of freight on remaining lines steps up the pressure on workers. The rail bosses have trumpeted technological innovations that they claim increase productivity and safety. After achieving the crew cuts the rail barons have often cut back on some of the high technology devices or not kept them in working order. In the collision of the Maryland commuter train, a previous rail company had removed automatic train control devices from the track because they were too "expensive" to maintain.

The human toll of the first 21 days of February is the blood payment for these "cost savings" wrenched from rail workers in the form of concession contracts, longer working hours, and unsafe working conditions.

Transportation Secretary Federico Peña announced a few new rules and ordered a review and a safety plan be submitted within 45 days. This leaves the bosses free to continue with short crews and long hours. These "reviews" are always designed to let the initial storm of protest blow over and hope that people will forget the damage done.

Rail workers have the most reason to lead to demand:

- an end to the push-pull practice;
- abolishment of the split shifts;
- hire more workers to bring crew sizes up to a safe level, including reinstating use of cabooses and other practices that were ended solely in the pursuit of greater profits;

- order the rail companies to install all necessary safety devices, signals, and repair tracks — since bad track conditions are the source of most derailments.

By leading a fight to protect the lives of rail workers, community residents, and passengers, and to protect the environment, rail workers can win wide support in their battle against the bosses who put a price tag on people's lives.

Quebecois are an oppressed nation

MONTREAL — As one can see on the facing page, the *Militant* has received many letters from readers questioning its support for Quebec independence. These include readers Juan Carlos Chirgwin and Lavina G. Shaw, who doubt the fact that the 6 million Quebecois constitute an oppressed nation in Canada on the basis of their language.

As a Quebecois worker who grew up and still lives in Montreal, I remember vividly what it was like when I was a teenager here in the mid-1960s. Even though 70 percent of the population spoke (and still speaks) French

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

in Montreal, you could not be served in French in downtown restaurants and big department stores. Most signs and billboards across the city were only in English.

There were two English-speaking universities serving less than 20 percent of the population, in contrast to the single one available to the French-speaking majority. I was involved in a series of very large student mobilizations that forced the provincial government to open a second French-speaking university in Montreal in 1969.

Data from the 1961 census showed that English-speaking people in Montreal earned on average 35 percent more than those who spoke French. Discrimination was systematic at work. It took a series of labor battles to make French the normal language of work in Quebec.

Reader Shaw says, "The reason that the French have lagged behind is not because of the English, but due to the influence of the [Catholic] church hierarchy."

It is true that the reactionary Catholic church hierarchy dominated social life in Quebec for decades, until it was largely pushed aside by the big national and labor battles of the 1960s and 1970s. But the weight of the church in Quebec was the direct result of the bloody defeat by London's troops of a democratic revolutionary upsurge by French- and English-speaking small farmers, workers and merchants a century and a half ago. This upsurge, both in what are now Quebec and Ontario, challenged British colonial domination, and demanded a secular state, an agrarian reform, and basic civil rights.

As explained in "Land, Labour and the Canadian Revolution" published in issue no. 6 of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*, Canada's rulers then made a conscious decision to maintain semi-feudal relations in the countryside of Quebec. This slowed down enormously the economic development of the province and is one of the main reasons explaining the abysmal living conditions of Quebecois up to World War II.

This policy was part of a package of other discriminatory measures against French-speaking people aimed at preventing any new convergence of the struggles by French- and English-speaking toilers — including the imposition up to this day of a religious school system in Quebec by the Canadian Constitution.

The fights by Quebecois working people and youth from the early 1960s to the mid-1970s were able to push back many of the worst aspects of the discrimination they faced. These gains helped to improve their wages, working conditions, health and education — thereby improving those of all working people across Canada. They also played a major role in breaking down the prejudices and suspicions that have deeply divided Quebecois and other workers, thus reinforcing our unity.

Reader Chirgwin claims that past "injustice" against Quebecois "has hardly any reminders in the present."

Unfortunately, this is untrue. According to the 1986 federal census, French-speaking people earned on average 16 percent less than those speaking English in Canada, despite the development over the last quarter century of a significant layer of French-speaking Quebecois capitalists and middle class. Statistics Canada refuses to give comparable figures from its 1991 census.

However, Statistics Canada's own figures show that wealth continues to this day to be distributed along language lines in Quebec. Though English-speaking people constitute a little less than one fifth of the greater Montreal population, five of the ten richest tracks in the 1991 census had a majority of English-speaking residents. In contrast, eight of the ten poorest census tracks had a French-speaking majority.

