

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Castro: capitalism is
cause of world crisis

— PAGES 5-10

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 58, NO. 9 March 7, 1994

Convoy sets off for Cuba to protest U.S. embargo

Aid caravan to stop in cities across N. America

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

BLAINE, Washington — "Cuba Si! Bloqueo No! Let the Friendship Caravan Go!" Hundreds of supporters from Canada and the United States rallied, chanted, and cheered at the U.S. Customs post here February 20 as a convoy of 19 cars and pickup trucks from Canada bearing aid for Cuba entered the United States. U.S. officials required the drivers to post only a \$36 bond, and then waved them through as supporters crowded the vehicle checkpoint and the customs offices where the paperwork was completed.

At the same time, another group of six drivers from Montreal brought two trucks loaded with aid into the United States at the border crossing near Swanton, Vermont. Some 90 activists accompanied them to the border checkpoint, where 50 supporters from the United States waited to greet the caravan.

These successful border crossings mark the start of the third Pastors for Peace-sponsored Friendship Caravan to Cuba. Some 250 volunteers from Canada and the United States will set out along 13

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Militant/Harvey McArthur

Cuba aid caravan from Canada crosses U.S. border in Blaine, Washington, February 20.

U.S. gov't assaults immigrant rights

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — In the space of less than a week, the U.S. government made two major moves attacking the rights of immigrant workers.

The California earthquake aid bill, signed by U.S. president Bill Clinton February 12, includes the proviso that undocumented immigrants will be denied all but the most immediate emergency relief. Officials of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) then announced February 16 they will make it harder to apply for political asylum in the United States by charging a \$130 application fee and denying work permits for six months.

The measure restricting assistance to victims of the quake that hit this city in January won broad bipartisan support in Congress. It was approved in the House of Representatives 337 to 74 and by the Senate 85 to 10.

Aid for earthquake victims who don't have papers will be limited to 90 days. During that time people without documents who are injured in the quake can seek medical help. If left homeless, they can scramble for a cot in the remaining emergency shelters. If hungry, they qualify for the federal one-time food stamp grant. After that, regardless of need, they're on their own.

This measure will also effect longer-term assistance such as the housing program operated by the federal Housing and Urban Development agency (HUD). Known as Section 8, it provides rent subsidies for a maximum of 18 months to low-income families left homeless by the quake.

To get an apartment, earthquake victims have to make their way through a heavy snarl of HUD red tape and find a landlord who will accept them. Then they are required to pay 30

percent of their income toward the rent, with HUD giving the landlord the balance.

But under the aid bill, even this meager assistance is denied to the undocumented.

The measure directs authorities to take "reasonable steps" to assure that disaster relief is only granted to legal residents after three months.

The day the package was signed into law, Henry Cisneros, the liberal Democrat who heads HUD, declared that his staff in Los Angeles would immediately begin questioning applicants for disaster housing assistance about their legal status.

Rep. Ron Packard, the California Repub-

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South Africa: ANC acts to isolate right, halt violence

BY GREG ROSENBERG

In response to steps taken by the African National Congress to mobilize for the South African elections, opponents of the movement for a nonracial, democratic republic launched bloody attacks February 19-20. At least 34 people died in political violence over that weekend.

Fifteen ANC campaigners, including a dozen aged 17 or younger, were killed in a February 19 attack in the southern Natal village of Mahlele. The youth had just finished putting up posters in nearby Creighton, and were sleeping in an abandoned house before heading off to an ANC voter education workshop, when four men attacked with AK-47 rifles, homemade guns, and machetes.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was responsible for this massacre, the *New York Times* reported.

Zibuse Mlaba, an ANC leader in Natal who is also a Zulu chief, blamed the assault on "those who don't want people to vote" in the April 26-28 election.

Buthelezi issued a statement condemning the killings.

Two days after the attack, parties in the Freedom Alliance rejected a February 16 proposal from Mandela aimed at countering a threatened boycott. The rightists griped that the interim constitution still does not allow them to establish a "volksstaat" — an apartheid-like enclave aimed at protecting

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Help win new readers to the socialist press!

Supporters of the *Militant* around the world are launching a campaign to win new readers to the newsweekly and other socialist publications. The March 5-May 15 circulation drive will be a way to reach thousands of workers, students, farmers, political activists, and others with the ideas and analysis found only in the pages of the *Militant*, its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazine *New International*.

We encourage all readers to join in the effort to sign up 3,000 *Militant* subscribers and

EDITORIAL

650 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscribers, as well as sell 1,000 copies of *New International*, over the course of the 10-week campaign.

There are real openings to carry out this kind of sales drive. In response to the world crisis of capitalism and the horrors of war, unemployment, and social alienation this crisis generates, there is a political awakening among small layers of youth, from New York, to Minnesota, to Iceland. They reject what capitalism has to offer and are trying to figure out how to create a new society based on human needs. Some of these youth reach for basic Marxist works, such as the *Communist Manifesto*.

Getting the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International*, and other Marxist literature into the hands of workers and young people who are thinking along these lines is essential. These publications are the

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Canadian gov't steps up anti-Mohawk campaign— page 13



New inspections in N. Korea

Pyongyang and Washington announced a tentative agreement February 15 on inspection of nuclear facilities in North Korea. According to the agreement, the North Korean government will give the International Atomic Energy Agency access to seven nuclear plants but won't allow entry to two sites that Pyongyang says are unrelated to nuclear production. Both governments are resuming informal talks in New York to discuss details of the inspections.

The South Korean foreign minister, Han Sung Joo, said Seoul was reconsidering whether it wanted the U.S. government to go ahead with plans to send Patriot missiles to that country. Arrival of the missiles, he said, could worsen relations with the North.

Unionists strike in Indonesia

More than 150,000 workers in Indonesia protested in nine cities to demand an increase in the minimum wage to about \$4 a day and release of arrested union leaders. The February 11 action was the first general strike since the military seized power in 1965. The walkout was organized by the independent Indonesian Prosperity Trade Union, which is not recognized by the government. An estimated 2,000 workers who have been organizing protests in the past few months have been fired.

Job fatalities rise in China

The death toll from industrial accidents in China rose almost 113 percent to 11,600 in the first eight months of last year compared with the same period in 1992. Fire accounted for many of the fatalities, according to the state-run *China Daily*. There were 28,200 fires in the first 10 months of 1993, resulting in 1,480 deaths and 51,340 injuries. The rising number of on-the-job deaths and accidents came as industrial production in China rose almost 19 percent to \$53 billion in November 1993 compared with November 1992.

The Chinese government also plans to "restructure" a number of state-owned companies. Some economists estimate this could idle 30 million workers this year, bringing the ranks of China's unemployed to 160 million.

Protests in Romania

Three thousand rail workers protested in Bucharest in mid-February. The demonstration was part of preparations for a series of major strikes planned in Romania. Some maintenance workers on the railroad had not been paid because the state railway had failed to pay the company \$1.6 million for work done over the past two months. The buying power of wages, which average less than \$50 a month, has eroded as inflation ran at close to 300 percent last year.

Strikers seek Belarus vote

About 30,000 workers in the former Soviet republic of Belarus struck February 15 in the capital city of Minsk to demand the government step down and that elections be held for a new parliament. Protesters threatened to organize a general strike if their demands were not met. The action was backed by workers in several other cities. Labor union officials and opposition party leaders are seeking a coalition government and multiparty elections.

EU fines steel producers

The European Union (EU) fined 16 European steel companies more than \$116 million dollars February 16 for price fixing and restricting the flow of information about the industry. The largest penalty was slapped on British Steel Plc. The fines were imposed after the EU's executive commission threatened steelmakers with loss of funding for restructuring unless they cut back production. The EU is trying to stem overproduction, which is driving the price of steel down.

Athens closes Macedonia border

Athens escalated its international campaign against recognition of the Republic of Macedonia by announcing it would close its consulate in the Macedonian capital, Skopje. The Greek government February 17 also closed its borders with Macedonia to most goods in order to pressure the former Yugoslav republic to change its flag, constitution, and name. The move effectively

blocks Macedonia's main trading routes. Athens argues the name Macedonia should be reserved for the northern Greek province, also called Macedonia.

Other members of the European Union (EU) have complained about the embargo. Six EU-member governments and Washington are among those extending diplomatic recognition to the Republic of Macedonia, which was admitted to the United Nations last April.

Sanctions take heavy toll in Iraq

Mohammed Saeed al-Sahaf, Iraq's foreign minister, told the UN Commission on Human Rights that as a result of UN sanctions the death rate among young children in Iraq is 126 times higher than before the Gulf War. More than 450,000 children under five years old died in 1993 compared with 3,560 in 1990. In addition, more than 72,000 children older than five died last year, compared to 9,167 before the Gulf War.

The embargo has also caused a dramatic rise in food costs. The price of milk is 333 times higher than in 1990, flour is 406 times more expensive, and sugar costs 285 times more. U.S. officials said they see no reason to lift the sanctions.

Price hikes opposed in Sudan

Demonstrators protested soaring prices, loss of electricity, and shortages of goods in the western city of El-Obeid. Many commodities have become prohibitively expensive. Sugar, for example, costs 95 cents a pound when it is available. By comparison, a civil servant earns about \$15 a month.



Miners demonstrate in Paris in late February against planned pit closures.

There were also reports of student protests in Umm Rawabah, 70 miles south of Khartoum, the capital.

Protests in Senegal

Demonstrations took place February 16 in Dakar, Senegal, against a drastic devaluation in the currency. The former exchange rate was 50 African francs per French franc. Under pressure from Paris and imperialist financial institutions the value was cut in January to 100 to 1. The French government claimed the currencies in the so-called franc zone of West Africa were overvalued and therefore blocked investment.

Aristide agrees to discuss plan to name new Haiti premier

Haiti's exiled president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, agreed February 17 to meet with a Haitian parliamentary delegation to discuss their proposal for resolving the country's political crisis. Aristide — who had previously refused to participate in the meeting — made the decision under pressure from the Clinton administration, which backs the plan.

The legislators' scheme calls for amnesty for those involved in the September 1991 coup, a new prime minister appointed by Aristide and confirmed by parliament, military leader Raoul Cedras's retirement, and a transfer for Port-au-Prince police chief Michel Francois. International sanctions would then be lifted and Aristide would return to Haiti. No firm date for the ousted president's return is included in the plan. — PAT SMITH

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The Militant

Closing news date: February 23, 1994

Editor: GEORGE FYSON

Managing Editor: ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Business Manager: NAOMI CRAINE

Editorial Staff: Naomi Craine, Hilda Cuzco, Martin Koppel, Sara Lobman, Greg Rosenberg, Pat Smith, Brian Williams.

