

# THE MILITANT

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New Clinton cabinet  
shows further rightward shift

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 61/NO. 1 JANUARY 6, 1997

## Protests shake Stalinist regime in Belgrade

### NATO extends intervention in Yugoslav workers state

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS  
AND ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

For an entire month, daily protests against the Stalinist regime of Slobodan Milosevic have filled the streets of Belgrade and other cities in Yugoslavia. The number of demonstrators in the capital of Serbia has hovered around 100,000. On December 16, the largest march to date took place. Accord-

**NATO troops out of  
Yugoslavia now!**

— Editorial, p. 14

ing to reporters from B-92, a Belgrade radio station independent of the government, up to 250,000 people took to the streets that day.

The protesters have pressed the Milosevic regime to reverse its decision to annul the results of the November 17 municipal elections, where an opposition coalition reportedly won a majority in many of Serbia's largest cities, including Belgrade.

Faced with such persistent pressure, the regime in Belgrade has begun to offer concessions in an attempt to defuse the protest



Workers in Belgrade rally December 17 against labor bill that would cut 800,000 jobs

movement. A local court in Smederevska Palanka, southeast of Belgrade, overturned the cancellation of the election results there. A court in Nis, Serbia's second largest city, made a similar decision December 15.

In Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, the regime of Franjo Tudjman also just faced its biggest challenge since his government broke formal ties with Belgrade five years

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## Jet defect was likely cause of TWA crash

BY NANCY ROSENSTOCK

NEW YORK — Five months after Trans World Airlines (TWA) Flight 800 crashed over the Atlantic Ocean, killing all 230 people aboard, the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB) issued a report on December 13 highlighting a problem with fuel systems on Boeing 747s. The report, the NTSB's first public comment since the crash stating what should be done, "demonstrates the agency's strong confidence that the crash resulted from a mechanical malfunction, rather than a bomb or missile," according to an article in the December 14 *New York Times*.

The report's recommendation to the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) points out that the fuel pipe that runs down the center of the plane, called a cross-feed manifold, can allow static electricity to build up,

Continued on Page 11

## Pathfinder offers special on Marxist writings

BY GREG McCARTAN

NEW YORK — A special sale announced by Pathfinder gives socialist workers and youth an opportunity to significantly expand their Marxist libraries. The *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, is now on sale for \$399. Marx and Engels

**Organizing a worldwide  
distribution center for  
revolutionary literature**

— see page 5

## European Union summit spotlights rifts

BY MARTIN KOPPEL  
AND MARCELLA FITZGERALD

PARIS — The French government hailed the results of a European Union summit, held in Dublin December 12-14, as progress toward the establishment of a single European currency.

"I'm telling you it's going to work!" ex-

claimed President Jacques Chirac of France at the end of the gathering of 15 heads of capitalist governments. "Anyone who still doubts that the euro will see the light of day understands nothing about the signs of the times," asserted German chancellor Helmut Kohl.

As if to dispel such doubts, pictures of

the newly designed euro, the projected European currency, were splashed on front pages of daily newspapers across Europe.

"Yet behind the smiles, the future looks uncertain," remarked an article in the December 16 *Financial Times* of London. The paper noted that European capitalist governments, riven with differences, deferred the biggest decisions until a June summit in Amsterdam.

The heads of state declared Jan. 1, 1999, as the date for the beginning of the European Monetary Union (EMU), which would include those governments fulfilling a range of requirements.

On the insistence of Chirac, whose government has been dogged by a new wave of working-class protests, EU leaders renamed the agreement the "stability and growth pact." They also adopted a "Declaration on Jobs," promising that current belt-tightening measures would be followed by growth and employment, to sell the deal to working people hit by high joblessness and government attacks on social entitlements.

As the *Financial Times* put it, "The summit communique sent a message to voters who have protested in the streets of Belgium, France, Germany, Italy and Spain against austerity measures aimed at meeting the criteria for EMU."

The EU powers agreed on a joint "anti-crime" program, a theme Chirac pushed as one of the ways to persuade middle-class layers and others that monetary union will bring palpable "stability." The summit declaration proposed expanding the powers of the EU-wide police force, Europol, supposedly to target organized crime, drug trafficking, and "terrorism." At a press conference Kohl suggested a European "FBI."

The summit, however, referred all the major disputed issues to the Intergovern-

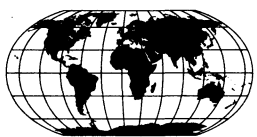
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## Seven million strike in Italy



Seven million industrial and transportation workers went on strike December 13 in all major cities in Italy. Above, workers at Fiat Mirafiori marched in San Carlo Square in Turin during a solidarity demonstration with mechanical and metalworkers demanding a wage increase. It was the first national strike called by the major union federations since president Romano Prodi took office last spring. In the major cities all public transportation was at a standstill.

Striking Steelworkers call rally at Wheeling-Pitt — page 11



## Workers protest in Spain

Some 100,000 people marched in Barcelona, Spain, protesting a wage freeze imposed by the Spanish government December 11. Joint demonstrations involving tens of thousands of people occurred throughout the country. Unionists from the General Workers Union (UGT) and the Workers Commission (CCOO) participated along with public sector workers as some of the demonstrators pelted oranges and fish at the regional Parliament. The protesters carried signs opposing the policies of the Jose María Aznar government.

## UK soldier assaults Irish student

A regiment of British troops attacked 17-year-old Paul Ogle as he set off for college in Newry November 25. After insulting the youth, one of the soldiers snatched him and head-butted him giving him a gash over his left eye that sent him to the hospital for medical attention.

In another incident of harassment by British soldiers, Sinn Fein president Jerry Adams and fellow party member Gerry Kelly were detained at a security checkpoint 20 miles southwest of Belfast December 12. Cops were summoned and Adams's car was searched while he and Kelly were verbally abused by the authorities.

## Strike halts airline in Germany

Flight and ground workers for Lufthansa airlines in Germany waged a two-hour strike December 12 that canceled or delayed 116 flights. The DAG union reported some 1,500 workers from Lufthansa flight crews and ground personnel participated in the strike.

The workers have been without a contract since September. The strike started after negotiations broke off December 9 between the DAG and company officials over disagreement on contract length, vacation time and Christmas bonuses. The walkouts affect airports in Frankfurt, Hamburg, Duesseldorf, Hanover, and Munich.

## Russian miners end strike, workers seize nuke plant

Officials of Russia's Coal Workers Union called off a nationwide strike December 11,



Some 100,000 people protested a government-imposed pay freeze in Barcelona, Spain, December 1.

after the government agreed to pay back wages owed to miners by the end of the year. More than 400,000 workers in about 180 pits and open cast mines across Russia participated in the strike. Union officials say Moscow's debt to the miners totals about \$400 million. The miners' strike began December 3 and was joined by teachers and other workers in many regions.

Meanwhile, more than a dozen workers took over the control room at a St. Petersburg nuclear power plant on December 6. They threatened to cut off power to the city unless they received several months back pay. By dawn the next day, 400 of their co-workers joined the take over. Before noon on December 7, Moscow flew in over a billion rubles — \$200 per worker — promising to send the rest in a week. Government officials acknowledged that workers throughout the country are owed almost \$9 billion in back wages and the debt is soaring by nearly 20 percent a month.

## Tel Aviv escalates provocations

The Israeli government decided December 13 to restore benefits to settlers in the

West Bank, which include business grants equal to 20 percent of investments and lower income taxes. A similar policy that provided incentives was implemented from 1990 to 1992 prompting thousands of Israelis to move to enclaves in the occupied territories, increasing the population to 145,000 settlers. The Palestinian Authority warned the Zionist regime of escalating the crisis "to the edge of explosion."

At the same time, some 15,000 Palestinians participated in a rally December 13 in the Gaza Strip organized by Hamas, the militant Islamic group. Many Palestinians expressed anger over an Israeli planning commission's approval to build an Israeli housing complex for 132 homes in an Arab neighborhood in East Jerusalem.

## Chilean hospital workers strike

More than 50,000 public hospital workers went on strike during the first week of December demanding higher wages. The hospital bosses refused for the first several days to meet with workers until they renounced the strike and went back to work. Workers refused this demand. "We cannot end the strike if we do not have guarantees that they [the company] will honor an agreement," said Humberto Cabrera, president of the National Confederation of Health Workers. The workers received a boost when doctors decided to join their strike. "As doctors we cannot permit this situation to continue in the hospitals," said Enrique Accorsi, president of the Doctor's Association.

## Mexico retaliates in trade duel

Mexican rulers raised import tariffs on eight U.S. products, December 12, which they project will yield them \$1 million a year. The main items to be more heavily taxed are alcoholic products including wine, wine coolers and brandy, which will be increased to 20 percent. This move by the Mexican

government is seen as a retaliatory measure after the Clinton administration increased a tariff on Mexican brooms by 11 percent on November 28. This trade duel marks the first tariff increase since the January 1994 signing of the so-called North American Free Trade Agreement.

## Campus workers walk out in New York

Several hundred technical, clerical workers, and some students at New York University participated in a rally December 11 to support a half-day walkout organized by workers, over the right to have a union shop. Currently, the university can hire non-union workers. Of the 1,550 workers covered by the union contract, 900 are union members.

The university offered a 3.5 percent pay raise or \$18.50 a week, whichever is higher, and a 3 percent increase the next two years. University officials are refusing the union demands to participate in the orientation of new workers when they start work, instead of months later, and the right to deal with union business during the workday.

## Cops charged with frame up

Four cops and three prosecutors in Illinois were charged on December 12 with conspiracy, perjury, and obstruction of justice in the frame-up of two Latino youth, who were convicted of the abduction, rape, and murder of a 10-year-old girl. Sentenced to death, the two youth had spent years on death row before being released last year.

Five of seven of those indicted were accused of giving false testimonies. One of the former prosecutors charged in the 47-count indictment is Robert Kilander, now a DuPage County judge. Since 1994, five men have been released from death row in Illinois because of lack of evidence or because of evidence of innocence.

— BRIAN TAYLOR

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# Bonn deploys combat troops in Bosnia

BY CARL-ERIK ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — For the first time since World War II, the German government will deploy combat troops abroad. On December 20, some 3,000 German soldiers will join other imperialist forces in the NATO occupation of Bosnia. Germany's parliament approved the deployment with an overwhelming majority of 499 to 93, with 21 abstentions, December 13.

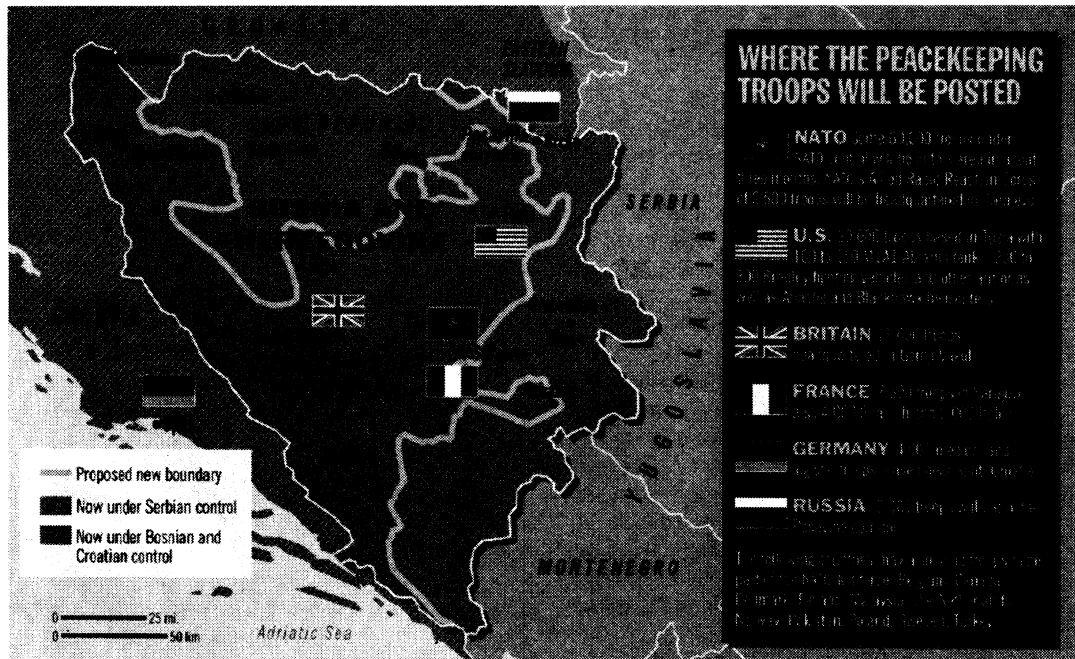
German Foreign minister Klaus Kinkel hailed the vote as the end of Bonn's "special role" as a country held back by its Nazi past from participating in imperialist operations outside the territory of the states that belong to NATO. "We have now seen that, contrary to the fears of some people, our soldiers presence is welcomed by all sections of the population," Kinkel declared.

There are already 4,000 German troops in Yugoslavia involved in logistics, medical, and engineering units of the NATO forces. But they are based in Croatia, far away from the more militarily strategic areas in Bosnia where Paris, London, and Washington have already deployed thousands of combat troops.

## Record of German intervention

Bonn was the first imperialist power to intervene in the Yugoslav conflict. It was the first government to back the regime of Franjo Tudjman in Croatia in its bid to break formal ties with Belgrade—a move the Serbian regime of Slobodan Milosevic used to justify launching the war for control of territory and resources from rivals in other republics. The government of Germany was the first to send military advisers and weaponry into Yugoslav territory as early as 1991.

In 1994, Germany's Constitutional Court rejected objections to plans that German AWACS planes over the Adriatic Sea would help police the UN embargo against Serbia and Montenegro. It also approved the deployment of German troops under UN auspices as engineering and medical personnel in Croatia. When NATO bombed positions held by chauvinist Bosnian Serb forces in Bosnia in September 1995, German Tornados took part in the raids, specifically in attacks that blew up bridges and other infrastructure in the town of Foca. A month



Maps like one above are run frequently in the big-business press, showing imperialist attempt to carve up Yugoslav workers state into spheres of influence. In an effort to push aside competing imperialist powers, Bonn is now deploying combat troops in Bosnia, adding to its forces in Croatia.

later, 4,000 German army doctors, transport, and logistic personnel were deployed in Croatia.

The debate in Germany's big-business media over the deployment of combat troops in Bosnia has focused whether the memories of the Nazi occupation army in the Balkans would make German soldiers unpopular and more at risk than soldiers from other countries.

In an interview this spring in the German weekly *Der Spiegel*, German minister of defense Volke Rühe argued that the German troops, although stationed in Croatia, have taken part in many transport missions in Bosnia without problems. "Our soldiers are trusted by all parties in the conflict," he said. He explained back then that Germany would take part in the continuation of the U.S.-led operation after December 20, designated earlier as the deadline for withdrawal of the NATO forces, with troops stationed in Bosnia. "We think of cooperating with the French in their sector in Bosnia," Rühe told *Der Spiegel*.

In line with that, the new deployment will not have an exclusive German profile. Bonn's new contingent will operate jointly

with French forces in southeastern Bosnia under the command of Brigadier General Hans-Otto Budde, commander of an existing French-German brigade in Germany.

Five years after Bonn was bashed by some U.S. columnists for being "penny pinching cowards" and a "checkbook power" for not sending ground troops in the U.S.-led war against Iraq, Bonn is deploying the fourth largest force in Yugoslavia after Washington, Paris, and London.

As early as 1994, the opposition social democratic party in Germany supported a proposed change of the constitution, proposed by the coalition government of Christian Democrat Helmut Kohl. The amendment allowed German troops to operate outside the country's borders.

Prior to that, in 1991, Bonn took the first step on the way to put its military strength more in line with its economic and political power deploying 200 soldiers in Iran. Bonn's troops went there on the request of Tehran to carry out the same mission the U.S. troops were in the middle of on the Turkish-Iraqi border: driving fleeing Kurds back into Iraq.

At that time, Kohl said, "Germany has to

do more for its fair share of international solidarity."

Although German imperialism has the biggest conscript army in Europe, it has been hard for the rulers there to use it abroad to flex their military muscle. Bonn has been held in check by its imperialist allies, who are also competitors.

And opposition among working people to military deployments abroad runs deep. In the beginning of the 1980s millions demonstrated in Germany, in some of the country's largest street demonstrations ever, against Washington's attempts to place middle-range nuclear missiles in western Germany directed against the Warsaw pact countries.

An opinion survey by Germany's state television on sending troops to Yugoslavia found 51 percent of the population saw the deployments as "not good," compared to 46 percent in favor.

This fall a debate has unfolded in Germany on whether a professional army should replace the conscript force to better be able to participate in overseas military operations. Minister of Defense Volke Rühe said in an interview quoted in the November 20 *Financial Times* of London, "The most important thing the German army can contribute to NATO is conscription — its reservists and its capacity to grow to 680,000 well trained and well equipped soldiers." Pointing to Germany's military strategic interests in its region, Rühe said he regarded Central Europe as the top priority.

## Dispute over NATO enlargement

The rapid enlargement of NATO into Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary — as pushed by Washington and London — does not suit Bonn's interests as it will stir frictions with Moscow. Bonn has provided the government of Russia with \$70 billion in loans and aid since German reunification in 1990. This sum includes the money Bonn had to pay to get the Soviet troops out of East Germany. A disproportionately big part of the loans to Russia by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are forked over by Bonn. The German rulers stand behind 60 percent of the loans from capitalist financial institutions to Russia.

Bonn has now decided to play a greater military role in its "backyard" to add muscle behind its economic power and counter the influence of its main competitors, of which Stockholm also is an important actor with the backing of Washington and London.

The strategic importance of the decision to deploy the German troops in Bosnia is reflected in the overwhelming majority vote in parliament. "I see a successful deployment as probably the start for German intervention for peacekeeping, peace enforcement, peacemaking," said Green Party legislator Marieluise Beck.

But the risks the decision could involve was reflected in a statement by Günter Verheugen, a social democratic member of parliament. "We are not just taking another decision," he said. "It may mean that we must take responsibility for our young people losing their health or their lives."

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

# Protests force Belgrade to offer concessions

## Continued from front page

ago. Over 100,000 students, workers, and others took to the streets November 21 to protest Tudjman's decision a day earlier to close down an independent radio station — forcing the government to back off from shutting down Radio 101.

As the class struggle has heated up in these republics, the various imperialist powers occupying Bosnia have decided to prolong, and in the case of Germany expand, their intervention into the Yugoslav workers state. On December 13, the German parliament decided to dispatch 3,000 combat troops to Bosnia — Bonn's first such mission abroad since World War II (see article above).