Quebec is the second most industrialized province in Canada. But according to Statistics Canada it has the greatest numbers living below the poverty line — that is if you take into account the actual cost of living. According to Ottawa's own figures Quebec's biggest city, Montreal, is the fourth poorest city in Canada — preceded by three other Quebec towns.

A series of big corporations, like Alcan, Bombardier, J.W. I. Johnson and Domtar, continue to this day to pay their workers in Quebec \$2 to \$3 an hour less than in other parts of Canada.

Quebecois have fought for self-determination to rid themselves of this historic and present national oppression. Our struggle for independence is in the interests of working people throughout Canada because it can weaken the Canadian imperialist state and help unite toilers of different nationalities. That is why working people and youth around the world should stand with Quebecois patriots.

— MICHEL PRAIRIE

Quebec I

Jan. 21 — "Wherever there are nations at this stage in history that are oppressed by imperialism and have a distinct geographic configuration, communist workers and youth are in favor of independence." That proposition is ascribed to Michel Prairie, a leader of the Communist League in Canada, in Steve Clark's January 22 *Militant* report on the SWP's recent educational conferences.

This thesis, Clark asserts, is "a political conquest of the modern communist movement." But it doesn't seem to correspond to the position taken by the Communist League and the *Militant* over the recent period in campaigning for Quebec's right to self-determination.

"Whether or not the working-class vanguard should advocate the independence of an oppressed nation is a purely tactical question," League leaders Steve Penner and Michel Dugré explained in a May 1992 *International Socialist Review* article. "There are no broad forces advocating Quebec's independence," the article noted. "There is no political basis for communists or other vanguard fighters to call for an independent or sovereign Quebec under current conditions," its authors stated categorically. The position they advanced amounted to a call for Quebec autonomy, promoting "the demand that the Quebec government be granted all the powers needed to combat national oppression."

The position of the *Militant* appeared to evolve over the course of the recent Quebec referendum campaign, beginning with a focus on the demand for autonomy, not independence, as the "concrete expression of Quebec's right to self-determination." By the campaign's conclusion, however, the *Militant* seemed almost to be using the terms "autonomy," "sovereignty," and "independence" interchangeably, as though for Marxists they were synonyms.

In the wake of the Quebec referendum, given the current dynamic of the national struggle and the intransigence of Canadian imperialism in rejecting its most minimal demands — factors reinforced by the economic crisis — it may well be argued that the slogan of independence should today be a component of the socialists' program in addressing the Quebec national question. But isn't it incautious to recommend the universal application of this tactic for an entire historical stage? I look forward to clarification of your position.

Howard Brown
Rosetown, Saskatchewan

Quebec II

Jan. 20 — In the January 22 *Militant* article by Steve Clark, there is a sentence concerning the communist position on independence which is incorrect. It reads, "Wherever there are nations at this stage in history that are oppressed by imperialism and have a distinct geographical configuration, communist workers and youth are in favor of independence."

Communists support the right of national self-determination of oppressed nations. National self-determination can mean many different things in different countries and at different times: civil rights, democratic rights, cultural autonomy, political autonomy "sovereignty association" (as in the case of Quebec today), or independence. The key is the right of the oppressed nation to decide for itself, and the communists support for whatever option the oppressed people decide on, up to and including independence.

The way the sentence reads,

communists always support independence for oppressed nations, which is not the case.

The meaning of other phrases in this sentence also seems to me to be imprecise. What does it mean to say "at this stage in history" and "distinct geographical configuration"? Also, communists support the right of self-determination of oppressed peoples not only in imperialist countries but also in deformed and degenerated workers states.

Bob Braxton
Atlanta, Georgia

Quebec III

Jan. 28 — Susan Berman's response to a reader's letter (both printed in the Feb. 5, 1996, *Militant*) provides useful information on the history and nature of Quebecois national oppression. But it raises as many questions as it answers.

Communists always support the right of self-determination for oppressed nations and nationalities, but this is not the same as advocating independence. Here every struggle must be judged on the basis of its own dynamic.

I don't think the *Militant* has yet proven the case that the dynamic of the movement is clearly for independence rather than autonomy. And if it is, there is still the question of what slogan to advance. While communists certainly support the right of the Quebecois to form their own state, even under capitalism, why would we not advocate an independent workers and farmers Quebec? Is a democratic revolution on the agenda in imperialist Canada?

