

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Che: Economics and politics in transition to socialism

— *International Socialist Review*, PAGES 7-10

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S.F. strikers win victory for all labor

BART workers push back two-tier pay

BY NORTON SANDLER AND ASKIA TOURE

SAN FRANCISCO — “We raised the bar for all workers by winning this strike,” Steve Gilbert told the *Militant*. “The fact that we ended the two-tier system and won the wage gains we did sends a message to other workers that they can win some gains too, if they fight.” Gilbert has worked for six years as a mechanic at Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART).

Some 2,500 Bay Area transit workers who are members of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), the Amalgamated Transit Workers Union (ATU), and American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) stood up to a carefully orchestrated and high-pitched campaign in the big business press and broadcast media here to score some solid gains during their week-long strike, which ended on September 13.

Workers began returning to their jobs immediately after the tentative settlement was announced and trains began running



Transit workers picket in San Francisco's financial district during strike against rail boss

again September 15.

A ratification vote by the membership of the two unions is scheduled for September 19.

The strike began September 7, when a “cooling-off” period mandated by California Governor Peter Wilson ended and the

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Sinn Fein joins talks on Ireland

BY IAN GRANT AND TONY HUNT

LONDON — A new phase in the struggle for Irish freedom opened September 15, when the London government finally entered formal negotiations that include Sinn Fein, the leading party fighting for an end to British colonial rule in Ireland. This was the first time since the partition of Ireland in 1921 that the British imperialists had engaged in such talks. Sinn Fein's involvement comes 15 months after the present series of talks began.

The following day, a 400-pound bomb exploded outside the police station in a the town of Markethill, in County Armagh. The Ulster Unionist Party, (UUP) the largest of the loyalist (pro-British) parties who had up to that point refused to join the talks, seized on this as a pretext to call for Sinn Fein to be excluded. The Irish Republican Army (IRA), which has observed a cease-fire since July 20, immediately denied responsibility for the attack.

Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams said the explosion was regrettable, but should not be

used as an excuse for the Unionists to stay out of the talks.

Following the explosion, the talks were adjourned for the day by their chairperson, former U.S. senator George Mitchell.

In a statement at the opening of the talks Adams, who led the Sinn Fein delegation, said, “We are here as an Irish republican party. We do think this could be the beginning of the end of conflict on this island if the political will is there to build agreement, and we certainly have that will.”

“We think the logic for a small island like this and for 5 million people is to have the unity and independence of Ireland,” he continued. “That issue is on the agenda because we put it there.” In addition to the Sinn Fein delegation, representatives of the Irish Government, the British Government, the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), Alliance Party, and the Women's Coalition were also represented.

Divisions among Unionist parties

Bitter divisions are wracking the Unionist parties — so called because they favor the continued “union” of Northern Ireland with Britain. The Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) stayed away from the talks when they opened. David Trimble, leader of the UUP, issued a statement saying that given certain conditions he intended to participate “as soon as possible.” The UUP leadership instead met leaders of two smaller loyalist groups, the Progressive Unionist Party (PUP), and the Ulster Democratic Party (UDP), which have links with rightist terror gangs the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and Ulster Defence Association (UDA) re-

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Bosnia vote takes place under NATO guns

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

NATO officials hailed the recent sham elections held in 142 Bosnian municipalities as a success. Bosnian residents voted as NATO troops in armored personnel carriers and helicopters patrolled the region, part of the 36,000-strong U.S.-led occupation force. U.S. Gen. Wesley Clark warned ahead of time that the military operation “has the authority and capability to use lethal force” against violent disrupters. “Should it be so threatened, it will use that force,” he declared.

The September 13-14 balloting was organized by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and other imperialist representatives, who controlled the electoral process and must certify the results. These officials warned residents that communities that do not accept the election results will have sanctions imposed on them.

The elections were considered a fake by many people in the area. “This is a farce,” said Vaskrsije Kusmuk, a 65-year-old resident in Pale. “If this was really a democratic election we would not have these foreign planes and these foreign tanks rolling through our streets.”

Some refugees who were driven from their homes during the 1992-95 war returned to vote.

Leaders of the Bosnian Serb Democratic party and the Bosnian Croatian Democratic Union spoke of boycotting the polls. Both organizations dropped such threats after

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5,000 rally in Texas for affirmative action

BY LEA SHERMAN

HOUSTON — In response to mounting attacks on affirmative action, some 5,000 students and others demonstrated at the University of Texas at Austin September 16. Hundreds of students also held a sit-in at the law school after the rally. The protest came amid a growing fury over remarks made by Lino Graglia, a tenured university law professor, against affirmative action.

Graglia spoke at a September 10 press conference launching a student group that supports the Hopwood decision, a court ruling that overturned affirmative action programs at the University of Texas (UT). “Blacks and Mexican-Americans are not academically competitive with whites in selective institutions,” the professor declared. “It is the result primarily of cultural effects. They have a culture that seems not to encourage achievement. Failure is not looked upon with disgrace.”

The debate on affirmative action has been heating up as the impact of the Hopwood decision has become clear. The case was originally filed as a challenge to affirmative action policies in admissions at the law school. Since implementing the court rul-

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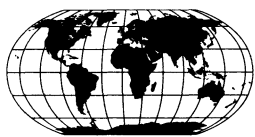
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Japan GDP plummets

The gross domestic product (GDP) of Japan dropped 2.9 percent in the three months ending June 30. This represents an annualized rate of decline of 11.2 percent — the fastest drop since the 1974 worldwide recession. Shimpei Nukaya, administrative vice-minister of Tokyo's Economic Planning Agency, said the decline would make it difficult to meet the government's goal of 1.9 percent growth in GDP for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1998.

Seoul bails out collapsing banks

The Bank of Korea announced September 8 it would pour \$2.2 billion into the sinking Korea First Bank and other banks in an effort to prevent a major currency crisis. Korea First got a \$1.1 billion, one-year loan at below-market interest rates. This is the fourth bailout in the history of the central bank. Park Ung-suh, president of the Samsung Economic Research Institute said, "Government support for the bank is absolutely necessary to avoid financial panic." The banking crisis has been fueled by the bankruptcy or collapse of five major industrial conglomerates this year, which resulted in bank-issued rescue plans of billions of dollars.

Volvo halts Thai auto plant

The Swedish auto company Volvo AB has halted production at its assembly plant in Thailand for at least 10 weeks, citing instability from the devaluation of the Thai baht and other currencies in the region. About 120 workers will be laid off. Meanwhile, the Japanese automakers Toyota Motor Corp., Isuzu Motor Ltd., and Honda Motor Co. have all announced price increases on their vehicles sold in Thailand of between 3 and 5 percent, also citing the baht's plunge. A spokesman for Toyota speculated that the overall Thai market for vehicles would shrink by at least 15 percent in 1997.

Amoco deal for Russia oil falters

The U.S. oil giant Amoco invested \$100 million over four years in an oil deal with the Russian company Yukos. But on September 10 Alexander Golubovich, deputy chairman of Yukos, told investors that his company had "no relationship" with Amoco.



A woman joins August 30 march in Santiago, Chile, organized by the families of thousands of people who were "disappeared" during the dictatorship of Gen. Augusto Pinochet. Sign reads: "Your son comes home. Mine does not."

Yukos, one of Russia's largest oil companies, had entered non-government-approved negotiations with Amoco to develop the 4 billion barrel Priobskoye field in Siberia. Amoco says it is entitled to at least half the oil, and threatened to take unspecified action against Yukos. This is the second major U.S.-Russian oil venture to go sour in recent months. In August, the Russian government nixed an agreement won by Exxon Corp. to develop oil fields in the Russian Far North.

Hungary delays NATO vote

Hungarian prime minister Gyula Horn announced September 8 that two national referenda scheduled for November 16 would be pushed back a few weeks. The first vote will be to decide if Hungary should join NATO. The second referendum is on whether Hungarian companies will be able to own arable land, and whether foreign entities should have that right. At present only Hungarian individuals and cooperatives can

own tillable land. Companies inside the country and foreign entities only have access through renting.

Germany: joblessness rises again

Working people in Germany faced 11.4 percent unemployment in August, with the number of jobless rising by 49,000 from the previous month and reaching a post-World War II record. In eastern Germany unemployment hit 18.3 percent, compared with 15 percent a year ago. West German unemployment rose to 9.7 percent.

At the same time, wages grew by a mere 1 percent in the second quarter, slower than any year on record, said Credit Suisse in London. Germany's gross domestic product actually grew at a rate of 2.9 percent in the second quarter, but Bundesbank council member Hans-Juergen Krupp warned that it would be "foolish" to characterize the Germany economy as recovered.

U.S. gov't threatens CARICOM

Representatives from the various Caribbean countries were invited to a breakfast meeting in Washington D.C. to discuss hemispheric trade and economic issues, "but when we got there the main purpose was to threaten us with sanctions if Cuba became a member of CARICOM [Caribbean Community]," the August 19 *Carib News* quoted an unnamed Barbados official as saying. U.S. Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen "simply walked in and launched into anti-Cuban speech."

Ros-Lehtinen and other legislators have introduced a bill stating that any government that uses its voice or vote to support Cuba's membership into CARICOM or the Central American Common Market, or even "enters into negotiation ... towards a free trade area

agreement" with the Havana, "would lose duty free access of its products to the U.S. market." Ros-Lehtinen took it a step further by dropping each CARICOM member a letter saying that repercussions for such dealings would be felt "individually and as a unit; politically and economically; in the hemisphere and globally; in the court of public opinion and in real terms."

House backs anti-immigrant bill

On September 5 the U.S. House of Representatives voted 261-150 in favor of a measure to include the deployment 10,000 troops along the U.S. border with Mexico in the 1998 defense bill. The measure, introduced by Democratic Congressman James Traficant, is supposedly aimed at fighting drug trafficking and illegal immigration. California Republican representative Brian Bilbray also backed the measure as a way to guard against "drugs and the violent activity that is going on along the border."

The \$650 million project is opposed by the U.S. Defense Department and the Justice Department, who argue for hiring more border cops instead. The Immigration and Naturalization Service already plans to beef up the nearly 7,000-strong Border Patrol by 5,000 over the next five years. Meanwhile, the Clinton administration has proposed doubling citizenship application fees from \$95 to \$200 or more.

Sheriff: prison tents for juveniles

Maricopa County sheriff Joe Arpaio, who has earned a reputation for brutal conditions in his county jail in Arizona, now plans to imprison juveniles in outdoor army tents and put them on chain gangs. The tents can reach up to 122 degrees. Inmates there are fed green bologna and denied warm lunches, soft drinks, cigarettes, and movies. Prisoners are issued pink underwear and are paraded through the town in striped uniforms on chain gangs. Lt. Nick Larkin, a supervisor at the jail told reporters, "We don't correct anybody, we don't train, we don't teach, we don't rehabilitate. We just lock you a — up." There have been three inmate deaths reported as suicides at that prison in 1997.

'Ban all mines but ours'

U.S. officials at an international conference in Oslo, Norway, negotiating a ban on antipersonnel land mines argued that Washington should be partially exempted. Delegates from more than 100 countries are participating in the talks. The U.S. government proposed that it continue to deploy land mines on the Korean peninsula. Some 37,000 U.S. troops are based in south Korea, enforcing the division of north and south Korea. Washington also wants an exemption for its antitank weapons, which have antipersonnel devices. According to the *Financial Times*, Clinton administration officials say they are committed to a ban that recognizes U.S. "global security responsibilities."

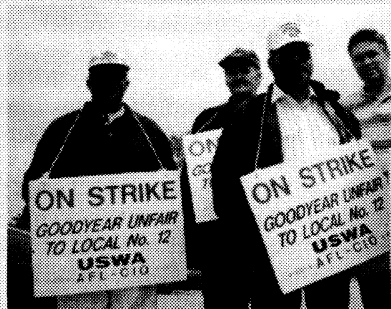
— BRIAN TAYLOR

THE MILITANT

Labor solidarity

The recent strike by train operators in San Francisco is another indication of labor's stepped-up resistance to the bosses' demands for concessions. You can count on the 'Militant' to bring you the best news and analysis of working-class struggles as they unfold around the world.

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Ontario workers force boss to bargain

BY JOANNE PRITCHARD

TORONTO — "We won," said Joe Horvath, a millwright at PC World. "And if we don't get what we want in the bargaining we'll close them down again." This was in response to the announcement by Basil Hargrove, president of the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) that the company had agreed to go back to the bargaining table after locking out employees for eight months. The company is demanding pay cuts of up to Can\$4 an hour from the workers, who manufacture circuit boards.

The victory followed four days of mass picketing of PC World by hundreds of CAW members from across Ontario, protesting the use of replacement workers to keep production going. Cindy Brenner from the Ford plant in Windsor said that when they heard workers had occupied the PC World plant on Monday, September 8, she and her co-workers couldn't stay away. "We have to hit the nail on the head — if they get away with scabs here, they'll get away with scabs all over Canada," Brenner declared.

This reporter was among those who mobilized outside the plant. There were tense moments on the picket line, as we expected the police to try and remove us. It wasn't until Tuesday afternoon, however, that the sheriff came to tell us that the company had won a court injunction ordering us to vacate the plant and placing a total ban on picketing. The protesters were advised that anyone carrying sticks without signs would

be considered armed and would be arrested.

The unionists put out a call to beef up the picket lines. CAW members from de Havilland rushed back to their plant to leaflet the day shift and ask workers to join us. Later on that evening a busload of workers from the Lear Seating plant in Ajax walked off the line to reinforce us.

Through the evening hundreds of police mobilized. The riot squad was there with their shields, clubs, horses, and police wagons. They had cordoned off the area surrounding the plant, where the crowd had grown to more than 500. We expected an attack at any moment. Then CAW officials negotiated a deal by which the 40 people occupying the plant would vacate it and the police agreed not to arrest anyone. We continued the picketing off company property for another 48 hours.

On Thursday afternoon, September 11, the sheriff arrived to read us another injunction. Pickets chanted "No more scabs" to drown him out. The police had again mobilized. A small squad of about 10 cops marched from across the street where the police were stationed and tried to escort unionists away from the plant. Pickets stood their ground and chanted "No more scabs." At this point the police retreated to regroup, as the tactic of peacefully escorting us off the property had not been too fruitful. The pickets had a meeting to reaffirm that we needed to remain cool.

In the meantime Hargrove arrived and

Crisis grows for Tel Aviv



Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu faces growing crisis as Palestinians continue to resist attacks by the Zionist regime. When Israeli settlers took over a house in a Palestinian neighborhood in Jerusalem September 16, Netanyahu was compelled to declare that the action was not Tel Aviv's policy. Meanwhile, Israeli forces continue to crack down in Arab areas. Above, Palestinian youth argues with Israeli border guard at a checkpoint in Jerusalem September 8.

announced that we had forced the employer back to the bargaining table and that the only outstanding issue was the question of wages. We were to dismantle the picket lines and the employer had agreed that there would be no production as the bargaining took place. If the two sides could not come to an agreement, then the matter would be referred to binding arbitration.

While some in the crowd protested the

possibility of the fight going to an arbitrator, most people thought this was a big victory. PC World striker Rakesh Oberoi made the point, "We're not willing to accept wage cutbacks, we'll be out on the picket lines again if we don't get what we want."

Joanne Pritchard is a CAW member and the Communist League candidate for mayor of Toronto.

Debate over trade law heats up in U.S. Congress

BY BRIAN TAYLOR

On September 16 the Clinton administration presented its proposal to renew legislation giving the president the ability to draft trade deals that must be voted up or down by Congress without amendment. This "fast track" approval has become the subject of much debate in Congress and in the big-business press.

The proposal would renew powers that had been available to U.S. presidents from 1974 — 1994. The White House argues that this would give the president freer rein to use Washington's economic muscle to extend the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), without trade pacts getting bogged down in Congress. The aim of NAFTA, which Congress approved in 1993, was to consolidate U.S. dominance over its weaker imperialist rival in Canada and to intensify the exploitation of Mexican labor and resources by U.S. capital.

Lee Hamilton, a Democratic congressman from Indiana, stated, "Fast track is not just about trade, it is about U.S. leadership and influence in the world."

The governments of a number of semicolonial countries in South America have tried to strengthen their position to deal with Washington and other imperialist powers through formations such as the Mercosur trade block, which includes Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. Mercosur has already been approached by the European Union (EU) about forming a "free trade" alliance, and is looking to expand to include other Latin American economies.

The result of delaying fast track legislation is that "the U.S. is losing leverage in hemispheric free trade talks," wrote Robert Mosbacher in the September 12 issue of *The Wall Street Journal*. Mosbacher, who is the

chairman of a business organization called Council of the Americas, warned, "The failure of the U.S. to secure fast-track leaves open the distinct possibility that the agenda and timetable for these talks will be dominated by other countries."

By and large, the Republican majority in the House and Senate supports unconditional fast track authority. Clinton has also been able to muster support from some Democrats, such as Rep. Calvin Dooley of California. Dooley, a founder of the New Democratic Coalition, argues that the president's proposal will spur growth in exports. Senate minority leader Thomas Daschle also supports Clinton's position.