Four days later, NATO defense ministers gave the final go-ahead for extending the mandate of the U.S.-led force in Yugoslavia until June 1998. That week, Gen. John Shalikashvili, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, floated the idea of creating a special international police force in Bosnia to hunt down those accused of war crimes by an imperialist tribunal in the Hague.

## Milosevic offers concessions

On November 17, the Serb president annulled the results of the municipal elections, in which the opposition coalition called Zajedno (Together) claimed it won majorities in city councils in 15 of Serbia's 19 largest cities. The demonstrations began a day later and have spread to some 30 cities and towns.

After the ruling Socialist Party overturned opposition victories in these cities, it ordered new elections. In some cases, such as Belgrade and Kraljevo, the opposition boycotted the new vote. In others, such as Kragujevac, Uzice, and Cacak, it participated, and won again. In Nis, the local election commission did not order new voting after it appeared the opposition had won in

the city. Zajedno supporters said Milosevic supporters on the commission simply forged the vote tallies. On December 15 Ljubisa Ristic, president of the United Left, a party headed by Milosevic's wife, Mirjana Markovic, said that as far as he knew the opposition had won in Nis. That day a local court ordered the local election commission to recount the vote from 26 polling stations within 10 days.

The Milosevic family is using both the Socialist Party and the United Left to paint a facade of political breadth to the regime.

In an attempt to diffuse the protests, Milosevic announced on state-run television December 13 an invitation for a delegation from Organization for Security and Cooperation (OSCE) in Europe to "obtain genuine information about all the facts" of the elections results. The proposal was sent to U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher and was Milosevic's first public comment since the protests began. The U.S.-led military occupation force organized the September elections in Bosnia in collaboration with the OSCE.

At their Dublin summit (see front-page article), representatives of European Union governments set conditions for an international team to verify the results of the November poll. "We have no interest whatsoever in an economic and social collapse of Serbia," said EU mediator Carl Bildt.

In another concession, the regime in Belgrade allowed two of three radio stations to resume operations December 5, less than 24 hours after closing them down.

Milosevic also began granting more concessions to working people to stave off serious threats to his regime. The government promised to pay back wages, student grants, and pensions by the end of the year. Some retirees received full pension checks December 14, although the payment only covered the month of October. The regime an-

nounced other measures including cheaper electricity rates and lower prices on some foods such as sausages.

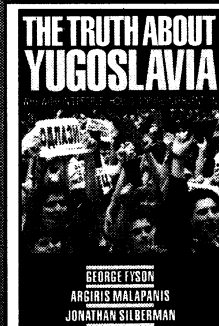
## 'Barely able to survive'

These steps by Belgrade have brought limited relief to Serbia's working people in the middle of deteriorating economic conditions. "We are barely able to survive," said Emma Stefanovic, a 68-year-old former secretary.

Nearly one third of the population — some three million people — live in poverty, according to the *Christian Science Monitor*. Half of the factories in Serbia are closed down, unemployment is hovering at 50 percent, and annual inflation is 100 percent.

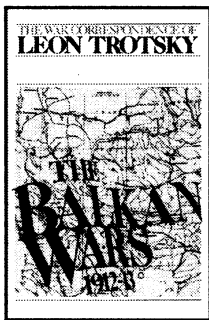
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# UK gov't is enemy of Cuban revolution

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — The UK government broke from its traditional abstention in the annual UN vote on trading with Cuba November 12. London joined the other European Union members in voting against Washington, citing the so-called Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, also known as the Helms-Burton Act, for the change. This law provides for U.S. economic sanctions and lawsuits against companies in third countries that do business in Cuba.

"In the past, Britain has abstained, because we regarded the blockade as a bilateral matter between the U.S. and Cuba," a Foreign Office spokesperson said. "The Helms-Burton Act changes this situation, making the matter one of multilateral relations, which is why we voted against this time."

The decision, however, has not altered the support by the British rulers for Washington's 37-year effort to crush the Cuban revolution. In a May 29, 1996, speech criticizing the Helms-Burton law at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., British foreign secretary Malcolm Rifkind said, "We do not quarrel with Congress's aims." Leon Brittan, the European commissioner and a former UK government minister, recently assured Europe's willingness to do what he described as "promoting democracy" in Cuba.

The UK government's vote reflects London's attempts to defend British interests, not a concession to Cuba's fight for national self-determination. London has the longest and most rapacious history of colonial oppression and plunder of any imperialist power. At times, the British imperialists have spoken out against reactionary measures by other oppressor countries, but they have done so only to advance their own specific imperial interests. London's agitation over the years in favor of free trade is always aimed at breaking ties to colonies by other powers to open them up for Brit-

ish exploitation.

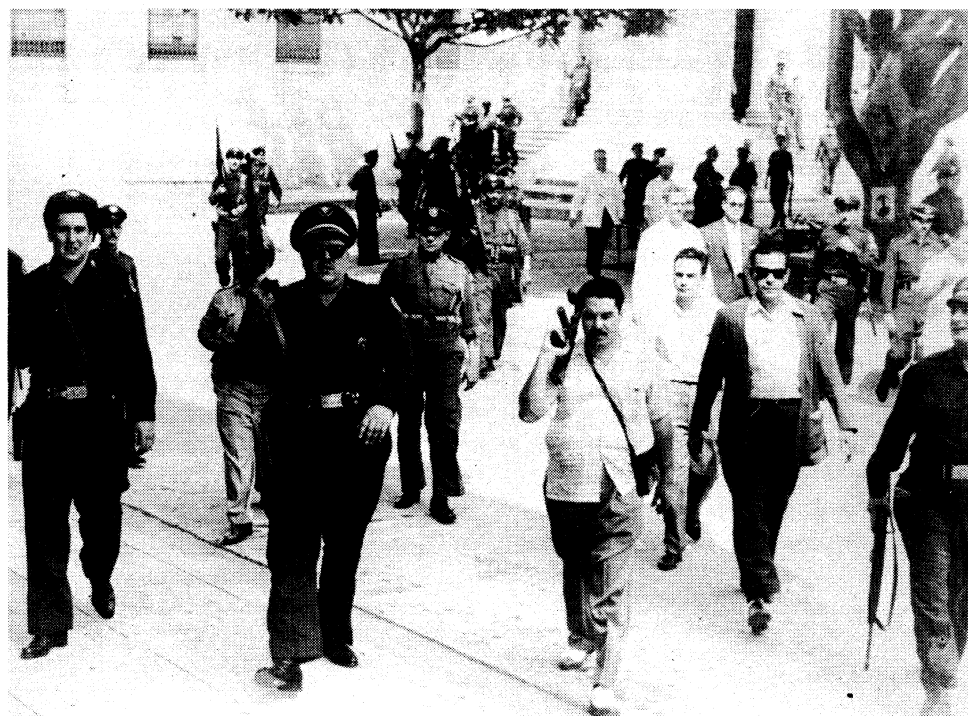
Ken Gill, chairperson of the Cuba Solidarity Campaign in Britain, gave a different view. Gill said, "We welcome the fact that the British government has finally come off the fence and sided with its European Union partners on this issue" of the embargo on Cuba.

## A step forward for Cuba?

A wide-ranging discussion has developed among Cuba solidarity fighters and others on these questions. A meeting organized by the North-East London Cuba Solidarity Campaign in November decided to picket the prime minister's residence at Downing Street to demand massive humanitarian aid for Cuba in the face of damage caused by Hurricane Lili. One participant at the meeting argued strongly against such action. "Celebrating" London's UN vote, he argued that "all our fire should be on Washington. London is not the enemy of Cuba."

In a November 14 editorial titled "A choice for Bill Clinton," the *Morning Star*, the newspaper associated with the Communist Party of Britain, said that the vote by the British government should sound alarm bells in the White House. "President Clinton has a great opportunity now to have his period in office remembered in the future as the administration that brought hostility to Cuba to an end and fostered reconciliation," the editorial continued. "Helping US allies, including Britain, to assist President Clinton to make the right decision — to accept the Cuban people's right to decide their own political and economic system — will be made easier by a sharp stepping-up of international solidarity with Cuba."

Cuba has asked Britain, among other countries, to provide one-time export credits totaling £500 million (£1 = US\$1.67) to help offset damage caused by Hurricane Lili and to ease the burden of rising food and oil import costs. But, as *Financial Times* correspondent Pascal Fletcher wrote Novem-



Bohemia

**Batista police occupy University of Havana, April 21, 1956. In front, with sun glasses, Rafael Salas Canizares, one of the most notorious henchmen of the regime of Fulgencio Batista. In April 1958, London took advantage of a temporary U.S. arms embargo on the Batista government and sold arms to the dictator. The July 26 Movement, which led the victorious revolution against the U.S.-backed tyranny, exposed the role of British imperialism. The November 18, 1958, *Revolución*, the newspaper of the July 26 Movement, wrote that London sold amphibious tanks and jets to Batista to be used "for the criminal bombardment of the population." The British rulers have remained hostile to the Cuban revolution to this day.**

ber 6, "the governments approached are reacting cautiously," cynically suggesting that Cuba is overstating the effects of the hurricane.

## British imperialism in Cuba

Britain's rulers have a more than 200-year history of imperialist policy toward Cuba. This includes an 11-month occupation of Havana by British forces in 1762-63 at the end of the Seven Years War, which among other matters settled disputes between Spanish and British colonialists. The island was opened up to the slave trade, in which Britain was the leading player.

In the face of sharp Spanish and U.S. competition, London was not able to be the chief imperialist power dominating Cuba, but the English capitalists sought to extract the

maximum economically. In the nineteenth century the British bourgeoisie exported substantial capital to Cuba, and some 70 percent of capital in the Cuban rail system was British. By the 1920s, Britain was Cuba's second biggest customer.

London supported all Cuban governments that would defend such trade and investments and was deeply hostile to the revolutionary struggle led by Fidel Castro and the July 26 Movement in the 1950s.

In April 1958, London took advantage of a U.S. arms embargo on the Batista government and sold 17 Sea Fury piston fighter planes to the Cuban dictator. The planes were to be supplied with a large quantity of air-to-ground missiles, and tanks were also to be supplied, though only 12 aircraft reached Cuba while Batista still in power. Shipments stopped in mid-December as the revolution was nearing victory. British capitalists also worked with Batista to put together a large joint Anglo-Cuban venture to build shipyard and numerous service facilities at the port city of Mariel, which was finally ratified in November 1958. The leading company in the British consortium was Hawker Siddley, which was also the manufacturer of the Sea Fury aircraft.

The July 26 Movement took up a campaign against the British government. The November 18 issue of the July 26 Movement's official organ, *Revolución*, reported that London sold the Cuban regime amphibious tanks as well as jets, which Batista "bought for the criminal bombardment of the rural population." A full-page poster in the bulletin called for a boycott of British products, and in particular, of the Anglo-Dutch company Shell. The "President of Shell was one of the principle agents and promoters of the sale of English planes to the dictatorship," it explained. "It's also known that Batista and other henchmen have big investments in the company." *Revolución* reported on the successes scored by the revolutionary movement against Shell, with the burning down of petroleum storage tanks in Holguín and Manzanillo. The weekly bulletin of the July 26 Movement, *Sierra Maestra*, reported that a Labour member of parliament, H.J. Delargy, had condemned "this dirty and sad arms trafficking carried out on the backs of the British people" and published an appeal that the British people be informed that the government was selling arms to Batista.

In the 38 years since the triumph of the revolution, no British government — Tory or Labour — has apologized for its support for Batista. Nor has it condemned the terrorism perpetrated by Washington against the revolution, its Bay of Pigs invasion, or the U.S. rulers' criminal economic war against the Cuban people. These were, after all, "bilateral" matters between the Washington and Havana.

And in 1988, British secret MI5 agents actively worked with the CIA in targeting the then Cuban commercial attaché to London, Carlos Medina Pérez. When Medina defended himself by shooting Cuban defector and CIA operative Florentino Aspillaga,

Continued on Page 12

## Unionists plan international meeting in Cuba

BY ERNIE MAILHOT

HAVANA — Trade unionists from a number of countries met December 3 in Havana to discuss organizing work for next summer's labor conference titled "International Workers Conference Confronting Neoliberalism and Globalization." This event will be held in Havana August 6-8, 1997, after the 14th World Festival of Youth and Students, taking place in Cuba's capital and other cities throughout the island.

Several leaders of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC) participated in the organizing meeting, including CTC

general secretary Pedro Ross. Other participants included representatives of unions and union federations from Australia, Chile, Colombia, France, India, Panama, Peru, Turkey, and Venezuela. Two trade union activists from the United States involved in work in defense of Cuba also attended.

The international workers conference next August is expected to bring together unionists and others from countries on every continent. Its central theme will be the growing economic and social crisis facing working people as governments, defending big-business interests, drive against the

rights and living standards of workers.

During the three-day event participants will break down into commissions. The topics will include effects of privatization; unemployment and underemployment; struggles against the lowering of wages, cuts in social services, and the deterioration of health and education; the fight against the unequal distribution of wealth; the loss of sovereignty and independence of countries; and actions needed to end discrimination against women and immigrants and put a stop to child labor.

The conference will also meet in full plenary sessions. Major presentations in these sessions will include a talk by Osvaldo Martínez, director of the International Center on the World Economy, and a presentation by Pedro Ross on the Cuban trade union movement. In addition, the December 3 organizing meeting decided to invite Ricardo Alarcón, president of Cuba's National Assembly, to speak on Washington's misnamed "Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act," or Helms-Burton law. This legislation escalated the U.S. rulers' economic war against the Cuban revolution. Cuban president Fidel Castro is being asked to give the closing talk to the conference.

During the discussion at the December organizing meeting Sukomal Sen, general secretary of the All India State Government Employees' Federation, stressed that it's not only important to point out the problems but also to offer alternatives. Ross said that this is exactly what the conference was about. "We here think we have an alternative, but we want everyone to express their views on this," the Cuban union leader said.

Besides those represented at the December organizing meeting, a number of other unions have added their names to the co-sponsors list. Others have responded positively to attending the event. The 19 national unions of Cuba are organizing to each have delegations at the conference.

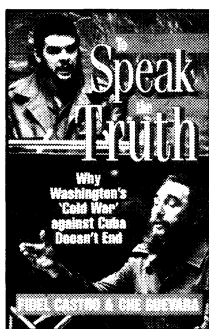
Ernie Mailhot is a member of Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees Local 694B in Miami.

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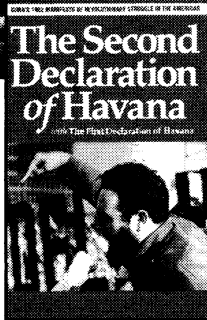
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# Organizing a distribution center for revolutionary literature

Project to advance communist propaganda work is example of voluntary labor

BY BRIAN TAYLOR  
AND GREG McCARTAN

NEW YORK — "We shipped out 700 books today to Pathfinder customers," said Karen Ray, who works in Pathfinder's printing division here and organizes the new pick-and-pack fulfillment service for the publisher.

"The printshop has reproduced a number of Pathfinder titles over the past month," she said. "We've kept the books here, and have begun filling partial orders as they have been invoiced by Pathfinder. It is one step toward what we'll have up and running before New Year's Day: a pick-and-pack operation of all titles distributed by Pathfinder. We will be shipping the revolutionary books and pamphlets directly to customers all over the world."

Some of the titles shipped this week are *Socialism on Trial*, by founding leader of the SWP James P. Cannon. This book had to be quickly reprinted because of increased demand from Pathfinder bookstores where socialists are organizing classes to introduce young people to the communist movement. Another title, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, by Frederick Engels, had to be reprinted this month due to continued large classroom orders for the pamphlet, Ray said. In one day, 558 copies of this basic work of Marxism were shipped to four universities.

*The Politics of Chicano Liberation*, edited by Olga Rodríguez, was reprinted for the third time this year and shipped directly to customers after it was finished in the bindery. A fourth title, *Nouvelle Internationale* no. 5, the French-language magazine that contains the article "Imperialism's March Toward Fascism and War," by Jack Barnes, was printed and finished in one week's time so communists in Quebec could sell it to other participants in a December 7 demonstration against government cutbacks in Quebec City.

Pathfinder business manager Sara Lobman explained, "We are confident that our new fulfillment service will insure that we have a steady flow of books to workers and youth who need them in their political work. We can improve service to our customers in the timeliness of order delivery, the accuracy of the shipments, and the quality of the books when they arrive. We will be able to turn orders around more quickly in response to important developments in the class struggle."

Ray said that orders received from Pathfinder will generally be filled and shipped to customers within one day. "No other fulfillment house could provide this kind of service," she said.

This is especially important given the increased sales over the past year of Pathfinder titles by socialists around the world. In November, for example, socialist workers and youth sold more than 2,000 books and pamphlets to co-workers, students, and others involved in political activity internationally.

## Fund to raise needed capital

To set up the pick-and-pack operation, and to make other long-term publishing projects possible, a capital fund of \$280,000 for loans or contributions of \$1,000 or more was launched at four regional socialist educational conferences held at the end of November. "We've received a tremendous response since the fund was launched less than three weeks ago," said fund director Dave Prince in a December 18 interview. "So far 62 people have stepped forward and \$197,700 has been pledged. These results put us in a position to rapidly complete the \$280,000. These large contributions are applied toward capital expenditures on the physical plant and equipment, which includes setting up the pick-and-pack operation and completing the repairs on the south wall of the Pathfinder building. We will then be able to look toward accelerating payments on major equipment purchases."

Contributions have ranged from \$1,000 to \$20,000. Socialists who are members of the International Association of Machinists; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; and United Auto Workers unions are organizing to pool

year-end bonuses to contribute. Donations have also come from bequests, industrial accident settlements, and other windfalls.

A transformation of the six-story south wall of the Pathfinder Building is well under way. The first insulated panels were set in place this week. This new weather-resistant paneling is needed because of deterioration over the years of the brick wall. Continued exposure would have severely weakened the structure of the building. All of the wall paneling will be in place by the year's end.

Chris Hoepfner, the general manager of the shop, pointed out that "Pathfinder books are read, studied, and discussed by a wide layer of working people and youth looking for answers to the breakdowns and instability brought about by capitalism. This project will put communists around the world in a better position to place producing and distributing these books at the center of their work, whether it be in the unions among coworkers, in protest actions and coalitions they join around the world, or as they reach out to build solidarity with the Cuban revolution, the strike by steelworkers at Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel, and other workers in struggle."

The print shop is staffed by communist workers who work for an average three-year stint to produce the revolutionary arsenal of literature. Workers in the shop design, typeset, prepare the film and plates, print, collate, bind, and cut books and pamphlets. They also take on a large volume of commercial work which helps keep skills honed and generate a surplus that goes toward the production of revolutionary literature.