Published weekly except for one week in December and biweekly from mid-June to mid-August by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Fax (212) 924-6040.

The Militant can be reached via CompuServe at: 73311.2720 or via Peacenet at: themilitant Internet email: 73311.2720@compuserve.com or: themilitant@igc.apc.org

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Subscriptions: U.S.: for one-year subscription send \$45 to above address. Latin America, Caribbean: for one-year subscription send \$65, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$80. Asia: send

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Clinton drops threat of Bosnia air strikes

BY GREG ROSENBERG

The NATO deadline requiring that troops laying siege to Sarajevo withdraw their artillery from a 12-mile radius around the city or face a bombing attack passed February 21. Rightist forces linked to the Serbian regime in Belgrade withdrew or placed under United Nations control most — but not all — of their heavy weapons.

Clinton administration officials quickly declared that no air strikes would be necessary. As the deadline passed, as many as 10 artillery sites were still outside the bounds of NATO's demand. While Sarajevo remains mostly peaceful for now, fighting rages in other parts of Bosnia.

One battery on Tilava Hill composed of eight mortars, four 122-millimeter field guns, two multiple-rocket launchers, and four anti-aircraft guns stood in place hours after the deadline. A French sergeant said his platoon was keeping the guns under "visual control."

NATO's ultimatum was not designed "to affect the military outcome or to compel the parties to settle," said U.S. deputy undersecretary of defense Walt Slocombe, who is responsible for Bosnia policy. Despite the bombing threats, Slocombe remarked, "Such use of air power is not feasible at any cost proportionate to our interests at stake."

The brief show of unity by the imperialist powers quickly sank back into the sharp differences between them over the carnage in the former Yugoslavia.

"I want to be clear," said U.S. president Bill Clinton in a February 19 address, "Europe must bear most of the responsibility for solving this problem, and indeed it has."

British defense secretary Malcolm Rifkind complained that "Britain at the moment has in Bosnia over 2,500 men, Russia is to have 400, the United States has 15." Washington has continually ignored pleas from Paris and London that it ship U.S. ground troops to Bosnia.

On February 21, French president Francois Mitterrand announced that Paris would ask the UN Security Council to place Sarajevo under UN administration, a diplomatic position similar to what Moscow has been proposing.

U.S. officials are warming up to the idea of a new partition plan for Bosnia, which would cut the area into new slivers based on "ethnic" identity. Such a plan would register the increasing amount of territory the forces backed by Belgrade have taken on the ground from the Bosnian government.

Four-hundred Russian troops moved in to the area near Sarajevo February 20, under an agreement between Moscow's deputy foreign minister Vitaly Churkin and rightist Serb leader Radovan Karadzic. Karadzic said he was agreeing to Russian diplomacy, and not a NATO ultimatum. "Serbs and Russians are 300 million," sang a crowd of about 300 who greeted the Russian soldiers. "We are not afraid of Bonn and Clinton."

While Clinton publicly welcomed the Russian move, the editors of the *New York Times* expressed alarm. "Taken by surprise, Washington has little immediate choice but to accept Moscow's *fait accompli*," said a February 19 editorial. "Unsettlingly, Russia now insists that its deal 'negates' last week's NATO ultimatum."

Yeltsin's action set off a wave of backslapping in the ruling bureaucracy. Television reports quoted extensively from international news dispatches of a "diplomatic coup." Andrei Dorovskikh, a legislator from Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party, remarked that "the Americans and NATO countries wanted to act without Russia, treating Russia like an irritating fly . . . But Russia managed to restore its prestige."

Writing in the February 23 *Financial Times*, columnist Edward Mortimer said, "NATO's ability to perform almost any mission depends more on Mr. Clinton's willingness to give the necessary orders than on anything else."

New York Times columnist William Safire drew the conclusion in a February 21 article that "strength saves lives." He added that "a military ultimatum can create new diplomatic facts."

Since January 1993, 600,000 Bosnians have been made refugees in Europe with another 300,000 in Croatia alone. Only 3,700 have been admitted to the United States.



Russian troops arrive in the town of Pale, near Sarajevo, on February 20.

Judge denies legal fees in Iowa cop beating case

BY CLEVE ANDREW PULLEY

DES MOINES, Iowa — A federal judge ruled February 1 the city of Des Moines did not have to pay legal fees to attorney Alfredo Parrish, who represented Larry Milton in a civil suit here against police brutality. Late last year a federal jury found one of the three cops who beat Milton in December 1991 guilty of using excessive force. However, Milton was awarded only one dollar in damages.

Milton was so brutally beaten by the cops that he required more than 22 surgical staples to close his head wounds. Horrified and outraged, hundreds of Blacks and other working people held mass meetings, jammed city council chambers, and forced city officials to hold a series of public hearings into police brutality. The protests waned after a couple of

months. None have occurred here over the past two years.

Parrish initially asked the Des Moines City Council for \$76,000 in legal fees and later lowered the figure to \$52,000. The city council refused to pay anything and asked the federal judge who presided over the civil trial to make a decision.

In his ruling against granting attorneys fees to Parrish, judge Charles Wolle argued that Milton "obtained little more than the moral satisfaction of knowing a federal jury decided one of the three police officers had used excessive force while arresting him."

Blasting Wolle's decision and vowing to appeal, Parrish said, "Every day poor and minorities and the disadvantaged in society have to struggle against adversity, and this federal court decision is just another barrier we have to struggle against."

"Very few attorneys would take police brutality cases before," observed Drake University law professor Russell Lovell. "Virtually none will take them now."

"Milton is one you almost had to take," said Parrish, noting that he is asked to take 40 or 50 cases of this kind each year.

Des Moines city solicitor Bruce Bergman, who had contended in written arguments that Parrish should receive no attorney's fees, applauded the ruling.

"We're very pleased about it, and I feel the award is appropriate under the law," he said.

Cleve Andrew Pulley is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1149 in Perry, Iowa.

Federal judge gives go-ahead to implement restrictive abortion law in Pennsylvania

BY MICHAEL PENNOCK

PITTSBURGH — One of the most restrictive abortion laws in the United States went into effect in Pennsylvania February 14. Some 190 women were denied abortions the next day, the first full day after a court ruling allowed implementation of the Pennsylvania Abortion Control Act. Lawyer Kathryn Kolbert of Philadelphia said this was due to confusion at clinics over how to implement the new regulations.

The Abortion Control Act was passed by the state legislature in 1989. It had since been blocked due to legal challenges. On February 7, Supreme Court Justice David Souter rejected an appeal filed on behalf of Pennsylvania abortion clinics.

The act requires that women be shown color photographs illustrating fetal development; be told of alternatives to abortion for unwanted pregnancies; and be required to wait 24 hours between this "counseling" and the actual abortion procedure. The law also states that unmarried women under the age of 18 must have the signed consent of one parent, or the consent of a local judge before obtaining an abortion.

The law had originally required married women to obtain signed consent from their husbands to have an abortion, but this provision was removed while the law was under appeal.

"The effect of this law is disastrous," said Christine Brookhauser, communications director for Pittsburgh's Women's Health Services. "Pittsburgh is the only city in the entire western half of the state that has abortion clinics."

"Some of our clients drive hundreds of miles to get here," she continued. "Then they and their companions will have to pay for overnight lodging as well as missing an extra day of work or school."

According to Betsy Magley of Planned Parenthood, the nearest Pennsylvania city to Pittsburgh with an abortion clinic is Harrisburg, some 230 miles away.

The parental notification provision will also create new hardships for residents of nearby states. Restrictive laws are in effect in about two-thirds of the states in the country, including neighboring Ohio and West Virginia. Young women from some of these areas had been coming to Pittsburgh for abortions. This option is now closed.

Two days after the abortion control law went into effect, a judge briefly blocked its enforcement while the material for the required counseling is sent to each clinic in the state.

Abortion clinic lawyers argued that Pennsylvania law requires a 30-day period for public comment once the law is published in a legal review. The law will now go into effect March 19.

Michael Pennock is an escort with Pittsburgh Pro-Choice Escort

BY MITCHEL ROSENBERG

PHILADELPHIA — A spirited crowd of about 100 activists, most of them young, demonstrated here February 17, to oppose the Pennsylvania Abortion Control Act.

Organized by the Women's Action Movement, the rally and march drew small contingents from Bryn Mawr College and Philadelphia's Central High School, among others. The action was built on two days notice.

Participants marched behind a banner that read, "Pa. Abortion Control Act Controls All Women — We Refuse to Jump Through Hoops!" For a short time, about 20 activists blocked a busy city intersection on the march route, a few blocks from City Hall

where the action kicked off.

State attorney general Ernest Preate was the subject of intense criticism at the action for his role in promoting the legislation.

While marching down busy Broad Street at rush hour, activists chanted, "Abortion is health care, health care is a right!" and "Pro-life is a lie, you don't care if women die!"

Some passersby joined the march or indicated their approval, taking literature that was being passed out.



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Aid caravan to Cuba

Continued from front page

routes through the United States this week, holding press conferences, rallies, and meetings to educate about Cuba and to demand Washington end its 32-year-old trade embargo aimed at strangling the Cuban revolution. The caravans will converge at Laredo, Texas, in early March where they will attempt to cross into Mexico on their way to Cuba.

"This is a huge victory against the embargo," declared Pastors for Peace organizer Gerry Condon after it became clear U.S. officials would let the caravan through. He noted that last July, U.S. customs officials at Blaine refused to allow a Canadian group to enter the country to join a previous Friendshipment caravan.

"This time we mounted more pressure on the U.S. government," Condon told the rally at Blaine. "We were determined to get the aid through to challenge the embargo. We were able to get bishops, members of Parliament, members of the U.S. Congress, and lots of ordinary people to call the administration to demand the caravan be allowed to pass."

Cuba solidarity committees in at least eight cities in British Columbia, Washington, and Oregon publicized and participated in the Blaine rally, held at Peace Arch Park located between the Canadian and U.S. border stations. Some 300 people turned out, holding signs and banners and distributing flyers to the heavy Sunday-afternoon traffic of people — mostly Canadians — waiting to enter the United States.

"The people going by are very positive," said one young leafleter. "Many didn't know

there was an embargo, but are taking the flyers, wishing us good luck, and waving and honking their horns."

"This is a real demonstration, just like we do in Haiti," said Elmicia Dimanche, a political refugee now living in the United States. She had spent the previous day packing goods for Cuba with other activists in Seattle before coming to the border rally. "We must stick together and not back down until the government does what we want."

"This shows we're making progress," said an elated Kevin Neish, a mechanic from Victoria, British Columbia, who was one of those turned back last July.