The trade legislation is opposed by House minority leader Richard Gephardt and many other Democratic politicians, as well as trade union officials who argue that the agree-

ments have no provisions to prevent other countries from undercutting U.S. products by employing cheaper labor, and less workplace regulations from environmental to health questions. Gephardt, who is promoting himself as the "fair trade" advocate, is a likely contender for the Democratic nomination against Vice President Albert Gore in the next presidential elections. These politicians have been pressing Clinton to add a provision in the fast track legislation that requires a certain level of environmental, and workplace conditions as part of trade deals.

In a mild concession to this wing of the president's party, the September 16 White House proposal listed "workers rights and environmental protection" as "negotiating objectives" that Washington would supposedly pursue through the World Trade Orga-

nization. This seems unlikely to resolve the debate, however.

U.S. representative and seated Republican Party conference chair John Boehner said that Clinton's wavering position has prospects for approval "sliding in a hurry." An editorial that appeared in the September 10 *Financial Times* speaking against adding provisions onto fast track legislation stated, "Mr. Clinton, who supported such demands two years ago, should now drop them."

A smaller layer of Republican congressmen oppose the fast track proposals, echoing the "America first" arguments put forward by ultrarightist Patrick Buchanan in the presidential election. Rep. Robert Barr from Georgia, for instance, said he opposes the legislation because NAFTA is responsible for loss of U.S. jobs.

Leaders of revolt cleared in Papua New Guinea

BY DOUG COOPER

SYDNEY, Australia — In a victory for democratic rights August 29, all charges were dropped against four civilian leaders of the March 17–26 mass protests in Papua New Guinea sparked by a mutiny among big sections of the PNG Defence Force.

Demonstrations by youth, students, rank-and-file soldiers, workers, and shantytown dwellers forced then prime minister Julius Chan to step aside pending an inquiry into the hiring of foreign mercenaries.

Chan, his stand-in replacement, and many other Cabinet ministers lost their seats in the June national parliamentary election.

Jonathan O'ta, national general secretary of the PNG Watch Council; John Napu and John Kawowo, leaders of Melanesian Solidarity (MelSol); and Powes Parkop, a lawyer and leader of the Individual and Community Rights Advocacy Forum (ICRAF), faced a range of "unlawful assembly" charges stemming from the March protests. In a sign of the government's weakness, however, court proceedings were postponed numerous times since the arrests in early May.

Offices of the three groups were raided by cops and files and records were confiscated on May 5. In recent years, the groups have been prominent in leading protests with others against the previous government's deep-going austerity program, the mushrooming debt to the imperialist banks, and moves to register land held communally — the great majority of the

country's land area — as the first step to be able to commodify it.

In a May 13 statement Parkop explained, "These charges are really an attack on [the] constitutional right to free speech, free association and free assembly. These constitutional rights and freedoms will be meaningless if the police are successful in the prosecution of this matter."

On August 29 Parkop said the prosecutor "simply did not have any evidence" and noted, "The case itself was more political than anything else. They did not have a case from the beginning."

Doug Cooper is a member of the Australian Manufacturing Workers' Union in Sydney.

Protests condemn drowning in Haiti

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Haitian protesters held demonstrations against the government and UN personnel for two days in Montrouis after an estimated 245 people drowned when a ferry boat capsized. The vessel toppled over September 8 as passengers tried to keep it from tilting as it approached the beach. The boat began swaying when people prepared to leave for rowboats to take them ashore. Survivors of the disaster said about 700 people were crammed on the ferry, which had no life jackets. Some of the doors were bolted shut, trapping hundreds of people inside as water gushed through.

The tragedy — the sixth such ferry disaster in Haiti in the last five years — is considered the worst in Haiti since 1993, when the *Neptune* sank carrying 1,000 people, and as many as 700 drowned.

More than 100 people died when a boat sank in March last year.

There are virtually no regulations of routes and vessels by the Haitian government and for years residents in Montrouis have demanded the regime build a pier for passengers to walk safely ashore. Ferry travel is the only means of transportation to certain parts of the country for many Haitians because of bad or nonexistent roads.

Finance Minister Frederick Joseph said building a dock would cost \$1 million, "but our resources are limited." Meanwhile, imperialist financial institutions have blocked sending hundreds of millions of dollars of international aid while pressing the Haitian government to implement demands to sell off state-owned enterprises and other "reform initiatives."

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Fund helps get French titles into hands of workers, youth

BY DEBORAH LIATOS

NEW YORK — "We are making available to French-speaking workers and youth internationally the lessons of the communist movement in North America in building parties of industrial workers over the last two decades," explained Michel Prairie, editor of *Le visage changeant de la politique aux États-Unis*.

Prairie made his comments as the freshly edited manuscript for Pathfinder's upcoming French-language edition of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions* by Jack Barnes was being turned over for typesetting, and as the international campaign to raise \$125,000 to make such books possible entered its third week.

"Our goal is to have it available at the founding convention of the YS as a national organization here in Canada," he said, adding that YS members are planning a special public event during their October 31–November 2 gathering in Montreal to celebrate the publication of the book.

Atlanta supporters of the fund held an event September 13 showing the potential this campaign offers. "International Labor Resistance: Report Back from Workers Conference in Cuba" was the title of the forum featuring Ernie Mailhot, a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee.

An audience of 25 heard Mailhot report on the resistance by working people throughout the world to the devastating conditions they face, as described by participants at the Havana-held conference early in August. Mailhot, who is also a member of the International Association of Machinists in Miami, said, "Workers who join these struggles can become stronger with Pathfinder books in their hands."

People attending the event made \$554 in new pledges, and paid \$504 on the spot, leading local fund supporters to raise their

goal to \$4,500.

Fund organizers can work with supporters in their areas prior to the local rallies to maximize collections at these events, put their areas on schedule, and — as in the case of Atlanta — use the momentum to win new and increased pledges, as well as raise their goals. As the scoreboard indicates, local goals are still some \$4,000 short of the international goal needed.

Focusing on the outreach aspect of the fund, Alyson Kennedy reports that fund backers in Chicago adopted a numerical goal on contributors. "We already have 36 out of our goal to get 75 or more workers, youth, and others to help the fund," said Kennedy.

The deadline for sending in money to be counted for the weekly chart in the *Militant* has been changed to noon Tuesdays. Send contributions to: Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.

\$125,000 Pathfinder Fund September 1 – November 1

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Los Angeles	10,000	1,405	14%
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Chicago	11,000	1,430	13%
Newark	8,500	1,085	13%
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Detroit	4,000	405	10%
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Cleveland	2,400	30	1%
Pittsburgh	5,000	0	0%
Other	2,918	836	29%
U.S. TOTAL	112,718	14,524	13%
CANADA	5,300	10	0%
SWEDEN	700	0	0%
UNITED KINGDOM	0	75	0%
Other Int'l	0	35	0%
INT'L TOTAL:	121,838	15,196	12%
SHOULD BE:	125,000	27,500	22%
* Increased goal.			

Seattle: Socialist workers fight to protect rights of campaign donors

BY NAN BAILEY

SEATTLE, Washington — "The Socialist Workers campaign appeals to all unionists, young fighters, and supporters of democratic rights to support the fight we launch today to protect the privacy of contributors to the party's election campaigns and candidates for public office," said Scott Breen, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Seattle, at a September 12 press conference here. Breen is a member of the International Association of Machinists and works at The Boeing Co. The *Seattle Times* and radio stations KIRO, KOMO, and KUOW, the local National Public Radio affiliate, covered the news conference.

The event was called to protest the September 10 decision of the Seattle Ethics and Election Commission (SEEC) to deny the Socialist Workers campaign an exemption from disclosing the names of campaign contributors and vendors. Socialist Workers campaign treasurer Jeff Powers called the ruling, "an attack on the democratic rights of all working people and workers organizations. It violates our first amendment right to privacy and freedom of association."

According to the *Seattle Times*, failure to comply with the disclosure laws could "result in late penalties and up to a \$5,000 fine imposed by the commission."

The SEEC granted an exemption to the Socialist Workers campaign in 1993, and a similar exemption was won from the Washington State Public Disclosure Commission (PDC) in 1996. In March of this year, the Federal Election Commission (FEC) granted a six-year extension to the Socialist Workers' exemption in federal campaigns.

"These rulings," Breen explained, "have been based on a proven history of harassment, surveillance, and other disruptive efforts by the FBI and other government agencies against individuals identified with the Socialist Workers campaigns." Socialist Workers City Council candidate Robbie Scherr also spoke at the press conference.

Three other city council candidates have made statements to the SEEC in support of the right of the Socialist Workers campaign to keep its list of donors private. "I believe in the First Amendment's protection for freedom of political speech," stated city council candidate Jon Bartholomew. "That protection must include the right to not be persecuted for that speech. Donating to political parties or campaigns is political speech."

Sherry Harris, also a candidate for city council, wrote, "The history of negative treatment of people who belong to alternative political parties in this country has mandated a need to protect individuals from harm when they step outside of the mainstream political parties.... I urge you to strongly consider concurring with the State and Federal Elections Commission on this issue."



Militant/Bob Bruneau

Scott Breen, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Seattle (left), marches with farm workers August 11 to support organizing efforts in Mattawa, Washington.

Since 1971, when the federal government began requiring detailed reports listing contributors to political campaigns, the Socialist Workers campaign committees have refused to comply with these procedures. The SWP has mounted a successful legal and political battle to defend the right to privacy of those who contribute to the SWP election efforts. Since party members and supporters have long been targeted by police agencies and rightist outfits, the SWP has argued that such a disclosure would constitute a ready-made "enemies list."

Breen quoted from this year's FEC ruling in his statement to the press. The ruling concluded that the "SWP and persons publicly associated with it have experienced a significant amount of harassment from private sources in the 1990–1996 period," and that "such harassment appears to have been intended to intimidate the SWP and persons associated with it from expressing their political views." The opinion added that there is "also evidence of continuing harassment by local police."

The SEEC voted 6–1 to deny the exemption to the Socialist Workers campaign this year, saying that the campaign failed to demonstrate that divulging the names of contributors would put them in jeopardy. The Seattle Socialist Workers campaign submitted several examples of local harassment and intimidation in the past year to substantiate its request for an extension. Nationally, the Socialist Workers campaign submitted approximately 70 examples of such harassment to the FEC and two of these examples were of incidents that took place in Washington state.

The Socialist Workers campaign is demanding that the SEEC reconsider its request and overturn the denial of an exemption. The socialist candidates and their supporters intend to speak out publicly against the SEEC ruling at every campaign event. An election night reception at the campaign offices on September 16 and a Militant Labor Forum on September 19 will also protest the ruling.

The Socialist Workers campaign committee is asking supporters of democratic rights to help by calling or sending letters of protest to the Seattle Ethics and Election Commission at 226 Municipal Building, 600 Fourth Avenue, Seattle WA 98104. Phone: (206) 684-8500. Fax: (206) 684-8590.

Nan Bailey is a member of IAM Local 1103.

Socialist has 'right to participate in election'

BY MAGGIE TROWE

DES MOINES, Iowa — Nearly two weeks after the editors of the *Des Moines Register* called for making access to the ballot more difficult, five letters protesting the antidemocratic editorial were printed as the centerpiece of the Sunday *Register's* full-page letter section.

The September 2 editorial, entitled "A primary for mayor: It's worth asking whether 688 signatures should be enough to get on the ballot," put forward the idea that current ballot requirements that candidates present petition signatures totaling 2 percent of the total vote cast in the last election for the office they are seeking are low. "It's worth asking whether that 2 percent figure should be enough to win a ballot slot," the editors stated.

To back up their case, they pointed out that "Thomas Alter, a 23-year-old Socialist Workers Party member who works in Perry and has lived in Des Moines less than eight months, got the job done. That makes the

election a three-way race, meaning a mayoral primary."

The editors expressed concern about the \$60,000 cost of holding a primary election, referred to Alter's campaign as "symbolic," and spoke derisively of "giving the longshot candidate access to an open microphone."

The replies to this editorial included a shortened version of a letter sent by Alter and four others, all taking issue with the *Register's* view.

Jon Torgerson, chair of the Department of Philosophy and Religion at Drake University in Des Moines, pointed out in his letter, "Alter is a member of a union, a friend of citizen and non-citizen Latinos who have a stake in what happens in Des Moines." He went on to advise the editors, "Report what Alter has to say, even if he doesn't say it through an expensive PR campaign, but rather to small groups."

William Johnson wrote, "I don't know Alter, but I believe that he and others outside the mainstream have a right to partici-

pate in the political process without arbitrary restrictions based on costs. The *Register* would do well to reconsider its opinion, unless, of course, the editors have decided that the cost of democracy is too high."

Both Alter and Ardella Blandford, Socialist Workers candidate for City Council At-Large, have been invited to speak at several candidates meetings in the next few weeks. They attended a rally of over 100 union supporters who met in Perry, Iowa, to back up the workers at Wiese who are fighting a company-backed campaign to decertify their recently won right to be in the United Auto Workers, in the same local that Blandford belongs to.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign also got a good response at the September 13 Latinos Unidos march and fiesta, where they distributed campaign literature and sold four subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*, 10 copies of the *Militant*, and four Pathfinder books.

SELL THE BOOKS WORKERS OF THE WORLD NEED

Join the campaign to sell Pathfinder books and pamphlets

Workers like a paper that's by and for their class

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

"Several of my fellow workers who bought the *Militant* liked the article by Norton Sandler 'Did UPS competitors do struck work?'" said Kay Sedam, who works at the CSX Hialeah rail yard in Miami and is a member of the United Transportation Union Local 1138. She was referring to a column published in the September 15 *Militant*. "Amtrak trains leaving Miami had three to four extra mail cars during the Teamsters strike, and workers here were concerned they were being forced by their bosses to aid UPS."

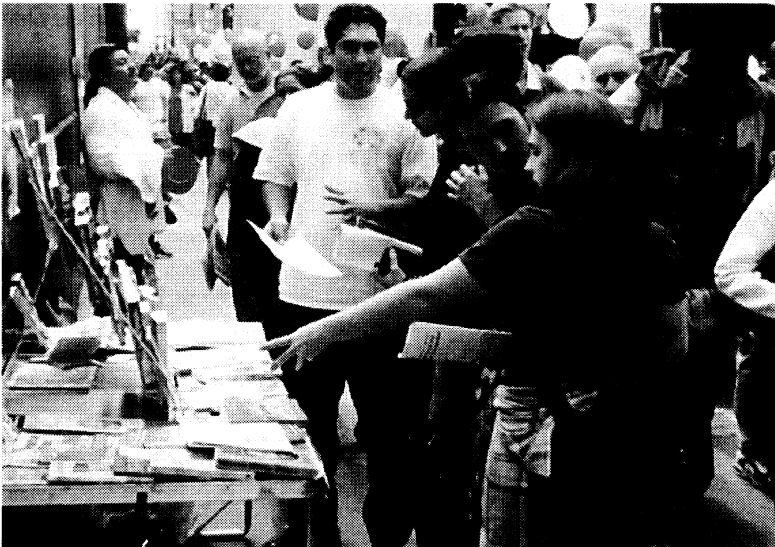
Workers at the Hialeah yard were also interested in the article by Sedam "Crashes force gov't rail investigation," published in the same issue. "Many liked the idea that a rank-and-file worker could write something that cut through company propaganda and exposed the rail bosses' real view of safety on the job," Sedam said. That week, she sold one *Militant* subscription and four copies of the paper on the job. Slightly higher sales in a few workplaces and at many factory gates were a feature of the second week of the subscription drive, during which readers sold 128 *Militant* and 51 *Perspectiva Mundial* (PM) subscriptions, and 64 copies of the *New Internationalist*. This reflects a slowdown from the first week of the campaign, when supporters of the socialist press sold 176 *Militant* and 53 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions and 76 copies of *New Internationalist*.