## A new challenge and opportunity

Workers in the shop are now taking on the additional responsibility of organizing the "pick-and-pack" operation. Regular shipments are sent to Pathfinder in London, where orders from Europe, the Middle East, and Africa are received, processed, and filled. A fulfillment company in Quebec services Canada, as well.

For the rest of the Americas, the Pacific, and Asia, books will be sent directly to customers from Pathfinder in New York. These include orders for a single copy of a title from people who get ahold of a Pathfinder catalog or see an advertisement for a Pathfinder book; from Pathfinder bookstores, which constitute an important part of Pathfinder's overall sales; from universities where Pathfinder books are used for classroom texts; and from retail stores and libraries who want Pathfinder titles to fill out selections available to customers or patrons.

Hoepfner explained that the printshop is built "on the political consciousness and disciplined organization of communist workers. We produce the political weapons workers and youth need to educate themselves and the entire working class on why we must organize a revolutionary struggle to replace the government of the capitalists with one of workers and farmers, opening the road to the fight for socialism."

"In addition," he said, "we must organize an efficient, competitive, and high-quality commercial operation. Having a steady stream of Pathfinder books to reprint, and figuring out how many to run, when to print them, and how to make sure they are always available is a real opportunity. It will make us a more efficient and productive operation."

## Pathfinder reprints

Pathfinder and the printshop are making simultaneous steps to insure that every title published by Pathfinder stays in print and available for communist workers and youth to utilize in the course of their work.

By December 31 the shop will have delivered, among other titles, reprints of *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain*, by Felix Morrow; *On the Irish Freedom Struggle* by Bernadette Devlin McAliskey; *What Is Surrealism?*, by Andre Breton; *Humanism and Socialism*, by George Novack; *The Bolivian Diary*, by Ernesto Che Guevara; and *Puerto Rico: U.S. Colony in the Caribbean*, by José Pérez.



Militant/Salm Kolis (above), Hilda Cuzco (left)

Above, volunteers helping renovate third floor of Pathfinder building to set up the pick-and-pack operation. Left, workers install the first insulated panels on the six-story south wall of the Pathfinder building. These repairs are necessary to ensure its structural integrity.



Books are reprinted on two state-of-the-art Heidelberg sheetfed presses. "Our goal is to run Pathfinder books for 30 hours a week on each press, which means 30 hours of labor time," said press operator Rose Ana Berbeo. "One of the moves we made this week was to go to three shifts on the presses. This year," she said, "we've done considerably more commercial sheetfed work than previously. Having a list of Pathfinder titles to print each week means you can organize a more efficient and rational schedule."

Pathfinder also is working to improve the covers, typography, and annotation of its titles. Members of the Pathfinder staff have begun a daily schedule of scanning and proof-reading titles that are not currently in electronic form. This process prepares the manuscript to be typeset with modern, more readable type. *Sexism and Science*, the first book scanned, proof read, and corrected by the staff, will be completed this week. A plan for getting every Pathfinder title in digital form will be drawn up over the next month.

## Setting up the pick-and-pack operation

Members of the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialists, and other supporters of Pathfinder launched a one-month project at regional socialist educational conferences at the end of November to transform an underutilized floor of the building into a professional facility where the books produced in the printshop will be housed for the fulfillment of orders.

Volunteers from around world have been pitching in for one day to several weeks so the new operation will be up and running by New Year's Day. More volunteers are needed from December 21-31, says project organizer Kevin Dwire. The books needed to get the fulfillment process up and running will be delivered in five truckloads. They will need to be inspected, processed, inventoried, and shelved by a big crew of volunteers.

"There has been a tremendous response so far," Dwire said. "Workers who have plant shut-downs have volunteered their time, youth who recently joined the Young Socialists have pitched in from around the country, and workers and youth in the New York area have been coming in on the weekends and after work."

Salm Kolis, a leader of the SWP in Atlanta, who is a member of the United Auto Workers union and an assembly-line worker

at Ford, is organizing the volunteer crews. Kolis said she "took time off work before a plant shutdown to help lead the project to get the pick-and-pack operation set up." Rail workers, garment and textile workers, airline workers and others have also come to New York to pitch in.

Kolis said her experiences in Atlanta over the past months has reconfirmed for her the indispensable place of reading, studying, and selling revolutionary books and literature. "We have a growing number of workers and youth interested in and joining the Young Socialists and the party," she said. By utilizing these political weapons while participating in political activity, the communist movement became a pole of attraction for youth and workers seeking to join a disciplined and organized proletarian socialist organization, Kolis explained.

Laron Letzerich, a 22-year-old college student from Salt Lake City, Utah, explained how he came to join the volunteer efforts. "The first contact I had with the YS was about a month and a half ago when I saw a flyer for a past event for [SWP presidential candidate] James Harris," Letzerich said. He went to the address on the leaflet, which was the Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters as well as the local Pathfinder Bookstore.

There, socialists invited Letzerich to attend the regional socialist educational conference held in San Francisco. "I was already reading these books when I went to the conference," he said. "I decided the YS is something I want to be a part of." In addition to joining the YS he also decided to take part of his semester break to do voluntary work at the Pathfinder Building. The crew has torn down several walls to reorganize the third floor layout, installed new outlets for phones and computers, begun the consolidation and reorganizing of supplies, and repainted most of the walls.

Much work remains. "We are trying to make room for thousands of boxes of books," Kolis said. Brand new shelves have been purchased. At least 100 shelves need to be assembled with 3,200 screws, and each shelf needs to be labeled. The lighting system on that floor will also have to be rearranged, the floors repaired, and the packing and shipping area set up.

Kolis explained that when the books arrive, each box needs to be opened so each individual book can be thoroughly cleaned and inspected to make sure it meets the high standards set by Pathfinder, culling out any damaged books. Titles will be counted and inventoried, then placed into standard boxes that fit tractably into the shelves.

The first step for those who come for the project is a tour of the entire Pathfinder building, during which volunteers can get a

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# Youth protest cops, defend East Timorese

This column is written and edited by the Young Socialists (YS), an international organization of young workers, students, and other youth fighting for socialism. For more information about the YS write to: Young Socialists, P.O. Box 14392, St. Paul, MN 55114. Tel: (612) 644-0051. CompuServe: 105162,605

BY CLINT IVIE

ATLANTA, Georgia — In just one week, the Coalition of Afrikan Tri-State Students (CATS) organized over 150 people, most of whom were young, to a conference to discuss ideas and possible solutions in the fight against police brutality. At the November 23 symposium, young people testified about police brutality in their cities — in many cases from personal experience. Participants at the meeting were outraged about the verdicts in Pittsburgh and St. Petersburg, where cops have walked free.

CATS is a Black student organization based on campuses in Indiana, Kentucky, and Ohio. It was formed in 1995 after

Pharon Crosby, a high school student who is Black, was brutally beaten by Cincinnati cops while waiting for a bus. The meeting was also organized by Georgia Technical Institute's African-American Student Union. Marcus Smith, a leader of the group, spoke at the event. He is a relative of Jerry Jackson, 23, who was killed by Atlanta police in December 1995. Brenda Jackson, the victim's mother, also spoke.

The program included a film showing explaining the Johnny Gammage case. Gammage died of asphyxiation after being choked to death by Pittsburgh-area cops. John Vojtas, one of the five cops involved, was recently acquitted, sparking demonstrations and a high school walk-out of 1,000.

During the open mike, a YS member addressed the issue of police brutality, stating, "All cops are bad. The rich make the laws and the real role of the cops is to protect the private property of the rich."

Young Socialists set up a table at the meeting and distributed a statement issued by the Atlanta and Athens YS.

"Why do killer cops walk free and what can be done about it?" asked the YS statement. "Workers and cops do not get equal treatment in the courts. Under capitalism, workers are presumed GUILTY, GUILTY, GUILTY, and cops are presumed innocent. As Malcolm X explained in a speech he gave at Tuskegee Institute on a trip to the South he made in February 1965, the system 'make(s) a criminal look like a victim, the victim look like a criminal, and end up with the criminal putting the victim in jail.'"

The statement continued, "The Young Socialists join with all resistance and protests to the horrors of capitalism including protests against police brutality and the death penalty, cuts in education and welfare, and defending affirmative action and equal rights for immigrants."

"We commend the organizers of today's meeting for providing the opportunity for youth and workers to discuss what to do to advance the fight against police brutality. Only by educating ourselves and studying past working-class struggles can we learn why as long as there is capitalism, there will be no peace."



Some 100 high school students near Vancouver, British Columbia, protest Canadian complacency in selling arms to Indonesia in its war against the East Timorese people.

"Rallies, teach-ins, and demonstrations that unite as many people as possible in a broad front against police brutality are necessary, and if organized can mobilize anti-racist fighters on campuses and in working-class communities. We must demand that all killer cops be prosecuted and jailed."

BY CHUCK DEMERS  
AND JACOB GAVIN

VANCOUVER, British Columbia — Some 100 students from Burnaby Central High School in Burnaby, British Columbia, staged a walkout and protest December 11 in support of the East Timor independence struggle. The walkout coincided with International Human Rights Day, and the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to two Timorese activists, Jose Ramos-Horta and Bishop Carlos Belo.

Protesters took up picket signs and organized chants, for over an hour towards the end of the school day, such as "Corporations listen up: This aggression has to stop! From the truth you cannot hide! Your profits stem from genocide!"

East Timor Awareness At Central (ETAAC), the student organization heading up the walkout, sought to expose and criticize the Canadian government's hypocrisy and complicity in ongoing genocide in East Timor. East Timor is a small island that

gained independence from Portugal in 1975, only to be invaded by Indonesia that same year and annexed in 1976.

According to figures provided by the East Timor Alert Network, an international East Timor solidarity group that was the inspiration for ETAAC, roughly one-third of the indigenous population (numbering some 600,000 in 1975) have died as a result of the Indonesian occupation. Mass rape, napalm bombing, indiscriminate killing and forced sterilization in the small country have been reported by Amnesty International, church groups, and other human rights organizations. Businesses in the imperialist nations wish to maintain favorable ties with Indonesia, which offers 180 million potential consumers and low labor costs. In 1996, Canadian investment in Indonesia stands at \$6 billion, and \$365 million worth of arms permits have been signed by the government this year alone.

"They know where it's going, this \$365 million worth of weaponry. If the government knows what's going to happen with it, we should really question whether human rights are 'our' government's real interests," said Sacheen Desai, 16, a student at Burnaby Central.

Many students first became involved in the solidarity struggle with the East Timorese following a series of information activities organized by ETAAC, which now has 20 members, three of whom are also members of the Vancouver Young Socialists. One ETAAC event featured Bella Galhos, a young Timorese refugee living in Canada, and drew over 95 Central students. Galhos gave a first-hand account of the 1991 Dili massacre, which took the lives of more than 250 unarmed Timorese protesters.

The school administration frowned on a walkout during school hours, and issued a letter to students hours before the action stating that they would be held accountable, threatening unspecified "consequences."

According to Peter Duck, a co-founder of ETAAC and new member of the YS, Vice Principal David Mickle implied the disbanding of ETAAC.

However, following favorable media attention and community support the school principal was forced to back off. The action garnered attention from several local news stations and newspapers, as well as a national news program. The school received over 20 phone calls from community organizations and parents offering their support for the action.

The Vancouver newspaper *The Province* ran a prominent article and a photo of the protest and quoted some of the students. "Our government is paying for this genocide," said Chuck Demers, 16, pointing to Canada's \$365 million in military sales to Indonesia and \$9 billion in investments by Canadian corporations," the article said. "(Indonesia) is a major human-rights violator. We're here to tell the Canadian government they can't get away with this," he said.

The article continued, "For many, such as Selena Beitermoser, 17, it was their first political action. 'We're helping Indonesia kill East Timorese by selling arms,' Selena said. 'I think we should stop.'"

ETAAC plans to continue to educate students and the community in the new year.

*Chuck Demers is a member of the YS and co-founder of ETAAC. Jacob Gavin is a member of the YS.*

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# Socialists launch campaign in Peoria

BY VED DOOKHUN

PEORIA, Illinois — At a press conference held at the Pathfinder bookstore December 5, the Socialist Workers Party launched its campaign for mayor of Peoria and city council.

The announcement was covered by local television station WEEK 25, the local national public radio affiliate, and the *Peoria Journal Star*. The socialists "announced their candidacies Thursday for mayor and the 3rd District City Council seat," said the article in the December 6 *Star*.

Angela Lariscy, a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee, announced her candidacy for mayor along with her running mate Meg Novak, a member of the Young Socialists National Committee, who is running for city council.

"Lariscy is a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union at the Witco plant in Mapleton," said the *Star* article. "Novak works at the Bridgestone/Firestone plant in Bloomington and is a member of the United Steelworkers of America."

Explaining that her campaign aims to provide a working-class voice as an alternative to the interests of big business, Lariscy spoke of the need to put forward a program that unifies working people faced with a "downward spiral of wages, working conditions, and standards of living as a result of a worldwide capitalist depression."

"There is no Peoria solution to these problems," said Lariscy. "My campaign puts forward an Action Program that begins with a demand for jobs for all, which can be accomplished by shortening the workweek with no cut in pay. Affirmative action is a necessary measure to level the playing field in hiring, housing and education for women, Blacks, and other oppressed nationalities. Defending affirmative action,



Militant/Ved Dookhun  
Angela Lariscy, SWP candidate for mayor

and explaining that the labor movement can only enforce it on the employers by quotas, is a necessary part of unifying working people against the assaults on our standard of living."

The candidates also addressed the problems facing working farmers. "My campaign will demand an end to all farm foreclosures, a guaranteed price for crops and livestock above the price of production, and pollution and waste control regulations on mega hog farms," Lariscy said, referring to the building of large-scale hog confinements in Illinois without regard to the effects on the surrounding land and air quality. Lariscy called for an alliance of working farmers and trade unionists and other workers to defend their common interests against the capitalist exploiters. Fighting for such an alliance can eventually lead to opening the road for a government of workers and farmers, the

socialist candidate said.

"The assault on our standard of living is coupled with attacks on our democratic rights," stated Novak. Pointing to the attempts by the Clinton administration and the local government to restrict the rights of youth, Novak noted that this represents a drive to "scapegoat young people as criminal elements in society." She cited the so-called "roadside safety checks" in Peoria as "nothing but a reason for the cops to stop and harass people just like the curfew laws." Novak demanded an end to these measures.

"There is a tug of war going on today between working people and the rulers like the unresolved labor dispute at Caterpillar that will not be settled without a fight," Novak stated.

Pointing to walkouts by working people in France against government austerity cuts and the recent strike by workers at an IBP meatpacking plant in Joslin, Illinois, she added, "Working people are fighting back."

On December 7, Socialist Workers campaign supporters launched a petition drive to get the socialist candidates on the ballot. Danny Booher, one of these supporters and a Steelworkers member, reported that the campaign has begun to get a good response among working people in the area. The first two days of petitioning, 187 signatures were collected. Campaign supporters also sold three Pathfinder books, six copies of the *Militant* and one subscription to the Spanish-language socialist monthly magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*.

At a December 13 forum with the socialist candidates, Novak explained she was ending her campaign in Peoria in order to move to Minneapolis, Minnesota, to assume full-time responsibilities in the Young Socialists national center as a member of newly elected YS National Executive Committee.



# Puerto Rico elections tap statehood debate

BY RON RICHARDS

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — For the first time, a pro-statehood gubernatorial candidate has won an election here with more than 50 percent of the vote. Governor Pedro Rosselló of the New Progressive Party (PNP) won the November 5 election with 51.1 percent of the vote. The meaning of this victory is the subject of much discussion.

Hector Luis Acevedo of the Popular Democratic Party (PPD) came in second with 44.5 percent and David Noriega Rodríguez of the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) was third with 3.8 percent. The PPD supports the colonial status quo with modifications. The PIP received less votes than in 1992, but enough to maintain its electoral franchise. This means that the party will be on the ballot in the 2000 elections and will receive public money. The PIP is the largest group in the independence movement, but did not receive the support of other *independentista* groups such as the New Puerto Rican Independence Movement (NMIP).

Longtime pro-independence leader Juan Mari Brás cast his vote, but then election officials sealed it in a wax envelope and did not count it. Until the issue is decided by the courts his ballot will remain sealed. Mari Brás is one of a layer of *independentistas* who has renounced his U.S. citizenship and claimed Puerto Rican citizenship.

For several decades, the election for governor has been decided with the winner receiving less than 50 percent of the vote. For instance in 1988, the PPD candidate won with 48.6 percent while the PNP had 45.8 percent and the PIP 5.5 percent. In the context of traditionally close elections, 51 percent is being billed as a landslide.

The election results sparked a debate over whether this means that a majority of the population supports statehood for Puerto Rico. Many people have interpreted the election by saying that the people voted not for statehood but for the administrative style of Rosselló.

The PNP is divided into two wings, one that will do anything to achieve statehood and the other that prefers to concentrate on governing the colony and pushing statehood to the back burner. Former governor Carlos Romero Barcelo is of the first wing while Rosselló is of the latter. Romero won the race for resident commissioner with 50.1 percent of the vote. Resident commissioner

is the non-voting representative of Puerto Rico in the U.S. Congress. As resident commissioner, many members of Congress will look to him as a representative of the island.

At a meeting on November 17 to discuss the election results and the implications for the independence movement, Néstor Nazario of the NMIP explained that Rosselló won with an image of reform and modern government, as the new and fresh face on the scene. Nazario said that the health care reforms of the governor in his first term would cause long term problems but were very popular. Under these reforms one million people who formerly had to wait for hours in government run clinics, now have improved access to private doctors. The meeting was held on the Rio Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico and drew 70 people.

## Not a vote for statehood

According to Frank Ramos, a writer for *San Juan Star*, the election was not a vote for statehood, but it will provide a push for a status bill in the upcoming session of the U.S. Congress. He asserts that the Young bill, which calls for a federally mandated plebiscite on the future of this colony, will be considered again by Congress. It is supported by the PNP and the PIP. The PNP supported the bill as the road to statehood and the PIP believes that statehood will be offered with conditions that make it unacceptable to the majority of Puerto Ricans. The PIP position is that after the rejection of statehood, then the U.S. government will move towards independence and negotiation with the PIP.

In a November 19 article for the *San Juan Star*, Ramos stated that the "question of Puerto Rico's language and cultural identity" is one of the "basic issues that could



Militant/Kirstin Meriam

## Rally in September by Puerto Rican Independence Party in Lares, Puerto Rico.

block the road to statehood."