Many of the protesters were young, some coming to their first action against the embargo. "I really can't give you much information," said Kirsten Werner. "I just saw a bulletin about the rally yesterday and came to hear more about it. I think the embargo is wrong though, and I've got flyers about more meetings I'm going to go to this week."

Rally speakers included Jim Sinclair, business agent of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers in Vancouver; Breen Beggs of the Bellingham American Civil Liberties Union; Tacoma journalist Sandra Nelson; and Condon, as well as local bands and poets. In addition, representatives of local solidarity committees spoke, including Susana Anibarro from Tacoma, Washington; Chris Hoepfner from Seattle; and Kerry Henselwood from Vancouver.

Dave Long, president of Canadian Union of Public Employees Local 1004, spoke on behalf of the Vancouver District Labor



Militant/Harvey McArthur

Activists in Seattle prepare bicycles and other material aid for delivery to Cuba

Council. Several local unions in British Columbia contributed money and material aid to the caravan, he reported.

Long read a letter sent to Pastors for Peace by Robert White, president of the 2.2 million member Canadian Labour Congress. "Canadian workers demand both an end to the U.S. embargo and the provision of immediate Canadian emergency aid to Cuban citizens who are living in conditions of increasing misery," the letter said.

The rally and border crossing were covered by the Associated Press, daily papers in Vancouver, Seattle, and Bellingham, Washington, and four television stations in

both countries.

Meetings in Bellingham, Montreal

The day before the crossing, public meetings were held in Bellingham and Montreal, some of the many organized to build the Friendshipment caravan. The Bellingham meeting heard local organizer Barbara Szombatfalvy describe the plans for the caravan and the next day's rally.

The Montreal caravan was covered on the CBC and CTC television networks, the daily *La Presse*, and several radio stations.

Opponents of U.S. policy toward Cuba and supporters of the Cuban revolution are building for the aid caravan in other cities as well. On February 16 a public meeting was held in Miami. The program featured Lucius Walker, founder of Pastors for Peace, and prominent local activists, including Michael Ray of the National Lawyers Guild and Walfrido Moreno of the Miami-based Association of Cuban Workers (ATC), as well as Miami-Cuba Friendshipment representative Ernie Mailhot.

The 125 people who attended matched the counterrevolutionary demonstrators who gathered outside at the urging of local right-wing radio stations.

Three daily newspapers, six television stations, and several radio stations covered a press conference held before the meeting.

Fifty students packed a meeting sponsored by the Wimmie of Color Collective at Rutgers University in New Jersey, February 17. The program presented the video "Mandela in Cuba," which includes excerpts of African National Congress president Nelson Mandela's speech during the July 26 celebrations in Matanzas, Cuba, in 1991.

Harvey McArthur is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 289 in Seattle and active in the Seattle-Cuba Friendshipment. Paul Kouri from Vancouver, Michel Dugré from Montreal, Rachele Fruit from Miami, and Chester Wilson from Newark, New Jersey, also contributed to this article.

Cuban youth wins visa for U.S. tour

BY DOUG JENNESS

MINNEAPOLIS — Pavel Díaz Hernández, a youth leader from Cuba, was granted a visa February 22 to visit the United States. This followed a series of moves by U.S. officials to try to block the trip. Scores of messages were sent by elected officials, professors and other academics, student leaders, and clergy protesting the delaying actions and urging the visa be approved.

Díaz is scheduled to arrive in Minneapolis-St. Paul from Havana on March 1. He will begin a series of lectures on campuses that will take him to a dozen cities across the country in March and April.

Díaz, 30, is an associate researcher at the Center of Studies for Youth. He is a former vice president of the Federation of High School Students (FEEM) in Camaguey province and a former president of FEEM in the city of Camaguey. As Cuba's representative to the Organization of Iberoamerican Youth and as a youth leader, Díaz has participated in regional and international youth forums in Japan, Algeria, India, and the Congo. He served in the Cuban army in Angola, December 1987-June 1989. He is a member of the Union of Young Communists.

While in Minnesota Díaz is scheduled to speak on "Youth and Cuba Today" at Macalester College, Hamline University, St. John's University, St. Olaf College, Normandale Community College, the University of Minnesota, and at Iowa State University in Ames, Iowa. From the Twin Cities the first leg of the visit will take him to Salt Lake City, Utah; Seattle; and the San Francisco Bay Area.

U.S. officials turned down the visa request by Arleen Rodríguez Derivet, another youth leader and editor of the Cuban weekly *Juventud Rebelde*, who was invited by more than 50 academics and student leaders.

Michael Krinsky is the attorney for the Minneapolis-based Faculty-Student Cuban Youth Lectures Committee, which is coordinating the tour. He wrote a letter to Dennis Hays, director of the office of Cuban Affairs at the U.S. State Department, objecting to this visa denial.

"The Interests Section advised," wrote Krinsky, "that the State Department's reason for distinguishing between the two was that Arleen Rodríguez Derivet is a deputy to the National Assembly and that the United States would insist upon the Cuban government's permitting visits by United States legislators as a condition to its permitting Cuban legislators to visit here."

"On behalf of our clients, we wish to register our strong objection to the denial of

a visa for Arleen Rodríguez Derivet and to request your reconsideration of this matter," continued Krinsky. "Faculty at 29 colleges and universities, including the heads of several departments and programs, have invited Rodríguez Derivet to lecture to faculty and students on their campuses. Their right, grounded in the First Amendment, to hear persons from abroad as they choose and to engage in discourse should not be conditioned upon a foreign government's decision as to whom it will permit into its country. Nor should the State Department convert invitations to our universities into an instrument of diplomacy and foreign policy in this or any other way. . . .

"We also wish to express our clients' objection to the State Department's argument that it is motivated by considerations of reciprocity, as well as their disagreement with the appropriateness of giving weight to such considerations here. It is our understanding that members of our Congress and their aides have traveled to Cuba over the years. Only this December, there was a delegation to Havana of the aides of Senators Pell, Kennedy, Jeffords, and Murkowski

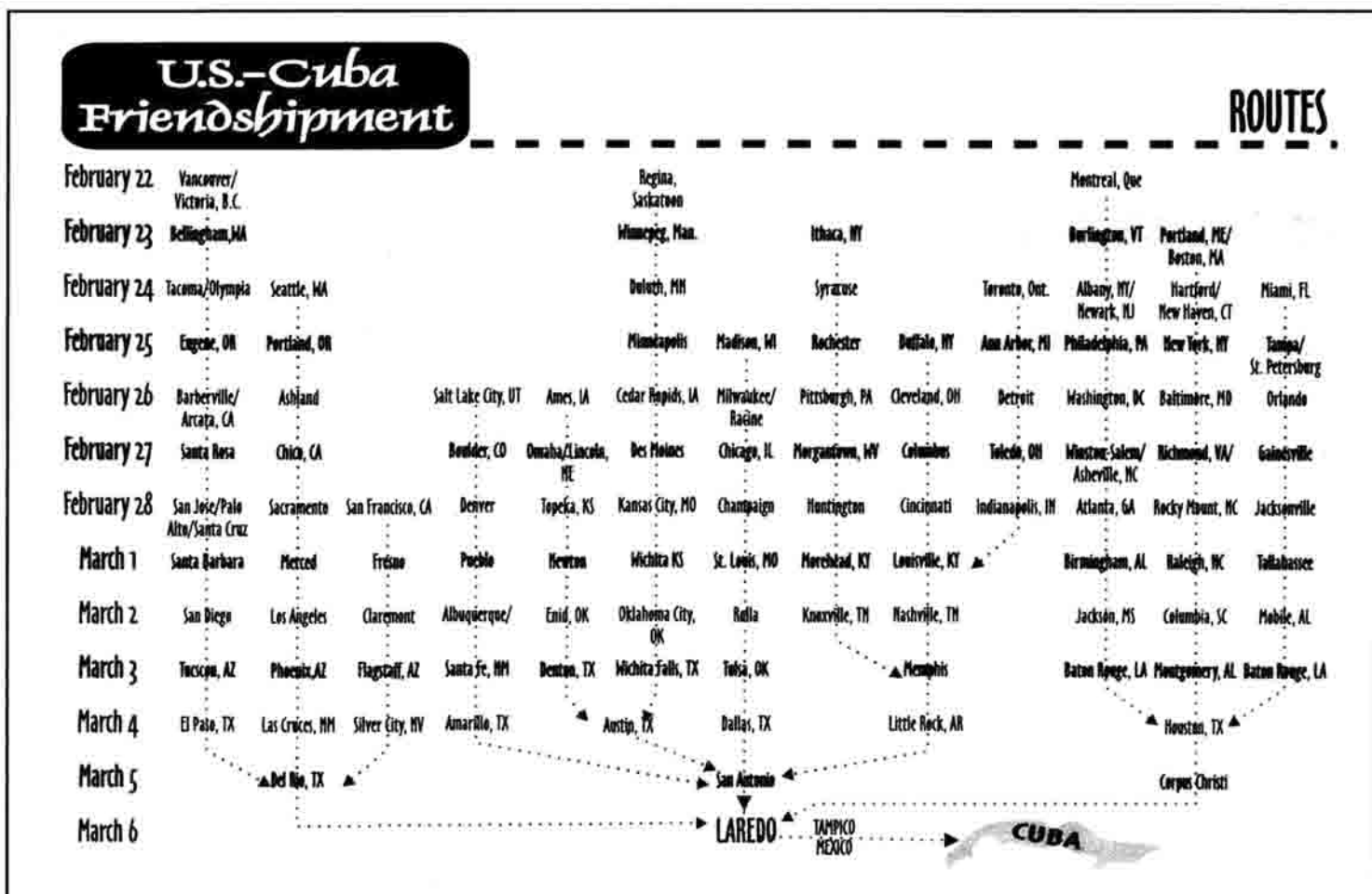
and Representatives Conyers, Rangel, Berman, McDermott, McKinney, and Morella," stated the letter.

"We also may note that Rodríguez Derivet has been invited to address our universities, not our legislative bodies. Her trip here would not be official, but academic, and so the State Department reliance on concepts of reciprocity is misplaced for that reason as well," Krinsky wrote.

The lectures committee, which solicited invitations for Díaz and Rodríguez and is coordinating Díaz's visit, urges that messages continue to be faxed, mailed, or phoned to the State Department demanding that Rodríguez's visa be approved.

Messages can be sent to: Dennis Hays, Director of the Office of Cuban Affairs, U.S. Department of State, 2200 C Street NW, RA-CCA, Room 3250, Washington, D.C. 20520. Fax: (202) 736-4475.