Reports from readers indicate that following up single-copy sales to workers on the job, at the

August Sales of Pathfinder Books to Non Pathfinder Outlets						
AUGUST						
CITY	GOALS	SOLD	%	JULY	JUNE	MAY
BOSTON	50	223	446%	174	19	4
HOUSTON	32	87	272%	23	10	8
LOS ANGELES	95	209	220%	137	62	17
ATLANTA	32	63	197%	22	5	0
WASHINGTON, D.C.	42	76	181%	141	33	1
SAN FRANCISCO	74	128	173%	243	239	4
NEW YORK	190	292	154%	364	99	65
MIAMI	42	61	145%	48	1	0
PITTSBURGH	49	64	131%	0	23	54
BIRMINGHAM	50	55	110%	22	0	0
CHICAGO	60	30	50%	83	35	35
SEATTLE	60	30	50%	16	11	15
PHILADELPHIA	49	19	39%	15	1	0
CLEVELAND	40	13	33%	60	0	8
TWIN CITIES	67	18	27%	15	10	1
DETROIT	60	16	27%	73	1	0
DES MOINES	35	0	0%	18	7	13
GREENSBORO	36	0	0%	4	0	0
MORGANTOWN	25	0	0%	0	0	0
NEWARK	133	0	0%	0	2	0
TOTAL	1221	1384	98%	1454	562	225
SHOULD BE	1400	1400	100%			

'MILITANT' SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE							
September 1 - October 26							
WEEK 2							
City/Country	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
AUSTRALIA	16	2	13%	3	0	10	3
CANADA							
Montreal	30	10	33%	10	3	30	12
Toronto	50	11	22%	10	0	20	1
Vancouver	50	8	16%	5	2	20	3
Canada total	130	29	22%	25	5	70	16
ICELAND	10	1	10%	1	0	5	0
NEW ZEALAND							
Auckland	30	8	27%	2	2	10	3
Christchurch	15	3	20%	1	0	5	1
Wellington	3	0	0%	1	0	1	0
NZ total	48	11	23%	4	2	16	4
SWEDEN	16	2	13%	7	1	8	1
UNITED KINGDOM							
Manchester	25	3	12%	2	0	12	3
London	50	4	8%	12	7	35	13
UK total	75	7	9%	14	7	47	16
UNITED STATES							
Washington, DC	40	19	48%	15	7	15	4
Birmingham, AL	40	18	45%	5	1	15	1
Detroit	35	14	40%	8	1	12	2
Des Moines	40	15	38%	20	8	20	2
Miami	40	15	38%	22	4	25	4
Philadelphia	25	9	36%	8	1	8	3
New York	140	36	26%	70	17	60	33
Boston	40	10	25%	15	5	35	6
Pittsburgh	48	11	23%	3	0	15	2
Seattle	70	16	23%	20	7	20	2
Atlanta	33	7	21%	12	11	15	1
Newark, NJ	120	24	20%	40	6	60	18
Los Angeles	110	18	16%	55	9	55	7
San Francisco	70	10	14%	30	5	35	4
Chicago	95	13	14%	30	6	40	4
Houston	40	3	8%	15	1	15	2
Twin Cities, MN	70	4	6%	15	0	15	0
Cleveland	30	1	3%	6	0	10	2
Other		7					
U.S. total	1086	250	23%	389	89	470	97
Other international		2			0		3
International totals	1381	304	23%	443	104	626	140
Should be	1300	325	25%	400	100	600	150

IN THE UNIONS							
Country/Union	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
AUSTRALIA							
AMWU	2	1	50%	0	0	1	0
CANADA							
USWA	5	1	20%	1	0	2	1
IAM	10	1	10%	1	0	5	0
Canada total	15	2	13%	2	0	7	1
NEW ZEALAND							
EU	7	1	14%	0	0	1	0
MWU	2	0	0%	0	0	1	0
UFBGWU	2	0	0%	0	0	1	0
NZ total	11	1	9%	0	0	3	0
UNITED KINGDOM							
AEEU	5	0	0%	0	0	5	0
RMT	3	0	0%	0	0	2	0
TGWU	5	0	0%	0	0	4	0
UK total	13	0	0%	0	0	11	0
UNITED STATES							
UFCW	6	3	50%	7	3	4	2
UTU	50	8	16%	5	2	20	3
USWA	38	5	13%	4	2	22	1
IAM	50	2	4%	15	1	22	0
UAW	50	1	2%	5	0	25	0
OCAW	30	0	0%	10	0	15	0
UNITE	8	0	0%	8	1	6	0
U.S. total	232	19	8%	54	9	114	6



Young Socialists sell press at Mexican Independence Day in Chicago

picket lines, and at plant gates, as well as using the *Militant* persistently in the day-to-day political work of socialist workers can reverse this slip. Anne Morrow from San Francisco, for example, reports that socialists there sold single copies to a number of BART workers during the successful strike in the Bay Area. They are now organizing follow-up sales at BART train barns aimed at winning some of these unionists to subscribe. "Since the drive began, all the members of the YS here have been out with a book table" every weekend, wrote Benni Haraldsson from Reykjavik, Iceland. "We have sold about 20 copies of the *Militant* and sev-

AEEU — Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Workers Union; AMWU — Amalgamated Metal Workers Union; CAW — Canadian Autoworkers Union; EU — Engineers Union; MWU — Meat Workers Union; IAM — International Association of Machinists; OCAW — Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; RMT — National Union of Rail, Maritime, and Transport Workers; TGWU — Transport and General Workers Union; UAW — United Auto Workers; UFBGWU — United Food, Beverage, and General Workers Union; UFCW — United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA — United Mine Workers of America; UNITE — Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees; USWA — United Steelworkers of America; UTU — United Transportation Union.

eral pamphlets. A worker bought the paper and the booklet *An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis* in Iceland." YS members and others in Iceland are working to turn sales into subscriptions. *Militant* supporters who are members of the United, Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) in the United States led the way the second week of the drive on sales on the job. "One Mexican worker who had bought a number of Pathfinder books in the past subscribed to *PM* in the plant where I work," said Rosa Garmendia, a UFCW member in Detroit. Several meatpackers subscribed at a factory in Marshalltown, Iowa. Interest is also high at the plant gates.

Fighters find Pathfinder in libraries, bookshops

BY SARA LOBMAN

Part of reaching out to workers and youth with the socialist books and periodicals is getting bookstores and libraries to carry Pathfinder's titles. In the United States, sales in August to non-Pathfinder accounts fell just short of the goal of 1,400. Sales volunteers around the world report a good response even modest efforts. Joanne Kuniansky reports from Sydney, Australia, that Pathfinder supporters there visited three bookstores in July and one in August. They have three visits planned for September. "One buyer said he would order eleven titles, including many on Che Guevara and the Cuban revolution, *Rosa Luxemburg Speaks*, and *The History of the Russian Revolution*, *In Defense of Marxism: The Social and Political Contradictions of the Soviet Union*, and *The Struggle against Fascism in Germany* by Leon Trotsky. An-

"*Militant* sales at Lear Seating, organized by the United Auto Workers, resulted in four copies sold on September 11 and another four on September 16," wrote Arlene Rubinstein, a member of Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees in Atlanta.

"After consistent sales with a literature table in Manhattan's garment district for a month, we sold our first *Perspectiva Mundial* subscription there this week," said Eva Braiman from New York. Socialist workers there have also been selling a few papers every week at two UPS depots they've been visiting regularly since the strike there.

The bulk of new subscribers over the last seven days came from the day-to-day activities of socialists around the world. "Supporters of Mary Martin, socialist candidate for Washington, D.C., City Council, have been collecting signatures to place her name on the ballot," said Maggie Pucci, writing from the U.S. capital. "Last weekend [September 9-10] we collected 1,000 signatures of our 4,000 goal. During petitioning we sold 5 *Militant* and 4 *PM* subs and a copy of *New Internationalist* no. 8 titled 'Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism.'"

Militant Labor Forums are another source of new subscribers. "We've sold two *Militant* subscriptions to young people attending the forum in Vancouver," said Beverly Bernardo. "Francisco, another forum participant, took advantage of the special offer of *Perspectiva Mundial-El rostro cambiante*," advertised on the front page, "because he was interested in a 'handbook about how to make a revolution.'"

other bookstore, at a university, said they would order seven titles, and two smaller bookstores planned to get copies of *Pombo: A Man of Che's 'Guerrilla'*." Bookstores in Sydney order directly from a large distributor, making it impossible to track exact sales figures. "The brochure and letter Pathfinder sent out are very helpful," Mary Lipman, a Pathfinder salesperson in Santa Cruz, California, reports. The material features *Pombo: A Man of Che's 'Guerrilla'*, the new Spanish-language edition of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions*, and other titles. "I used them to keep in touch with regular customers and also some I'd never seen. I'll follow up with phone calls next week." Lipman also set up a table in downtown Santa Cruz. "The biggest seller here is *The Communist Manifesto*. I'm always running out of copies."

Sweden: sterilization policy sparks debate

BY BIRGITTA ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — A sharp debate has opened here over eugenics policies carried out for decades. Some 63,000 people were sterilized in Sweden between 1935 and 1975 to supposedly combat racial and social inferiority. Most were sterilized against their will, and the overwhelming majority of them were women.

Swedish authorities took the first steps toward a "racial hygiene" policy in 1921, when the State Institute for Race Biology was founded in Uppsala. It was the first institute of this kind in the world and a pattern for Kaiser Wilhelm Institute für Rassenhygiene in Berlin, Germany. The institute distributed pictures of "racially clean" and "racially mixed" people. The "racially mixed" were gypsies, so-called travelers or tinkers, and others considered social outcasts. In 1934 the Swedish parliament adopted a law authorizing sterilization of the "mentally ill." This legislation was extended in 1941 to allow sterilization to combat "antisocial behavior."

By 1947, the number of sterilizations had grown to more than 2,000 a year, and stayed at that level into the 1950s. Swedish authorities put people in impossible situations, such as taking away their children or denying them abortions if they refused to sign an application for sterilization. Young people in reformatories had to sign as a condition for their release or for leave of absence. The forced sterilization laws were finally abolished in 1975 as one of the victories of the growing women's rights movement.

This type of abuse was by no means limited to Sweden. In Norway more than 40,000 people were subjected to this, and in Denmark 6,000. In United States 60,000 were sterilized between 1907 and 1960.

Articles spark controversy

While many of the details of this history have been public knowledge since the 1970s, the recent controversy was sparked by a series of articles on the subject by journalist Maciej Zaremba that appeared in the liberal Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter* August 20-21. The articles and the controversy they sparked are part of a broader attack on the social welfare state, the so called "Swedish folk-home," an attack directed at the social rights won in struggles by working people.

Zaremba's articles take the view that the social democrats were responsible for the sterilizations, arguing that they wanted to build the welfare state, but a lot of people did not have the right disposition. "Through

forced sterilization's folk-home Sweden could minimize the number of people living on welfare," he wrote.

The conservative daily *Svenska Dagbladet* picked up on this ammunition focusing on the sterilization debate. In its lead article September 1, the paper stated, "It has long been taboo to criticize the welfare state and the Swedish people's home. Those who have done so have been accused of being reactionaries, supporters of class differences and oppression...."

"The system has forced people into lifestyle everybody must follow: Everybody should work full-time. Children should be in day-care centers.... Even those with small income are taxed very hard. The school system is built on the notion that everybody has the same talents, are equally motivated to study, and learn and develop in the same tempo. The result has been that those who do not want to live according to the social state norm have become a problem. Youth cannot move from their parents any more. Those with low income are forced to live on welfare. And the Swedish school is very efficient at making children dropouts, hopeless cases who can't achieve anything."

But contrary to what Zaremba and *Svenska Dagbladet* assert, the Swedish policy on "racial hygiene" and sterilizations was carried out with the support of all the governing political parties in Sweden. Although they had different motives for supporting this policy, they voted nearly unanimously for it in parliament. While the conservatives and the fascists supported it from the point of view of making the Nordic Aryan race predominant and strengthen the Swedes, the social democrats pushed it as a means to eliminate social problems and make people in Sweden genetically better.

This was an important part of the attacks on working people throughout the 1930s and '40s under social-democratic governments. Along with the abortion law of 1938, the sterilization laws of 1935 and 1941 put the decisions over a woman's body in the hands



Militant/Ellen Lemisch

Women's liberation movement won abortion rights and reversal of sterilization laws in Sweden and elsewhere in 1970s. Above, a Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) demonstration in Washington, D.C., November 1971.

of the authorities.

The ruling class in Sweden has not wanted a debate on the forced sterilization policy. The same holds true for other aspects of Swedish history that have long been public, including the rail transportation through Sweden of thousands of Nazi soldiers and war materiel to Norway when the Nazis had occupied that country, as well as the treatment of Jews during the World War II when a big "J" was marked on their passports. The Social Democrats, who headed the government from the early 1930s to the mid-70s, also want to block these debates.

But in this case they have been compelled to open an inquiry.

Responding to questions about the national sterilization policy, Carl Bildt, a leader of the Social Democrats, was forced to discuss the issue at his party congress in Umeå September 1. "We all have part of the guilt. I take on some of the guilt. I did not know that it was so many or that it happened under such a long time," Bildt said.

"What happened was barbaric and the Social Democrats are part of a collective guilt which includes everybody," declared Social Minister Margot Wallström. On Sep-

tember 4 the government announced the appointment of a commission to investigate and "consider how to make amends and propose forms of compensation for the victims," said Wallström. Since 1975 around 30 people have demanded compensation, but only 16 have reportedly received \$6,289.

"In the juridical spectra, those who were forced to sterilize have no right to compensation as it happened under the laws of these days. Here we talk about of compensation ex gratia, by grace," said Helena Starup from the Social Department.

Wallström herself recently signed a denial of compensation to Maria Nordin, who was forced to accept sterilization to get out of a so-called special school when she was 17 years old in 1943. Nordin, who has come out publicly in media, is a typical victim of the forced sterilizations. She was young, poor, and "within her family there were drinkers, mental illness, and a way of life without norms," the social authorities wrote about Nordin, considering this sufficient grounds to sterilize her.

Birgitta Isacsson is a member of the metal-workers union in Stockholm.

Military report admits: 'Sexual harassment exists throughout Army'

BY MEGAN ARNEY

An internal military investigation released September 11 found "sexual harassment exists throughout the Army, crossing gender, rank, and racial lines." The nine-month in-

quiry was conducted by the Secretary of the Army Senior Review Panel and Army Inspector General at 59 Army bases worldwide and surveyed 30,000 troops.

The report was completed months ago, but military officials delayed its release until September so Army Secretary Togo West could prepare a response. It said 84 percent of Army women and 80 percent of Army men reported they had experienced offensive and sexual behavior, unwanted sexual attention, coercion, or assault. About 22 percent of the women and 7 percent of the men surveyed said they had been sexually harassed in the last year. Additionally, 51 percent of the women said they faced job discrimination because of their sex.

The report comes in the wake of an outcry over sexual harassment in the military that was sparked from allegations of sexual abuse at the Army's Ordinance Center and School at Aberdeen, Maryland. Last November some 50 women accused their drill sergeants of harassment and assault. Over the next several months, 11 noncommissioned officers and one captain were accused of criminal misconduct. On September 10 the Army said it would discipline Major Gen. Robert Shadley, who was the commanding officer at Aberdeen at the time the sexual allegations surfaced.

In response to the allegations at Aberdeen, the army brass set up a hot line. It received 8,300 calls, including 1,350 reports that led to criminal investigations. On June 13 the hot line was turned off because it had supposedly served its purpose, according to an Army spokesperson. Women make up 14 percent of the Army's 480,000 soldiers.

The report said that female soldiers believed that their commanding officers had little interest in enforcing Army rules against sexual harassment. "We speak, but it's as if we don't exist," a female noncommissioned officer told investigators. Others said they worried about reprisals for reporting abuse.

"You can report it, but they get you sooner or later," the *Washington Post* quoted one woman as saying.

Investigators added that this fact was evidence of a larger breakdown of trust between soldiers and their officers. Forty percent of the women and 37 percent of the men who were polled agreed with the statement that Army leaders were more interested in their own careers than in the well-being of the soldiers under their command. "Unfair treatment, double standards, and a lack of discipline were raised to Panel representatives time and again.... Such a negative view of leaders is counterproductive to ... unit cohesion and combat readiness...."

"Unfortunately, many soldiers simply do not trust the present system to deal with their concerns," the report said.

In response, Army Secretary West insisted September 11 that the situation at Aberdeen was "an aberration." West announced a plan to revamp the Army's enforcement of rules against sexual misconduct and replace commanding officers. This plan includes psychological testing and a criminal background check of drill sergeants, and adds a week of basic training to teach "ethical standards of the military."

Meanwhile, the highest ranking enlisted Army officer, Gene McKinney, now may face a court-martial. After being named to a special panel to reduce sexual harassment in the military, six women stepped forward with allegations that he harassed them. McKinney denied the charges and said they were racially motivated. McKinney is Black, as are all of the drill sergeants who were charged at Aberdeen. Seven soldiers at Fort Bragg in North Carolina were disciplined for sexual harassment or fraternization on September 4, receiving letters of reprimand and nonjudicial punishment, while still another soldier at Fort Jackson in South Carolina was dishonorably discharged for sexual misconduct August 31.

Available from Pathfinder

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'Socialist revolution opens road for workers to take history into their own hands'

Preface to new edition of 'Che Guevara: Economics & Politics in the Transition to Socialism'

Printed below is the preface by Mary-Alice Waters to the new Spanish-language edition of *Che Guevara: Economía y política en la transición al socialismo* (Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism). It is copyright © Pathfinder Press. The preface and the photos, which appear in the book, are reprinted by permission. The book, authored by Carlos Tablada, will be released by Pathfinder September 20.

The struggle against imperialism, for liberation from colonial or neocolonial shackles, which is being carried out by means of political weapons, firearms, or a combination of the two, is not separate from the struggle against backwardness and poverty. Both are stages on the same road leading toward the creation of a new society of justice and plenty.

It is imperative to take political power and to get rid of the oppressor classes. But then the second stage of the struggle, which may be even more difficult than the first, must be faced.¹

— Che Guevara
Algiers, February 1965

Che believed in man. And if we don't believe in man, if we think that man is an incorrigible little animal, capable of advancing only if you feed him grass or tempt him with a carrot or whip him with a stick — anybody who believes this, anybody convinced of this will never be a revolutionary, never be a socialist, never be a communist.²

— Fidel Castro
Havana, October 1987

The questions that Ernesto Che Guevara, acting as part of the central leadership of the Cuban revolution, sought to help the vanguard of the working class answer more than three decades ago remain the most pressing of our epoch.

Guevara charted a course to rid the world of the capitalist system, with all its horrors, and open the way for working men and women to begin a transition toward a more just and human socialist society, transforming themselves in the process. That course determined his every deed as a conscious political person.