In December 1993, more than 100 Puerto Ricans, including Juan Mari Brás, met in the Liberty Theater in Quebradillas to denounce their U.S. citizenship and to claim Puerto Rican citizenship. Under the U.S. constitution, citizenship can only be lost by renouncing at a U.S. embassy outside the United States. Most people who do this are motivated by personal reasons such as marriage and then acquire citizenship of the country where they reside. To satisfy the U.S. government, Mari Brás traveled to Venezuela in July 1994 and renounced his citizenship at the embassy in Caracas. Washington waited 16 months before issuing him a certificate formalizing his loss of citizenship. Mari Brás is simply the first, as others have also traveled to other countries to renounce their citizenship. For the past year, the daily newspapers have been filled with news about this debate on the legal status of Puerto Ricans who live in Puerto Rico but are not U.S. citizens.

In January 1996, the Puerto Rico Justice Department issued an opinion that such

people had the same legal status as undocumented workers. When it became clear how isolated their position was, the government of the pro-statehood PNP quickly retreated from this position. By April, the Justice Department was willing to allow Mari Brás to vote. On April 10, Pedro Pierluisi, the secretary of justice, changed his position and declared Mari Brás eligible to vote.

Miriam Ramírez, a leading pro-statehood activist, went to court to have Mari Brás declared ineligible to vote. In October, Judge Angel Hermida declared unconstitutional the law that said that to vote in Puerto Rico you must be a U.S. citizen. This was the first judicial recognition of Puerto Rican citizenship independent of U.S. citizenship. The case has been appealed to the Puerto Rico Supreme Court which will decide on the matter next year. At that time, the vote of Mari Brás will be counted or destroyed.

"I have a high regard for Mari Brás," Ramírez told the newspaper. "But the reason that we moved on this matter is that I do not believe that he did this idly. He wants to establish that Puerto Rico is a separate nation."

# Indonesian activists on trial for subversion

BY JOANNE KUNIAISKY

SYDNEY, Australia — On December 4, the Indonesian military regime of General Suharto filed subversion charges, which carry the maximum penalty of death, against 13 activists detained following antigovernment riots that rocked Jakarta on July 27.

The subversion trials of ten of the thirteen began on December 12 in two court-

rooms — one in Central Jakarta and one in South Jakarta.

The riots were sparked by a government-organized attack on the Jakarta headquarters of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), which was being occupied by hundreds of supporters of bourgeois opposition figure Megawati Sukarnoputri. They were protesting her replacement, in June, as chair-

person of the PDI in a rump election. In the July 27 assault, at least five people were killed and 23 others are still "missing."

Those charged with subversion include Muchtar Pakpahan, leader of the Indonesian Prosperous Labour Union (SBSI) and 12 leaders and members of the People's Democratic Party (PRD). Budiman Sujatmiko, the 29-year-old chairman of the PRD, and 22-year-old Dita Sari, president of the Indonesia Centre for Labour Struggles (PPBI), a union affiliated to the PRD, were among those arrested.

The subversion charges were filed two weeks after Indonesia's Supreme Court reimposed a four-year jail term on Muchtar Pakpahan. Pakpahan was jailed in 1994 on charges of inciting mass labor unrest after strikes shook the city of Medan. He was freed last December after the Supreme Court found there was insufficient evidence for his conviction. The subversion law allows 12 months detention without trial at any undisclosed location. Pakpahan was arrested once again in August following the July riots.

Dita Sari and two other members of the PPBI were jailed in the city of Surabaya in early July for their role in huge street protests there. The demonstrations ended in attacks on workers and students who were demanding an increase in the minimum wage and more democratic rights in Indonesia.

The other PRD leaders were detained in August when the regime announced a crackdown on the PRD accusing the organization of "masterminding" the July riots and of being communists plotting to overthrow the Suharto government. Muchtar Pakpahan and Dita Sari are leaders of independent unions that are illegal in Indonesia, as is the PRD.

On November 28, Indonesian judges released all 124 PDI supporters of Megawati Sukarnoputri who spent four months in prison following the July protests on lesser charges of refusing to obey orders by the security forces to disperse. The PDI is one of two legal political parties outside of President Suharto's ruling Golkar party.

In October, the National Human Rights Commission of Indonesia ruled that Government interference in the PDI's internal affairs provoked the July unrest, not pro-democracy activists.

# London refuses bail to Irish activist

BY ROSE KNIGHT

LONDON — Róisín McAliskey, 25, the daughter of Irish nationalist Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, was refused bail at Bow Street Magistrates Court here December 13. Neighbors and supporters from Coalisland, her hometown in County Tyrone, northern Ireland, raised £300,000 (£1 = US\$1.65) to provide funds for her bail application.

Attorneys representing the government of Germany, which is demanding her extradition, argued that she was likely to disappear if given bail. Supporters organized a picket calling for "No extradition, release Róisín." Her name was also read out along with other Irish political prisoners at a picket the next day outside Belmarsh prison in South London. Picketers shouted "Irish prisoners on remand. Guilty without trial."

McAliskey was arrested November 20 and taken to Castlereagh Interrogation Center near Belfast, northern Ireland. She was interrogated by the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) for five days, from 8 a.m. in the morning until 1 a.m. the following morning. The RUC did not bring any charges against her. But Bonn has demanded her extradition allegedly as a suspect for an attack on the British army base at Osnabrück, Germany, which the German government claims was carried out by the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

McAliskey was then flown to the United Kingdom so that extradition proceedings could begin. She was taken to the women's prison at Holloway, London. She was the first woman to be transferred from there to an all-male high security prison at Belmarsh,

South London, where she was put into a special secure unit (SSU), held in solitary confinement for six days without natural light, and denied physical exercise.

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey and her partner, Sean McCotter, traveled to Belmarsh prison for an arranged visit. Fianna Fail T.D. (Irish member of parliament) Eamon O'Cuiv was also due to visit the same day. All were refused entry into the prison. They then discovered that Róisín had been moved back to Holloway. McAliskey's lawyer Gareth Peirce said the sudden transfer was "hardly accidental and deliberate in design" and was aimed at preventing her family from visiting her.

Irish fighters on remand (in custody without a trial) in Britain are treated in ways similar to McAliskey. Of the 14 inmates on remand, 12 are reportedly in SSU's, deprived of educational, recreational facilities, and access to church services. When prisoners at Belmarsh make court appearances they are forced to undergo rudbown searches, two full strip searches, and body searches during which they are made to squat over a mirror to check for objects hidden in their bodies. Resisting this abuse leads to a beating. When their families and lawyers visit, they are separated from them by a reinforced glass screen, and have to communicate via telephone monitored by a prison officer. Sleep deprivation is also practiced: lights are kept on in the cells, and guards wake up prisoners every hour all night.

Fuiscalt, the Irish political prisoners campaign in the UK, is calling for an end to the barbaric conditions in which Irish prison-

ers are held in English jails. The group's demands include the banning of SSU's, the transfer of Irish POW's to Ireland, immediate release of all Irish political prisoners, and the stopping of extradition to the UK. Fuiscalt is calling for the release of Róisín McAliskey.

The inhuman treatment of McAliskey has exacerbated her medical condition. She is having a difficult pregnancy, complicated by digestive and muscular disorders and stress related asthma. When she arrived in Britain the police doctor who examined her entered a note on her custody record saying that McAliskey should be kept under constant medical supervision and have access to an emergency obstetrics unit. An appointment was made at Whittington Hospital near Holloway prison, but she was transferred to Belmarsh before she could attend. Belmarsh has no obstetric facilities.

At the remand hearing December 13, magistrate Ronald Bartle said the doctor's report made "disturbing reading." It said that McAliskey showed signs of advanced starvation due to repeated vomiting. Peirce, her lawyer, said she was kept in her cell at Holloway for 23 hours a day and that during the night the light was kept on so she could not sleep.

Supporters of McAliskey are asking that letters of protest be sent to German consulates and embassies around the world demanding she be released on bail at the next remand hearing December 20. A picket is also being organized outside Bow Street Magistrates Court, where the hearing will take place.

# New Clinton cabinet shows shift to right

BY NAOMI CRAINE

In selecting a virtually new cabinet for his second administration, President William Clinton continues to lead the rightward shift of bourgeois politics in the United States. In his nominations and recent speeches, Clinton has made plain his intent to aggressively advance U.S. big-business interests against capitalist rivals around the world, through trade policies backed up by the largest military arsenal on earth. At the same time, the administration has made it crystal clear it will continue to attack the social entitlements and living standard that working people in the United States have won over decades of struggles.

Clinton nominated Madeline Albright for Secretary of State, replacing Warren Christopher. As the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations for the last four years, Albright has been a leading spokesperson for Washington's foreign policy. She has often pushed for U.S. military intervention, including in Haiti, Somalia, and Yugoslavia. Albright repeatedly attacked the Cuban revolution from the UN rostrum, including pushing through a UN Security Council resolution criticizing the workers' state for shooting down two hostile planes that invaded its airspace from Florida last February. Most recently, she was the point person for forcing out a UN secretary general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who didn't meet

with Uncle Sam's approval.

Albright, whose father was a prominent Czech diplomat prior to World War II, brags that, "Because of my parents' love for democracy we came to America after being driven twice from our home in Czechoslovakia — first by Hitler and then by Stalin." She is a strong advocate of expanding NATO to include states in central and eastern Europe.

Rep. Bill Richardson has been tapped to take over from Albright as UN ambassador. A Democrat from New Mexico, he helped the president push the North American Free Trade Agreement through Congress. At the news conference where Clinton announced his nomination, Richardson said he will continue the policy of "working hard to reform and strengthen the UN while making it clear that we would continue to rely on our own resources and alliances for the protection of our vital economic and security interests." Initially an opponent of U.S. aid to the "contras" fighting to overthrow the Nicaraguan workers and farmers government in the 1980s, the congressman shifted his position in 1985 and backed "humanitarian" funding for the rightists.

## Advancing bipartisan foreign policy

In place of William Perry, who is resigning as Secretary of Defense, Clinton nominated William Cohen, a Republican from

Maine and until last November a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Calling his nomination "a bold and exciting move," Cohen said he would advance a bipartisan foreign policy. "Our policy at all costs must be unified when it comes down to those crucial moments when the nation is in need," Cohen declared.

The president chose Anthony Lake as the new director of CIA. Lake has been Clinton's national security advisor for the last four years.

According to a profile in the December 6 *Washington Post*, "The image of liberal academic that Lake himself promoted after leaving government at the end of the Carter administration has led many to believe he is opposed to covert action. Yet several officials said he had supported the CIA's secret operation to help foment dissent in northern Iraq and cause trouble for Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. He also did not object when current CIA director John M. Deutch repeatedly called for an expansion of covert operations to undermine terrorism and narcotics trafficking." The *Post* cited an unnamed colleague of Lake as saying he will work in the CIA to "restore its image." The background of the nominee for top U.S. spy includes a Foreign Service stint in Vietnam in the 1960s.

Samuel Berger, who was Lake's deputy, will take his place as national security advisor.

Berger's relations with Clinton go back to their work for George McGovern's presidential campaign in 1972. Berger was one of those in the Clinton administration who reportedly argued early on for sending troops to both Haiti and Yugoslavia. "On sensitive issues with deep political ramifications, such as trade sanctions for Cuba, it has often been Berger who played the critical role in White House deliberations," the *Washington Post* reported.

Clinton is nominating William Daley to serve as the next Commerce Secretary. Daley's father Richard Daley was formerly mayor of Chicago; his brother currently holds that post. In addition to his law practice in Chicago, William Daley coordinated Clinton's pro-NAFTA campaign in Congress in 1993 and organized fund-raising from local businessmen to host the Democratic National Convention in Chicago last summer.

Among other cabinet decisions, Clinton announced December 13 that Janet Reno will continue in the post of attorney general. One of her first actions in that job four years ago was to okay an assault on the Branch Davidian religious sect in Waco, Texas, that left 86 people dead. She has played a major part in the Clinton administration's "law and order" campaign. There have been tensions between the attorney general and the president, however, over her appointment of four special prosecutors to investigate allegations of wrongdoing by Clinton and his associates.

Also retaining their posts are Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala and Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin. Still open for nomination are the posts for secretaries of Labor, Transportation, and Housing and Urban Development. These had been held by Robert Reich, Francisco Peña, and Henry Cisneros, respectively.

Among other top economic posts, Clinton appointed Gene Sperling, who has worked closely with Rubin, to head the National Economic Council. He nominated acting U.S. Trade Representative Charlene Barshefsky to take that position full-time. With these moves, the *New York Times* stated December 14, the president "effectively consolidated the powers of Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin as the dominant Cabinet officer of a second term."

Commenting on the new Clinton cabinet in a syndicated column published December 18, David Broder stated, "There is almost no left left in his administration." He pointed to the replacement of White House chief of staff Leon Panetta by North Carolina businessman Erskine Bowles and the departure of Clinton's political advisor George Stephanopoulos as indications of a more rightward-leaning regime.

"The result is likely to be the most conservative Democratic administration this century," Broder declared.

## Continued attacks on social gains

In a December 11 speech to the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) and two days later in a news conference announcing several cabinet appointments, Clinton stressed many now-familiar themes his administration intends to push on. He told the politicians in the DLC, which he was a founder of in 1985, that his administration was holding "the vital center the DLC has been trying to forge with new ideas and mainstream values for more than a decade now...."

"Both parties now agree that we must balance the budget," he added. He stressed this point at the December 13 news conference as well, saying, "It is good policy for America to pass a balanced budget plan now and to implement it. And I believe I have some credibility on that, because we cut the deficit by more in four years than anyone has in a month of Sundays."

Washington's probes for how to cut Social Security, including by rigging the Consumer Price Index to indicate lower inflation, have not abated. Even if this goes through, bondholders won't be out in the cold, though.

A new "inflation-indexed" bond, linked to the CPI, is scheduled to go on the market in January. The *Wall Street Journal* reported December 18 it will probably pay premium interest rates in order to offset investors' uncertainty over the CPI rate.

# Dublin EU summit spotlights rivalries

Continued from front page

mental Conference (IGC), an ongoing commission of lower-level representatives of EU members that for nine months has been working on a revision of the 1993 Maastricht treaty. The new accord is supposed to be concluded at the June 1997 EU summit in Amsterdam.

One of the sharpest of these conflicts is between the French and German ruling classes over control of a projected European Central Bank. Bonn, which as the economically strongest capitalist power in Europe is likely to dominate the bank, insists the new financial institution should be "independent" from control by an international political body.

## Conflict between Bonn, Paris

French capitalists, on the other hand, are determined not to be cut out of decisions on setting the central bank's exchange rates and other matters. Paris is demanding a "stability council" as a political counterweight to the European Central Bank.

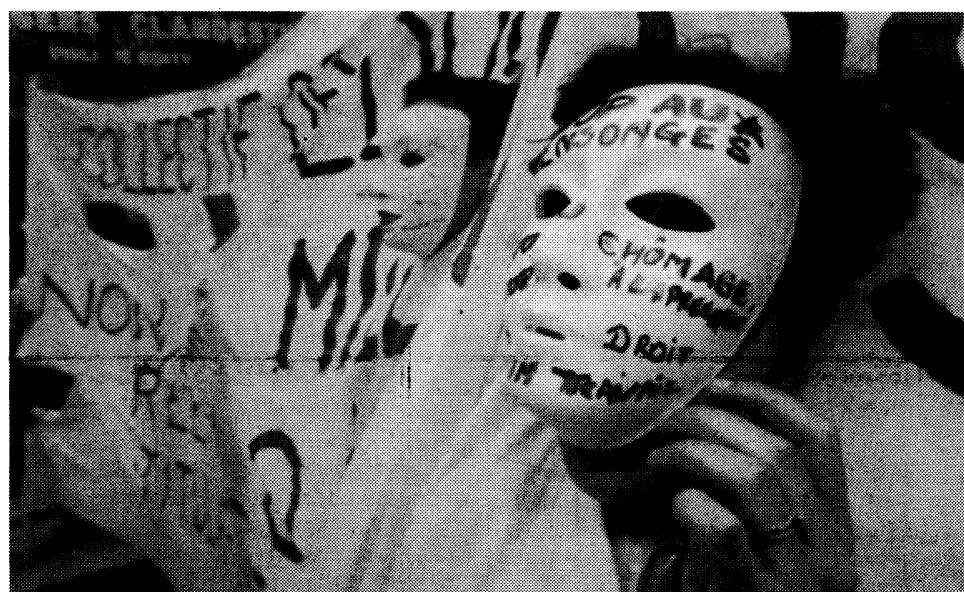
At the Dublin summit, German finance minister Theo Waigel demanded penalties against governments running a budget deficit higher than 3 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). A heated debate ensued with Jean Arthuis, his counterpart in Paris, which has faced substantial labor resistance against austerity measures imposed in the name of cutting the national deficit. The summit adopted a compromise whereby certain governments could be exempted from sanctions if they faced a certain level of recession conditions.

The government leaders also deferred an amendment to the EU constitution to allow decision on a range of issues by majority vote instead of unanimity. The British government objects to any move to majority EU voting on immigration or foreign policy, which could leave the British rulers subject to decisions they did not agree with — such as a ruling on their dispute with the Spanish government over Gibraltar, a British colonial enclave. London opposes proposals for common policy on visa and asylum regulations and a common external European border.

Paris too, in the name of national sovereignty, has balked at some of these proposals. As the shrillness between rival powers rose, a senior German official likened Chirac to an "eel," according to the *Financial Times*, for not being up front with its stance on certain issues.

Only one paragraph of the summit communiqué even mentioned enlarging the EU to include countries in Central and Eastern Europe, another contentious issue.

The Tory government in London, hamstrung by internal debates over joining a



Thousands marched in Paris October 17 against unemployment. Labor resistance throughout Europe, especially in France, is exacerbating rift between Bonn, Paris.

single currency, was sidelined at the summit. British chancellor Kenneth Clarke had to gatecrash at least one summit sub-meeting of finance ministers to which he had not been invited.

British Labour Party chief Anthony Blair also attended the summit, since elections will be held in the United Kingdom before June and no one is sure whether Major or Blair will be there to represent British capitalism. Blair made clear, however, that only the messenger would change, not the message. A Labour government will be "a rampart against Franco-German domination," he declared, according to the French Communist Party daily *L'Humanité*.

## Line up of political forces in France

In France, Socialist Party (SP) leader Lionel Jospin backed Chirac's position, adding a social facade to the defense of French imperial interests. Speaking at the December 14-15 national convention of the party here, Jospin said the SP was "committed to the Maastricht treaty" signed by former president and SP leader François Mitterrand, but not by "criteria added on to the treaty" for entry into a single currency. He said he did not support devaluation of the franc, and called for parity between the euro and the U.S. dollar.