Copies can be sent to the Faculty-Student Cuban Youth Lectures Committee, c/o Prof. Guillermo Rojas, 102 Scott Hall, 72 Pleasant Ave. SE, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455. Tel: (612) 624-6005; Fax: (612) 624-3858.



Castro: capitalism is cause of world crisis

Cuban president addresses Latin America and Caribbean solidarity conference

Below is the speech given January 28 by Cuban president Fidel Castro to the closing session of the Fourth Latin American and Caribbean Conference for Solidarity, Sovereignty, Self-Determination, and the Life of Our Peoples in Havana. More than 1,100 delegates from virtually every country in Latin America and the Caribbean attended the four-day gathering.

The translation is by the Cuban Council of State, reprinted from *Granma International*. Subheads and footnotes are by the *Militant*.

Comrades of Latin America and the Caribbean, Participants in this fourth meeting:

You wanted me to speak on the first day, when there was still a rosary of topics and issues to discuss, some of which were fairly complicated.

You've hardly stopped to take a breath, because that's what [José Antonio] Arbesú really wanted, for you to breathe, to perspire, to rest for a few minutes after the discussions, then I could relax a bit too and come say a few words here [Laughter]; but, in any case, you have reached the unanimous decision to begin the final part of the closing session right now.

You have discussed truly important and complex issues for hours on end, and I admire the fact that you were finally able to produce those documents, both the ones approved in the previous session and those approved during this session.

I was thinking back on those days when we had big meetings on the foreign debt—that was in 1985—in which we warned about many of the things that would happen and are now happening, because to my mind, our continent let the best hour of a great battle slip by, when we could have avoided many of our present calamities.¹

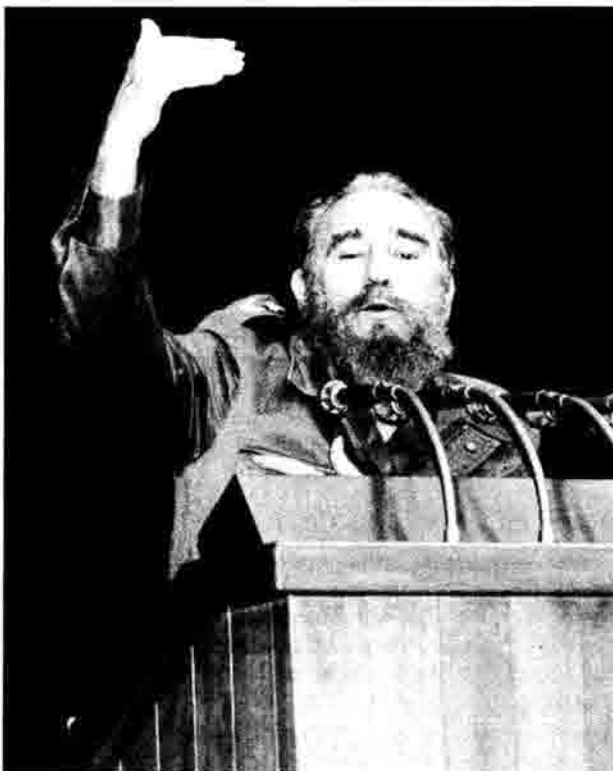
I remember that over 1,000 people from different sectors on the continent participated in one of those meetings; but we had agreed not to make resolutions or final declarations because it really seemed impossible to reach a consensus on resolutions and declarations with so many different opinions at play.

We also have to deal with diverse currents here, with a wide range of opinions on various issues, although we agree on the fundamental issues, and I wanted to see for myself the miracle of issuing documents at such a well-attended meeting.

I really don't have much to add to the things you have discussed over the last few days. There is also the fact that I can't speak as freely as each one of you can—something you understand perfectly. An analogy would be: being part of the government isn't the same as being a guerrilla fighter.

We would sure like to be back in the days of guerrilla warfare, which I recall with envy; but the problems faced by a revolutionary government responsible for the lives and destinies of 11 million people are very great and understandably force us to make sure we don't crudely express our every thought. That could lead to a rupture in relations with many countries or with certain countries, and truly we have been waging a great battle to break the blockade, to get support in the UN against the aggressive policy of the United States and its maneuvers

1. In the mid-1980s, Castro called for governments throughout Latin America and the rest of the Third World to join together in repudiating further payments on the skyrocketing debt to the imperialist banks. His proposal was not taken up, however, and since then imperialist governments and financial institutions have drained wealth and wrested concessions from the Third World regimes one by one, with a devastating impact on working people.



Militant/Argiris Malapanis
Cuban president Fidel Castro speaking at closing ceremony of the conference.



Demonstrators in Somalia protest the slaughter of 34 people by U.S. troops last October. "The defiance that a part of that hungry population... showed the special forces of the U.S. army is a good object lesson to the empire on how difficult it will be to govern the whole world," Castro said.

where Cuba is concerned. We haven't got the same freedom to express ourselves, and I say this so that no one will regret the absence of some special allusion they may be expecting from me, and make me blow my cover here at the event's closing ceremony. [Laughter and applause]

'Fundamental task is ensuring survival of revolution'

Someone said that neoliberalism shouldn't be called suicide, it should be called genocide. I don't want to contribute to the genocide imperialism wants to perpetrate against us, and I hope you understand, but I must tell you that I feel like the same revolutionary I have been since I gained revolutionary consciousness. [Applause] I must say that I have not changed at all. Perhaps now we have much more experience than we had before, but our way of thinking is the same, we haven't taken a single step backward where ideology is concerned and everything we are doing today is to save the nation, the Revolution and socialism. [Applause] We say it in another way, we say: the achievements of socialism. We say it this way in order to avoid giving the impression that we are in a position to build socialism right now. Right now we have to defend it and defend its achievements—which means in fact preserving socialism—although the special period we are presently going through makes it impossible, I repeat, to say that the fundamental task is to build socialism, because the fundamental task is ensuring the survival of the Revolution.

I am also truly impressed by the unanimity of opinion that has reigned over this meeting, from which I have tried to gather the most information possible with respect to fundamental questions over which there are no differences whatsoever.

Emphasis has been placed here on what neoliberalism means—it figures in the Final Declaration—and commission discussions have revealed that opinions on the subject have been virtually unanimous. All that has been said and expressed here may not help us say what we are, but it does help us categorically state what we are not, and we are not, of course, in any way neoliberals.

You have said here what this new manifestation of imperialism in our hemisphere—in Latin America and the Caribbean fundamentally—has meant; you see it every day, at all hours, in the growing unemployment, the increasing poverty, the lack of resources for education, the lack of resources for health care, the lack of resources to address some very serious problems in this hemisphere such as housing, increased marginality and its corollary of marginal neighborhoods in all our countries' cities.

You are experiencing privatization, and the sale at miserable prices of industries that took a long time, decades, to become national industries—many of them strategic industries, strategic industries and services that were our countries' pride—to private interests, and that's the truth. Large and important firms have been sold to foreign capital, and even part of our nations' important capital stock has been sold, sometimes for papers reducing the foreign debt, after being evaluated at perhaps half or a third of their worth. And I repeat: sold for pieces of commercial paper from the foreign debt that we called uncollectable and unpayable, but that we are paying today in two different ways: they are

gaining more control than ever over the fundamental branches of our countries' economies, and they are charging us more than ever for the debt.

If you talk to teachers, if you talk to doctors, if you talk to representatives of cultural sectors, or to unions, or to farmers, or to students, you always come up against the same problem: there are no resources. However, the percentage of each Latin American country's national budget that goes to paying the foreign debt is enormous, in some cases over 50 percent of the national budget. But there is no budget for essential services for the population, to solve any kind of problem. This is what our peoples are being taught—because you haven't learned this in any textbook, nor have you learned it in any conventional school, you learned it in the school of life, in the school of reality—about what neoliberalism really is when it is combined with the new world currents, with the unipolar hegemony of the United States and the creation of large economic and political power blocs.

You see it every day in the streets, which is why we could say that even though Cuba is going through an extremely difficult time for reasons that have been ex-

“The world as a whole is experiencing a special period, except the super-privileged minorities that flaunt their power...”

plained and which I may refer to again later on, I think that it is not only Cuba that is experiencing a special period, Latin America is experiencing a special period; the Third World is experiencing a special period.

Someone was referring to terminology, what to call it, if we should call it the South. I don't really like the term South, because there are countries in the South that are developed countries, that were once privileged colonies of the West. As far as I know countries like Australia are developed, New Zealand is a developed country. There was significant emigration from the colonizing countries, and at one time they enjoyed all the conditions favoring development, and as far as I know, those countries are in the southern hemisphere.

I wouldn't agree with a term like dependent either, because there are countries that are struggling to develop and are not dependent. It couldn't be said, for example, that China is a country of the North, although its geographical location is in the northern hemisphere. China is a developing country; in fact, it could be called a country in full development, and it is not dependent.

For lack of a better term, I have always used "Third World countries" to refer to all underdeveloped countries, to all the countries that are still striving to develop.

But that is terminology, that uses the terms First World, Second World, Third World; what is happening is that if the socialist countries were the Second World—and I don't know who invented that terminology, perhaps there's an expert on those issues here—it could be said that many Second World countries are shifting to the Third World right now. However, that is the name we were baptized with, and at least I continue to use it and I say that Third World coun-

Continued on Page 6

Continued from Page 5

tries are experiencing a special period, I say that the world as a whole is experiencing a special period, except the super-privileged minorities that flaunt their power; even in developed capitalist countries, because in the United States, a developed country, there are sectors of the population of Hispanic origin who are having a very hard time. There is the Black population of the United States which could be called the Third World within the United States. Not a lot can be said about the indigenous peoples of the United States because they were exterminated. There are a few reservations with a population that represents a tiny percentage of the entire population of the United States.

That is why I say that right now the world is experiencing a special period, despite the fact that our situation, as a revolutionary country, as a socialist country, with the disappearance of the socialist bloc, is incredibly difficult, perhaps more difficult than the immense majority of Latin American and Caribbean countries.

I was thinking along the same lines when one comrade was talking about the indigenous peoples, and I asked myself: what are the indigenous peoples? Because we have to talk of the indigenous peoples of Latin America, but what are the peoples of Africa? Are the indigenous peoples of Africa any better off than the indigenous peoples of Latin America? They are perhaps worse off. There are many Indians — what we call indigenous people — in this world apart from those who come from India, and they're called that because, luckily for him, [Christopher] Columbus made a mistake and found a continent in between when he thought he was on his way to India or China.