Like the young founders of the modern communist movement, Che deeply believed, and acted on his conviction, that "revolution is necessary ... not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class overthrowing it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fit to found society anew."³

Che died thirty years ago in the mountains of Bolivia, fighting to create the conditions out of which could emerge the leadership of a Latin America-wide movement of workers and peasants capable of winning the battles for land reform and independence from imperialist domination and opening the socialist revolution. Today's world would not be alien to him, however. The sharpening interimperialist trade and financial conflicts and looming economic crises, the deteriorating wages and living conditions facing working people everywhere, the depression

levels of unemployment and poverty endemic throughout much of Latin America, the growing political polarization and incipient fascist movements rearing their heads in the imperialist countries, the social disintegration threatening large parts of Africa, and the booming cannons of imperialist powers firing the first salvos of World War III in Iraq and Yugoslavia — the deadly historic logic of capitalism continues to unfold. Details have changed since the 1960s, but the fundamentals of the world Guevara sought to lead working people to transform have not.

With one important qualification: Imperialism is weaker than it was thirty years ago, more vulnerable, and the working class is a larger percentage of the world's population. The stakes have gone up.

The shattering of the bureaucratic regimes and parties of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, culminating in 1989-91, would likewise not have been unthinkable to Che. Guevara was among the most conscious of the Cuban leaders that, despite the welcome aid Cuba received from the Soviet bloc, the political, economic, and social policies of the leaders of those countries were alien to the proletarian and internationalist course being charted in Cuba. Cuban President Fidel Castro addressed this fact, speaking to a gathering of Cuba's Union of Young Communists in April 1997. Referring to the events that unfolded in the Soviet bloc countries at the beginning of the decade, he noted that nearly forty years ago "no one could have imagined" what later transpired there. But "we did have one who could see into the future among us, and that person was Che," Castro said.⁴

For decades the methods employed in the organization of production, distribution, labor, and planning in each of the Soviet bloc countries, with this or that variation, were promoted by the big majority of those the world over who called themselves communists as the only road from capitalism to socialism. But the verdict on the so-called Soviet model has now been rendered by history: the planning and management systems in the USSR and Eastern European countries — and the organization of labor underlying them — were pushing these peoples away from socialism, not toward it.

The alternative course, advanced in Cuba by the central leadership in the opening years of the socialist revolution, and placed on its soundest theoretical foundations by Ernesto Che Guevara, is the subject of this book. It will be studied by revolutionary fighters the world over with even greater interest today because of the verdict of history that Guevara himself did not live to witness.

After Fidel Castro — the historic leader of the Cuban revolutionary forces from 1953 to today — Ernesto Che Guevara was the best-known leader of the revolution during its early years, when "we were used to making the impossible possible," as Castro said in paying tribute to Guevara in October 1987.⁵

Guevara was Argentine by birth. Having graduated from medical school in Buenos Aires in 1953, he met Fidel Castro in Mexico in July 1955 and immediately agreed to



Instituto de Historia de Cuba

Ernesto Che Guevara (right) with other leaders of the Rebel Army arriving in Havana a few days after triumph of Cuban revolution in January 1959. At center are Fidel Castro and Camilo Cienfuegos, both waving. "It is imperative to take political power and get rid of the oppressor classes," said Guevara in 1965. "But then the second stage of the struggle may be even more difficult than the first."

join the July 26 Movement and to sign on to the expeditionary force Castro was organizing to launch a revolutionary war against the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship in Cuba. Guevara — soon nicknamed "Che" (a popular form of address in Argentina) by his Cuban comrades — was initially recruited as troop doctor, but he rapidly proved himself to be an outstanding combat leader and educator. In 1957 he became the first combatant promoted by Fidel to command a separate column of the Rebel Army. Guevara led the December 1958 campaign that culminated in the capture of the city of Santa Clara in central Cuba, effectively sealing the fate of the Batista dictatorship.

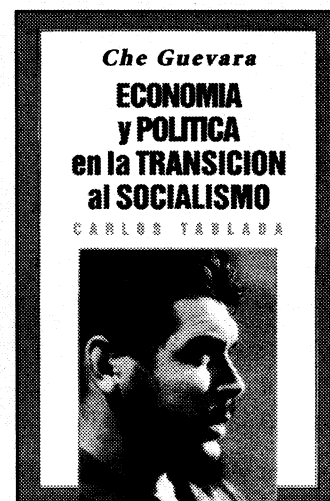
But Guevara's most important contributions to the Cu-

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CARLOS TABLADA

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¹ "At the Afro-Asian Conference," February 24, 1965, in *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution: Writings and Speeches of Ernesto Che Guevara* (New York: Pathfinder, 1987), p. 337.

² "Che's Ideas Are Absolutely Relevant Today," see p. 42 in this book (page references here and below are to Pathfinder's English-language edition, *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*).

³ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "The German Ideology," in *Collected Works*, vol. 5 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1976), p. 53.

⁴ *Granma International*, April 23, 1997, p. 7.

⁵ See page 37 in this book.

ban revolution were not military. In paying tribute to Che in October 1967, a few days after his death, Castro called attention to this fact, saying:

Che was an extraordinarily able military leader. But when we remember Che, when we think of Che, we do not think fundamentally of his military virtues. No! Warfare is a means and not an end. Warfare is a tool of revolutionaries. The important thing is the revolution. The important thing is the revolutionary cause, revolutionary ideas, revolutionary objectives, revolutionary sentiments, revolutionary virtues!

And it is in that field, in the field of ideas, in the field of sentiments, in the field of revolutionary virtues, in the field of intelligence, that — apart from his military virtues — we feel the tremendous loss that his death means to the revolutionary movement....

Che was not only an unsurpassed man of action — he was a man of visionary intelligence and broad culture, a profound thinker. That is, in his person the man of ideas and the man of action were combined.⁶

During the opening years of the revolution, Guevara took on some of the most challenging, and heaviest, responsibilities. He helped draft the 1959 agrarian reform law, the measure that, in Castro's words, more than any other single act, "defined the Cuban Revolution."⁷ Che headed the department of industrialization established by INRA, the National Institute of Agrarian Reform. He was president of the National Bank during the tumultuous year 1960, before the end of which virtually all foreign- and domestic-owned banks and major industries were nationalized, and the economic foundations were laid for socialized production and planning. He became minister of industry in 1961, assuming responsibility for reorganizing on new working-class foundations some 70 percent of industry in Cuba, while maintaining production as former owners and most management personnel, both foreign and Cuban, left the country. He represented the revolutionary government of Cuba on trips to dozens of countries, and spoke with a memorable and clarion communist voice at important international forums and conferences, from the United Nations General Assembly to the Organization of



Cuban workers in August 1960 carry symbolic coffins representing Yankee businesses expropriated by revolutionary government. Next year Guevara took responsibility for reorganizing 70 percent of industrial production in Cuba on new, working-class foundations.

American States. He worked with revolutionists from around the world who were drawn to the example of the Cuban revolution and sought guidance in learning and applying the lessons of that struggle in their own countries. He helped bring about the revolutionary regroupment within Cuba that led in 1965 to the formation of the Communist Party of Cuba.

Amid all this intense practical work helping lay the foundations of a new society, Guevara also organized time to write a prodigious number of articles and letters. He made hundreds of speeches, many of which were published in Cuba and translated and distributed by supporters of the revolution around the world. He gave countless interviews.

In April 1965 Che left Cuba to lead a mission of internationalist Cuban fighters aiding the anti-imperialist struggle in the Congo. His longer-term aim was to return to Latin America to help advance revolutionary struggles that were building from Tierra del Fuego to the Río Bravo. Resigning his leadership posts and responsibilities in the Cuban government, party, and armed forces in order to take on these new revolutionary duties, Guevara left behind a rich written legacy of his political and theoretical contributions to the economics and politics of the transition to socialism. This product of Che's years of work as part of the communist leadership of Cuba's working class has been carefully mined by Carlos Tablada in crafting this book. Among Guevara's works cited in these pages are writings and transcripts that have not been published in full, and are as yet not available to the public to study or use. Many other works cited here have long been out of print.

The author of this book, Fidel Castro remarked in his October 1987 speech commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the death of Che, "compiled, studied, and presented in a book the essence of Che's economic ideas, retrieved from many of his speeches and writings — articles and speeches dealing with a subject so decisive in the building of socialism."⁸

The socialist revolution opened by Cuba's working people in the early 1960s did not fall from the sky. Their long emancipation struggle dates back to the first war of independence against Spanish colonialism, which began in 1868 and was closely intertwined with the revolutionary struggle by slaves to abolish the right to hold human beings as chattels. From the crucible of these and subsequent battles emerged leaders such as Antonio Maceo, Máximo Gómez, and José Martí, whose words and revolutionary deeds left a heritage of anti-imperialist intransigence, internationalism, political integrity, selflessness, and courage.

The leadership that launched the assault on the Moncada and Bayamo army garrisons of the Batista dictatorship on July 26, 1953, and later led the Rebel Army and working people of Cuba to victory, drew strength from this revolutionary heritage and enriched it. This legacy helped prepare these revolutionary leaders to uncompromisingly guide the transition from Cuba's national democratic revolution — that in the fall of 1959 brought a workers and farmers government to power — to the socialist revolution that accelerated in late 1960

and early 1961 in fearless response to the hostile actions of domestic and foreign reaction, above all U.S. imperialism.

The socialist road Cuban working people set out on in those years had been opened some four decades earlier by the October 1917 revolution in Russia. The Bolshevik Party leadership headed by V.I. Lenin directed the first efforts in history by workers and peasants to chart a course towards socialism as an integral component of the fight to advance the world revolution. These efforts, from the Bolshevik insurrection in late 1917 through the end of Lenin's active political life in March 1923, left an invaluable legacy to revolutionists who later sought to advance along a similar path.

The record of the Soviet government, Communist Party, and Communist International in Lenin's time is rich in lessons in the economics and politics of the transition from capitalism to socialism that Guevara plumbed in such a disciplined manner some forty years later.

Che "advocated something that I have often insisted on," Fidel Castro emphasized in his 1987 speech. "Building socialism and communism is not just a matter of producing and distributing wealth but is also a matter of education and consciousness."⁹

The socialist revolution, as Guevara explains repeatedly in the works cited in these pages, marks the first time in history that expanding political participation and revolutionary self-consciousness of the toiling majority becomes necessary to the economic organization of society. The door is opened for working people to cease being the blind objects of economic laws that determine humanity's living and working conditions and social relations, and instead to begin placing society's productive forces, and thus their lives, under their own conscious control. As Che said in 1964:

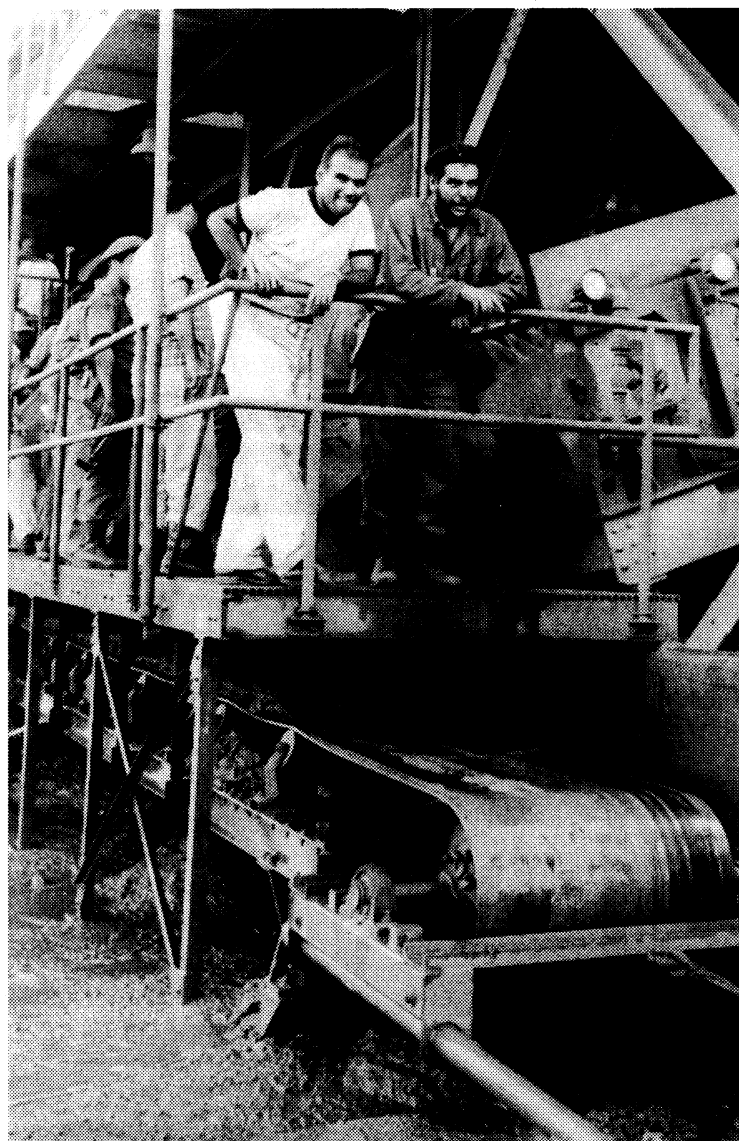
With the revolution of October 1917, the revolution of Lenin, man acquired a new consciousness. The men of the French revolution, who told humanity so many beautiful things, who set so many examples, and whose tradition is still preserved, were nevertheless simple instruments of history. Economic forces were in motion, and the French revolutionaries sought to interpret popular sentiments, the sentiments of the men of that era. Some of them saw farther than others, but none were capable of taking history into their own hands, of consciously making their own history.

This became possible after the October revolution.¹⁰

As events in the twentieth century have amply confirmed, such a course — the Bolshevik course — is not optional; it is not just one way among others following a successful popular revolution for vanguard workers to advance the transition to socialism. The most committed and self-sacrificing vanguard of the working people, organized in a communist party, *must* lead growing layers of their class in taking more and more control over the political direction and administration of the state and economy. This is the *only* way workers can transform themselves as they collectively transform the social relations under which they work, produce, and live. It is the only way they can make these social relations among human beings more and more open and direct, tearing away the veils and fetishes behind which the capitalist system hides the reality and the brutal consequences of its exploitation of all toilers and obscures the unique contribution of labor to social and cultural progress. Along any other road, society will not advance toward socialism and communism, but instead — mired in bureaucratic planning and management — will regress toward capitalism.

"Socialism is not a welfare society," Che explained in one of the speeches cited in these pages, "nor is it a utopian society based on the goodness of man as man. Socialism is a system that arises historically, and that has as its pillar the socialization of the means of production along with equitable distribution of society's wealth, in a framework of social production."¹¹

The fundamentally *political* character of economic questions and decisions during the transition to socialism is



Alberto Korda

As minister of industry, Guevara visited many workplaces such as this nickel factory in eastern Cuba, above. "Communism is a phenomenon of consciousness, not solely of production," Guevara wrote. The aim was to enable workers to take growing control over economic and social decisions that simultaneously shape production and their own daily lives.

⁸ See p. 45.

⁹ See p. 45. ¹⁰ See p. 75. ¹¹ See p. 93.

central to everything Guevara wrote on the subject, as well as to everything he did in practice. His contributions in this regard, like those of Lenin, extend well beyond what is normally, and narrowly, thought of as "economics." Che stressed the inseparable interrelationship and mutual dependence between the transformation of the social relations of production and the transformation of the political and social consciousness of the working people carrying out this revolutionary process. "In our view," Che emphasized in another speech cited by the author,

communism is a phenomenon of consciousness and not solely a phenomenon of production. We cannot arrive at communism through the simple mechanical accumulation of quantities of goods made available to the people. By doing that we would get somewhere, to be sure, to some peculiar form of socialism. But what Marx defined as communism, what is aspired to in general as communism, cannot be attained if man is not conscious. That is, if he does not have a new consciousness toward society.¹²

Such references to works by Marx, Engels, and Lenin occur throughout Guevara's speeches and writings, as Che reached back time and again to the lessons drawn by communist leaders from the experiences and struggles of previous generations of working people. He worked ceaselessly to deepen his understanding of the writings of the great historical leaders of Marxism, which he had begun studying well before he met Fidel Castro and other leaders of the July 26 Movement in Mexico.

As Che traveled throughout the Americas in the years before and after graduation from medical school, he absorbed the reality of imperialist domination of these countries, the human consequences of the superexploitation and wretched poverty forced upon millions of his Latin American compatriots. He met revolutionary-minded workers and others with whom he argued and exchanged ideas.

In the works of Karl Marx (whom Guevara affectionately referred to in his youthful letters to family and friends as "St. Karl") and Frederick Engels, the founders of the modern communist workers movement, and of Russian communist leader V.I. Lenin, Guevara increasingly found observations about and explanations for the workings of capitalism that confirmed his experiences. The scientific world view he discovered widened his horizons and helped him understand the exploitative class relations throughout Latin America that he was becoming less and less willing to accept, and more and more deeply committed to changing by whatever means necessary.