Jospin called for supporting the EMU with the addition of a "European social contract." He called for creating jobs by shortening the workweek to 35 hours without loss of pay and generating 700,000 new jobs for youth, financed by eliminating social security tax exemptions for employers. The SP has been gaining popular support, profiting from the unpopularity of the Gaullist government presided by Chirac. French govern-

mental elections are due in 1998.

Likewise, the French Communist Party (CP) has taken a stance in favor of defending "France" and "Europe" against German and U.S. domination. "Germany imposed the essence of its program" at the Dublin summit, *L'Humanité* complained in a December 16 editorial. It called for building "a new Europe that draws strength from its history, its economic and industrial power" and that "preserves the national sovereignty" of France and other nations.

In an interview in the same issue, CP leader Robert Hue was asked about a single European currency. "We need a national currency. That's what gives a country its strength and independence," he stated. "We will end up with a euro that is weak with respect to the dollar." Indicating that the CP did not call for opposing the European Monetary Union because "the Maastricht treaty has been voted on," Hue proposed a referendum on the issue. "Let's consult the French," he said.

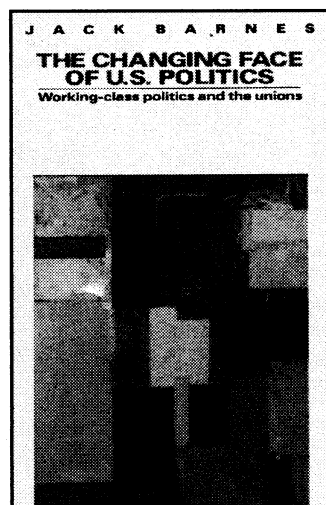
For its part, the National Front, an incipient fascist party that has gained strength with the sharpening class polarization in France over the past year, has also taken a critical stance toward the EMU. At a conference held here December 14-15, National Front chief Jean-Marie Le Pen opposed the establishment of a single currency and denounced "world free trade-ism," which he said was aimed at "the disappearance of the French nation."

Posing as a champion of working people, Le Pen advocated raising the minimum wage and preserving social security and retirement pensions. He called for "a third road" that would be "neither socialism nor capitalism."



# Holiday reading suggestions

# FROM PATHFINDER



## The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

*Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions*

JACK BARNES

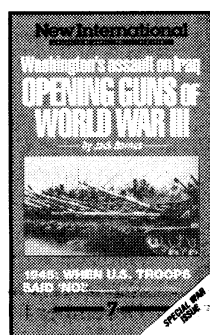
A handbook for workers coming into the factories, mines, and mills, as they react to the uncertain life, ceaseless turmoil, and brutality of capitalism in the closing years of the twentieth century. It shows how millions of workers, as political resistance grows, will revolutionize themselves, their unions, and all of society. \$19.95

## The Struggle for a Proletarian Party

JAMES P. CANNON

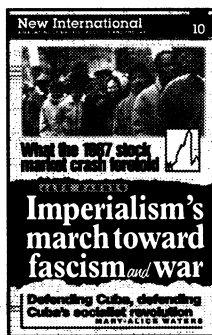
In this companion Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism*, Cannon and other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party defend the political and organizational principles of Marxism against a petty bourgeois current in the party. The debate unfolded as Washington prepared to drag U.S. working people into the slaughter of World War II. \$19.95

The  
Struggle  
for a  
Proletarian  
Party  
by James P. Cannon



## New International no. 7

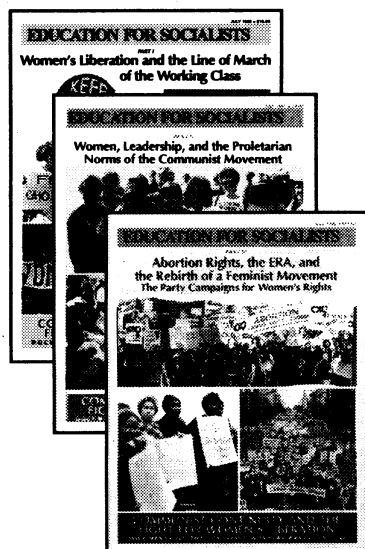
*Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq* by Jack Barnes  
*Communist Policy in Wartime as well as in Peacetime* by Mary-Alice Waters  
*Lessons from the Iran-Iraq War* by Samad Sharif.  
\$12.00



## New International no. 10

*Imperialism's March toward Fascism and War* by Jack Barnes  
*What the 1987 Stock Market Crash Foretold*  
*Defending Cuba, Defending Cuba's Socialist Revolution* by Mary-Alice Waters  
*The Curve of Capitalist Development* by Leon Trotsky.  
\$14.00

Also available in French, Spanish, and Swedish



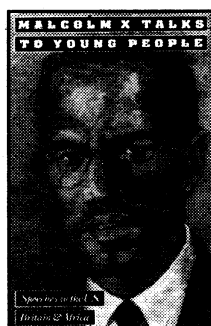
## Communist Continuity and the Fight for Women's Liberation (3 Parts)

*Documents of the Socialist Workers Party 1971-86*

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

How did the oppression of women begin? Who benefits? What social forces have the power to end the second-class status of women? This three-part series helps politically equip the generation of women and men joining battles in defense of women's rights today. Set \$30.00

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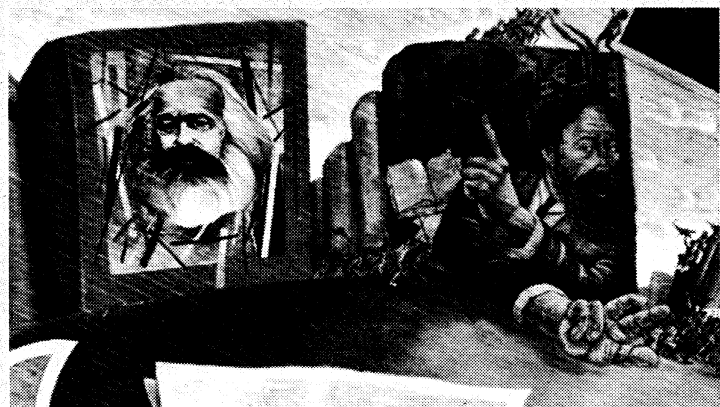


## Malcolm X Talks to Young People

"I for one will join in with anyone, I don't care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth"—Malcolm X, Britain, December 1964. Also includes his 1965 interview with the *Young Socialist* magazine. \$10.95

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# Ultraright makes gains in Austria

BY HILDA CUZCO

The Freedom Party, a right-wing organization led by fascist-minded politician Jörg Haider, registered gains in Austria's October 13 elections to the European Parliament, the legislative branch of the European Union. The Social Democratic Party, which heads Austria's government, slipped in the voting. Its governmental coalition partner, the conservative People's Party, won for the first time in 30 years in a national Austrian vote.

Under the chauvinist banner of "Austria First," the Freedom Party, which opposes cooperation with the EU, won 27.6 percent of the vote, for a close third place. This compares to the 22 percent that the party gained in the December 1995 parliamentary elections. The Social Democratic Party reached 29.1 percent of the vote, down from 38 percent in 1995, and the People's Party received 29.6 percent, up from 28 percent.

In addition the Freedom Party finished second in the elections for the city council of Vienna, the capital, with 28 percent of the vote, up from 22.5 percent in the last council vote. The Social Democrats lost the absolute majority of seats, which they had held since the end of World War II. Michael Haupl, a Social Democrat, remained the mayor of Vienna.

These votes took place in the context of growing tensions and polarization in Austria stemming from the capitalist social and economic crisis. As the Austrian rulers try to implement austerity measures against working people, the two-party system of the Social Democrats and People's Party has become more brittle.

The People's Party leader, Wolfgang Schuessel, split in October 1995 from a nine-year coalition with the Social Democrats over negotiations on a fiscal 1996 budget. A Social Democratic victory in the parliamentary elections forced the People's Party to rejoin the coalition in March 1996. The coalition is not expected to last through the next general elections of 1999, however.

In March, Austrian Social Democrat chancellor Franz Vranitzky announced austerity measures with tax increases and cuts in welfare to reduce the budget deficit by \$9.7 billion by the end of 1997. The measures are touted as necessary to meet the economic standards to join the European Monetary Union currency by 1999.

Austria has been an EU member since Jan. 1, 1995. The Treaty on European Union, or so-called Maastricht treaty, requires that the countries maintain an annual debt of no more than 3 percent of the gross

domestic product and total debt of no more than 60 percent of the gross domestic product.

"We want a Europe of fatherlands," Haider declared on the campaign trail last year, arguing that Austria's membership in the EU will destroy national sovereignty and take jobs away from Austrian workers.

## Haider scapegoats immigrants, EU

During 1995 campaign speeches, the ultrarightist also called for "an absolute, complete stop to immigration." He added that immigration has made Austria "a center for international crime — drug dealers, car thieves, pimps and bandits." In the same vein, he told a Dec. 16, 1995, rally, "I don't mind our soldiers going to Bosnia to help preserve the peace, but I do mind when I see healthy Bosnians living off welfare here."

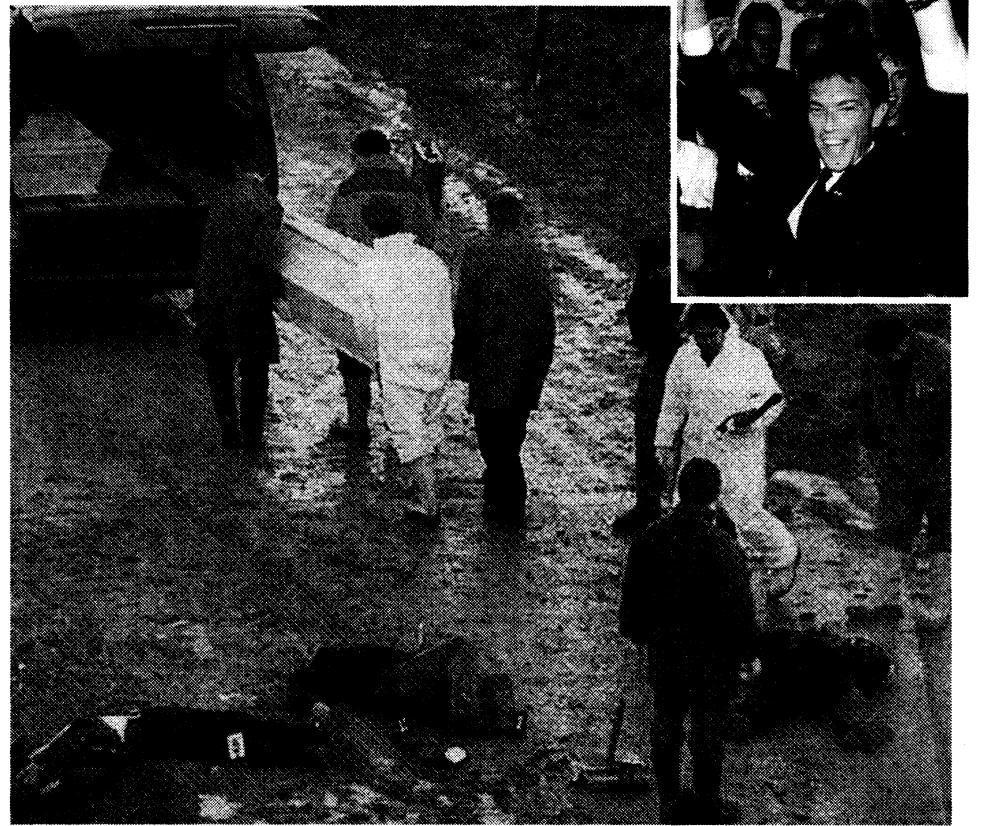
Haider's nationalist and anti-immigrant rhetoric had won him a hearing among the middle class and a layer of workers, who face cuts in social programs in the name of meeting the European Monetary Union requirements.

As of October, the unemployment rate stood at 4.1 percent, well below the EU average of 10.9 percent.

In an October 14 article titled "Down with the establishment," the British magazine the *Economist* explained that Haider, who has implied sympathies about the Nazis, "certainly does win Austria's racist vote — not to mention the votes of ancient Nazis." Haider has been outspoken against immigration.

Haider, a 45-old-lawyer, took over the leadership of the Freedom Party in 1986. Playing on the "Contract with America" declared by the Republicans in the U.S. Congress, Haider issued a 20-point "Contract with Austria," during his campaign in the December 1995 Austrian parliamentary elections, vowing to cut taxes, budget deficits, end crime, against big government, and attacking immigration.

The son of Nazi party active members in the 1930s, Haider came under fire last year, including criminal charges, for alleged neo-Nazi activities. A video tape of a secret meeting with ex-Waffen secret service veterans, military arm of the Nazi SS, held in the Austrian village of Kumpendorf, had leaked to German and Austrian television causing an uproar in political circles. In it, Haider allegedly called the veterans "decent people of good character," praising them for "sticking to their convictions despite the greatest opposition."



In Oberwart, Austria, a pipe bomb killed four Gypsies in February 1995, when one of them tried to remove a sign that read, "Gypsies go back to India." Freedom Party leader Jörg Haider (inset) celebrating earlier victory in 1992. His nationalist rhetoric has targeted immigrants with calls for "an absolute, complete stop to immigration."

The Austrian government is not the only one adopting austerity measures in the name of meeting the requirements for a single European currency. Among the 15 country

members, Paris has targeted health care benefits, Bonn is pushing to cut sick pay and other social gains, and the Italian government seeks pension and health care cuts.

## Greek farmers keep up fight

Continued from Page 16

Asked why so many cars were passing through, unlike during a visit by *Militant* reporters a week earlier, Boufas stated "Look, farmers don't have any quarrels with the individual people trying to go about their business. That's what the government wants, for me to get into a fight with you." However, no trucks were let through, nor any cars without small children.

At another blockade near the town of Thebes, about 25 tractors blocked the secondary feeder road. "We do not have the same problems as the farmers in the Lárissa area who have small lots and can only cultivate cotton," said Sotiris Matalás while manning the blockade. "We are out to support those who have it the worst. However, we all have basically the same problems as farmers."

The working farmers in this area diversify their crops and supplement their income with jobs in the nearby industrial areas in Thebes. Many, however, have a harder time finding jobs in factories or elsewhere for a needed second income. Unemployment around many of these rural towns in central and northern Greece has jumped to nearly 30 percent, compared to the official nationwide rate of 10 percent.

Despite the government's portrayal of the farm protests as an anathema to "progress for the country," several unions have sent messages of support. These include the Garment Workers Union; Federal Civil Aviation Union; Construction Workers Union; Tobacco Workers Union; and the Coordinating Committee of Attika, an ad hoc committee of union bodies.

### Union actions overlap

Many unions have launched their own strikes and protest actions against the government's austerity plans unveiled recently, when the Simítis administration presented the 1997 budget to parliament.

Public school teachers held a three-day strike beginning December 11, while their colleagues in the private sector struck for one day. Teachers are demanding better pay and a salary of 250,000 drachmas [US\$1 = 243 Dr.] per month, increased funds from the state budget for education, and hiring of more staff to deal with the problem of overcrowded classrooms. Their union indicated it may call new walkouts in January.

Construction workers held a 24-

hour strike December 12. And seamen organized a march in the country's main port, Piraeus, a day earlier to protest the government's decision to do away with their tax breaks. They threatened strike action. Merchant Marine minister Stávros Soumákis told them that "strikes on seagoing ships constitute a criminal act."

The civil servants union ADEDY held a nationwide strike December 17 and a rally of 600 people in Athens. The same day, some 4,000 demonstrated in Athens in a march on parliament called by the General Confederation of Labor (GSEE) against the government's austerity budget. The GSEE had called a nationwide three-hour work stoppage for that day.

Some of the striking unions are linking up their actions with the farmers' revolt. The construction workers union in Thessaloniki, for example, as well as the tobacco workers union there have sent messages of solidarity to the farmers. A delegation of union members from the Piraeus Labor Council joined the blockades in the Peloponnes recently.

A message of solidarity to the Greek farmers from MODEF, The National Federation of Unions of Family Farmers of France, denounced "the European Agricultural policy that in France translates into 30,000-40,000 farmers disappearing every year."

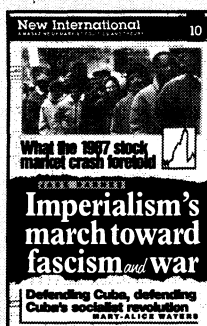
The farmers' strike coordinating committee announced it will hold a protest march in Athens December 19.

### For further reading from Pathfinder

#### Imperialism's March toward Facism and War

Jack Barnes

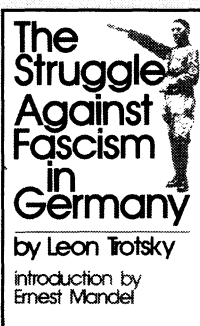
How the working class and its allies respond to the accelerated capitalist disorder will determine whether or not imperialism's march toward facism and war can be stopped. In *New International* no. 10. \$14.00



#### The Struggle against Facism in Germany

Leon Trotsky

Writing in the heat of struggle against the rising Nazi movement, a central leader of the Russian revolution examines the class roots of facism and advances a revolutionary strategy to combat it. \$28.95



#### Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain

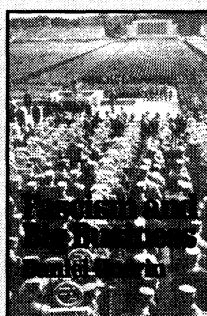
Felix Morrow

A contemporary account of the revolution and civil war in Spain in the 1930s in which the proletariat, betrayed by its Stalinist, social democratic, and anarchist leaderships, went down to defeat under the blows of an armed fascist movement. \$17.95

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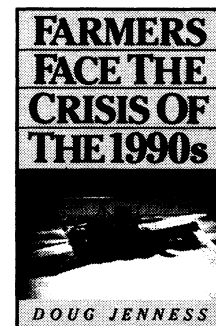


#### What Is American Facism?

James R. Cannon and Joseph Hansen

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

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# Steelworkers call rally as Wheeling-Pitt refuses to budge

BY TONY DUTROW

STEUBENVILLE, Ohio — The 4,500 members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) entered their third month on strike in December. The workers, who walked off their jobs at Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel mills in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia October 1, remain solid on the picket lines and are trying to widen support, despite a concerted company propaganda campaign against the union. A union holiday solidarity rally is scheduled to take place here December 22. At the same time, the employer is not backing off and seems prepared to take a long strike.

"Wheeling-Pitt just ended an intensive six-week advertising campaign in area newspapers that offered its views on the pension issue," said an article in the December 15 Pittsburgh *Tribune-Review*. "The unionized workers have published letters and assembled rallies to drum up support for their cause and voice their opinions. Neither side seems to have softened its stance at all."