We could just as well have been called Chinese [Laughter] instead of Indians, because no one is quite sure where Columbus was going or where he wanted to go. All I know is that he found a continent in the middle that got in his way; maybe he would have kept going if he hadn't found this continent. It is beyond doubt the calculations were not exactly precise, based on the thesis that the earth is round. If he had reached his original destination, he wouldn't have lasted five minutes. [Laughter] Because the conquest was not carried out with the help of just arquebuses and crossbows, it was also done with horses. Our indigenous peoples didn't know whether horse and rider were the same thing or not. They found that out later, and when they found out that they could be killed, they began their struggles and resistance. In China Columbus would have met up with hundreds of thousands of soldiers on horseback; in India he would have had to face a cavalry of elephants.

Resistance of the indigenous peoples

Little is said about the indigenous peoples' resistance. During the Quincentennial very little was said about the resistance put up by the Indians of Mexico, for example, or in many parts of Central and South America. The Mapuche Indians, for example, aren't mentioned, and they put up a centuries-long resistance; only the great feats and important conquests of the white man are spoken of.

During the debate on the indigenous question I was thinking that it must be spoken of in terms of the universal indigenous question, because the poor, underde-

veloped countries of Asia are indigenous, India's Indians are indigenous, and they were submitted to colonialism for ages at a time when their development was comparable to that of Europe. Now India is a country of 850 million people that has a per capita gross income of a few hundred dollars. That is India, that enormous country. We have to speak of the Indians of Africa and of course the Indians of America; but when it comes right down to it, we all belong to the same category of Indians: I think there are white people and mestizos who are also turning into Indians.

I would say that we Latin Americans are being conquered all over again, we are being "discovered" all over again, and our future promises to be as terrible as the future once reserved for the indigenous peoples. Whereas before they were exterminated by disease, exploitation and the fiercest repres-



Dock workers in Colombia load coffee for export. The economy, life, and development of many Third World countries depend on coffee and other products, the prices of which have plunged in the world market.

sion, we could say that now they are trying to starve these new Indians to death and if we don't fight and don't defend ourselves, they will starve us to death in the end.

Look at how the situation is more difficult than at any previous time in the history of Latin America. When the Revolution triumphed, Latin America owed hardly a cent, a few dollars; today it owes almost \$500 billion. Look at

“Capitalism is irrational and indefensible . . . it is destined to devour itself . . .”

the difference since the Cuban Revolution triumphed. At that time the basic products exported by our countries had a certain value on the world market but with the order imposed by imperialism these products have less purchasing power every year. Many of these products were replaced, thanks to the advanced technology of the developed capitalist countries, by synthetic products, fibers, rubber, and many other things, to cite just a few examples. Cane sugar is being replaced. In the United States, for example, which previously imported large quantities of sugar, it is being replaced with isoglucose, which is extracted from

corn and has a much higher sweetening power than sugar, either cane sugar or sugar from beetroots. Previously they used beet sugar, which they do grow in developed countries and then they added this sweetener, which they make from corn, of which they have enormous surpluses, thus pushing sugar out of these markets. Often these products are used in Latin America itself; since they have fewer calories and more sweetening power, they are ideal for societies or elites who wish to keep their figures.

I am giving you the example of sugar but the same thing has happened with many products and will keep happening to more products. Basic products on which the economy, life and development of many Third World countries depend are being edged out of the market.

And those basic agreements that used to exist to protect prices, for example the price of coffee, no longer exist. Many

of you come from countries where coffee used to play a very important role. And what is the price of coffee or cacao right now? Before there were international agreements which protected these prices; or the price of sugar, there were international agreements protecting these prices. In that way many of these basic products were protected but imperialism didn't stop until it had destroyed virtually all international agreements for basic products.

Then, the major agricultural exports began losing purchasing power, not to mention agricultural subsidies in the developed world which often serve as a way of making their products competitive on the market so that products which really cost much more can be produced and consumed domestically to the detriment of our economic interests.

As for manufactured goods, there was a time when they were protected in one way or another because it's not fair to set the ant to fight the elephant and compete economically. They have a monopoly on advanced technology and scientific research, on the possibility of automatizing production, on all past, present and future resources.

Third World countries can't compete

It's logical that it is very difficult for any Third World country that wishes to industrialize to be able to compete with many of the products from the developed capitalist world. Who can compete in the production of cars, or refrigerators, or televisions, or with most manufactured goods which are today produced using very advanced technology? Third World countries are left with the hope, perhaps, that polluting industries will be transferred to them or industries which need a great deal of manual labor, a great deal of cheap labor, so they can make profits which they can't make at home because of labor costs or other factors. So, yes, they will send these industries to the Third World, as long as no new technology comes up and as long as they can't produce these goods in their own countries using automated systems and even the famous robots.

Now they want to open economic frontiers, globalize the economy. What role will fall to us, the Third World countries, in this economic globalization? Let them open the frontiers, eliminate all tariff rights. What will we gain, what will be left for us, what will our countries' role be? Will our lands and our human resources be at the mercy of the transnationals and imperialism? They would buy up everything, they would be the owners of the major industries, they would make us into even more of a colony than we are today. They would destroy our independence, not only in a real, objective way but also formally because, since the socialist camp disappeared and the world balance of power was upset, all the empire has been doing is fighting against the nominal independence that our countries still have left, the little independence we have, because what exists today is merely nominal.

They invade our cultures pitilessly, they invade us through their mass media, they make us see not what we are interested in seeing but what they want us to see, among other reasons to overwhelm us with their wealth and their consumer societies based on advertising, based on propaganda. Through the transnational news agencies they control almost all the news and they give their self-interested versions of what is happening in the world. Practically the only television we see is their TV and they're not exactly advertising Superbarrio but Superman. [Applause]

Role of the UN Security Council

That nominal independence which our countries have left is being progressively destroyed using the United Nations Security Council. That is why the suggestion made by one of this session's participants that the question of the United Nations be included in the Final Declaration seemed very reasonable to us.

The question of democratization — there is no democracy there. They talk of democracy but it turns out that there's a group of countries that have veto power, five, no

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more. The same number as when the UN had 50 members although today it has almost 200. The number of member countries goes on growing and not as a result of liberation movements but rather as a result of the disintegration of certain states, which was also fomented by imperialism. Five countries make the decisions in the United Nations. If the General Assembly were to meet and decide on changes to the Security Council, anyone of those five countries with a veto could veto those changes, the United States could veto them and say that no changes will take place. And when they do speak of changes they are talking of letting in other rich, powerful countries like themselves.

In order to even speak of democratizing the United Nations — let alone actually democratizing it — there must be representatives from other parts of the world, there should be at least — and we have suggested this at some of the Latin American heads of state conferences and at the United Nations — two representatives from Latin America on the Security Council, [Applause] there should be two representatives from Africa. A country like India which has 850 million people, never mind what its gross domestic product [GDP] or per capita GDP is, should, to our way of thinking, be on the Security Council. In other words, that this body should be expanded in such a way that at least two countries from Latin America, two from Africa and two from Asia can belong to it.

The Security Council's very regulations and principles must be changed. Perhaps it would be a little unreal at the present time to talk of the veto disappearing. The veto should disappear, but perhaps not now, perhaps it's impossible, given the objective circumstances, to achieve that. Nevertheless, one must be against the veto right on principle, one must be in favor of collective consensus by the members of the United Nations or the Security Council on principle. And one day the veto right in the Security Council has to disappear too, or should disappear.

The nominal independence that we have left is being snatched away from us bit by bit. They are smashing our independence to smithereens. It seems anachronistic

“
To follow the example of Taiwan or South Korea is absurd, an impossibility, and a sham . . .
 ”

to speak of independence when there is more need than ever to speak of independence precisely so they don't totally overrun us, so they don't subjugate us. Nevertheless, these words are out of date in the new world order's vocabulary.

Neoliberalism means all of this, but it is a neoliberalism which is being put into practice on a world scale as fast as they can manage to resolve, one way or another — although it's impossible to solve all the problems — the conflicts of interest between the large economic blocs they have created.

They are continuing to put these same policies into practice on a world scale. What hope do these policies leave for our peoples?

Capitalist disaster in Eastern Europe

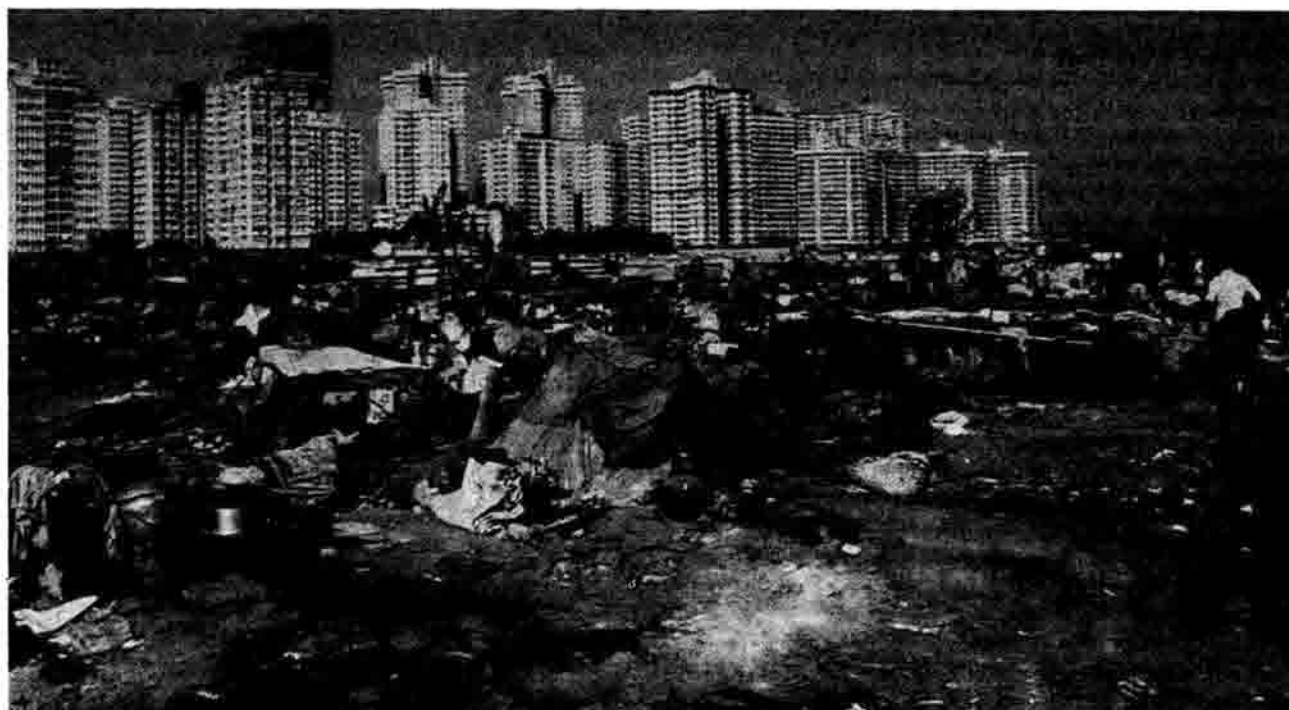
Neoliberalism has been put into practice, and how, in the former socialist countries in Europe. And what is left, as a rule, of Europe's former socialist countries? I tell you that from what one reads in the reports that appear in international dispatches and in the press, and from what one can deduce, these countries are a veritable disaster.