In the years preceding the launching of the revolutionary war in Cuba, Guevara concentrated on political economy through an intensive study of Marx's *Capital*. Later, as part of his responsibilities in Cuba, he sought to deepen his knowledge of Lenin's writings and speeches from the opening years of the workers and peasants republic in Soviet Russia and from congresses of the Communist International. Together with several colleagues in the ministry of industry and others, he devoted each Thursday night — often between midnight and dawn — to the study of *Capital*. In his writings and speeches, Che frequently went back to this book, to *The Critique of the Gotha Programme*, and to other works by Marx and Engels, including their rich, pre-1847 writings, prior to when they became consistently scientific in their new world outlook.

Following the revolutionary victory over the Batista dictatorship on January 1, 1959, Guevara — thirty years old at the time of the triumph — worked not only to set a practical example but to help lay a theoretical foundation for the transition to socialism in Cuba. As he did so, Guevara was in the thick of daily central leadership responsibilities in the revolutionary government and party. Photographs reproduced in this book record his activity as he carried out this work: his frequent meetings with assemblies of workers in various factories and enterprises, his participation in Sunday voluntary work mobilizations on priority social projects, his international responsibilities. Guevara immersed himself in the literature discussing the most modern industrial processes in use in other countries. He learned the principles of accounting and took classes in mathematics so he could help advance the application of computerization to economic planning and financial controls in Cuba, a task he considered vital.

It was common, Castro noted in his October 1967 tribute, to see the lights on in Guevara's office until all hours of the night, as he worked and studied. "For he was a stu-

dent of all problems; he was a tireless reader. His thirst for learning was practically insatiable, and the hours he stole from sleep he devoted to study."¹³

The political and social course Guevara worked to implement as he carried out his leadership responsibilities was far from unanimously or enthusiastically supported by all in Cuba. In 1963–64 a public debate touching on many of the political and economic questions at stake took place in several Cuban journals and received considerable international attention. The debate reflected a growing conflict between two politically irreconcilable approaches to economic planning and management and the social organization of labor. Both ap-

tion in state enterprises responsible to the Ministry of Industry. The other was known as the economic accounting system (or sometimes the financial self-management system). Drawing heavily on contemporary experience in the USSR and Eastern Europe, this system had been chosen for use in enterprises organized by the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, then headed by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, as well as those accountable to the Ministry of Foreign Trade, directed by Alberto Mora. Together these latter two comprised some 30 percent of industry in Cuba.

The articles written by Guevara in the course of this rich debate are generously cited by Tablada. For Che the budgetary finance system was not a "thing," not a set of administrative rules to be counterposed to a different set called the economic accounting system. Instead, the course he advocated and sought to apply was "part of a general conception of the development of the construction of socialism," and, what was essential, this course had to be evaluated as such in class terms.¹⁵

Guevara's aim was not to come up with ways to administer economic production and distribution, approaching the working class from the outside, as one "input" or "factor of production" (albeit the most important one, the "human factor," as post-Lenin, Soviet-trained economists often put it). The goal was, from within the vanguard of the working class, to organize and raise the political consciousness of workers, making possible their growing control over the economic and social decisions that simultaneously shape production and their daily lives. The aim was to increase workers' powers to determine society's collective needs, as well as their conscious command over the allocation of labor and resources to meet those needs. Through this effort, working people would transform their own values and attitudes; their creativity and imagination would begin to be freed from the stunting and alienating conditions of life and work under capitalist social relations.

The "muck of the ages" would begin to be washed away.



In the 1987 speech that serves as a prologue to this book, Castro remarks that "at a given moment some of Che's ideas were incorrectly interpreted and, what's more, incorrectly applied. Certainly no serious attempt was ever made to put them into practice, and there came a time when ideas diametrically opposed to Che's economic thought began to take over."

As a result, Castro said, while "much has been done to recall his other qualities," Guevara's contribution on these questions of economic and political policy "is largely unknown in our country."¹⁶ Publication of this book in a print run of a quarter million in 1987 helped advance a timely recovery and discussion of Guevara's political economic ideas in the context of what was known in Cuba as the "rectification process."

Following a series of costly mistakes in the closing years of the 1960s, the government and party leadership in Cuba decided to adopt the system of economic planning and management used in one or another variant throughout the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. From the early 1970s to the mid-1980s it was this political course, not Guevara's budgetary finance system, that predominated on questions of economic policy. Guevara's rich legacy of practical activity and theoretical contributions was largely obscured

¹⁵ See p. 76. ¹⁶ See p. 45.



Photos: Top, Federación de Mujeres Cubanas; above, Alberto Korda
Members of a voluntary microbrigade construct housing in Havana during Cuba's rectification process, 1988 (top of page). Voluntary labor is "one of the best things Che left us during his stay in our country and his part in the revolution," said Cuban president Fidel Castro. Guevara operating experimental sugar cane harvester in 1963 (directly above).

proaches were being used in Cuba during those years.¹⁴ Guevara championed what was called the budgetary finance system, which was being applied under his direc-

¹³ *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution* (Pathfinder), p. 26.

¹⁴ Articles by Guevara from this debate in the early 1960s, together with discussions from the late 1980s and early 1990s of Che's views, appear in issue no. 8 of the magazine *New International*, entitled "Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism."

FOR FURTHER READING

Che Guevara, Cuba and the Road to Socialism

In *New International* no. 8

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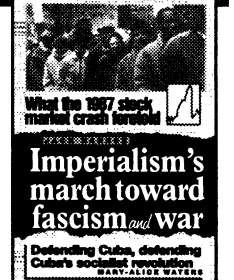
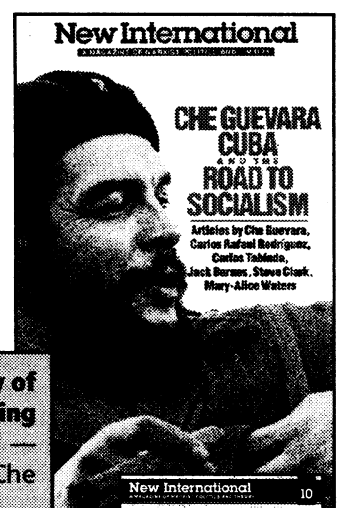
"Guevara argued that the advance toward socialism can be the product only of conscious political action by the organized workers and farmers. The working class must more and more become the 'planners' of the planned economy." — from the article by Steve Clark and Jack Barnes, "The politics of economics: Che Guevara and Marxist continuity"

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¹² See p. 93.

behind the public image of Che the Heroic Guerrilla and man of spotless moral purity ("St. Che," as this icon has been dubbed in Cuba by partisans of Guevara's communist course).

By the early 1980s, however, the devastating political consequences of the course that had been copied and imported were becoming increasingly clear as communist political consciousness among Cuba's working people faltered, demoralization spread, and corruption grew. A relatively privileged layer of administrative personnel in the state and party apparatus, industrial enterprises, economic planning agencies, and mass organizations such as the trade unions began more and more to promote and implement policies that expressed their interests and improved their own living standards and working conditions, while disregarding many of the most pressing needs of the large majority of Cuban toilers.

During this "disgraceful period of building socialism," as Castro calls it in the speech reprinted here,¹⁷ revolutionary victories elsewhere in the Americas simultaneously released new energies among Cuba's working people. Tens of thousands of teachers, doctors, engineers, construction workers, and others volunteered to risk their lives taking part in internationalist missions to aid the people of Nicaragua and Grenada. At the same time, hundreds of thousands of Cubans were responding to the request of the Angolan government for help to defeat the invading forces of the South African apartheid government intent on preventing the newly independent government of the former Portuguese colony from being consolidated.

By 1986 Cuba's communist leadership, with Fidel Castro in the lead, had launched the revolutionary political counteroffensive on questions of economic policy that became known as the rectification process. Corruption and privilege were systematically addressed and substantially reduced. Living and working conditions of agricultural workers and others in the lowest-paid categories were improved. Child care and other needs of women workers were given new priority.

From the outset of the rectification process, volunteer labor — "one of the best things [Che] left us during his stay in our country and his part in the revolution," said Castro — was revived in Cuba. It was promoted by the leadership as a lever of revolutionary action to take steps forward, through collective efforts, to address the most pressing social needs such as housing, nurseries, clinics,

by what had preceded it. Because, Castro said, Che "knew that communism could never be attained by wandering down those worn capitalist paths and that to follow along those paths would mean eventually to forget all ideas of solidarity and even internationalism."¹⁸

As the rectification process was gaining new momentum in 1989, the Cuban revolution was suddenly confronted with the most severe economic crisis in its history. The crisis was precipitated by the abrupt decline in aid and trade on favorable terms with the disintegrating regimes in the Soviet bloc. The "special period," as it is known in Cuba, registered a decline in economic production estimated at some 35 percent — equal to or greater than the fall in U.S. output during the opening years of the Great Depression of the 1930s. Stepped-up efforts by Cuba's revolutionary government to find new trading partners and sources of development capital were met by intensified economic warfare instigated and organized by Washington.

Enemies of the working class the world over gleefully predicted that the revolutionary government of Cuba would soon suffer a fate similar to the regimes of Eastern Europe and the USSR. Once again they were wrong. They failed to understand — as they had many times before — that the proletarian internationalist course Che's name was associated with in Cuba and around the world was not his alone, but was indeed the trajectory of Cuba's communist leadership, deeply rooted among the big majority of Cuba's working people. This was not a variant of the course in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, but its antipode.

No other government in the world could have survived the test of popular support that Cuba's revolutionary leadership has faced in the 1990s. In meeting the challenge of the special period, moreover, the Cuban working class has emerged stronger, not weaker. Today it is more conscious of its historic responsibilities, and more confident of its collective capacity to resist, to fight, and to win. The rectification process of the previous decade was decisive in this outcome.

The slow and difficult economic recovery that has taken place since the bottom of the crisis in 1994 has been achieved only by taking countless measures that involve painful, temporary retreats from positions conquered earlier by Cuban working people — such as allowing use of the U.S. dollar as one of the legal currencies within Cuba. This and other steps taken to marshal the resources and

capital investments required to reverse the accelerating decline in production have increased social inequalities, eroded social solidarity, and destabilized social relations that arose on the basis of previous revolutionary conquests.

What Cuba faces today is not a crisis of socialism, however. Above all, the Cuban toilers are confronting the brutal realities of an economically underdeveloped country in a world still dominated by capitalism, and the terms of struggle imposed by the exploiting classes on those who are determined to chart a way forward for humanity.

"We do not fight principally for ourselves," Fidel Castro told a convention of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers in April 1996. Cuba, he said, has become a standard bearer for the exploited and oppressed

of the world. "That is why we are pleased to call ourselves internationalists, to call ourselves socialists, to call ourselves communists." These are three things that fortify us, Castro added, "the expression of what we have wanted to be, of what we are, and of what we will always be."

It is the capitalist world that will face the gravest crisis in the years ahead. "The exploiters are starting to get afraid again," Castro noted. "They're afraid of social upheaval, afraid of social explosions, afraid of chaos ... because they don't really know what's going to happen."¹⁹

That is why Che's course, Fidel Castro's course, is not a question of past history, or only of interest to some future communist society. It remains at the heart of the ability of Cuba's working people to resist, to limit the temporary retreat that has been forced upon them, to hold the line at not one step further than necessary to assure the survival of their political power, of their revolutionary government.

The new edition of this book, both timely and necessary, is a weapon that will help increase the battle-readiness and political effectiveness of a new generation of revo-



J. González/Verde Olivo

Cuban volunteer troops helped defend Angolan sovereignty against aggression by South Africa's apartheid regime, 1975-1991. Guevara helped pioneer Cuba's internationalist solidarity with anti-imperialist fighters in Africa, Latin America, and elsewhere.

lutionary-minded fighters throughout Latin America, the United States, and other countries of the world where Spanish-speaking workers continue to swell the ranks of the toilers.

Che Guevara's legacy — an irreplaceable part of the web of lessons learned by the modern working class through enormous effort and sacrifice — is a piece of our collective patrimony that Pathfinder Press is honored to publish.

Mary-Alice Waters
September 1997



Strikers in Argentina protest government austerity program in May 1997. Joblessness, social inequality, and poverty are at depression levels in much of Latin America today. "The exploiters are starting to get afraid again," Fidel Castro told Cuban trade unionists in 1996. "They're afraid of social upheaval, afraid of social explosions."

and schools. For some fifteen years, Castro said, such efforts had been steadily on the decline because of "the bureaucrat's view, the technocrat's view that voluntary work was neither basic nor essential," but rather "kind of silly, a waste of time." Beginning in 1986, however, voluntary labor was reborn. The construction "minibrigades," as they were called, assumed an even greater centrality to the revolution and working class than similar efforts during the early years of the Cuban or Russian revolutions.

Rectification took on the character of a growing social movement led by Cuba's most conscious and disciplined working people who were convinced that the brigades opened the road toward a return to proletarian methods that could advance the revolution and strengthen social consciousness.

Just as the bureaucratic parties and regimes of Eastern Europe and the USSR were finally beginning to shatter in face of irresolvable economic, social, and political crises building up for decades, the Cuban revolution was gaining strength along the lines of the communist political course of rectification. This renewal, Fidel explained in his October 1987 tribute, would have given Guevara much joy and confidence, just as he would have been "appalled"

¹⁷ See p. 41.

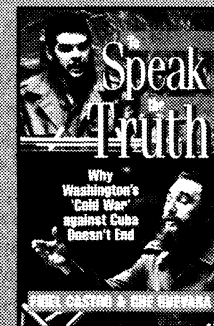
¹⁸ See p. 42.

¹⁹ The speech was published in the May 15, 1996, issue of the weekly *Granma Internacional*.

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N.Y. primary results surprise Democrats

Protests against police brutality boost vote for Sharpton

BY BILL ARTH

BROOKLYN — "Working class outrage at and resistance to the horrific torture of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima at the hands of New York City cops led to this upset in the Democratic Party primary," said Olga Rodríguez, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York. Rodríguez's statement followed news that there would be a runoff between Democratic Party challengers Ruth Messinger, currently the Manhattan borough president, and Rev. Alfred Sharpton.

Messinger, the favorite, failed to win the necessary 40 percent to be named the Democratic Party candidate against Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani. The runoff itself was then thrown into question when the New York Board of Elections announced that it discovered additional votes for Messinger that could put her above the 40 percent threshold.

Political writers in the big-business press were stunned when Sharpton forced the runoff by gaining 126,799 votes, 32 percent of the total, compared to Messinger's 155,913, or 39 percent. *New York Times* columnist Bob Herbert declared, "Reasonable people are shaking their heads at the idea that the Democratic nomination for mayor of New York should come down to a race between Ms. Messinger and Mr. Sharpton. Not that long ago it would have been easier to believe that a delegation from Pluto had landed in Sheepshead Bay."

Messinger, supported by most of the Democratic Party machine, had raised \$3,262,568 for her campaign as of early September. Sharpton had raised only \$185,000. In the weeks leading up to the primary, however, Sharpton closely identified himself with the protests against the torture of Abner Louima, a Haitian immigrant who lives in Brooklyn, by the New York police. Sharpton attended protests and appeared with lawyers for the Louima fam-



Militant/Megan Arney

Some 15,000 people demonstrated August 29 against the police torture of Abner Louima

ily demanding that the cops who tortured Louima be fired and prosecuted.

The Louima incident sparked widespread outrage and resistance among working people in New York. Two demonstrations were held, including marches on August 16 of 7,000 to the 70th Precinct, where the torture occurred, and on August 29 of 15,000 across the Brooklyn Bridge to City Hall in downtown Manhattan.

The mobilizations have inspired others to come forward with complaints of cop

abuse. Another Haitian immigrant filed a brutality complaint and lawsuit against Justin Volpe, one of the cops accused of torturing Louima. Mario Saccavino, a 70-year-old man, has also filed suit against other cops from the 70th Precinct who knocked him down while arresting his wife. His hip was seriously injured, requiring surgery.

Sharpton defeated Messinger in Brooklyn by 13,000 votes. After the primary, Sharpton held a rally in Harlem with Rev. Jesse Jackson that attracted 450 people. Also attending were members of the families of Anthony Baez and Anthony Rosario, both of whom were killed by the New York cops. Their families have been active in protesting police brutality and had earlier endorsed Sharpton. A long-time Democratic politi-

cian, he devoted much of his remarks to denouncing Giuliani.

In an interview in *Our Time Press*, a Brooklyn community newspaper, Sharpton spelled out his program to fight police brutality. "One, we need to have an INDEPENDENT Civilian Complaint Review Board that has independent power, and can recommend termination and suspension. Second, we need to require all police to live in the city of New York. Third, we should have no 48 hour rule, where police are given 48 hours to decide whether or not they're going to talk, or answer questions." Sharpton continued, "I think [former Police Commissioner] Ray Kelly was a good Police Commissioner. He had the perfect balance of how to keep crime down. We started the downward spiral of crime and at the same time worked with community groups under his leadership."

On September 18, the Board of Elections announced that new vote tallies, together with absentee ballots, brought Messinger's total to 40.16 percent of the vote. If those results are ratified, the runoff will not take place. Sharpton announced he will file suit seeking an injunction ordering the new vote to take place.

Socialist Workers candidate Rodríguez assailed the move to cancel the September 23 runoff in the Democratic Party primary as "an undemocratic attack on the rights of those who cast their vote for Sharpton as a way to say 'Enough!' to police brutality in this city." Rodríguez continued, "Neither Alfred Sharpton nor Ruth Messinger are putting forward a program that confronts the economic and social crisis facing working people in this election. Indeed, both Democratic Party candidates are campaigning to channel workers desire to fight back into the safe waters of capitalist electoral politics through support to the Democratic Party, whether it's health-care workers and UPS strikers demanding a decent contract or the powerful street mobilizations of Black, Caribbean, and other workers and youth to the brutal torture of Louima."