The USWA members struck the ninth largest integrated steelmaker when the bosses refused to discuss restoring the pension plan taken away from workers after the company filed for bankruptcy in 1985. That plan, called a defined benefit plan, requires the corporation to guarantee a monthly pension for retirees according to years of service and the right to retire after 30 years of employment. It is now in effect at all other unionized integrated steel mills in the United States.

"We had no pension for the whole time the company was in bankruptcy," Luther Rowland, a picket captain at the Sinter plant here and member of USWA Local 1190, said in an interview December 15. "All we want is parity with the rest of the steel industry. If we don't stand our ground now, we'll just be back in this situation four years down the road."

The same day, Ron LeBow, chairman of WHX Corp. based in New York, the parent company that owns Wheeling-Pitt, said the company wouldn't budge. According to the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*, LeBow boasted that WHX will dip into its \$400 million cash reserves — squeezed from workers through the post-bankruptcy concessions — to hold out against union demands. "I'm just going to sit," he declared. "They are not going to get a defined benefit plan. Never!"

## Company propaganda barrage

The company has used its advertisement blitz to undercut support for the union by claiming it is union officials who refuse to negotiate. "We're doing what we have to do to keep people working and growing here for a long time to come," read the Wheeling-Pitt ad in the December 12 *Tribune-Review*. "People need to ask themselves the obvious, but previously unspoken question, 'Do you want the security of an improved pension and many years of employment, or

the so-called security of a defined benefit pension with no jobs?'"

"The [USWA] International is holding us all hostage."

The ad concluded: "If you're one of the people out on strike, it's time to talk to your local president about getting back to the table. If you're one of the local presidents, it's time to pressure Pittsburgh [where the international offices of the union are located]. And if you just live here, it's time to encourage them to get back to the table, while the Ohio and Mon valleys still have a future."

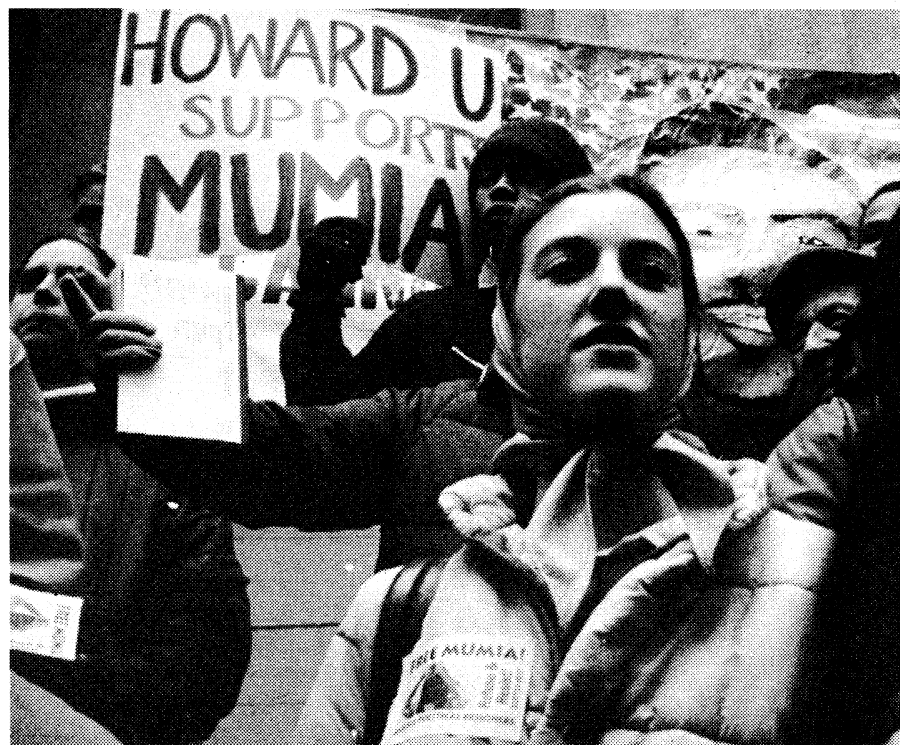
The company has also been publishing notices in the sports pages of area newspapers. The December 6 sports section of the Wheeling *Intelligencer*, for example, ran a "message from Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel corporation" in a sizable graphic that depicts a countdown of the days of the strike and says, "Day 67; Lost wages of the average Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel striking employee now total: \$8,292.27."

The company has used other means to intimidate strikers, including provocations at the picket lines. The December 6 Steubenville *Herald Star* reported that 30 picketers who tried to prevent management from driving a company truck across the picket line were met by a show of force by the police.

"We realize you are fighting for your lives, but we have our job to do," the paper quoted Capt. Leon Stinson as saying while the cops threatened the strikers with arrest for violating a court injunction.

"The company is harassing the pickets," said Larry Mallas, president of USWA Local 1190, as he was being escorted off the line. "They repeatedly told us they wouldn't move anything out of the plant. This union won't stand quietly in face of harassment."

On December 5, WHX publicized throughout the region its decision to issue dividends of nearly \$1 per share payable Jan. 2, 1997. Rob Cecelonos of Local 1190 responded, "The last 11 years we have worked hard to pull this company back from bankruptcy. Stockholders deserve a fair return. But the workers who made that money deserve fair shake also. We're not at the top. We're just asking to be equal. I as an indi-



Militant/Bernie Senter

Nearly 400 people participated in a December 9 rally on Wall Street, New York, calling for a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal. Students from campuses throughout the Northeast were a sizable percentage of the demonstrators. Abu-Jamal has been on death row in Pennsylvania since a 1982 conviction for the killing of a police officer. Worldwide protests won a stay of execution in the fall of 1995.

vidual refuse to be treated as a second-class steelworker."

## Strikers win solidarity in area

The eight mills owned by Wheeling-Pitt remain silenced by the determination of the strikers.

The huge mills that stand beside the Ohio river are the economic lifeline of the towns that dot the Ohio valley between Steubenville, Ohio, and Wheeling, West Virginia.

Hundreds of small store owners in these towns and cities are standing up to the steel barons, reflecting the widespread support among working people and others in these largely working-class communities. Many stores display signs on their windows supporting the strikers.

To the delight of onlookers, striking Local 1190 entered a 42-foot float in the December 7 annual Christmas parade in Steubenville. Later in the day, everyone was invited to an auction of donated items, with proceeds going to the Children's Fund organized by the union local's women's committee.

Solidarity activities are taking place in many area factories. On December 5, the USWA organized a successful collection at

LTV coke works in Pittsburgh that raised \$1,500 for the strikers.

"I was amazed by the generosity of the members of our local," said USWA Local 1843 member Andrea Jones, who works at LTV. "But we need much more. One local sticking together is not enough. In 1996 these mills are out of bankruptcy. We need to bring the total membership into the struggle. Our fight is to see that the unions can be strong again."

Strikers are also making efforts to win broader support in the labor movement. The USWA Task Force at Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel, based in Pittsburgh, has issued a call for a holiday solidarity rally to be held on Sunday, December 22, at the St. John Arena, 3151 Johnson Rd., in Steubenville. Speakers are scheduled to include AFL-CIO secretary treasurer Richard Trumka and the state presidents of the AFL-CIO in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. The program starts with live music at noon.

*Tony Dutrow is a member of USWA Local 1557 in Pittsburgh. Edwin Fruit, member of International Association of Machinists Local 1976; and David Sandor, a USWA member in Morgantown, West Virginia, contributed to this article.*

# Jet defect probable cause of TWA crash

## Continued from front page

resulting in a spark that could ignite fumes in the tank causing an explosion.

Among the NTSB's recommendations are the procedure known as "inerting" — pumping inert gas into the fuel tank so that the fuel vapors that build up will not explode.

The procedure of "inerting" has been known for 24 years but has not been implemented due to its high cost, and the unwillingness of companies to pay. "We hate to

say it, but safety research is still driven by the body count," said an FAA engineer involved with safety projects. "It's tombstone engineering."

Other crashes have prompted similar concerns, but the government never mandated airlines to enact this safety procedure. In December, 1963, a PanAm 707 plane exploded over Elkton, Maryland, killing 81 people. The cause of the crash was lightning that ignited fuel vapors in the plane's tanks.

In 1990, the center fuel tank of a Boeing 737 jet owned by Philippine Airlines exploded. The plane was still on the runway when the explosion occurred,

killing eight people. A spark from a faulty fuel system was believed to be the cause.

"Inerting" was originally developed by the military to guard against explosions in fuel tanks on military planes. In 1972, the FAA proposed using the technique on commercial airlines. The FAA withdrew the recommendation, however, under pressure from the airline companies who complained that their costs would rise if forced to implement this safety measure.

As quickly as the NTSB issued its recent report on 747s, the FBI disassociated itself from it. James Kallstrom, head of the FBI investigation said, "It's not prudent or professional to comment on what might or might not be the cause of this tremendous tragedy. And I am amazed that people continue to do that."

In an effort to keep the theories alive that the plane exploded as a result of a bomb or a missile, the FBI is clinging to the idea that the 5 percent of the plane that still remains on the ocean floor may somehow hold the clue that they need. But with the boats pulled from the ocean until January for the holidays, it appears at least as far as the FBI is concerned, that TWA 800 will "end as one of the greatest unsolved mysteries in aviation history," the *New York Times* concluded in a November 21 article on the crash.

So far, in 1996, more people have died in airline crashes than in any other year. And, just since October of this year, on the average, a crash has occurred every two weeks. At this rate, a passenger jet may crash as often as once a week by the year 2010. The government's response to these figures is not

to immediately ground all 747s to have their fuel pipe systems checked or to ground all 737s to have the rudders checked, as should have been the case immediately following the USAir crash over Pittsburgh in 1994. Instead, government officials focused on "the archaic safety systems and often inadequately trained pilots, mechanics and air traffic controllers of less-developed regions of the world, where many of the crashes have been occurring."

These airline disasters reflect the pressures to cut back on safety measures as competition intensifies among the aircraft manufacturers. This rivalry is also highlighted in the continued shake-up in the aerospace industry as Boeing announced on December 15 that it would acquire McDonnell Douglas, a chief competitor. This move would make Boeing the number one aircraft maker and the number two military contractor with more than 60 percent of global sales in the civil aircraft market.

Boeing's acquisition also "could unleash political pressures in Europe for renewed government aid for Airbus," London's *Financial Times* reported. The big business daily reported that Boeing was determined to outsell Airbus, its European rival by at least 2-1.

Meanwhile, Wall Street reacted quite favorably to the merger sending the companies stock prices up and adding 12 points to the Dow Jones Industrial Average on December 16.

*Nancy Rosenstock is a member of the International Association of Machinists and works for TWA at JFK Airport in New York.*

## from Pathfinder

### The Eastern Airlines Strike

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Ernie Mailhot, Judy Stranahan, Jack Barnes

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# U.K. gov't, enemy of Cuban revolution

Continued from Page 4

the response of the British government was to expel the then Cuban ambassador to Britain, Oscar Fenández Mell.

The British rulers do not see a contradiction between their desire to see the Cuban revolution overthrown and their willingness to trade with Cuba, though they exclude strategic weaponry from such trade. After the revolution, for example, London refused Castro's request to replace Sea Furies ordered by Batista with equal number of Hawker Hunter Mark V jet fighters. British foreign minister Selwyn Lloyd worked closely on this with Washington.

But on non-strategic arms sales, London has acted on the assumption that if it doesn't trade others will. The most famous deal was that signed by Leyland in 1964, through which the British company re-equipped Havana transport system with 600 buses. This was a continuation of trade in buses with pre-revolutionary Cuba. The British government guaranteed export credit for the 1964 deal.

The bus deal and subsequent Anglo-Cuban trade has resulted in ongoing friction with Britain's U.S. allies. A lead article in the Jan. 14, 1964, *New York Times* commented that through the bus deal, "the British are in effect declaring that Castro will not be overthrown by economic pressure."

Washington sent a memorandum to London expressing "continued concern" over U.K. government trade with Cuba. U.S. embassy officials instructed to make the U.K. government—at the time under Conservative prime minister Alec Douglas Home—aware of the depth of "U.S. sensitivity [to] the Cuban problem" and the "U.S. determination [to] maintain pressure on [the] GOC [government of Cuba]." What followed was an official condemnation from the state department and one direct phone call from the president to the prime minister.

On May 7, 1964, the NATO council voted 15 to 1 against the British government's stance allowing trade with Cuba. The only retaliation from Washington, however, was a small cutoff in U.S. military aid and the blacklisting of U.K. ships carrying Cuba-bound cargo. Following imposition of the U.S. black list in January 1963, 230 British vessels visited Cuba, more than twice that of any other capitalist country.

U.S. pressure did pay off though: rulers in Japan, Norway, Denmark and Liberia withdrew their trade in face of the U.S. shipping blacklist.

British capital was under a different pressure from its rivals, having experienced a precipitate decline in its position as producer and exporter of manufactures. In 1950 British industry was generating 25.5 percent of world exports of manufactures. This fell to 16.5 percent by 1960, and below 10 percent in the 1970s.

London faced increasing Japanese, German, and American competition in the Commonwealth, and other traditional markets. The United Kingdom sought to compensate for this with exports to the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Cuba. Between 1950 and 1963 British exports to these countries went from £26 million to £123 million, doubling in the five years 1959-63. Under U.S. pressure, London withdrew all export credit guarantees to Cuba in 1964-66, and prime minister Douglas Home gave assurances to Washington that British trade would not be allowed to rise above certain levels.

In fact, British trade with Cuba remained quite limited, accounting for just 2.3 percent of Cuban trade in 1975.

The Leyland bus order was followed by trade in Leyland trucks, and with a few other prominent British capitalist firms. In the late 1960s, Simon-Carves built a £10 million fertilizer plant in Cienfuegos backed by government credit guarantees. Britain's annual exports to Cuba in the 1970s — principally fertilizers, herbicides, chemicals, milk products, motor vehicle tires and spare parts — averaged \$60 million and imports \$24 million. This trade contracted significantly following the sharp crisis in the Cuban economy in the 1990s. In 1980, the Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher legislated the Protection of Trading Interests Act, which prohibits compliance with trade measures imposed by third countries.

There has been increased trade this year between Britain and Cuba. A British government minister, Janet Young, has led three recent British business visit to Cuba. But the

Cuban deputy minister of foreign trade, Orlando Hernández Guillén, said of the trade between the two countries, "Despite everything, the level of British exports does not yet meet the requirements of the Cuban market, and the level of Cuban exports to

Britain continues to be low."

In fact, under pressure of the Helms-Burton law three important British engineering companies have, according to *Cuba Business* president Gareth Jenkins, "apparently backed out of contract to

build industrial plants in Cuba." Jenkins continues, "At least one merchant bank will not be working on any more Cuba related projects. Redpath, the Canadian subsidiary of [British sugar giant] Tate and Lyle has stopped buying Cuban sugar."

## Distribution of revolutionary literature

Continued from Page 5

feel for the kind of work done throughout the building and the importance of maintaining and strengthening the production and distribution of revolutionary literature

containing the history of working-class struggles and the lessons of the fight for socialism.

Socialists in New York and Newark are also making sure out-of-town volunteers and lo-

## Specials on Marx, Engels, Lenin

Continued from front page

experiences and gain a scientific understanding what lies behind the capitalists' assault on wages, hours, and social security; racism, anti-immigrant demagoguery, and the oppression of women; and the imperialist march toward fascism and war.

By reading and studying the writings of these communist leaders, fighters can become armed with a better understanding of the continuity of working-class program and strategy going back some 150 years. This understanding helps them work with others to forge the communist organizations, as part of an international revolutionary movement, that are so vital to fight effectively against capitalism.

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### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**"Land and Freedom."** Film about the Spanish Revolution. Fri., Jan. 3, 7 p.m.

**38 Years of the Cuban Revolution.** Panel discussion. Fri., Jan. 10, 7 p.m. Donation: \$4. Both events held at 7414 Woodward Av. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**Safety versus Profits: Labor's Role in the Fight for Airline Safety and Democratic Rights.** Speaker: Nancy Rosenstock, Socialist Workers Party, TWA worker and member of International Association of Machinists Local 1056, JFK Airport, New York. Fri., Jan. 10, 7:30 p.m. 1930 18th St. NW (at 18th and Florida, entrance on Florida.) Donation: \$4. Tel: (202) 387-2185.

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'God rest ye merry' — Distribution of surplus Defense Dept. blankets may end before Christmas. It's expected that the blanket program will be iced next year, in compliance with a bar on expenditures that interfere with military preparedness



Harry Ring

gram will be iced next year, in compliance with a bar on expenditures that interfere with military preparedness

**Shop early for Xmas** — "Hermes has a waiting list for its \$4,000 Kelly bags. Neiman Marcus

sold all 50 of the \$75,000 Jaguars in its Christmas catalogue in eight days. Patek Philippe has back orders for a \$44,500 watch." — *New York Times* December 12.

**The cable guys** — Remember the Telecommunications Act of 1996 which was supposed to roll back TV cable rates? During the year, rates jumped nearly 7 percent and, come January, the three biggest monopolies will sock millions of subscribers with hikes of 7 percent plus.

**Matter of priorities** — In a bid for the 2004 Olympics, the University of Puerto Rico plans to spend 15 million on an Olympic-size pool and other sports facilities at the Río

Piedras campus. Student body president Zayra Caraballo slammed the project, pointing to two improperly maintained campus pools and noting that there are university branches without libraries, elevators or handicap access ramps.

**Selling yourself isn't always easy** — "Fewer than a third of advertising executives believe their campaigns help to sell products, a survey revealed. Instead they are plagued by self-doubt and insecurity and dream of giving it all up for another career." — *The Times* of London.

**The environmental prez** — Two weeks after Clinton urged an international fight to reduce global warm-

ing by 2000, the White House proposed making that 2010. It also recommended allowing U.S. companies to flout pollution limits if they help companies abroad to reduce their emissions and, also, to allow nations to exceed standards if they enforce stricter limits "in the future."

**Proud record** — A new study found that 4 million U.S. children don't get enough to eat. Meanwhile, over the next six years Clinton's welfare "reform" law will slice \$30 billion in funding for nutrition programs.

**Oh don't be so rational** — A study found a sharply escalating attack on the homeless in the 50 largest U.S. cities. More than half have

recently conducted police sweeps. "As opposed to attacking homeless people," the report declared, "cities should attack homelessness."

**Last-minute item** — "A very unique Christmas gift" — The \$250,000 Lamborghini Diablo, an "exotic" sports car. Skeptical? Take a trial spin — 30 minutes, \$95.