In these countries themselves people are already beginning to realize and to discuss the fact that the rushed and unbalanced implementation of the International Monetary Fund's formulas and neoliberalism's formulas was a huge mistake, that was a mistake to put them into practice in a brutal manner in those countries whose economies were designed for another system and had been coordinated according to certain concepts.

They fell apart and many leaders were made to believe that the formula to follow was neoliberalism, that same neoliberalism that is being practiced in Latin America. It's just that those countries are not used to the social and material calamities that they are suffering today. It's really painful, amazing, how much the death rates in those countries have gone up where before at least everybody had a school and everybody had a hospital, more or less efficient services, but they had them. Everyone had a job, they really weren't familiar with unemployment. They were more or less efficient economies, we could say inefficient in many cases, although not everything was inefficient because we know only too well of their great achievements in the field of science, in the development sphere, huge achievements.

To my way of thinking, what they did in the Soviet Union, which was destroyed twice in less than 25 years and rebuilt twice after it was devastated by wars, first at the time of the Revolution and then when the fascists attacked, was an extraordinary achievement which will never be mentioned in the Western press.

Today in the West they are frightened by the consequences that have arisen from the absurd implementation of the neoliberal scheme in those countries. This has practically destroyed these countries' economies and no one knows how they are going to get out of the crisis in which the vast majority of them are embroiled because of



High rises in Bombay, India, overlooking a community of homeless families. "Capitalism is not the regime of fair distribution [of wealth]," Castro said. "It is rather the regime of injustice, of unequal distribution, of the exploitation of one person by another."

the effects of those same ideas. In other words, this experience is not only a Latin American experience.

Over there the capitalists also want to buy everything and buy it with devalued money, buy cheap. They more or less want to have all of those countries' wealth, their natural resources and industries as a gift. Naturally this is causing a reaction, sometimes it is giving rise to strong nationalist sentiments. To sum up, it is causing all sorts of reaction among disillusioned populations of former socialist countries; more than disillusioned, these populations are in despair because of the situation they are experiencing.

And what can capitalism, let alone neoliberalism offer? Neoliberalism is the final manifestation of capitalism and imperialism. To be anti-neoliberal is to be anti-imperialist. One could add that to be anti-neoliberal is to be anti-capitalist, although many people aren't aware of that. But it's that this hatred is hatred towards the manifestation of capitalism's evolution and development. We are faced with an awful situation and with a system that is currently at the zenith of its power and of its political, economic and military might and which can offer humanity nothing.

'Eighty percent of humanity lives in state of poverty'

Capitalism is destined to devour itself. First it created colonialism, and colonialism created the underdevelopment by virtue of which 80 percent of humanity, more than 4 billion people, live today in a state of poverty. Although in many of those countries there are rich, very rich people. Nevertheless, four-fifths of humanity belongs to this underdeveloped world, that is, to this Third World. Thence arise very serious problems and tremendous contradictions stemming from the fact that capitalism is obliged to grow incessantly.

If growth stops, it means a catastrophe for the United States, for Japan, for Europe. Factories close, production and service industries go bankrupt, banks go bust, insurance companies go bust, the system goes bust when development is checked. A system which is obliged to develop continuously is, in present circumstances, a disaster for the world. What is more, this growth over and above certain limits is illogical, it's absurd.

Look at what they are doing. Now, specifically now when hunger is growing in the world, when there is more hunger and poverty than ever before. How did they solve the problems between Europe and the United States over agricultural questions? They agreed to slaughter millions of cows in Europe, millions of cows! Slaughtering millions of cows when there are hundreds of millions of children who don't have milk to drink is a crime. [Applause]

It doesn't matter which way you look at it, from whatever religious or ethical point of view. Humankind has known for a long time that this is selfishness; humankind has known for a long time that this is genocide, that this condemns goodness knows how many of the world's people to suffering and death.

How are they trying to solve the problem? Before they subsidized output, now they are going to subsidize land that lies fallow. Subsidies for not using land with all the misery we have been talking about, with all the disasters that we know of, is a terrible crime.

One cannot call a system that is obliged to behave in this way rational, nor call a world order based on such concepts, such foundations rational. It is irrational and it is indefensible.

But there are perhaps even more serious problems. These countries have created very high standards of living; that is, a very high per capita gross domestic product. This doesn't mean that it is distributed fairly, indeed no. There's always going to be the same problem of the worker side by side with the millionaire, there will always be great inequality, there will always be incredible privileges.

Nature is being destroyed to maintain this system and sustain the growth rate of the developed capitalist countries. The atmosphere, the seas, the rivers and the lakes and underground water supplies are being poisoned. Terrible

havoc is being wreaked as a result of this anarchic, chaotic disorderly development which is the only kind of development that capitalism can engender.

Really, this is putting the conditions needed for humanity to survive at risk. This isn't an exaggeration. This was discussed in depth at a summit conference in Rio de Janeiro just over a year ago, all of these problems associated with the environment and the destruction of the environment, which is not an exaggeration, it is something real, very real.

Now they want to administer our countries' natural resources under these pretexts. They invest millions and still more millions in military spending, even though the cold war is over. They are not investing them in the search for sustainable development which is what was discussed in Rio de Janeiro.

If we examine the difference that exists between Switzerland's and Bangladesh's gross domestic product, we see that Switzerland's per capita GDP is two hundred times greater than that of Bangladesh. Two hundred times: Switzerland has the highest, \$34,000, but others have \$32,000 and others \$30,000. All developed capitalist countries on the whole have a per capita GDP of above \$20,000.

But capitalism is not the regime of fair distribution [of wealth], it is rather the regime of injustice, of unequal distribution, of the exploitation of one person by another. This exploitation has much more terrible connotations in a Third World country than in a developed capitalist country, because it is exactly out of fear of revolution, out of fear of socialism that developed capitalism came up with some distribution schemes that, to a certain degree, do away with the great hunger that European countries were familiar with in [Frederick] Engels's day, in [Karl] Marx's day. They have organized a better redistribution so that the workers and unemployed have at least the absolute minimum to live on. Third World countries can't do that, they don't even have the resources for that.

What need do those countries have to keep on growing? If they had a rational society they could solve their problems simply by a fair distribution of work, material resources and time. They would not have to leave anyone without a job, nor to continue to pollute and destroy nature.

“
We've had to make certain changes that are motivated not by the thought of leaving socialism, but of saving socialism . . .
 ”

There is talk of and not only is there talk of but climatic changes can already be felt. In Latin America itself you have seen a series of calamities that were not evidenced before — unexpected and excessive rains, more destructive hurricanes or prolonged droughts — as a product of atmospheric warming. What has caused this atmospheric warming? Who has filled the atmosphere with carbon monoxide and other gases that create this phenomenon, apart from the harmful effects to health of these changes? The developed capitalist countries. They are not only responsible for colonialism and underdevelopment: today they are responsible for the destruction of man's natural estate.

'Development is impossible with this social order'

The immense majority of the world's energy resources are used by these developed capitalist countries. If they have to continue developing, they have to continue using more and more energy intensive products, more electricity, more coal or other energy sources, while Third World countries only consume an insignificant amount of the world's energy.

But there is another problem: for Third World countries to develop, the economy of developed nations would have to stop growing in a wild and unpredictable manner, which would be unnecessary if there was a rational social order. It's impossible with this social order, it's impossible with

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capitalism, it's impossible with neoliberalism, absolutely impossible.

Many countries such as Bangladesh, India or like many more than 100 other countries in the world, cannot on the other hand stop developing, they cannot stop consuming energy. At the United Nations the imperialists are not thinking of any kind of rational and fair social system which might provide some order to the world.

It's impossible from a capitalistic and neoliberal model to obtain anything rational; but if we were to divide energy into quotas for consumption, we would have to solve the problem of countries that are developing, to which we have to add another problem: a real and incredible population growth, many times greater than the increase in food production, many times greater than the increase per capita of the gross domestic product.

There are some who with great cynicism dream — and it's possible that imperialism also dreams of this — that

will be 1.5 billion, a truly impressive force.

Now China has a per capita gross domestic product of about \$500. Should China struggle to obtain the development of Switzerland or Sweden? It's a proven fact that neither the world's raw materials nor its energy resources would suffice. A country such as China must develop: a country like that, with a population like that must develop, it unquestionably has the right to develop.

'Capitalism can offer no future to the world'

But what is the proposal being offered by neoliberalism? That all Third World countries become Taiwans, or South Korea, or Singapore, the three examples so often quoted, because they also mention Hong Kong, but Hong Kong is a British colony. And one asks: how can Haiti follow the example of Taiwan? How are African countries going to imitate the examples of Taiwan if they have neither universities, schools, skilled staff, capital, nor markets? Are neoliberal proposals going to solve the problem of the African coun-



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

A meeting of dairy factory workers outside Havana. "We have a people who know what capitalism is and I can assure you that our people do not want to go back to capitalism," the Cuban president said. "Our people discuss and debate at length the measures that must be taken to ensure the Revolution's survival."

the demographic problem can be solved in some continents through diseases. It is known — studies have been made — that AIDS is seriously affecting many regions of the Third World, and there are some imperialist theoreticians that believe diseases such as AIDS can resolve the population explosion, because they fear it. They are aware of the consequences of a population explosion in the Third World, they fear for their safety and they selfishly fear for their own interests.

They may find the ways to contain AIDS, they may have the resources to care for the sick, but what could happen on a continent such as Africa, that has countries in which already 30 percent of the population is infected? Some estimate that if the population would normally grow 3.5 percent per year, due to the health calamities it would only grow by 1.5 [percent] or 2 percent, and that this would partly offset the population explosion.

No matter how you look at it, one comes to the conclusion that such a society is not sustainable. That society has to grow, and grow or perish, it's impossible, the real conditions in the world do not allow it.