Finally, while I certainly support the *Militant's* position in the recent referendum, it is unlikely that the national struggle in Quebec will be settled by any kind of referendum. And I find it inconceivable that that revolutionaries would organize a referendum where the Quebec bourgeoisie could vote, but non-Quebecois working-class would be disenfranchised. Minorities in Quebec cannot be given a veto, but they must have a voice in what is their future too.

P.S. Feb. 10 — I think the last few articles on the threatened partition of Quebec were much better than Susan's article.

However, I do think we need to repudiate in some way the position that might be paraphrased "the Quebec bourgeoisie merely scapegoats the 'ethnic' vote, but we communists will eliminate it." That is the road to partition, ethnic cleansing, and all the rest.

Marc Lichtman
Brooklyn, New York

Quebec IV

Feb. 9 — I am a socialist and an avid reader of the *Militant*, but the articles by Susan Berman on Quebec have shaken my confidence in the paper's credibility. The articles are not based on actual facts.

The reason that the French lagged behind is not because of the English, but due to the influence of the church hierarchy, and the fact that there was no compulsory education until after World War II, resulting in the highest illiteracy rate in Canada at that time.

Over the past 50 years there has been a huge devolution of power from the federal to the provincial

governments, specifically giving more power to Quebec than any other province. Out of the last 50 years, for 35 years our prime minister has been from Quebec. For years, the elite in Quebec have indoctrinated the masses with the myth of anglophone persecution and exploitation of the French.

Several years ago my husband owned a small manufacturing business and applied for an operating loan from the federal government. He acquired several contracts to sell the product, but was told that he would have to move to Quebec if he wanted a loan. Consequently, the contracts were lost and the business went under.

The rest of Canada has to conduct all their business, both government and private, in both English and French, but in Quebec it

It's one thing to say that building the pro-independence course is the correct path. It's another to say that independence should happen, whether or not a majority wants it.

Albert Fried-Cassorla
Melrose Park, Pennsylvania

Quebec VI

Feb. 10 — Thank you for your article "Why *Militant* supports Quebec independence." It has stimulated me to read more about Quebec history, mainly because your explanations are superficial, contradictory, and unsatisfactory. In some cases you intimidate me (an anglophone, and worse... an ethnic) with "if a revolutionary government... were to organize a referendum, it would ensure that only Quebecois could vote on the question of national self-determination."

Are you writing from the point of view of "pure laine" Quebecois (a "pure wool" Quebecois), the self-appointed term used by Quebecois of French European descent? What does Susan Berman propose a revolutionary government do with the "non-

Quebecois minority"? In spite of this she describes "an independent Quebec that will open its arms to workers of all nationalities." I know that many pure laines are not racist, and it would be unfair to say that separatists in particular are racists. However, the leadership of the separatists and the provincial police apparatus have a bad, racist reputation. The writer assures that "the working class in Quebec will have to push these misleaders and their mouthpieces in the labor movement aside." But until they do, I am not suicidal enough to give them a YES vote for separation.

Your historical review of Quebec resembles a Jehovah witness account of religion — very simplistic! I cannot try to argue all these items now. Suffice it to say that although pure laines were discriminated by the European-descent anglophones in the past, this injustice has hardly any reminders in the present. "Language-segregated" schools are in place because Parti Quebecois Bill 101 says so, forcing most immigrants to attend French schools. French and English hospitals are staffed by both groups working together and provide identical care. If white or blue-collar workers are exploited, it is not because their first-spoken language but for reasons you know only too well. Where do you get your data that Quebec has the highest poverty rate? How does it compare to that of Newfoundland?

You focus on the francophone society as a very under-privileged group, but if you turn to other groups you would find equally appalling figures. The Inuit of Ungava peninsula have a need for self-determination but they cannot separate themselves from the south — at least not yet. Malcolm X and Steve Biko spoke about creating black African societies separate from white society. This would solidify the self-perception and pride of the people, enhancing self-determination. It was achieved on philosophical and organizational levels.

Physical separation, however, has many different ramifications

and consequences and cannot be carried out without mass mobilization, violence, and even civil war. The writer seems to approve this option: "The fight for Quebec's independence won't be won at the ballot box but through revolutionary struggle led by Quebecois workers and youth in the streets." I am all for such struggle but only if the revolutionary platform answers "yes" to two questions: 1) Does it benefit the majority? and 2) Is it justified?

First, in Quebec the francophone are the majority, but until now there is no reliable date to show that 51 percent of them want separation. This is because many residents of Quebec from the "non-Quebecois minority" were unfairly rejected during the voter registration process and there were numerous incidents of shady practices with the ballot boxes on referendum day. The public has yet to hear about the legal investigations into these issues.