Bill Arth is a member of the United Transportation Union.

U.S. gov't probes Teamsters union

BY BRIAN TAYLOR

The U.S. government is threatening to prevent Ronald Carey, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, from running for that post in a federally mandated reelection.

Just days after 185,000 Teamsters were victorious in their national strike against the United Parcel Service (UPS), Barbara Zack Quindel, a Clinton administration official appointed to oversee the Teamsters union, nullified the results of the December election of the union president. On grounds of alleged improper fund-raising, Quindel ordered a new election and launched an investigation against Carey.

In voiding the election, Quindel claimed

that more than \$200,000 of funds were illegally collected by the Carey campaign. On September 15 James Hoffa Jr., who was narrowly defeated by Carey, called on Attorney General Janet Reno to appoint an independent counsel to investigate allegations that Carey received illegal funds from Democratic Party officials.

The same day Carey appealed for the government to disqualify Hoffa from running on similar charges of illegal receipt of funds.

Quindel has tried to implicate other unions, as well as the AFL-CIO union federation, as part the government investigation, potentially widening the scope of any criminal charges.

Affirmative action march

Continued from front page

ing, the UT Law School this year expects only four Blacks and 26 Chicanos among its 468 new students, compared to 31 Blacks and 42 Chicanos last year.

The September 16 rally was the largest such action in many years and one of the biggest response here to the current attacks on affirmative action. It was sponsored by Students for Access and Opportunity, a newly formed campus group opposed to the Hopwood decision. Speakers included Jesse Jackson, state legislators, students, and teachers.

Students and faculty speaking at the rally outlined a list of demands, including an apology from the chancellor and Board of Regents for Graglia's remark, that the university work to get a new interpretation of the Hopwood ruling enabling the university to reinstate affirmative action policies, and that students be required to take a course on "critical race and gender studies."

There has also been a lot of discussion and debate on what action to call for against Graglia and on his right to express his views. Some state legislators called for the university to fire or force the resignation of Graglia, threatening to withhold funds for the university if some such action was not taken.

Meanwhile, in Houston an initiative has been placed on the November 4 ballot that would dismantle any city-mandated affirmative action programs, affecting primarily minority contracting requirements.

The Socialist Workers candidate for mayor Patti Iiyama, whose campaign supporters have just finished collecting 1,000 signatures to place her name on the ballot, stated, "I will make defense of affirmative action a center of my campaign. I will join actions to support the demand of UT students that the university reinterpret Hopwood and reinstate affirmative action. My supporters and I also will campaign for

the defeat of the so-called Houston Civil Rights Initiative, which would outlaw affirmative action programs of the city. Defending affirmative action is in the interest of all working people as it can help to unify us by guaranteeing equal access to jobs, education and housing. Unity of the working class is key to allowing us to fight together to demand an expansion in educational opportunities, jobs for all, and an end to cuts in social services."

Cuba bombing

Continued from Page 16

Socialist Workers Party candidates for Mayor of Miami and City Commission in District 5, brought their supporters to the picket line and social. They said that the success of the action in the face of threats from both the police and rightists is very much tied to the changes in the working class as a whole. This includes the greater willingness to fight to victory like the unionists at UPS and the Bay Area Rapid Transit. "In the future strikes like these," said Post, "will strengthen other social protest movements including the fight to defend the Cuban revolution."

Meanwhile, the September 13 *Miami Herald* reported on the expulsion from Cuba of David Dorn, the head of international relations for the American Federation of Teachers. Dorn, in Cuba on a tourist visa, was actually a courier for Freedom House delivering money and other materials to counterrevolutionaries on the island. Freedom House is a right-wing outfit led by Frank Calzon.

According to the *Herald*, "Calzon often uses visitors to Cuba to deliver aid to dissidents such as cash, fax machines and short-wave radios. Freedom House also has a \$500,000 U.S. government grant for democracy-building items."

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S.F. transit strikers beat back BART

Continued from front page

membership of the ATU and SEIU rejected what management termed its "best and final offer." BART spokespeople said they would offer the unions pay raises totaling nine percent over three years and said they would not spend more than \$28 million on the next contract with the two unions.

In 1994 management succeeded in forcing through a new setup under which it took new hires six years to reach top pay. This guaranteed that new hires never got more than 90 percent of what their co-workers were paid during the life of the three-year contract. BART management tried in this round of negotiations to not only extend the existing two-tier pay scheme, but also set up a third level where new hires would receive only 75 percent of the top rate of pay. The demand to eliminate these tiers and built-in wage inequalities was the major issue uniting the union members. This had become a major bone of contention as the expanding transit authority hired 500 new workers, many of them young, over the last two years. These workers began demanding to be paid equal wages for carrying out the same work. "I'm doing the same work for almost \$3 less an hour," mechanic Paul Nadon explained. "I want the two-tier gone now."

"We talked to workers with more seniority about this. We won them over that it wasn't in our interest to be divided. So we had a solid front on this crucial issue," Gilbert said.

Under the terms of the tentative September 13 settlement, the members of the two unions will receive a \$3,000 lump sum bonus for 1997 and then a 4 percent pay increase for the next three years of the four-year contract. Previous contracts between the union and BART have run for three years. AFSCME members are "me too-ed" in the agreement.

The tier schemes have been eliminated and the progression to get to top pay shortened. Instead of at least six years, it will now take three years to get to top pay for ATU members and four years for SEIU members. Gilbert noted that four years is still a long time, "but it is a step forward." The unionists also won improvement in their dental plan for the first time in 24 years.

Vicious antiunion campaign

From the opening minutes of the strike, the big-business media tried to turn public opinion against the strikers. The *San Francisco Chronicle* ran article after article, as well as editorials, blasting the strikers for causing "suffering" for the 270,000 Bay Area residents who use the BART system during the workweek. The BART system has been in existence for 25 years. It was designed to bring middle-class people and others into the financial district of San Fran-

cisco from around the Bay Area.

The *Chronicle* editorialized that "the strike, which began at 12:01 a.m. yesterday is hard to justify." The media repeated over and over that the BART workers under their old contract received a base wage of nearly \$41,000 a year and mechanics a base wage of \$48,000 a year. At the same time, the media tried to trivialize the unions' demands to get rid of tiers and shorten pay progression periods. "Most people can understand — and accept — the concept that newcomers should initially receive less than veterans. It is a common practice in most of the work world, including the transit industry," the *Chronicle* editors opined.

Cartoons and the letters pages of the papers every day were organized to try to whip up a campaign against the supposedly overpaid workers.

State Senator Quentin Kopp announced plans to press for new legislation that would ban strikes by transit workers.

Much was also made in the press about taunts striking pickets received from those passing by closed suburban train stations. "The strikers are getting spat on and screamed at. Commuters are blowing their tops," a *Chronicle* article stated the morning before the strike ended. "The hostility is so intense that the strike line at the Pleasant Hill BART station had to be canceled yesterday because of threats to the pickets," the same article said. "Pickets also have soda-cup ice and garbage thrown at them, and sometimes shouting or shoving matches

erupt with people who walk up to argue."

This was far from the whole picture. Trade unionists who visited the BART picket lines were extremely well received. Outside the Colma maintenance barn where pickets gathered, many passing by honked their horns in a show of support for the strikers during the course of the day. Some union locals dropped off doughnuts and food for the strikers there as well.

"We've had people drive by our picket lines and throw bottles, we've been spit upon and sworn at, but we've held our own," striker Dennis Jones told the *New York Times* at the end of the strike. Gilbert agreed. "We didn't have a good media strategy. We'll learn. But we shut them down and won the strike."

Seeking to take credit for the workers victory, San Francisco mayor Willie Brown told a convention of the Service Employees International Union meeting in Washington, D.C., September 16, "I am the end effort of labor's magnificent political action."

The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported, "BART might not have settled so quickly had BART's unions not 'been part of a very strong political movement in the Bay Area,' Brown said. It was the pressure and the 'back-door activities' applied by pro-union politicians that 'put pressure on BART officials.'"

Norton Sandler works at San Francisco Airport and is a member of International Association of Machinists local 1781.

Pathfinder Fund Celebrations

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

A New Stage of Labor Resistance: The Changing Face of U.S. Politics. Speakers: Mary Martin, member of International Association of Machinists and Socialist Workers candidate for city council in Washington, D.C.; Wendy Schwartz, member of National Association of Letter Carriers. Sat., Sept. 27, 7:30 p.m. Dinner 6 p.m. *Pathfinder Bookstore, 780 Tremont St. Sponsored by the Pathfinder Fund. Suggested donation: \$5.00 for program and dinner. For more information, call (617) 247-6772.*

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Celebrate the publication of *El rostro cambiante de la política en Estados Unidos*. Spanish language edition of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*. Speaker: Tomás Villanueva, farmworkers advocate and former president, United Farm Workers of Washington State. Sat., Sept. 27, 6 p.m. Reception to follow. *CAMP Community Center, 722 18th Ave. Donation: \$10. For more information: (206) 323-1755.*

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

Pathfinder Fund Celebration. Speaker: Patrick Brown, Communist League. Sat., Sept. 20, 7 p.m. *66 Albion St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$5. Tel: (02) 9281-3297.*

—CALENDAR—

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Night of Friendship and Solidarity with Cuba: Hear from Local Participants in the July-August World Festival of Youth in Cuba. Slide show, photos, and presentations from seven local delegates to the gathering this summer attended by 12,000 people from 133 countries. Sponsored by Cuba Support Coalition. Thurs. Sept. 25, 7 p.m. *The Knave of Hearts (upstairs lounge), 230 South St. Free admission. For more information, call (215) 462-4288.*

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

Class on Politics in New Zealand. Sun., Sept. 21, 2 p.m. *Pathfinder Bookshop, 19 Terry St., Surry Hills. For more information, call: (02) 9281-3297.*

CANADA

Vancouver

Benefit Concert for Famine in North Korea. Sat., Sept. 27, 7:30 p.m. *Broadway Church, 2700 E. Broadway. Ticket: \$12. For more information, call (604) 324-1165.*

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Bilingual Education vs. 'English Only.' A panel discussion. Speakers: Carlos Fernández, member, Young Socialists and United Teachers, Los Angeles; Sylvia Hansen, member of San Diego Teachers Association. Fri., Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m. *2546 W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460.*

San Francisco

Today's Labor Resistance: Fighters Speak Out. Speakers include participants in UPS strike, BART strike, Kaiser nurses strike, and strawberry workers organizing drive. Fri., Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m. *3284 23rd St. at Mission. Donation: \$4. Tel: (415) 285-5323.*

NEW JERSEY

Newark

A Turning Point for Working People: The End of the Retreat of the U.S. Labor Movement. Fri., Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m. *87A Halsey St. (1 block*

west of Broad, 2 blocks north of Raymond). Donation: \$4. Tel: (973) 643-3341.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

The Crisis of the British Monarchy. Speaker: Bob Stanton, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m.

Puerto Rican Independence Struggle. History and the Fight Today. Speakers: Luis Tirado and Luis Senabria, National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners; Fermín Morales, member of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 98; and Lizette Ortiz, National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights. Fri., Oct. 3, 7:30 p.m.

Both events held at 1906 South St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

Pittsburgh

Yugoslavia: Can NATO Troops Lead to Peace? Speaker: Chris Remple, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m. *1103 E. Carson*

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Suspicious or suspiciously? — Immigration cops raided a top secret weapons and nuclear research plant at Kirkland Air Force Base in New Mexico. They grabbed 16 al-



Harry Ring

legedly undocumented immigrants hired by a contractor to repair a roof at the nuke site.

Staffers called *la migra*, saying some of the workers looked suspicious.

Modern adventure story — Jobless for three years, Lawrence Tervit left Britain for Continental Europe for an unsuccessful four-month job hunt, walking most of the way. Broke and trying to get home, he put together a makeshift raft to cross the English Channel. He got hit by one boat, survived, and was picked up by another, which returned him to France.

Smelling a story, a British daily paid his fare home.

No joke — The sailors who rescued him thought he was crazy. But Lawrence Tervit felt he had no options. "I had no money," he said, "and the ferry company wouldn't let me make a reverse-call home. What else could I do? Desperate times call for desperate measures."

The low-stress society — In the first half of the year, the five best-selling U.S. prescription medications included two antidepressants and two antiulcer drugs.

...meanwhile — 7-Eleven convenience stores are offering a quarter pound burger shaped like a

frankfurter because they're easier to handle while driving. With a steady increase in dashboard dining, parts suppliers are developing microwaves, coolers, and trash compactors for cars.

A deal — The palm-size Motorola StarTAC 8600 cell phone boasts a lot of features, including an answering machine. (Why you need that on a phone you carry with you, we're not sure.) And it's now available for under \$1,000.

But, please note, that's the tacky charcoal gray. If you're cool and require black, order directly from Motorola, \$1,795.

For the rich and clumsy — We forgot. For one-touch dialing, the StarTAC will store 99 of your most frequently called numbers.

Order the black and a Motorola rep will come to your house and program it.

Puff, no problem — Imported into Mexico, a rising number of Cuba's famed cigars are finding their way into the United States, where they fetch up to \$100 apiece. "It's the forbidden fruit factor," grouched a Customs official, "the fact that it's illegal."

What to do? Simple. End the embargo on trade with Cuba.

Marx: A working-class view on free trade

Here we reprint excerpts of "Speech On the Question of Free Trade," by Karl Marx, an 1848 address that was drafted about the same time as the *Communist Manifesto*. It was one of the founding documents of the communist movement. The speech was published as a pamphlet in several languages. In 1888 Frederick Engels wrote a preface titled "Protection and Free Trade." Together these two essays are the clearest written presentation available of a working-class view on capitalist trade policies. Marx's entire speech and Engels's preface can be found in volumes 6 and 26 respectively of the *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY KARL MARX

Doubtless, if the price of all commodities falls — and this is the necessary consequence of Free Trade — I can buy far more for a franc than before. And the workingman's franc is as good as any other man's. Therefore, Free Trade must be advantageous to the workingman. There is only

which is a commodity too, will also fall in price, and we shall see later that this commodity, labor, will fall far lower in proportion than all other commodities. If the workingman still pins his faith to the arguments of the economists, he will find, one fine morning, that the franc has dwindled in his pocket, and that he has only five sous left.

Thereupon the economists will tell you: "We admit that competition among the workers will certainly not be lessened under Free Trade, and will very soon bring wages into harmony with the low price of commodities. But, on the other hand, the low price of commodities will increase consumption, the larger consumption will increase production, which will in turn necessitate a larger demand for labor and this larger demand will be followed by a rise in wages."

The whole line of argument amounts to this: Free Trade increases productive forces. When manufactures keep advancing, when wealth, when the productive forces, when, in a word, productive capital increases, the demand for the labor, the price of labor, and consequently the rate of wages, rises also.

Growth in productive forces

The most favorable condition for the workingman is the growth of capital. This must be admitted: when capital remains stationary, commerce and manufacture are not merely stationary but decline, and in this case the workman is the first victim. He goes to the wall before the capitalist.

And in the case of the growth of capital, under the circumstances, which, as we have said, are the best for the workingman, what will be his lot? He will go to the wall just the same. The growth of capital implies the accumulation and the concentration of capital. This centralization involves a greater division of labor and a greater use of machinery. The greater division of labor destroys the special skill of the laborer; and by putting in the place of this skilled work labor which any one can perform it increases competition among the workers.

This competition becomes more fierce as the division of labor enables a single man to do the work of three. Machinery accomplishes the same result on a much larger scale. The accumulation of productive capital forces the industrial capitalist to work with constantly increasing means of production, ruins the small manufacturer, and drives him into the proletariat....

Finally, the more productive capital grows, the more it is compelled to produce for a market whose requirements it does not know — the more supply tries to force demand, and consequently crises increase in frequency and in intensity. But every crisis in turn hastens the concentration of capital, adds to the proletariat. Thus, as productive capital grows, competition among the workers grows too, and grows in a far greater proportion. The reward of labor is less for all, and the burden of labor is increased for some at least....

To sum up, what is Free Trade under the present conditions of society? Freedom of Capital. When you have torn down the few national barriers which still restrict the free development of capital, you will merely have given it complete freedom of action. So long as you let the relation of wages-labor to capital exist, no matter how favorable the conditions under which you accomplish the exchange of commodities, there will always be a class which exploits and a class which is exploited.

It is really difficult to understand the presumption of the Free Traders who imagine that the more advantageous application of

capital will abolish the antagonism between industrial capitalists and wage-workers. On the contrary. The only result will be that the antagonism of these two classes will stand out more clearly....

He will see that capital released from all trammels will make him no less a slave than capital trammelled by import duties.

Gentlemen! Do not be deluded by the abstract word "Freedom"! Whose freedom? Not the freedom of one individual in relation to another, but freedom of Capital to crush the worker.

Why should you desire farther to sanction unlimited competition with this idea of freedom, when the idea of freedom itself is only the product of a social condition based upon Free Competition?