They give the example of three countries that under special circumstances, with large markets at their disposal, with large amounts of capital available — although, it is true, with repressive governments and high tariff barriers — have

“The U.S. government won't forgive Cuba for way our heroic people have stood firm for the last 35 years...”

been able to develop: South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore. That is the entire list of countries that were able to develop. So they advise other countries to follow Taiwan's example, and tell Latin Americans that they have to follow the example of Taiwan or South Korea. It's really not necessary for Latin American countries to follow Taiwan's example, supposing that were possible, and we all know that it's an absurd road to follow, it is an impossibility, it's a sham.

The development of China alone would horrify the large economic power bloc that exists in the world today. China alone would cause horror the day it could match South Korea's or Japan's productivity; unthinkable, because there are nearly 1.2 billion Chinese and within 25 years' time there

tries' development? If not, capitalism can offer no future to the world, what it can offer is suicide.

Neoliberalism leads to genocide not only in Latin America, as somebody here said; we could say that neoliberalism leads the whole world to genocide, it's genocide; neoliberalism is genocide, capitalism is genocide in today's world.

Think about the population problem for a moment. It took humanity hundreds of thousands of years to reach a population of 1 billion inhabitants which it reached at the beginning of this century. At this moment the world population is around 5.6 billion inhabitants. During this century the world population will have grown approximately six times. It took hundreds of thousands of years to reach 1 billion and a hundred years to reach 6 billion, which is what it will more or less have by the year 2000. The world population is growing at a rate of approximately 100 million inhabitants per year, or a rate of 1 billion every 10 years; and if the population is growing at the rate of close to 1 billion every 10 years and it has taken hundreds of thousands of years to reach 1 billion, you will appreciate the incongruity of finding a solution to the problem through capitalism and neoliberalism.

This population growth does not necessarily occur in the developed capitalist countries; in the developed capitalist countries they are actually experiencing the growth of an aging population and in some cases there is even a decrease in the population. This colossal population explosion is occurring in countries where there is more poverty, more calamities, more hunger, a greater need for medical assistance, for employment, for everything. That is the truth of the matter.

What solution do neoliberalism and capitalism, which are the same thing, offer humanity? These are real, objective, mathematical issues, that the theoreticians of capitalism and neoliberalism can neither respond to nor deny. That is the truth of the matter.

Privatization will not solve social problems

In Latin America there had been talk of using some of the resources stemming from privatization to solve social problems, but that is like a match, which lights up when struck but does not last long. The capital they received from privatization was not much and they will end up having to pay much more each year due to privatization.

The problems you have been discussing are extremely important and one must be aware of these realities. I believe that by your thinking, your attitudes, your reactions and

the fact that such a varied group of delegates have been able to reach a consensus on essential issues, you are demonstrating how these realities are already identified in the minds of our peoples. So it seems that we do not have a very happy 21st century to look forward to at all.

Nobody can be wished a Happy New Year for the year 2000, neither in Latin America nor in many other parts of the world, because the coming century is one of great hardship and much effort and before the end of the century this is already being made manifest.

Due to the disaster in the socialist bloc many people were disheartened, despairing; nevertheless we can see around us many signs of hope, of struggle. We can see quite clearly that it's going to be hard to bring to fruition this unipolar world, it will take much work to fine-tune it; it's going to become impossible for imperialism and neoliberalism to govern because there's a tremendous weapon which is the awareness of the peoples, especially when that awareness leads the peoples into action.

Already this awareness is leading to action and it will not take long for imperialism to understand how difficult it will be to govern the world because many of the problems it has created are beginning to frighten it. The problems that arose with the disintegration of Yugoslavia already frighten it. It unleashed a serious situation there that has developed to the point where it does not know how to resolve it; they had to deliver food at gunpoint in Somalia — in the not-too-distant future they will have to deliver food at gunpoint to all of Africa — and the defiance that a part of that hungry, population skeletal we could say, showed the special forces of the U.S. army is a good object lesson to the empire on how difficult it will be to govern the whole world. [Applause]

It makes great promises. I still remember the great promises it made to Nicaragua while it waged the "dirty war" in that country. Daniel [Ortega] can remember as well as I, or even better, the times the U.S. government justified its actions to fight against the revolution. Talking of a wonderful future and how, with the help of the empire Nicaragua would be able to shed its problems. It went there with its neoliberal recipes and just look at the disastrous situation it has created for the people of that country. It is not even capable of keeping it over, now that it has come out with its intention to oust the Sandinista movement from power by offering the miserable amount of money it offers, because that government needs more money than anybody else. It falls deeper into debt by the day, both at home and abroad, and then turns around and haggles over this money.

How the U.S. government argued over the \$100 million it had to send to Nicaragua. Today it would be one set of requirements, tomorrow another and the day after another.

Imperialism is unscrupulous in imposing conditions

The rapid advance and increasingly unscrupulous nature of imperialism make it try to impose conditions on all countries, including a country as big and as powerful as China. It tries to impose conditions in areas that are purely a matter of domestic policy: economic conditions, trade and political conditions.

“How many hundreds of thousands of Latin American lives have been lost in the last 25 years, murdered, missing, tortured?...”

How many hundreds of thousands of tons of bombs and weapons were used in Central and Latin America to support things like genocide in Guatemala, for example.

I was reminded too, as I listened to Rolando, of the steps that were taken to overthrow Arbenz.²

What were the consequences of Arbenz's overthrow for the Guatemalans? More than 100,000 people disappeared, more than 100,000 in Guatemala alone, truly incredible statistics.

What has this policy brought the Chileans? What has it brought the Argentines? What has it brought the Salvadorans? We have been witness to the incessant river of all kinds of weapons that flowed in over the years to wipe out the Salvadoran revolutionary movement. It wasn't able to achieve its goal.

But what can be expected from the empire's promises and the behavior of the empire and its oligarch allies? Now it appears that they are assassinating members, militants and cadres of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). It is so stupid of them to do this, for now that peace has been achieved they are beginning to kill revolutionaries again. What are the revolutionaries going to think about this? Who is going to hand over weapons only to be assassinated later on? [Prolonged applause and cries of: "Long live the fight of the world's poor for their liberty"]

Who can believe in the intentions and the promises of imperialism and the oligarchies? This is what they are showing us, this is imperialism, this is capitalism and this is neoliberalism.

How many hundreds of thousands of Latin American lives have been lost in the last 25 years, murdered, missing, tortured?

We heard one of the Plaza de Mayo Mothers describing

2. Jacobo Arbenz was president of Guatemala from 1951 until his overthrow in a CIA-backed coup in 1954. Rolando Morán is a member of the General Command of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union.

her pain at what happened in that country [Argentina]. Where did the weapons with which all these crimes were committed come from? And they are the ones who talk of human rights, because they also want to present themselves to the world as vestal virgins. [Applause]

The amount of hypocrisy and cynicism existing in the empire's political thinking is incredible. It can be seen in its lack of scruples about using any excuse, any lie, which they then magnify and broadcast via its mass media. We who have lived through it know the empire has no scruples.

That is why I also thought that the proposal made to have the [final conference] declaration contain — of course this is up to the commission even though in my opinion the proposal was just — the question of the U.S. military presence in Latin America, was correct. [Applause] Because it's clear, very clear, that the imperialist strategy is to accustom us to a U.S. military presence in our countries. It's clear this is all part of the program. What for? To build two little schools, a polyclinic or, let's say, a first-aid station? Because we really don't think U.S. engineers are as productive as the Japanese and that they can build much in a couple of months.

'Our countries don't need U.S. soldiers'

Programs have arisen in Latin America, in many countries, to justify the empire's military presence to carry out a few community projects. Our countries don't need U.S. soldiers to carry out community projects. [Applause] We have built thousands of schools, polyclinics, doctors' offices, everything, thousands and thousands of things, and we have not needed a single drop of a U.S. soldier's sweat, nor does any other Latin American country need it.

It's clear that this is a strategy to get us used to the presence of these soldiers, because after all, if the empire is going to govern us, it's best that Latin Americans start getting used to the presence and company of U.S. soldiers.

What would happen if Cuba were to send an engineering corps? Would it not cause an international scandal if we were to offer any sister country a battalion to build schools, hospitals, community projects? [Applause]

At one time we were in a financial position to do it, but when we wanted to build a hospital — and in Peru, for example, we built hospitals after the earthquake — we sent construction workers and engineers, we didn't send soldiers. [Applause] When we wanted to build schools in Tanzania similar to our junior high schools in the countryside, we didn't send soldiers, we sent engineers and construction workers. Sometimes we also sent the materials.

When we built roads, highways, agricultural establishments, hotels and an important hospital in Viet Nam, near the parallel that divided the North and South, we didn't send soldiers, we sent construction workers. We have done this in many countries, because soldiers are sent to fight, soldiers are sent on military missions, soldiers are more expensive than construction workers, they cost much more.

So I ask myself what's behind this policy. Is it that the empire wants us to applaud U.S. soldiers, wants us to be grateful for them? Does it want us to ask it to let us join the union and that instead of having our independent flags



U.S. troops in Panama. Castro said the aim of U.S. soldiers in Latin America under the guise of carrying out community projects is to accustom the people there to a U.S. military presence.

we could become another star of the empire? Is this what it wants? No, if we were to make that proposal, it probably wouldn't want us, it would say, "No way, these guys will cost us way too much!" No, not even that. [Laughter and applause] So what does it want then? The empire wants us to get used to its military presence, and that really strikes hard against the sentiments of our people. This is imperialism's approach.

I wonder what would have happened and what would have been the scandal if we had done this in any Latin American country. That's what the empire's logic and thinking is.

It wants our country to join this merry-go-round of the new world order too. The least it demands from the Rev-

"We have built thousands of schools, polyclinics, and doctor's offices, and we have not needed a single drop of a U.S. soldier's sweat . . ."

olution before it will lift the blockade, that criminal and unjust blockade, is that we renounce socialism, that we renounce our democratic system. The least we can say to that is that in our country's elections more than 95 percent of the population vote, while in the United States they don't even vote. [Applause]

I won't dwell on an explanation of these concepts, but the least it demands of us is that we adopt the American way of life, U.S.-style democracy. It attacks our Party's leadership, but our Party has historic origins because [José] Martí, whose anniversary we are celebrating today, founded a party to lead the people in the struggle for independence, and we need a party to lead the people in the struggle for the Revolution, in the upholding of our sovereignty and our independence. [Applause] Nevertheless, that Party does not nominate candidates, the people nominate candidates directly via active participation in grass-roots organizations. The Party does not run a campaign for any candidate; it is a party, but it doesn't nominate.