Second, is separation justified? From your perspective, you must convince the readers that separating francophone workers from anglophone, Native Canadian and ethnic minority workers across the country will deliver a lethal blow to the "Canadian imperialist state." It sounds like a typical divide-and-conquer plan that would play right into the hands of the U.S. empire. What better than a fragmented Canada and a weak Quebec nation to serve free enterprise, which would suck up hydro-electric power, lumber, and minerals.

Thus, you have not convinced me that separation would advance the cause of workers in Canada or Quebec, but then you might say my ethnicity forbids me from having an opinion on this issue.

Juan Carlos Chrigwin
Montreal, Quebec

Deportation in Sweden

Workers at the Scania truck plant in Södertälje, Sweden, and their metalworkers union local are supporting a young co-worker's fight against deportation.

Gabi Behnan came to Sweden from Lebanon when he was 16 years old in 1988. After eight months he got permission to stay and work, and a month later he was hired at the Scania plant, a few miles south of Stockholm.

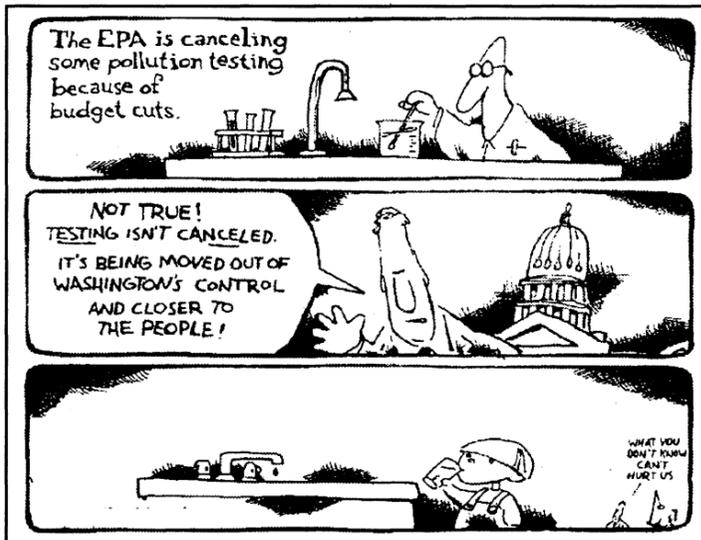
On March 1, 1995, Behnan was called to see the police in Södertälje. Someone told the police that his father was from Syria and he had lied about his citizenship. Six months later Behnan was informed that his permission to stay was revoked, and that after almost eight years in Sweden he should leave the country.

Behnan is appealing that decision. He and the chairman of the local union at the plant, Bertil Åhnberg, wrote a letter about the case in January to Leif Blomberg, the minister of immigration who was the former chairman of the national metalworkers union in Sweden. A week later the union sent out the letter to newspapers.

On January 30 about 40 people came to a meeting called by the union to start a solidarity committee for Behnan. The meeting discussed organizing a demonstration, circulating petitions on the job in support of the young worker, and going to see Blomberg in person.

Birgitta Isacson
Södertälje, Sweden

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.



is French only. No English signs or product labels are allowed, but if we don't have English and French labels in our little shop, in Ontario, we could be fined. In Quebec, it is the non-francophones that are the oppressed. The fact that their rights are continually being violated has been condemned by the United Nations.

Quebec has received a much higher percentage of transfer payments per capita than other provinces. The rest of Canada has also suffered monetarily because of the Official Languages Act; having to spend so much on making everything French and English. Despite the fact that 75 percent of Canadians are primarily English speaking, a rapid growing percentage of employment opportunities are being denied to them, both in public and private service. The French are also given higher wages. Even though a person may have a working knowledge of French, jobs are given to those with a French background.

I would be in favor of Quebec separating, but not for the reasons that Susan Berman states, but because the rest of Canada is suffering because of being blackmailed by Quebec. The Quebecois have been fed a great deal of untruths, and I resent the fact that the *Militant* has seen fit to support them.

Lavina G. Shaw
St. Thomas, Ontario

Quebec V

Feb. 9 — I am a bit confused by part of your editorial on Quebec independence ["Champion Quebec independence," Feb. 12, 1996, *Militant*], although I agree with most of it. Yet it notes that 49.4 percent of voters voted for independence — implying that a majority rejected independence.