We have shown what sort of fraternity Free Trade begets between the different classes of one and the same nation. The fraternity which Free Trade would establish between the nations of the earth would not be more real, to call cosmopolitan exploitation universal brotherhood is an idea that could only be engendered in the brain of the bourgeoisie.

Every one of the destructive phenomena to which unlimited competition gives rise within any one nation is reproduced in more gigantic proportions in the market of the world....

Exploitation of oppressed nations

For instance, we are told that Free Trade would create an international division of labor, and thereby give to each country those branches of production most in harmony with its natural advantages.

You believe perhaps, gentlemen, that the production of coffee and sugar is the natural destiny of the West Indies.

Two centuries ago, nature, which does not trouble itself about commerce, had planted neither sugarcane nor coffee trees

there. And it may be that in less than half a century you will find there neither coffee nor sugar, for the East Indies, by means of cheaper production, have already successfully broken down this so-called natural destiny of the West Indies....

If the Free Traders cannot understand how one nation can grow rich at the expense of another, we need not wonder, since these same gentlemen also refuse to understand how in the same country one class can enrich itself at the expense of another.

Do not imagine, gentlemen, that in criticizing freedom of commerce we have the least intention of defending Protection.

One may be opposed to constitutionalism without being in favor of absolutism.

Moreover, the Protective system is nothing but a means of establishing manufacture upon a large scale in any given country, that is to say, of making it dependent upon the market of the world; and from the moment that dependence upon the market of the world is established, there is more or less dependence upon Free Trade too.

Besides this, the Protective system helps to develop free competition within a nation. Hence we see that in countries where the bourgeoisie is beginning to make itself felt as a class, in Germany for example, it makes great efforts to obtain Protective duties. They serve the bourgeoisie as weapons against feudalism and absolute monarchy, as a means for the concentration of its own powers for the realization of Free Trade within the country.

But, generally speaking, the Protective system in these days is conservative, while the Free Trade system works destructively. It breaks up old nationalities and carries antagonism of proletariat and bourgeoisie to the uttermost point. In a word, the Free Trade system hastens the Social Revolution. In this revolutionary sense alone, gentlemen, I am in favor of Free Trade.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



September 29, 1972

ANN ARBOR, Mich., Sept. 18 — Nearly 1,000 women and men attended a spirited kickoff rally here last night for the campaign to pass Proposal B, the Michigan abortion referendum.

Proposal B says that a licensed doctor may perform an abortion on a woman up to the twentieth week of pregnancy in an approved hospital or clinic. The proposal will appear on the Nov. 7 Michigan ballot.

Those who came to the rally stayed until 2 a.m. in spite of a bomb threat that delayed the opening of the program. The rally featured actress Candice Bergen; Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine; and Black feminist Margaret Sloan.

Until Aug. 24 Michigan's abortion law prohibited all abortions except those performed to save a woman's life. The Michigan State Court of Appeals ruled Aug. 24 that abortions are legal up through the third month of pregnancy, but the exact status of the abortion law remains unclear in practice. If the referendum were to pass, it would become the state law.

Between August 1971 and March 1972, 3,000 people collected more than 300,000 signatures of registered voters on petitions. The state requires 212,000 valid signatures

to place a referendum on the ballot.

A recent *Detroit Free Press* poll indicated that 64 percent of those responding were in favor of abortion law repeal.



September 29, 1947

FLINT, Mich., Sept. 22 — All four General Motors locals of the CIO United Auto Workers here have made plans to establish wholesale grocery stores in their union halls to help relieve the pressure of high food prices.

Each local is buying thousands of dollars of canned food weekly and selling them at wholesale prices to their members. This proposal has evoked a very favorable response from the rank and file who want the unions to really do something about the big squeeze on their pay checks.

Short paychecks have given rise to the demand for an immediate fight for the six-hour day at eight-hours pay. This was first raised by the Pioneer group at Fisher Body. In a leaflet they state:

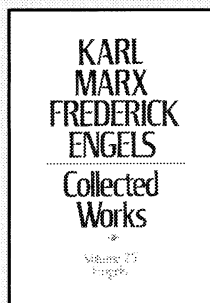
"We believe plans must be made now for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay. The miners have the 6 1/2 hour day at 8 hours pay! We can get it too. A new leadership with fighting spirit can bring this to the UAW convention."

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Celebrate BART victory

Celebrate and give a standing ovation to the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) workers in San Francisco, who went on strike and defeated the bosses' attempts to maintain and deepen a two-tier wage structure that the employer had forced on them three years ago. They also won an improvement in dental care for the first time in 24 years. Their victory shows what's possible when working people decide to stand up to the employers' demands for concessions.

The wealthy class orchestrated a malicious campaign through their media to try to demoralize the strikers and push back any support for their struggle. Calling the strike "hard to justify," the *San Francisco Chronicle* predicted that the workers "will not get much public sympathy" trying to win equal pay rates for those doing the same work. "Most people can understand — and accept — the concept that newcomers should initially receive less than veterans. It is a common practice in most of the world," the bourgeois paper opined.

Over the last 15 years multi-tier wage structures have indeed become common, along with the use of part-time and "temporary" jobs as an excuse to lower pay — as the working class took blows and the bosses drove against workers' wages and working conditions. These set-ups sow divisions within the workforce, which the bosses count on to weaken solidarity.

But the problem for the capitalist rulers is that a growing number of workers no longer accept this as the way it has to be. BART has hired 500 new employees over the

last two years, many of them young. They are not beaten down by the setbacks and defeats of the last period. They reject the injustice of doing the same job for less pay than their fellow workers beside them. Like the UPS workers who fought for more full-time jobs, they figure it's worth it to stand up and fight.

Setbacks and standoffs from past battles and rationalizations for givebacks don't loom very large for young workers when they decide to say no to the employers' takeback demands. This willingness to fight among young workers has an impact on those with more experience — in both the BART and UPS strikes workers of all generations united across the divisions the bosses had tried to foster. This is what the wealthy class is afraid of.

The employing class consciously sought to whip up the venom of the petty bourgeoisie against the BART strikers with their high-pitched and well-orchestrated campaign in the media. Nearly every article, editorial and cartoon on the strike portrayed the workers as greedy, despite the fact that real wages have declined over the past decade.

The workers involved got a taste of class politics. What would have helped counter the rulers' antiunion campaign is broader mobilization by the labor movement in solidarity. The battle at UPS, the series of strikes that have taken place at General Motors plants across the country, the stepped-up organizing drives among farm workers, and others are all signs of workers' resistance along with the BART strike that workers everywhere should celebrate and build on.

Gov't hands off the Teamsters!

U.S. government hands off the Teamsters! Drop all investigations and White House attempts to disqualify Ronald Carey or any other candidate for the union's presidency! That's what everyone in the labor movement and all working people should demand.

Government intervention in the Teamsters is a blatant attempt to deal a blow to the union, dampen the significance of the victory by 185,000 of its members against UPS in the August strike, and ultimately discourage and demoralize rank-and-file workers by turning them into objects who have to be "protected" against allegedly corrupt officials.

The ruling class and its political representatives in Washington are the enemy of labor. Barbara Zack Quindel, appointed by Clinton to "oversee" the Teamsters, is looking after the interests of big business. She voided last year's

election days after the Teamsters victory against UPS. By maintaining the threat of disqualifying Carey now, Quindel and her bosses are trying to derail efforts to parley the momentum from the UPS strike into organizing workers at Federal Express and elsewhere and set an example of what the employing class will do against the unions every time workers stand up.

The calls by James Hoffa, Jr., Carey's opponent in the Teamsters, and Carey himself for federal intervention play right into the hands of the employers. Appeals to government intervention only serve to weaken the union.

Only the union members should decide who they elect as their officers and how, or whether improprieties took place at any election — in the Teamsters or any other union.

Get the government out of the Teamsters now!

Elections in Bosnia

Continued from front page

Carlos Westendorp, the head of the so-called civilian intervention in Bosnia, and his deputy U.S. Gen. Jacques Klein flew to Belgrade and Zagreb, where they threatened Croatian president Franjo Tudjman and Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic with economic and other sanctions.

The elections come in the aftermath of intensifying U.S. military confrontations with supporters of chauvinist Serb leader Radovan Karadzic. The latest incident occurred September 8 when a company of GIs, backed by Bradley fighting vehicles and Apache helicopters, blocked buses carrying 1,000 Serbs who were traveling to Banja Luka to attend a political rally. The group had overwhelmed a platoon of Norwegian soldiers who tried to stop them.

About 500 of Karadzic's supporters did rally in Banja Luka September 8, facing off with a hostile crowd of hundreds of supporters of Bosnian Serb president Biljana Plavsic. After the rally, Momcilo Krajisnik, the Serb member of the joint Bosnian presidency and an ally of Karadzic, went to a hotel with a security team across the street from Plavsic's residence in downtown Banja Luka.

A crowd of thousands of people, including Plavsic's supporters, surrounded the building. NATO officials eventually negotiated with Krajisnik men to surrender their weapons. Krajisnik had refused to leave the hotel, expressing concern that he and other members of his group could be arrested by the U.S. military as indictees on the secret list of the imperialist-crafted war crimes tribunal meeting in The Hague, Netherlands. He and his crew finally fled from the hotel, pelted by rocks and eggs.

U.S. State Department spokesman James Foley described the pro-Karadzic mobilization as a coup attempt against Plavsic. Washington has thrown its weight behind Plavsic, who supports aspects of the Dayton "peace" agreement the Clinton administration imposed on Bosnia in 1995.

Under sharpening tensions, U.S. military officials ac-

knowledgeed they were considering retaking or destroying a transmitting tower if the pro-Karadzic controlled radio and television station in Pale continues to broadcast opposition to the Dayton agreement and the imperialist occupation force. NATO troops had seized the transmitter August 28 and held it for several days. On September 11 the Pentagon deployed three "electronic warfare aircraft" to Bosnia that can jam local programs and transmit broadcasts of their own.

Moscow's envoy to NATO, Vitaly Churkin, said any attack on radio or television stations controlled by Karadzic's forces would be an intolerable use of force. Washington's stepped-up moves against Karadzic have outraged Russian government officials.

Meanwhile, capitalist spokespeople have begun to debate the merits of capturing or forcing Karadzic from the region. "Every step we've taken in the last few days and weeks has had that objective," an unnamed Clinton administration official told the *New York Times* in early September. "Both the U.S. government and the [NATO military] alliance are stronger than ever in their conviction that the key to all of this is the removal of Karadzic from power."

"Those who think that arresting [Karadzic] or getting him to The Hague is the panacea ... don't understand what's going on in this country. It's a necessary but insufficient condition," said another official.

Some politicians are expressing nervousness over the possibility of casualties. "Our soldiers are getting more and more involved in dangerous operations," complained U.S. Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison in an opinion piece printed in the September 11 *New York Times*.

However Carl Bildt, former European High Representative in Bosnia and former prime minister of Sweden, wrote in the London *Financial Times*, "There is a need for decisive action.... What is needed are soldiers on the ground ready to take risks.... That is why we have troops in Bosnia."

Sinn Fein joins talks on Ireland

Continued from front page

spectively, in an attempt to hammer out a common approach to the talks now that Sinn Fein is included.

Trimble and representatives of the PUP and UDP showed up at the talks after the day's business had already begun September 17. "We are not prepared to tolerate Sinn Fein being portrayed as a party of peace and Unionists as a problem," the UUP leader declared. "We are not there to negotiate with them but to confront them, to expose their fascist character."

Two days earlier, Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) leader Peter Robinson launched a bitter attack on Trimble and the loyalist leaders who met with him. He said future generations would curse them for their folly in entering a process "designed to destroy them."

Trimble and the others had, he said, "ditched every principle they ever held," and been "sucked into a process, which by its very nature would damage the union." The DUP and the UK Unionists, a fifth loyalist organization, have abandoned the talks.

A joint statement issued by the Irish and British Prime Ministers to "clarify" and "spell out their views on two crucial issues, consent and decommissioning," was favorably received by Trimble.

By focusing on these two issues the leader of the UUP aimed, ahead of entering talks, to shore up the principle of a Unionist veto over any proposed settlement, and make the IRA's refusal to surrender arms an obstacle to the talks progressing. UK government officials said the statement made no change to the substance of their existing position on these matters.

The first session of the talks themselves was taken up with questions from the Alliance Party representative J. Allerdice about Sinn Fein's links to the IRA. British secretary of state for Northern Ireland Marjorie Mowlam also chose to question Sinn Fein's commitment to the Mitchell Principles of nonviolence, which all parties in the talks have signed. She cited the statement the previous week by an IRA spokesperson in an interview with *Republican News* that "the IRA would have problems with sections of the Mitchell Principles. But then the IRA is not a participant in these talks."

'We want a totally demilitarized situation'

Adams, outlined his party's stance on the Mitchell principles to journalists outside Stormont on September 9. "I am very pleased and welcome the opportunity to affirm these principles on behalf of Sinn Fein," he said. "Unfortunately the British Government narrowed the brief of the Mitchell International Body.... We want a total demilitarization of the situation." Adams went on to cite serious breaches of the Mitchell principles since they had been signed up to in June — by the British Army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) against nationalist communities in the north of Ireland. He pointed to incidents on the Garvaghy Road in Belfast, in which thousands of rounds of plastic bullets had been fired, and repeated violations of the loyalist paramilitary cease-fires.

Women from the Relatives Justice Group, Women Together, the Bloody Sunday Relatives Group, and relatives of Colin Duffy, a Lurgan man charged with the murder of two policemen, held a vigil outside the talks. During their action Rita Restorick, mother of the latest British soldier to be killed in Ireland last February, embraced Kay Duddy, whose brother was killed by the British Army while demonstrating for civil rights on what became known as Bloody Sunday, Jan. 30, 1972.

On the eve of the talks, thousands of people marched from nationalist areas to Belfast City Hall September 14. The demonstration was organized by Saoirse, the campaign for the release of Irish political prisoners. Sinn Fein negotiator Gerry Kelly addressed the marchers and stressed that the release of political prisoners would be a central issue in the talks. He saluted those fighters and their families imprisoned by the British state. "We are nearly 30 years into this struggle for British withdrawal and a united Ireland," he said, "and many thousands of people, of nationalists, have been through jail during that period." Kelly urged the marchers to continue demonstrating on the streets. Protest activity will play an important role in the negotiations, he said.

Ian Grant is a member of the Transport and General Workers Union in London.

Rail dispatchers strike over health and safety

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

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers

by using fear and intimidation in refusing to grant its train dispatching employees sick leave during periods of bona fide illness. Instead, the Carrier expects its train dispatchers to work wherever and whenever it requires without regard to the physical ability of the employee."

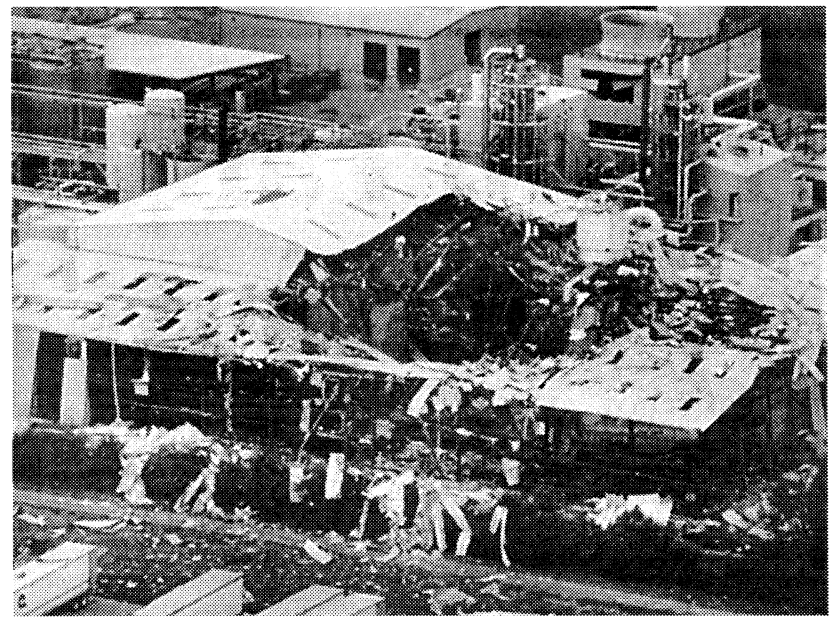
bers were replaced after the company pushed through a contract that gave them a choice between losing their jobs and taking a 39 percent pay cut.

The vote on this contract took place on Tufts property, with no voting lists, checks on union cards, and with the replacement ISS workers escorted into the meeting and instructed to vote 'yes' or lose their jobs. Union stewards were denied access to the meeting by Tufts police. Under these voting conditions, the contract passed.

Around 80 workers who refused to accept the new contract, remain locked out. Meanwhile, Somerville and Medford City police, along with Tufts University cops, are escorting the ISS workers to the campus and from building to building, and are arresting any locked-out workers who try to leaflet.

During the rally, workers spoke to the crowd from the back of a pickup truck, and drew honks from passing drivers. A highlight of the rally was when a brown UPS truck passed by. The crowd cheered and blew whistles, and the UPS driver honked and raised his fist, beaming.

After the rally, the workers and their supporters marched around the



An explosion on September 10 at Georgia-Pacific Corp. in Columbus, Ohio, left one worker dead and nine others injured. The blast occurred while chemicals were being mixed, rattling windows seven miles away.