**Merry Marxmas** — And a revolutionary New Year. Plus warm thanks to those who send clippings to this column, and a welcome to those who will be doing so in the coming year. Items (with name and date of paper) should be sent c/o Pathfinder Bookstore, 2546 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90006. Fax: (213) 380-1268.

## 'We will struggle to make our revolution better'

January 1, 1997 marks the 38th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. To commemorate that victory, we are reprinting excerpts from the Pathfinder book *In Defense of Socialism* which includes a speech given by Cuban president Fidel Castro on January 1, 1989 to a rally in Santiago de Cuba, Cuba's second largest city. It was held at the same spot where

### BOOK OF THE WEEK

Castro spoke exactly thirty years earlier to a mass rally after Batista had fled Cuba and the Rebel Army had entered the city in 1959. The excerpts below are copyright © 1989 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

I came here to share with you this glorious day and to recall with you that day thirty years ago where, from this very balcony, in this very square, we celebrated victory. [Applause] That ceremony was perhaps not as solemn, not as well-organized as this one — you understand how those days were — but it was truly moving and historic. I believe that many people remember it, and that in addition many have heard about it at times from their parents or teachers. That was a really historic day and I think it will also be an unforgettable day, not just for us — that goes without saying — but also for future generations.

January 1 marked not just the culmination of a long effort of struggle by our people over the course of many years, over nearly 100 years at that time. That day was not just the day of victory; it was also a day of great decisions, fundamental decisions, and a day of great definitions, great lessons, and great training. Because on January 1 victory was not only won, it also had to be defended....

What were we on that January 1, apart from the courage and valor of our people and combatants; apart from the desire for freedom and the will to build a new homeland?

How many engineers, draftsmen, agronomists, veterinarians, teachers, professors, doctors, specialists, officers, cadres, members of the Communist Party and the Union of Young Communists, how many trade unions and mass organizations did we have?

We didn't have any of that when we were writing one of the most glorious pages in our history over these thirty years. These were years that started as a struggle against the privileged in our country, against the puppets, against the mercenary army, against landlords and exploiters of all kinds, and ended up being a struggle against aggression, threats, blockades, and the power of the strongest empire in the history of humanity.

We are here because we've known how to resist over these thirty years, something few perhaps believed could happen, something perhaps nobody could ever have imagined. Here we are after thirty years of difficult, courageous, and intelligent struggle by our people in the face of all threats and risks. That was our greatest accomplishment and we couldn't even dream of having what we have now: hundreds of thousands of teachers, professors, and technicians; tens of thousands of engineers, draftsmen, agronomists, specialists of all kinds; tens of thousands of doctors who now protect the health of our people, ten times more than the number we were left with when the revolution triumphed. We have a tremendous intellectual and technical force; a sound, vigorous, and magnificent youth responsible for the feats of this decade — youth who I am sure are better and more capable of firmness and heroism. [Applause]

With this and with the extraordinary experience accumulated by our people over these thirty years we can face the future, and if a lot has been done — errors and shortcomings notwithstanding — we can do even more in the future, because I'm sure that with what we have we can transform every year into two, three, and four years, and that's what we are now trying to do.

#### 'Our people wanted a revolution'

That January 1 was a day of definitions, in which we said something that still had to be said. In view of the long record of deceit and corrupt politicians throughout the period of the pseudorepublic we had to say that this time we were serious, that a coup d'état could not be confused with a revolution. That was one of the big things our people learned on that January 1, when they confronted and defeated the maneuver. Because our people wanted change, our people wanted a revolution, and the changes had to be deep-going and fundamental, the exploiting society had to disappear. And we told the people that this time the revolution had triumphed, that the demands of the revolution would be fulfilled!

I will never forget that this was the essence of what we said on January 1, how in the wake of the attack on the Moncada garrison the basic objectives and principles of our revolution were proclaimed. That happened twice in Santiago de Cuba: in the hospital where we were tried for the events at the Moncada garrison, and here on January 1. Today with deep conviction I will state that our revolution, our genuine revolution, will continue to advance. And it is a genuine revolution because it is a socialist revolution and because it is a Marxist-Leninist revolution.... [Applause]

Today, thirty years after that January 1, 1959, we can safely say that our people will always remain loyal to the principles of socialism! [Applause] That our people will always remain loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism! [Applause] That our people will always remain loyal to the principles of internationalism! [Applause] And that staunchly loyal to these principles we will struggle and work to make our revolution



Celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces, a contingent of women militia march in a military parade December 2 in Havana.

better and better, and more and more efficient. [Applause]

In these times of confusion, our revolution — which so scares reactionaries everywhere and which so scares the empire — is like a beacon of light in the eyes of the world. At such a time and on this January 1, we can state that we're aware of the tremendous responsibility our revolutionary process has toward the peoples of the world, toward the workers of the world, and

especially toward the peoples of the Third World. And we can state that we will always act in keeping with that responsibility. [Applause]

Today, therefore, with more vigor than ever, we say: Socialism or death! Marxism-Leninism or death! [Applause] That is what is now meant by what we've repeated so often over these years:

Patria o muerte!  
Venceremos! [Ovation]

## —25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People  
Price 10¢

January 14, 1972

Washington's savage intensification of the air attack on the people of Indochina with five days of massive, continuous bombing raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam during the holiday period of Christmas and New Year provoked an immediate and angry response from antiwar forces in the U.S.

Hastily called actions were held in New York, Washington, D.C., and a number of other cities. In a dramatic gesture aimed at focusing publicity on the renewed bombing, 15 members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War seized and occupied the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor for a day and a half from late December 26 until early December 28.

One hundred pickets marched in the rain for an hour at noon in Times Square in New York December 30. An antiwar vigil was held in New Haven, Connecticut, the same day by about 100 people.

The following day, December 31, was marked by actions in both New York and Philadelphia. When William P. Bundy, a top architect of U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia, tried to address a session of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in Philadelphia, he was confronted by about two dozen antiwar members of a group called Science for People. They refused to let him speak until he answered a

series of questions about his views on the war. Bundy and another speaker were escorted from the meeting by cops.

### THE MILITANT

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

January 4, 1947

GERMANY, December — In recent months there have been at least three important strikes by workers in the U.S. occupation zone of Germany.

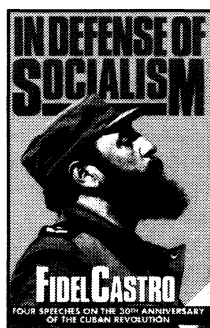
In Stuttgart, the acquittal of von Papen, Schacht, and Fritzsche, followed by the attempted bombings of several De-Nazification Commission buildings by underground Nazis, led to a general protest strike last October.

In Mannheim 2,000 workers employed in the shipyards struck in a solid body for the reduction of their working hours from 48 to 45 per week. The union leaders were opposed to the strike and tried to prevent it.

The workers demand for a reduced work week was finally won when the German administration of the yards upon the instruction of the occupation authorities yielded to the workers.

The workers wanted their hours reduced in this way so that they could have the whole day off on Saturday for the purpose of foraging in the countryside for extra food to supplement their slim rations. There has been no Saturday work since the strike, and an attempt of the management to cut rations was quickly withdrawn upon the threat of another strike with the U.S. authorities intervening to prevent the attempt from going through.

From Pathfinder



#### In Defense of Socialism

VOLUME 4, 1988-89

Not only is economic and social progress possible without the dog-eat-dog competition of capitalism, Castro argues, but socialism remains the only way forward for humanity. Also

discusses Cuba's role in the struggle against the apartheid regime in southern Africa. \$13.95

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## Why imperialists can't stand Cuba

The December 2 European Union resolution demanding that Cuba renounce its socialist revolution for the so-called miracle of the "free market" or face tougher obstacles in getting investment from European capitalists brought to the fore imperialism's irreconcilable conflict with the workers state there. Many of Washington's imperialist rivals voted against the U.S. embargo on Cuba at the United Nations. This shouldn't be mistaken for a sign of solidarity with the Caribbean island, as some opponents of the U.S. policy argue in the United States, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere. Washington's cynically named Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, or Helms-Burton law, is viewed by other capitalist governments as an infringement on their trading rights that sets a dangerous precedent for their trade prerogatives.

These capitalists aren't willing to sacrifice trade status with the United States for relatively small business ventures in a tiny workers state, however, and the Helms-Burton law is taking a toll on the Cuban economy. And these regimes will never reconcile with a state in which the working class holds power and has a communist leadership. EU trade commissioner Leon Brittan left no room for question when he declared the EU will never go "soft" on the Cuban revolution. The Spanish government also made it clear, by appointing an ambassador to Cuba who openly declared his intent to collaborate with counterrevolutionaries on the island.

The demonstration by more than 100,000 people in the streets of Havana celebrating the 40th anniversary of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba — the very day the EU issued its attack — illustrated the Cuban people's confidence in the correctness of their revolution. Generation after generation of Cuban fighters were represented in the march — from the 19th century anticolonial *Mambis*, to the Rebel Army that ousted the Batista dictatorship in 1959, to the 300,000-plus volunteers who shed their blood to fight in Angola against the racist South African apartheid regime in the 1970s and '80s.

What a contrast to the bloody trail left by imperialist armies, from Vietnam and Nicaragua to Yugoslavia and Zaire. That's why the capitalists worldwide will continue to attack the Cuban revolution, and why working people internationally must defend it. Protests can call for an immediate response to the Cuban government's appeal for aid to repair the damage from Hurricane Lili, and the cancellation of debts such as the £60 million [US\$99 million] Havana "owes" to London as a result of the unequal terms of trade on the capitalist world market. And working people around the globe should demand, "End the economic war against Cuba!"

## NATO troops out of Yugoslavia!

NATO's tanks, artillery, and ground troops occupying Bosnia are aimed at workers, farmers, and youth throughout Yugoslavia — tens of thousands of whom have taken to the streets for weeks to protest the antidemocratic policies of the regimes in Belgrade and Zagreb. That's the main point the daily demonstrations against the annulment of municipal elections by the Stalinist regime of Slobodan Milosevic and the attitude of the imperialist powers toward the protesters show.

The NATO intervention, led by Washington, is aimed at bringing Yugoslavia back into the imperialist system of exploitation, and set a powerful example for reestablishing capitalism through naked military force across Eastern Europe and the former USSR. Its goal is to return the domination of capital and do away with the nationalized property relations and the social expectations that grew out of the powerful Yugoslav revolution. One of the 13 points of the imperialist-crafted Dayton accord is "the creation of a free market economy" in Yugoslavia.

The intervention by rival capitalist powers is also fueled by competition among themselves over spots in the feeding chain of the imperialist system of robbery. Washington, the number-one European power in military and economic terms, leads the pack. Germany is number two in Europe and is now attempting to flex its military muscle by deploying combat troops in the Yugoslav workers state.

But working-class resistance to the antidemocratic measures of Milosevic, Franjo Tudjman, and company is making the imperialists' task more difficult. That's why the big-business press scolds student demonstrators for referring to representatives of imperialism as "liars" and "American scum." Despite the reactionary leadership of the main parties in the Zajedno coalition, the street demonstrations in Belgrade, Nis, Zagreb, and other Yugoslav cities show that the working class in Yugoslavia has not been beaten down and demoralized as the bourgeois media attempts to portray.

The most important aid all opponents of capitalist injustice and exploitation can give to our brothers and sisters in Serbia, Croatia, and elsewhere in this workers state is to tell the truth about the 1945 Yugoslav revolution and ask strikers, young people fighting police brutality, or defenders of affirmative action to add to their demands that NATO troops get out of Yugoslavia now!

# Protests shake Belgrade regime

Continued from Page 3

cent. Many workers have not been paid for months. Belgrade also faces a \$2 billion trade deficit.

The local currency, the dinar, is dropping in value, raising fears of a return to the days of hyperinflation in 1993, when the currency dropped 10 to 20 percent in a single day. "I expect that by next year we will see an inflation rate of a few hundred percentage points," said Zoran Popov, from the Institute of Economics.

The working class in Yugoslavia had been facing deteriorating conditions of life and work for nearly two decades leading up to the 1990s. This was rooted in the Stalinist bureaucratic and anti-working-class methods of planning and management by the petty-bourgeois layer that controlled state power. The resulting crisis was worsened by the economic stagnation of world capitalism since the mid-1970s. Yugoslavia was particularly vulnerable since the regime of former president Josip Tito had opened up its economy to foreign investment much earlier than other workers states in Eastern Europe.

The assault on the Yugoslav working class took a qualitative turn for the worse when the competing regimes in the different republics — primarily in Serbia and Croatia — launched their war in 1991 in an attempt to control land, factories, and other economic resources. Their goal was to maintain or improve the parasitic and privileged way of life of the castes they represent.

The sanctions imposed on Serbia and Montenegro by the United Nations until early 1996, on Washington's initiative, took a much harder toll on working people there.

In Nis and other industrial centers workers have struck and demonstrated this year demanding back pay and jobs.

### Opposition can't rally working class

Despite the hardships and growing discontent, the opposition forces have failed to get large layers of workers and farmers to join the actions. "We've got 50,000 workers in this city and maybe 5,000 jobs," said Bojko Vucic, a union leader in Nis. "What can the opposition do?"

On December 9, workers at the Industrija Motora i Tractora (IMT) tractor factory voted down a union proposal to join demonstrations in Belgrade. A protest rally planned that day at the plant flopped when only a couple dozen workers out of the 1,000-strong workforce showed up. Wages in the factory had gone unpaid for five months. The day of the protest, however, workers were paid 70 percent of their October wages.

Radovan Milanovic, a worker and ex-soldier who had joined the protests since November 20, expressed no support for the Zajedno opposition coalition. "I'm marching for my children and a decent wage," he told the *Washington Post* at a December 9 demonstration of 100,000 in Belgrade. While thousands of unionists have participated in protest rallies in Nis, participation by industrial and other workers in Zajedno-sponsored actions in Belgrade has been sparse. "The marchers remain largely middle-class, well-educated, and urban," a December 16 *Washington Post* article said, referring to the Belgrade protests.

This is due to a degree to the political program and class outlook of the leading forces in the opposition coalition. One opposition leader, Danica Draskovic, has publicly urged protesters to throw bombs at the home of Milosevic and threatened others who disagree with her. Her husband, Vuk Draskovic, head of the Serbian Renewal Movement, initially joined the Serbian chauvinist wave that Milosevic unleashed when he took power in a 1987 coup. Draskovic, a former member of the League of Yugoslav Communists that ruled Yugoslavia until 1991, and his supporters call for a return of the Serbian monarchy that ruled the country before World War II. The two central leaders of the opposition, Draskovic and Zoran Djindjic, both support the imperialist-crafted Dayton agreement partitioning Bosnia into two substates.

Djindjic, president of the Democratic Party, had earlier championed the establishment of a Serb-only state in Bosnia through "ethnic cleansing." The big-business press often describes him as an ardent supporter of the return of a "free-market economy."

Milosevic has also had some success in attempting to portray Zajedno leaders as pawns of imperialist powers. "It is perfectly clear no matter how strongly your leaders are asking for help from abroad, Serbia will not be ruled by foreign hands," Milosevic told student leaders from Nis who met him December 17 to present their demands after a 148-mile march from Nis to Belgrade. Excerpts of the meeting were featured on state-run television.

For many in Yugoslavia, including among the majority opposed to Milosevic's antidemocratic measures, there is not a big difference between the regime and the main opposition groups. "We want to show we are citizens of this country with the right to vote and choose," said Uros Bobic, 20, a drama student from Belgrade, explaining his participation in the student marches. "We also want to show the opposition that the moment they start acting like Milosevic we will rise up again."

Political disagreements are rife between the students and the opposition coalition. Students at Belgrade University have occupied the school facilities since the annulment of the municipal elections and have organized their own demonstrations, attracting some 25,000 into the streets daily. They refuse to join the Zajedno rallies or meet with its leaders.

The big-business press has not reported very favorably on the student actions. A lead front-page article in the December 10 *New York Times*, for example, attempted to paint the students and their leadership as hard nationalists

to the right of Milosevic. The article was titled "Student Foes of Belgrade Leader Embrace Fierce Serb Nationalism." The article quoted 19-year-old Goran Kovacevic saying "Milosevic sold us out to the West."

The *Times* writer complained that students often refer to visitors in their school coming from imperialist countries as "liars" and "American scum." And he noted student leaders had recently expelled Jack Lang, former French minister of culture, when he attempted to barge onto the grounds of the occupied university, allegedly to show his support to their cause. One of the students told reporters Lang had called for bombing Belgrade during the war in Bosnia. Others said the French official did not respect the rules of the student committee on campus.

Many articles in the bourgeois press now openly state why the U.S. rulers and other imperialists are not in a state of euphoria over what the protest movement in Serbia, or the demonstrations that took place in Croatia last month, can accomplish. "Serbia's communism shows staying power," was one headline in the *Washington Post*.

"Waves of protesting students tooting whistles and kazoos, and opposition leaders calling for democracy and the rule of law recall the heady days of the Velvet revolution in Czechoslovakia," the article said. "But the differences... lead Serb analysts and diplomats from the former Communist Bloc to conclude that the protests here have little chance of toppling Milosevic."

One of the main differences the author pointed to was that "Yugoslavia, alone among East European countries, had its own Communist revolution.... Communism was not imposed on this country from Moscow, it was home-grown. Yugoslavia never belonged to Moscow's Warsaw Pact and Moscow's influence on Belgrade was much less than elsewhere in Eastern Europe."

About 80 percent of Yugoslavia's economy remains state owned and hopes for capitalist investment are dimmer than ever. *Institutional Investor*, a trade magazine, ranked Yugoslavia last summer Number 129 of 137 countries as a prospect for foreign investment.

### Attitude of the imperialist powers

The Clinton administration has not embraced the protests nor the opposition leaders. During the first week of demonstrations the White House remained silent. Draskovic has charged Washington and other imperialist powers of propping up the Milosevic regime. At one of the demonstrations, protesters marched past the U.S. embassy and burned a U.S. flag.

"There was a perception [among the demonstrators] that the U.S. had decided to back Milosevic, that he was our man," Warren Zimmerman, U.S. ambassador to Belgrade, told the *Washington Post*. Washington has since called on Milosevic to restore election results he canceled and has threatened new sanctions. The Clinton administration maintains an "outer wall" of sanctions against Serbia, blocking international bank loans to the regime and its participation in international bodies. Zajedno leaders, however, are not happy. "We all think Western countries support Milosevic and the socialist regime, and now we can freely say the Western world is on their side," said Slobodan Vuksanovic of the Democratic Party.

Washington has its sights instead fixed on its occupation force in Bosnia. It is making long-term plans to use it both for maintaining its military superiority as a European power and as a bludgeon against working people throughout Yugoslavia.