The *Militant* endorses Quebec independence now, nonetheless. Does that mean that independence should occur over the wishes of the majority? If so, is that because in the *Militant's* view, the anti-independence voters were propagandized by a ruling-class media blitz, and that perhaps as a result their wishes do not count?

Ottawa tries to drive wedge between Quebecois patriots and Natives

BY ROBERT SIMMS

TORONTO—Federalist politicians in Ottawa are pursuing their reactionary, chauvinist campaign of threats to carve up Quebec as a weapon to beat into submission the Quebecois struggling for independence.

Indian Affairs Minister Ron Irwin launched into inflammatory remarks February 9 when he told reporters the independence struggle of Quebec could generate violence against Natives. "We're not advocating force, but [Quebec Premier Lucien] Bouchard has to explain to those people who vote yes in any referendum [on Quebec sovereignty] if they are giving him the right to ... use force on aboriginal peoples."

"There are a lot of crazy people around this country and when you appeal to the dark side of people, as the separatists do, then you are going to get violence," he stated.

A few days later, Irwin went on to claim that aboriginal territory within Quebec's borders does not belong to Quebec.

For several weeks Canada's capitalist rulers have been campaigning for the idea that the Canadian government is entitled to "partition Quebec," with the implied use of armed force, to keep Natives in the north and English-speaking communities in Montreal and other regions of Quebec within Canada in the event of an independent Quebec.

Canada's prime minister Jean Chrétien made it official policy by stating January 29, "If Canada is divisible, then Quebec is divisible." French-speaking Quebecois constitute some 80 percent of the province's population.

The Liberal government in Ottawa has taken over completely the iron-fist program of the right-wing Reform Party, whose leader, Preston Manning, had long advocated the partition of Quebec. On January 29, Manning stated that Ottawa needs to instill "fear" among Quebecois about the consequences of separation, including partition. "You don't want to use fear exclusively, but fear is an emotion that does motivate people," he said.

Threats to use military force

In a February 13 article the *Toronto Globe and Mail* reported that the new chief of defense staff of Canada's armed forces, General Jean Boyle, said that "the Prime Minister talked privately with him about scenarios in which the military might be needed in an internal crisis" — including "the dicey issue of Quebec."

On Quebec, the *Globe* went on, Boyle would not reveal what contingency plans existed but "he confirmed that they 'discussed all of the issues vis-à-vis providing Canadian forces in support of the government's mandate [including] aid to the civil power and contingency powers overseas.'"

One of the aims of the "partition Quebec" campaign is to build a movement among privileged English-speakers and among oppressed Natives inside Quebec against the Quebecois' struggle for independence. Rallies of these forces have been taking place, the latest on February 16, when up to 1,400 English-speakers, most of them middle-class and older, turned out in Montreal in a cheering pro-partition rally.

Nearly all Native officials across Canada support Ottawa's national unity campaign and oppose Quebec independence. Cree and Inuit officials in northern Quebec have taken the most openly pro-Ottawa positions.

On October 26, four days before the referendum on Quebec sovereignty, Cree officials paid for a full-page ad that ran in several newspapers. It read in part, "We ask Canadians to uphold the Canadian Constitution, our treaty and fundamental



Prime Minister Jean Chrétien (right) attacks a protester against unemployment during a ceremony to honor the Canadian flag in Hull, Quebec, February 15.

human rights, and the rule of law. We ask Canadians to support our right to remain... in Canada."

Some Natives distant from Ottawa

Ottawa knows that many working people and youth understand that Native people face deep oppression in Canada and have sympathy for their demands. They are cynically using Native people to win new support for their reactionary campaigns against the Quebecois, who are also an oppressed nation.

Quebecois and other French-speaking people in Canada face inferior incomes,

wages, education, and health facilities as a result of both historic and current discrimination.

Some Native officials have started to distance themselves from Ottawa's violence-baiting against the Quebecois using Native peoples as fodder for their campaign. "We don't want to be used as pawns by the federal government," said Ovide Mercredi, national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, the main body representing Native band councils across Canada.

Konrad Sioui, former leader of the Quebec Assembly of First Nations, opposes

Canada labor unions call protests against social cuts in Ontario and New Brunswick

BY JOANNE PRITCHARD

HAMILTON, Ontario — Tens of thousands of working people from across Ontario are making plans to converge here on February 23 and 24 to protest cutbacks in social services. It is widely believed that this will be the biggest protest to date against the Conservative government of Michael Harris and one of the biggest in the province's history.

A protest in Bathurst, New Brunswick, on February 25 is expected to draw thousands more workers to protest the latest round of cuts in unemployment insurance by the Canadian government.