ON THE PICKET LINE

around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines about what is happening in your union, at your workplace, or other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

ATLANTA — On September 3 at 11 a.m., some 100 train dispatchers at five Norfolk Southern offices across the southeast walked off the job in response to the company's threat to fire a train dispatcher for calling in sick.

The strike lasted about six hours, ending when a federal judge invoked a temporary restraining order and ordered them back to work.

The strikers are members of the American Train Dispatchers Department (ATDD) of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. In a union press release, ATDD president Les Parmelee stated that the railroad "is jeopardizing the safety of its train dispatching employees, its other employees and the public

The dispatchers' picket lines were respected by all the other crafts. In the Inman terminal in Atlanta, the first shift was held over to keep the railroad running after the strike ended.

Rally backs locked-out Tufts University workers

SOMERVILLE, Massachusetts — A rally called to support locked-out Tufts University custodial workers drew almost 200 people here September 3, including locked-out workers, their families, community supporters, and Tufts students.

On July 31 some 110 unionized Tufts custodians, members of the Service Employers International Union (SEIU) Local 254, were locked out of their jobs, and replaced by workers employed by a subcontractor, International Service Systems (ISS), a multinational janitorial subcontracting company.

The workers employed by ISS are paid \$3.50 less per hour than the original workers. The SEIU mem-

bers raised fists and cooking implements. At a brief rally following the march, union members and student leaders outlined plans for other activities, and for building more support for the workers among Tufts students.

campus, chanting and beating trash can lids and the tops of pots and pans. They stopped in front of the president's quarters and chanted "No justice — No peace!" Many students hanging out on the first day of classes seemed bewildered by the protest, but they took leaflets explaining the workers' case, and many joined the march.

On the way out, the demonstration passed the campus kitchen. Cooks had gathered by the window and greeted the marchers with their

Abby Tilsner, member of United Transportation Union Local 511 in Atlanta, and Elena Tate from Cambridge, Massachusetts, contributed to this article.

— LETTERS —

On the British monarchy

Your editorial "British monarchy is in trouble" has some problems of its own. I think we will find that the adoration of the dead princess was not orchestrated by the British state machine. The sense of loss displayed by millions of people is a criticism of those that wield power in the United Kingdom. It is also a critical response to the increasingly obvious antisocial character of the dysfunctional royal family. This family can no longer be promoted and hawked to the masses as worthy of emulation. It is only possible to understand a family driving away a divorced daughter-in-law if problems of state such as inheritance, property rights and royal succession are admitted. And who in all conscience would want to be a member of such a cosa nostra?

This bourgeois public opinion forced big business to adjust its routine functioning on the day of the funeral. More importantly, the retreat from royal protocol that the queen was obliged to concede; which culminated in the royal head being bowed to the passing hearse, represents a closing of the necessary gap between the majesty of power and the masses. History has shown that when the gulf of mystery and superstition is replaced by familiarity and contempt, the institution of monarchy can no longer be assured its own continuity.

The British monarchy is a bourgeois, not a feudal institution. Feudal power suffered an irretrievable loss with the head of Charles the First. The further pretense to systemic royal prerogative ended with the flight of James the Second to France and Ireland where he was defeated by the Dutch William of Orange; king to be. The restoration of the monarchy; in an alliance with the newly emergent bourgeois class and its governing apparatus did what the bourgeois class was not strong enough to do in its own name; that is, sanctify the inalienable right to private ownership and exploitation of property that had so shortly before been held in common. It is true that vestigial feudal

rights remain in the prerogative of the Crown. It would take the defeat of the British working class, in struggle, for these feudal rights to reemerge in all their repressive barbarianism.

It is only by establishing a government of workers and working farmers in Britain that the working class will be able to achieve the humanitarian values which they appear to identify with Diana Spencer. It is the liberation of Ireland that remains the key to "turning the world upside down." Marx explained very clearly that if the British working class could not raise itself to the task and duty of helping to end British rule in Ireland then they themselves could never win their freedom from the same dictatorship of capitalist rule.

Frank Gorton
Detroit, Michigan

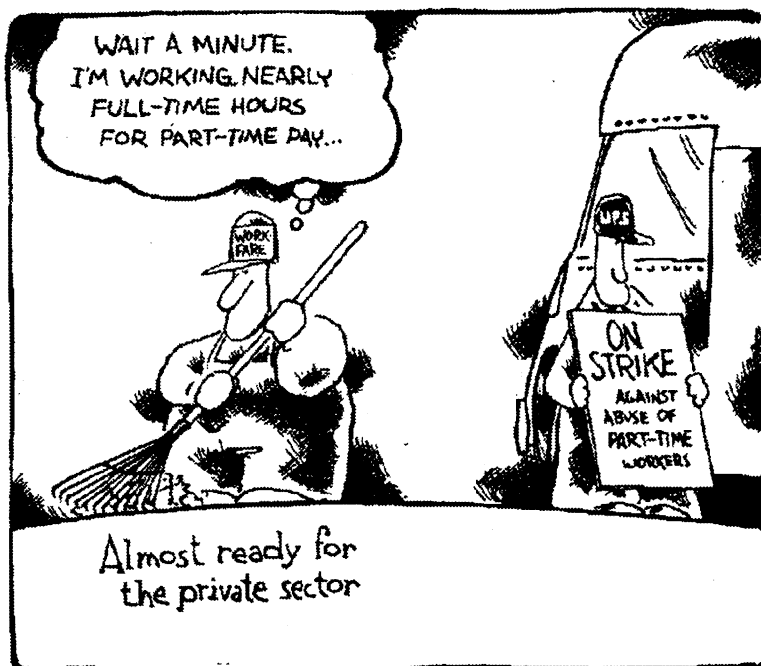
A few corrections

The formulation of the third paragraph in the article "Washington pushes for domination of Caspian Sea oil" by Megan Arney and Ma'mud Shrivani (*Militant* issue no. 30) leaves an opening for misinterpretation. It says, "The U.S. rulers will use their economic superiority over competing imperialist powers and their military muscle to speed the reestablishment of capitalist social relations in these former Soviet republics on Washington's terms."

Written without a qualifier like "Washington will attempt to reestablish capitalist property relations," the paragraph is open to the interpretation that capitalist property relations will be reestablished and the only thing open to debate is the pace. It leaves out the question of the resistance that will take place. This point is made elsewhere in the article.

In addition, I believe the figure of 18,000 cubic feet of natural gas reserves in Kazakhstan must be an inaccurate figure. 18,000 cubic feet does not define a major gas reserve.

Also in the article entitled UPS workers defend rights on the job there is a misquote of UPS striker



Juan C. Campos. Referring to the scabs, the *Militant* quotes Campos as saying "Every time I see one of those guys I think of dinner being taken away from one of my kids. They are little mice."

"Little mice" by itself doesn't express the relations on the job between the scabs and other returning strikers, the point Juan was making. What he told this reporter was, "Every time I see one of those guys I think of dinner being taken away from one of my kids. They are like little mice. They are quiet. They cower in a corner with each other and try to assure themselves that they did something right. But they know they screwed up. There is no excuse for their behavior."

Cappy Kidd
Chicago, Illinois

Editor's note: Kidd is right about the gas reserves in Kazakhstan. The correct figure is 18,000 billion cubic feet.

Good job on UPS coverage

I thought the *Militant* did a first-rate job in covering the UPS strike and the workers' victory. The on-the-scene reports, and running analysis were invaluable. I particu-

larly appreciated the September 9 article by Arigiris Malapanis in which he so skillfully used the analysis by Wall Street economist Stephen Roach as a peg for explaining the underlying issues in the strike. It's well worth rereading and discussing.

I thought Malapanis made an especially useful point when he noted that the rate of industrial profit can drop even as the mass of profit increases. The rate and magnitude of profit are easily and often confused.

And I liked his formulation on the average rate of industrial profit as the "average rate of return on industrial investment." This too is a point where confusion slips in. That is, measuring the rate of profit by deducting net income from gross income rather than return on investment.

I'm sure the *Militant* will return to these questions. Among other things, we can be grateful to the UPS workers for spurring us to think more deeply about these important issues.

Harry Ring
Los Angeles

Howard Stern on Quebec

On September 2 the syndicated

radio show of Howard Stern was carried for the first time by stations in Toronto and Montreal.

Stern inaugurated the broadcast into Canada by characterizing all French-speaking people as "scumbags" and "peckerheads." He declared that "all people in Montreal should speak English, that's that."

In a press conference following the transmission he again attacked French language and culture and branded all French people as Nazi collaborators. The Quebecois should "bend over [for me] like you did for Hitler." He called Quebec independence "ludicrous."

There was no wave of outrage over these racist, right-wing comments. Major big-business newspapers widely publicized the remarks without condemning them or distancing themselves from them. In fact, they made efforts to excuse or even promote the show.

Canada's leading capitalist daily, *The Globe and Mail*, wrote a lead editorial stating that Stern was simply "spouting all sorts of silliness against French Canadians...the French...the French language.... It's just kind of dumb."

The *Montreal Gazette* stated that there were complaints about "rabid francophobia," but called the show "thoroughly entertaining." They carried Stern's attack on independence as a headline.

Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, when asked about the incident, responded with an evasive, "Who is this guy?"

Anyone doubting that systematic discrimination against the Quebecois is an integral part of the Canadian capitalist state should reflect on this recent event.

Al Cappe
Toronto, Ontario

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.

Miami rally demands: 'Stop the terrorist attacks on Cuba'

BY ERNIE MAILHOT

MIAMI — Traffic along Sunset Drive in southwest Miami slowed September 16 as it neared the 60 loud and spirited pickets on the corner of SW 92nd Avenue. As "Abajo el terrorismo" and "Abajo el bloqueo," ("Down with terrorism," "Down with the blockade") were shouted through a bullhorn, "Abajo" resounded back from the demonstrators who drowned out the dozen or so right-wingers in the counterprotest across the street.

The demonstration was called by the Miami Coalition to End the U.S. Embargo of Cuba, the Antonio Maceo Brigade, and the Alliance of Workers of the Cuban Community to demand a halt to the terrorist campaign of bombings against the Cuban people. These bombings, aimed at tourist spots, began in April and escalated on September 4 when four blasts were set. One of these, at the Copacabana Hotel in Havana, killed an Italian businessman who was a resident of Canada.

The protest was held near the offices of Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen. She is one of two right-wing Cuban American congresspeople in southern Florida who has ties to Cuban-American counterrevolutionary organizations here and who is a leading spokesperson for the U.S. government's anti-Cuba policies.

As protesters against the bombing arrived to set up their picket line, they were confronted by dozens of Dade County police and squad cars and told that they would be demonstrating in an isolated, fenced off area behind Ros-Lehtinen's office. The cops also had an area fenced off for the counterprotest in this location.

When organizers of the action led all of the protesters to the main thoroughfare, the police threatened to remove their officers and the buffer between the two groups. They said motorists would throw things at the demonstrators and even shoot at them.

Despite this the activists held their ground and established their right to demonstrate where they would be seen and heard by thousands of rush hour commuters. The cops

soon brought their barricades to the main street.

Most of the cars passing by slowed to read the hand-lettered placards held by the pickets. A few yelled insults but many more smiled and waved. One placard said, "Ros-Lehtinen your partners are terrorists." Others called for the U.S. government to investigate and arrest those in the U.S. responsible for the attacks on Cuba. Many called for an end to the economic blockade of Cuba and an end to the bombings.

Cuban authorities have arrested a Salvadoran visitor to Cuba who has confessed to setting six of the bombings. A statement by the Cuban Ministry of the Interior said that the bombing campaign is linked to the Cuban American National Foundation, one of the counterrevolutionary groups based in Miami.

Those protesting the bombings were exuberant about the success of their action and the fact that they had outmobilized the rightists 5-to-1. Throughout the afternoon leading up to the action Cary Roque, a right-wing radio show host on Spanish language WCMQ, had called for people to counterprotest with her.

Roque and the handful that she mobilized could hardly be heard when they hurled insults and chanted "Viva USA" in answer to the chants of "Viva Cuba."

At one point Andrés Gómez, the head of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, took the bullhorn and told one of the counterprotesters to raise the Cuban flag he was holding, because it was dragging on the ground. The rightists quieted momentarily while, in embarrassment, they followed Gómez's order to the uproarious laughter of those they were protesting against.

The *Miami Herald*, the Spanish-language *Nuevo Herald*, and several major television channels covered the protest.

After the picket line, 25 people went to the Pathfinder Bookstore to discuss the success of that day's action. Orlando Collado from the Miami Coalition to End the U.S. Embargo of Cuba gave his view of the advances being made by those in Miami who

Workers protest austerity in Thailand



Thousands of workers demonstrated in Bangkok, Thailand, over the weekend September 13-14, protesting austerity measures in face of the economic crisis there, and calling on the prime minister to resign. The finance minister estimated 1 million workers will lose their jobs in the aftermath of the devaluation of the Thai currency, the baht, July 2. "Poor people pay off the debt while the evil capitalists sell off the country," was the slogan of the demonstration.

support the sovereignty of Cuba. "I really thought that with all the cars with so many Cubans going by that we would get a lot of insults. But I only heard one. This shows how the right-wingers don't have support.

That's also why they aren't calling any demonstrations these days. They can't get the people out like they used to."

Janet Post and Rolande Girard, the So-

Continued on Page 11

Framed land activist fights to move trial in Brazil

BY ERNIE MAILHOT

MIAMI — For the third time in as many weeks, the Brazilian courts have refused to decide whether or not to move the trial of José Rainha Jr. A central leader of the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST), Rainha is facing 26 years in jail after his June conviction on frame-up charges of murder in the deaths of a landlord and a cop who attacked a land takeover by 100 peasant families in 1989. His retrial is set for September 29 in the town of Pedro Canário, where his original trial was held.

In his first trial videotapes, press photos, and eyewitnesses confirmed that Rainha was

hundreds of miles away when the deaths took place. Despite this and the lack of even one prosecution witness at the June trial, Rainha was found guilty. Defenders of Rainha in Brazil have pointed out that the jury pool in that trial was largely made up of landowners and their backers who have organized a campaign of violence against the MST.

According to leaders of the MST, of the three judges who were supposed to rule September 16 on the site of the retrial one was in favor of moving it, one was against, and the third, undecided for several days, finally said he wasn't competent to rule.

The MST is asking the court to move the trial from Pedro Canário in the state of Espírito Santo to Vitoria, the capital of that state. If the trial is moved it is expected to also be postponed for several months. If not it will go ahead on September 29.

The MST reported that messages demanding that Rainha's retrial be moved have been sent from throughout Brazil and other countries as well. In the United States, supporters of the fight for justice for Rainha sent a number of messages to Dr. Wellington da Costa City, the judge who had the deciding vote on September 16.

Among those who wrote were Father

Angelo Amaral of the St. James Catholic Church in Newark, New Jersey; Andrés Gómez, the head of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, a group of Cuban-Americans who support the Cuban revolution; Jack Lieberman, an activist in the Miami Jewish community; and others including unionists and university professors.

The Ad Hoc Committee to Defend José Rainha in Miami sent a letter signed by several supporters of the committee. It stated, "We have recently organized a committee in the United States to get out the truth about the unjust trial and sentencing of José Rainha. Most disturbing of all is the fact that the jury pool in the trial held in Pedro Canário was largely made up of landowners and their supporters and even included relatives of those Mr. Rainha was accused of killing."

"It is obvious to us that José Rainha will not receive a fair retrial if this is also held in Pedro Canário. We insist that the retrial be moved to Vitoria where justice can better be served."

The committee pledged to "redouble our efforts to expose this further attack on the rights of Mr. Rainha and all those who support civil and democratic rights."

For more information on the Rainha defense case and to send messages of support contact: Ad Hoc Committee to Defend José Rainha, c/o UNITE, 1501 NW 29th Street, Miami, Florida 33142. Phone: (305)868-5674. Fax: (305) 633-7478.

Scotland: most say yes to own parliament

BY ANNE HOWIE

MANCHESTER, England — "A New Dawn: Scotland Wakes Up To People's Parliament" was the September 2 headline of the Scottish newspaper the *Daily Record*. The day before, government proposals for devolution for Scotland had been approved overwhelmingly. With a 60 percent turn out, 74.3 percent voted for the establishment of a Scottish parliament, with lawmaking powers in such areas as health, education, local government, and most courts.

On the proposal that this parliament would have the power to vary tax rates, 63.5 percent voted in favor. Every area of Scot-

land returned a "yes" vote on the first question, and only two returned a "no" vote on the second. The result marks a shift from 1979, when 52 percent voted in favor of a similar proposal. That vote did not carry, because the election rules required a "yes" vote equal to 40 percent of eligible voters.

This shift is clearly fueled by a will to resist the continuing assaults on the conditions of working people, particularly cuts in social spending.

"I always thought we should have our own parliament, especially after Thatcherism. That woman killed off our industries from London," was the response

of James Flannery from Govan, Glasgow. He was referring to former Conservative prime minister Margaret Thatcher.

"I think the Parliament will look after pensioners and improve the health service. Things can only get better," said Stuart Laing.

Labour Party prime minister Anthony Blair said of the vote results, "the era of big centralized government is over. This is a time of change, of renewal and modernization."

Meanwhile, the referendum on the setting up of an assembly in Wales, taking place September 18, appears to remain close.