As the NATO defense ministers were making final plans for the new NATO force of 31,000 soldiers that will stay in Bosnia until mid-1998, Gen. John Shalikashvili pushed for instituting an imperialist police force to go after those indicted by the International War Crimes Tribunal in Hague. "I think a way must be found where a police force can be constituted that would take care of those instances where the signatories to the agreement continue to refuse to turn over those war criminals," Shalikashvili said. Paris and Rome balked at the proposal.

So far, the NATO troops have not attempted to pursue such people — who include Bosnian Serb chauvinist leaders Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic — a move that could spark fire fights between the imperialist troops and Serbian armed forces. This would also exacerbate tensions with Moscow, which has so far sided with Belgrade.

In a related development, NATO foreign ministers met in Brussels December 11 and set a date of June 1997 for a conference to issue invitations to some of the former Warsaw Pact members in Central Europe to join the North Atlantic imperialist alliance.

Russian foreign minister Yevgeny Primakov stated Moscow's opposition to the expansion plans. "We do not like the expansion of NATO's military infrastructure toward our territory," he declared at the Brussels meeting. "We are against this and are looking for solutions."

Meanwhile, less than half of the \$1.8 billion pledged for 1996 by donors for the reconstruction of Bosnia has been disbursed. Total reconstruction costs are estimated at \$50 billion. So far, only \$800 million has been invested in rebuilding the bridges, sewer systems, schools, power plants and other aspects of the infrastructure that would allow a return to normal living conditions.

Inter-imperialist rivalries are also playing out in Bosnia. Paris is complaining that French companies are being iced out from projects in that republic by Washington. "Sources say much of this year's aid shortfall is due to France," said an article in the December 12 *Christian Science Monitor*, "which has effectively frozen EC aid because it feels French contractors are not receiving enough work."



# Workers bear brunt of Miami gov't crisis

BY JANET POST

MIAMI — Members of four unions here voted to freeze their wages for two years and cut benefits after Miami city officials announced a \$68 million deficit in the city's 1997 budget. Workers in the Laborer's International Union Local 800, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees [AFSCME] Local 1907, and International Association of Firefighters Local 587 will not receive their 4 percent cost-of-living raise scheduled for Jan. 1, 1997 until Sept. 1, 1998.

In addition, firefighters will also lose the money they now receive from special emergency medical services, and supplemental pay for worker's compensation claims will be reduced.

Rated by the *Miami Herald* as the "fourth poorest" of major U.S. cities, Miami has a population of 375,000 — 15 percent of the metropolitan area. Miami administrators threatened employees "that the city may face abolition, bankruptcy or state takeover if they don't approve an emergency plan to freeze salaries and cut benefits."

The current budget situation, called the "worst financial debacle in city history," was exposed after the former city manager, César Odio, resigned September 12, the day he was to present the 1997 budget.

Odio, a right-wing Cuban-American and longtime darling of the establishment here, has been indicted by the federal government for conspiracy, embezzling, and witness tampering in relation to a city contract with Cigna Health care insurance. Miami's former financial director, Manohar Surana, also implicated in the scandal, agreed to be wired by the FBI to gather evidence in what is called Operation Greenpalm. Miller Dawkins, a city commissioner who pled guilty to corruption charges in another kick-back scheme has resigned and is out on bail along with Odio.

Some Cuban-Americans, including right-wing radio commentators of Radio Mambí, have protested that Justice Department charges against Odio were an attack on the Cuban community in Miami. This perspective has not won support, however, among broader layers of Cuban Americans here.

After Odio resigned, an interim city manager, Merrett Stierheim, announced that the city had used pension funds to pay for other expenses for at least the last two years. To cover its pension deficit, the city government had used profits from the sale of a \$72 million bond to cover up the losses after the books were closed for the fiscal year. Other monies as well, for years, had been shifted from fund to fund to hide other deficits in what some officials and the media now call

a "shell game" that mainly involved taking money from city services.

The pension fund depletion had been exacerbated by the layoffs and forced retirements in recent years carried out by the city administration itself, leading to more workers needing pensions. Just in 1995, Miami administrators laid off 428 city workers. In 1977, five firefighters filed a lawsuit against the city for using their pension money for operating expenses.

## Concessions tied to cuts in services

City union officials have attempted to tie the concessions accepted by the unions to cuts in social services. They support an increased garbage pick-up fee and the institution of a fire service fee, saying that everyone must "share" in the resolution of the financial crisis.

The city earlier passed an ordinance charging residents for sweeping city streets and sidewalks. "That's at least \$2 million," declared Commissioner Humberto Hernández.

On December 8, the administration laid out initial proposals on service cuts such as the closing of parks and pools, proposed new social service fees including one for use of the fire department and said that each city department must cut their budget by 15 percent.

"There will have to be employee cuts," said Miami Fire Chief Carlos Giménez.

If Miami declares bankruptcy it would allow all of the union contracts to be nullified. According to the *Miami Herald*, the government claims that the current contracts already have a provision that allows them to be reopened if the city faces a "true fiscal emergency," and may "possibly lay off dozens — if not hundreds — of workers."

"Greedy, incompetent politicians, that's who caused this," said Permon Anderson, a firefighter with 15 years seniority. "I guess maybe I'll vote for it [the concessions] but why is it us, the city workers, who are having to pay for this when it was supposed managers who caused it."

Carlos Pérez, with ten years as a firefighter also voted for the concessions but said, "We hear about a crisis every few years and then they go back on a spending spree and we're back in it and they ask us to sacrifice. Soon we're going to be paying them to work."

Attempting to sell the concessions to AFSCME Local 1907 members, the union's "economic expert" Lawrence Jessup told a meeting of hundreds of members, "This is not a case of the administration 'crying wolf'; to gain a political advantage in an attempt to extort economic concessions from your

unions as has been attempted in the past."

A threat by the city to privatize garbage collection is also opposed by members of the Laborers' union who already lost many of their members when the four-men trucks went to two-men trucks. There are now 200 employees in the sanitation department which had workforce of 600 some 20 years ago. Eighty-five percent of the sanitation workers are Black.

## Bankruptcy discussions

In a recent meeting with Florida governor Lawton Chiles, Miami mayor Joseph Corollo said that the deficit is actually larger than \$68 million. Chiles, for the first time in Florida, named a state oversight board to monitor the financial decisions of the Miami city government. Discussions around bankruptcy have been reported in the media, with comparisons to past and current U.S. budget deficit crises in New York City, Cleveland, Washington, D.C. and Orange County, California.

The budget deficit of \$68 million is nearly 25 percent of the city's \$275 million operating budget and "currently it is estimated that Miami has enough cash to meet its obligations only until March," reported the December 4 *New York Times*.

Meanwhile, a group called Citizens for Lower Taxes say they will turn in 20,000 signatures this week to put a referendum on

the ballot calling for the abolishment of Miami as a municipality, well over the 13,000 signatures required. Even Carollo had to point out that Miami is already the "highest taxed of all the major cities in South Florida."

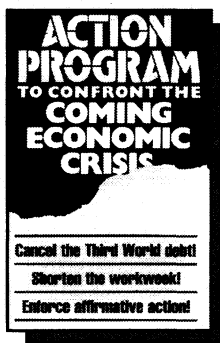
After several downgrades since September, bond ratings services Standard & Poors and Moody's Investors Service currently rate the city's bonds as "junk bonds" — bonds viewed as below investment grade. The ratings measure the risk for investors of whether the bonds can be paid back and effect a city's ability to raise money. Seeking to increase the pressure on working people, Moody's has singled out winning concessions from the labor unions and raising garbage collection fees as "two critical components" of any financial "recovery plan."

Miami city bonds were also minimally downgraded in 1992. At that time, Moody's concluded, "Nearly one-third of the city's population is now below the poverty level, and most recent per-capita income is equivalent to only two-thirds that of the state."

In late October, Florida state auditors presented a list to the governor's office of 39 local governments in the state that were reporting "financial strain."

Janet Post is a member of the International Association of Machinists Local 368 at United Airlines in Miami.

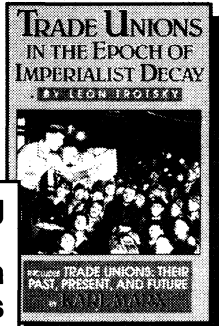
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**Edited by Doug Jenness**

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## LETTERS

### Questions on Yugoslavia

In the December 11 article, "Protest Shake Regime in Belgrade," I think some of the issues dealt with were not fully developed and could lead to confusion.

Under the economic crisis in Serbia the article seems to say this crisis is caused by the economic sanctions imposed in 1992 and mostly lifted in 1995. The sanctions have made a great impact, but the general economic decline has been part of the economic crisis of the Stalinist regime in Yugoslavia for the last 20 years.

Economic sanctions were used by Milosevic since 1992 as a club against the opposition. The lifting of the sanctions have focused popular anger against those in the bureaucracy who live high on the hog while the general populace go without.

Another part of the article on imperialist intervention leaves unanswered the question does the mobilizations against Milosevic open the door to intervention or make it more likely? I believe the answer is no. The last thing Washington needs or wants for their designs in the Balkans is a politically struggling working class. Clinton would much rather have a stable Stalinist government in Belgrade.

Rick Young  
Chicago, Illinois

### 'Domestic violence' law

I was very interested in the article about the New Zealand "domestic violence" law. It is a dangerous new weapon of the government and police against working people. I would like to suggest, however, that the "battered woman syndrome" involves two separate issues. The first concerns the powers of the police.

New Zealand's new law allows the police to step in and apply for "protective measures" whenever they feel that a woman or her children "need" protection, whether or not they think they need it. This is a gross violation of the right to privacy and personal autonomy. To put it simply, what gives anyone else, let alone the government and police, the right to put someone's personal relationship on trial, when no one in the relationship asked for intervention. I also agree that this law will do very little to help the real victims of domestic violence or to solve the deeply-rooted oppression of women as a sex in capitalist society.

However, I think we need to look at this effort to increase the power of the government over working people separately from the "battered spouse" criminal defense. (The article's author feels that it should be rejected.)

The "battered spouse syndrome"



defense is only available generally where it can be proved that a woman (or conceivably a man) suffered extreme and prolonged abuse — so severe that she virtually "snapped" and became violent. Without this defense, a woman who is convicted of killing her abusive spouse (or severely injuring him) would normally be sent to prison for at least 30 years.

The "battered spouse syndrome" defense is simply a recognition that the abused woman, herself a victim,

is not a threat to society, and we should treat her with a degree of compassion.

By allowing her this special defense, we are in no way saying that we, as a society, condone her behavior. It is actually akin to an insanity defense in that we are recognizing that people can sometimes be so traumatized that they are not responsible for their actions — that they don't deserve to be punished (which is all the capitalist prison system does). In another sense, it is

victims fight back.

Vangie Eidsvik-Garza  
Modesto, California

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.

## Greek farmers maintain roadblocks

### Anti-austerity strikes, marches by labor unions overlap with farm revolt

BY NATASHA TERLEXIS  
AND GEORGES MEHRABIAN

ATHENS, Greece — December 15 marked the 18th day of a nationwide farm protest. Thousands of farmers have maintained a virtual shutdown of the country's major transportation arteries. At the same time, public employees and other workers have launched strikes for wage increases and against the austerity policies of the government of Prime Minister Constantinos Simítis.

Soon after his party, the social democratic PASOK, won parliamentary elections in

September, Simítis unveiled his austerity program, justified on the basis of slashing the budget deficit in order to meet standards set by the European Union for the eventual acceptance of Greece in a EU "common" currency.

The farmers set up roadblocks with their tractors beginning November 28. They are demanding higher prices for their products to guarantee them a living income, cheaper fuel, rescheduling \$1.3 billion in debts to banks and other financial institutions, and lower value added taxes (VAT) on farm machinery.

These are the same demands working farmers pressed in a 13-day national protest in the fall of 1995. They halted those mobilizations after the PASOK regime promised it would grant many of their demands, which the government never honored.

The blockades have reached a peak of 10,000 tractors. At the heart of the movement are cotton farmers from the province of Thessaly, in the central part of the mainland, whose cost of production is well above the prices they currently receive.

Several blockades in northern provinces and in the southern Peloponese region were dismantled December 14. At the same time, however, roadblocks in central Thessaly were strengthened with new contingents of tractors. Farmers there are preparing for negotiations or a showdown with the government. The Thessaloníki airport and the Athens-Thessaloníki highway, the main road artery of the country, remain closed. Thessaloníki, located in the northern province of Macedonia, is Greece's second largest city.

Meanwhile, pressure on the farmers is building up as the capitalist rulers try to portray the rebellion as a minority



Farmers keep main national highway between Athens and Thessaloníki shut down. The December 12 blockade, above, was near city of Trikala, on this highway. In a few instances, truckers opposed to strikes have tried to run through roadblocks. In several other cases unionists have joined the blockades in solidarity with the farmers.



High school students join striking teachers for an anti-austerity march in Thessaloníki, Greece, December 11. "Money for education," reads the sign. Union actions are beginning to link up with rebellion by working farmers.

movement harming the interests of the majority in the country, particularly in the cities.

The government refuses to negotiate with representatives of the farmers. Government spokesman Dimítrios Reppas said the government will refuse to negotiate as long as the "farmers are holding the country hostage." Reppas called instead on the "farmers' organizations, the entrepreneur classes and the institutions of justice" in a "national institutional dialogue."

A statement issued by the New Democracy Party called on the government to ne-

gotiate with the farmers in order to stop the "great blow to the national economy," and the "sharpening of the political climate."

The conservative New Democracy, the main opposition party, holds the majority of seats in many local farm organizations. The Communist Party of Greece (KKE) is the other main political force among farmers organizing the roadblocks.

Big business has thrown its weight on the side of the government.

An editorial in the December 14 *Athens News* stated, "As the farmers' revolt has continued, breaking the previous record of 13 days set last year, their demands have begun to sound more and more selfish. Caging the country's city dwellers for the holidays is likely to cause a popular backlash with the loss of billions upon billions of drachmas in trade. It will pit public opinion against the social group responsible for stealing Christmas."

#### Attempt to pit truckers against farmers

According to an article in the December 15 *Athens News*, "So far ten large Thessaly enterprises have either shut down operations or forced to adopt a two- or three-day schedule." The same article said that 48 clothing manufacturers are ready to issue a statement declaring that they can not pay the wages and Christmas bonuses to 2,000 workers.

The Council of the Union of Industrialists of Northern Greece called on the government to declare the roadblocks illegal and that "charges should be brought against those that are committing these illegal acts."

The president of the Independent Truckers Association publicly denounced the farmers on prime time news on Sky TV December 15.

Clashes have taken place between some stranded truckers and farmers near the cities of Ioánina, the capital of the northern province of Ipiros bordering Albania, and Pátras, the fourth largest city of the country located in Peloponese, as some truckers have tried to drive through a few roadblocks.

On December 15, these reporters, accompanied by three young workers and a student from Athens, visited two blockades in the region of Thebes north of the capital. At the Orhomenós area blockade we found two families of workers from nearby towns already on the barricades in a show of solidarity.

"If we win, the benefits will be for working people too," explained cotton farmer Angelos Boufas to the workers there. "But if we lose it will set a trend." The farmers had put up a Christmas tree decorated with

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## Mandela signs new S. Africa constitution

BY GREG ROSENBERG

WASHINGTON, D.C. — "Everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law.... The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth."

So states the Bill of Rights in South Africa's new constitution, signed into law by president Nelson Mandela December 10.

Registering the democratic gains achieved through decades of struggle by millions of South African workers and rural toilers, the document codifies the abolition of apartheid law and entrenches rights that can be used to push forward the democratic revolution.

The constitution is now the highest law in South Africa. With the December 10 signing ceremony, witnessed by a crowd of 4,000 people at Sharpeville, the Bill of Rights took immediate effect. The rest of the document's provisions are to be phased in over the next few months.

The location was symbolic. It was at Sharpeville, in 1960, that the police of the South African racist regime slaughtered 69 people protesting apartheid's "pass laws" — drawing a world outcry against white minority rule.

"By our presence here today, we solemnly honor the pledge we made to ourselves and to the world, that South Africa shall redeem herself and thereby widen the frontiers of human freedom," said Mandela during the signing of the constitution.

"A government of one nation," remarked Morris Goba from his post in the bleachers. The 16-year old high school student was

referring to the conquests achieved in the battle to overturn the apartheid state — and build for the first time a South African nation in which all are citizens and equal before the law, regardless of race.

The Bill of Rights sets forth the need for affirmative action by and on behalf of the most oppressed South Africans. "To promote the achievement of equality, legislative and other measures designed to protect or advance persons, or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination may be taken," it states.

The Bill of Rights also codifies the principle of land reform, leaving the door open to action by working people in the countryside not only to press for the return of land stolen from them by the apartheid regime, but also for obtaining access to agricultural land for all those who want to farm. It specifies that no provisions of the constitution "may impede the state from taking legislative or other measures to achieve land, water and related reform, in order to redress the results of past discrimination."

"Health care, food, water and social security," are also described as rights to which all South Africans are entitled to access by law. "No one may be refused emergency medical treatment," the document stipulates.

"Everyone has the right to a basic education, including adult basic education," asserts the Bill of Rights. Moreover, "Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions." The constitution establishes 11 official languages and places them all on equal footing before the law: Pedi, Sotho, Tswana, Swati, Venda, Tsonga, Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, Xhosa, and Zulu.

The democratic sweep of the constitution is consistent with legislative measures taken

by the African National Congress-led government to raze apartheid's maze of oppression. These steps include outlawing the death penalty, establishing free primary health care for all, creating a unitary system of education, establishing access to abortion for all women on demand during the first trimester of pregnancy at state expense, and advancing initial measures toward land restitution and reform.

The constitution replaces the interim document that had been in place since April 1994. Negotiations between the ANC-led democratic movement and the apartheid regime began in 1990, leading to the country's first nonracial elections in 1994.

The constitution was approved by the national parliament in May 1996. The Constitutional Court objected to several secondary elements of the document, sending it back for revisions. The week before it was signed, the court gave its final approval.

In other developments, Mandela announced December 13 that the cutoff date for applying for amnesty for political crimes committed under apartheid would be extended to May 10, 1997. The deadline had earlier been December 14. In addition, the cutoff date for crimes for which amnesty may be applied for has been moved from December 1996 to May 10, 1997.

The South African president called the announcement "one of the most difficult decisions I have had to take."

He remarked further that if it had been up to him alone, he would not have agreed to the extensions. Mandela said that after being lobbied by Alex Boraine, deputy chairman of the Truth Commission, and right-wing Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen, the decision was necessary to "further consolidate nation building and reconciliation."