Another front in the battle against the social service cutbacks opened when two-thirds of the 67,000 civil service workers in the Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU) voted to reject the Ontario provincial government's contract offer. The offer did not meet the union's demands on job security and pensions. The government is planning to lay off between 13,000 and 27,000 employees. The OPSEU will be in a position to go on strike as of February 26.

Over 200 people attended a pep rally here February 17. Hamilton has been designated by the Ontario Federation of Labour as the second site in its fight-back campaign. The first city that the labor movement shut down was London, Ontario. Some 10,000 people marched there on December 11.

Organizers estimate that 3,000 workers will be involved in cross picketing on Friday, February 23. This consists of shutting down a workplace other than one's own to avoid charges of collective agreement vio-

lations. Both days will include a march through Hamilton ending in a rally at Cops Coliseum.

The march on February 24 will include forming a massive ring around the Hamilton Convention Centre, where the Conservative Party is holding a policy convention. Organizers are working to receive 750 buses from across the province. There will also be car parking available with shuttle buses to the march departure point.

A worker at Wabco, which has a workforce of 300 and makes air brakes, said that people from Stelco would be coming to picket their plant. He said the company had asked workers to take one of their holidays on February 23 but they refused. He was confident that no one would cross the picket line.

The comment at the February 17 rally that got the loudest applause was from Sid Ryan of the Canadian Union of Public Employees who called for the next stage in the fight-back campaign to be a provincewide shutdown. He also said that the social democratic New Democratic Party will recapture the provincial government in the next elections.

Drop charges against students

The representatives of the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) and the Canadian Student Federation who spoke at the rally both defended four students who were arrested during the Student Day of Protest on February 7.

The students were charged with "intimidating parliament," stemming from an obscure law that carries a maximum sentence of 14 years. The CAW spokes-

person said that while he condemned the breaking of some windows by students, he contrasted this to the actions of "the prime minister [Jean Chrétien] who physically attacked someone legitimately protesting" against cuts in unemployment insurance on February 15 in Montreal. A petition was circulated at the rally calling for dropping of the charges against the students.

Meanwhile on February 5 demonstrations across New Brunswick and the Gaspé drew more than 5,000 people. The cuts they were protesting will hit seasonal workers, which many are in that region, the hardest. Workers will be required to work more hours to get benefits and so-called repeat users would receive less each year until they reach a low of 50 percent of weekly average earnings.

Working people across Ontario are preparing for the Hamilton Action Days. Some 250 unionists participated in a conference in Toronto on "Understanding and Fighting the Harris Agenda." The Ontario Provincial Council of the International Association of Machinists met to discuss their role in the fight back. Workers at plants in the Toronto region organized by the CAW and the United Steelworkers of America report that buses have been reserved for the days of protest.

On February 12, Students for Quality Education met in Toronto to discuss how to get high school students signed up for the teachers' union buses. Those interested should call Sarah at (416) 397-3770 to reserve a seat. Those seeking more information about the activities in Hamilton can call Steve Farkas, chief coordinator, at (905) 529-2010.

As it turned out, Chrétien's target was William Clennett, an English-speaker born in a Montreal working-class neighborhood who supported the yes vote in last fall's referendum on Quebec's sovereignty. Clennett also recently added his name to a letter signed by some 60 English-speaking residents of Quebec protesting Ottawa's chauvinist campaign for the partition of an independent Quebec.

In a letter to the *Ottawa Citizen* last October, Clennett wrote, "With a yes vote, the question of national unity will no longer serve as a justification for cutting essential social programs and the fight for social justice will thereby be enhanced."

the partition campaign. "We are neither provincial Indians nor federal Indians," he said. "We should let [the politicians] have the monopoly on demagogy."

In another development in which supporters of Quebec independence were targeted, Prime Minister Chrétien waded into a crowd of people protesting cuts to unemployment insurance during a ceremony to honor the Canadian flag in Hull, Quebec, February 15. With a look of hatred on his face, Chrétien grabbed a protester by the throat and back of the neck, twisted him around and flung him to the ground.

Vice Prime Minister Sheila Copps tried to justify this violent assault against a demonstrator who had made no move toward Chrétien by saying that the protesters at the event were "just a bunch of separatists disguised as unemployed workers."

Much of the big-business media outside Quebec backed this excuse.

The *Toronto Globe and Mail* wrote that the demonstrators "marred a ceremony that was intended to build up Quebecois attachment to Canadian symbols."

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