The United States also has one party, because the Republican Party and the Democratic Party are more alike than two drops of water. [Applause]

The empire is a single-party structure, neoliberalism is a single-party structure, the empire's role of world police is determined by a single-party structure. Just look at what's happening now, in 1994, now that the cold war is over and there's no socialist bloc, the Pentagon's funds haven't been touched, its budget hasn't been cut by so much as a red cent. Why else would it need such enormous armed forces if not to act as a world police force, if not to intervene worldwide. It's crystal-clear; the U.S. government cuts everything but the defense budget. It is truly incredible, completely bereft of logic, and after it has said the cold war is over. It looks like it is getting ready for a hot war [Laughter] against Third World countries. That's why it wants military bases all over the place, because it wants to intervene everywhere.

Now it is even talking about a summit meeting of Latin American countries, for one very obvious reason: it knows that Cuba attends the summit meetings of Latin American countries — or Ibero-Latin American countries, whatever you prefer to call them — so it wants summit meetings where Cuba will be absent, to isolate Cuba even more, to make its criminal blockade even more rigorous. By definition Cuba is excluded from that kind of meeting, because the U.S. government hasn't the slightest hope of sending the engineer corps to build anything here.

Because Cuba stands firm, because Cuba defends its sovereignty, because Cuba defends its independence, Cuba must be punished, blockaded, starved into surrender, blown up from within, so as to wipe out even the memory of Cuba because the U.S. government won't forgive Cuba for the way our heroic people have stood firm for the last 35 years. I repeat, it wants to erase even the memory of that resistance. It wants Cuba's image to disappear from the sight of Latin America and the world [Shouts of "never!"]; that is what it's after: final revenge on our Revolution.

Of course, with the collapse of the socialist bloc, which provided us with a bulwark against the blockade — the blockade has always harmed us, but we could defend ourselves from it when we had economic and trade ties with and the economic cooperation of the socialist bloc — our situation has become far more difficult. Just to give you an idea of what the disappearance of the socialist bloc has meant for us, keep in mind that our imports decreased by 70 percent. Try to imagine what country in this hemisphere or anywhere could have survived that with a capitalist system.

'We have stood firm despite intensified blockade'

The loss the country suffered with the disappearance of the socialist bloc and the disintegration of the USSR, was, I repeat, 70 percent of our imports; nevertheless, you can see how different socialism and capitalism are. It has been a veritable feat, but we managed, and we have been able to stand firm for three years despite the intensification of the blockade with the repulsive Torricelli Act. Not a single

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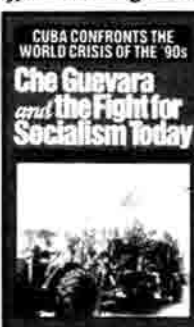


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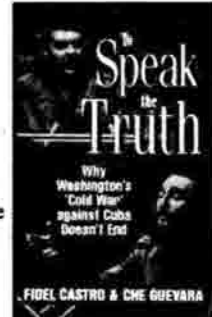
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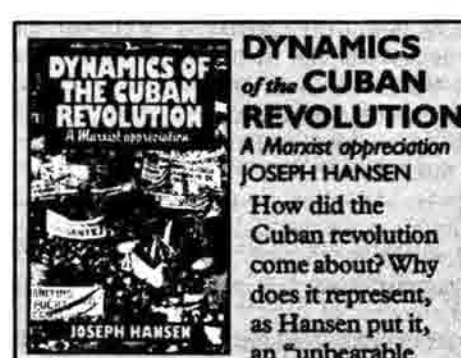
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school, not a single hospital has been closed down in our country, even under these circumstances. A similar situation could provide an excuse to close all the schools and all the hospitals anywhere else. Here not a single teacher nor a single doctor has been left without a job. You can see the difference between a rational, humane concept and a cruel, absurd, irrational concept like the one espoused by our consummate enemies.

I know that many of you must be wondering how we have distributed what little we have among us all and are bearing the terrible burden of these difficult years in which we have had to abandon so many projects, in which we abruptly lost so many resources. Just let me say that from using almost 14 million tons of fuel we have been reduced to using approximately 6 million tons in recent years, and not only our fuel supplies were disrupted and made scarcer by the disappearance of the socialist bloc and the blockade, but we were left without fertilizers, we were left without fodder for the animals, we were left without a number of raw materials that are necessary for any economy to function, and we were left without spare parts for the second time in history, first when the Revolution triumphed, then when the socialist bloc collapsed.

Listing the efforts made by our people in these very difficult conditions would take forever, in conditions created by the U.S. government in an attempt to make the survival of the Revolution impossible.

But we have a people who know what capitalism is, and

[Applause] We have sought out economic associations with foreign capital whenever these could bring us capital, technology, or markets. When they contribute one or all of those elements we don't hesitate, because we are blockaded, we have no capital for investments, we don't have some of the technology, we haven't got big enough markets for certain products. In other words, the situation has imposed certain measures on us that we wouldn't have taken otherwise.

'We have had to take certain difficult measures'

I have heard the concerns voiced by some of our friends over the news they have been hearing about the decriminalization of the dollar, for example. It would be a bit long today, it would mean going on for too long if I were to give you a detailed explanation of all the measures we are taking, that have been forced on us by economic necessity; but whenever we can hold on to an industry, as a national industry we do hold on to it; even when it is a hotel like the Nacional, we hold on to it. Everything we can hold on to, we do. But we have had to take certain difficult measures that we wouldn't have taken if it hadn't been for the special period.

We have had to develop tourism, and we all know that has its effects, both positive and negative. But — as I was telling a group of Ecuadorian comrades I was talking to last night — we have to learn to be pure outside the cloister; we have to learn to be pure, not in a glass bubble or an ivory tower, but in contact with vice, because vice develops

stars that the Americans want to add to their flag, because we have enough with this one star, [Prolonged applause] we have enough with this one star which is today alone but tomorrow will be linked in sisterhood with the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean. [Applause] Only for that reason could it step down from its triangle to join with the emblems of the peoples of a united Latin America and Caribbean [Applause], which I hope will always have a little bit of red because we can never turn our backs on the red. We could never nor would we ever want to turn our backs on the red. [Applause] A great deal of blood has been shed and many sacrifices have been made in the name of this flag. We don't want to be a Miami or a Florida or a Texas or any of those states.

Only by fighting capitalism will humanity survive

We wish them good luck, we hope for them that they rectify themselves, we hope for them that they change. However, we are not looking northwards, we are looking southwards and when we broaden our horizons we look at the whole world, with the hope that it survives and that human beings find enough intelligence to survive, that humanity finds enough consciousness and will to fight. For it is only by fighting against anarchy, against the insanity of the United States and the system it represents, that humanity will be able to survive.

Yes, we are indeed supporters of the idea of world government but a revolutionary world government, [Applause] not that reactionary, imperialist government that the Security Council wants to give us.

We are fighting for these goals and these objectives. We are able to do little, but we are pleased to contribute even a little grain of sand. Our peoples' salvation will be the work of millions of people, of billions of people. But that requires consciousness, that requires what you have been working on here, developing here. Ideas are needed, those basic ideas which have to be spread to all the rest.

It has been proven, there is a lot of proof, there is some recent proof that no people is weak, no people is so weak that it can be subjugated. Present-day Indians, which we all are, we Latin Americans and Caribbeans — and we hope they will accept us into that honorable family [Applause] — there are hundreds of millions of us and in 20 or 25 years, at the rate we are going, there will be about 1 billion of us and we won't be that easy to dominate, we won't be that easy to conquer, we won't be that easy to subjugate.

That will depend on how the ideas expressed and defended here spread among the peoples of Latin America, and we could say that these peoples are like grass during a long drought, that they absorb ideas as if they were water and they catch fire as gunpowder might catch fire.

These ideas must be passed on. These ideas are potentially already in the minds of tens of millions — not to say hundreds of millions — of Latin Americans and Caribbeans. I think that these ideas will be thought out and improved even more because the peoples are learning from experience what imperialism, what capitalism and what neoliberalism mean. It is not hard to work from that basis and one day, with the benefit of hindsight, we will be able to see that this was all imperialism's illusions when it thought it had conquered the world but was, nevertheless, ever further away from being able to conquer it and the peoples were ever more aware of their strength.

We are fighting for that cause, for those flags. We are prepared to make whatever sacrifices are necessary — the least important of which would be the sacrifice of life itself — for that cause and for those flags. [Applause]

In the name of our people, I thank you for the countless demonstrations of solidarity that you have shown toward our country, they encourage us and give us hope.

It doesn't matter what these meetings are called, one way or another we know what they are all about, [Applause] because our progressive spirit comes out of these meetings strengthened and heightened — I can't use the word revolutionary so as not to scare off people outside of this hall [Applause] — and our anti-imperialist spirit emerges strengthened, in other words our anti-neoliberal spirit and our anti-capitalist spirit, not only the spirit of those who have taken part in this meeting but our own spirit as well.

Our eternal gratitude to you, our Latin American and Caribbean sisters and brothers! Allow me to repeat our slogans here where I know no one will be scared off by them.

Socialism or death!

Patria o muerte!

Venceremos!

[Ovation]



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

Student activists from University of La Plata in Argentina participate in workshop at Havana conference.

I can assure you that our people do not want to go back to capitalism. [Prolonged applause]

Our people discuss and debate at length the measures that must be taken to ensure the Revolution's survival, to meet the objective of defending the country, the Revolution and socialism. Not only that, but also to develop our economy as much as possible using the technical and cultural level reached by our people, which is a great advantage and that helps us enormously.

I was referring to spare parts; our workers have built

“It's going to become impossible for imperialism to govern because of the awareness of the peoples, especially when it leads to action . . .”

millions of spare parts on their lathes — whenever they had the raw materials — to keep the machinery going, to keep the factories working whenever we have electricity, whenever we have fuel.

Our energy sector workers are making enormous efforts to keep electricity generators running with domestic petroleum — which is moreover scarce and heavy — and to use that petroleum in the boilers to produce a certain amount of cement, to produce a minimum amount of electricity in order to keep the country functioning. Our oil workers are making an enormous effort to find petroleum, to save fuel and energy in general. I can assure you that they are waging an admirable battle.

Clearly, given the situation our country is in and the situation facing the world we live in, today's world, we have had to be pragmatic and adopt certain measures, make certain changes that are motivated not by thought of leaving socialism behind, but of saving socialism.

virtue more than uncontaminated virtue free of contact with any kind of bacteria or virus. [Applause]

It is said that many peoples — and history records it — were discovered, as if those peoples hadn't discovered the Europeans, and how! It is said that they died of diseases because they lacked the antibodies to fight certain viruses, bacteria and parasites that were brought over from Europe. It's too bad we didn't have a large number of those bacteria, viruses and natural parasites here that the conquistadors weren't immune to. But they brought their diseases which cost tens of millions of people their lives, not to mention those who died in slavery and from exploitation.

I said that our Revolution will not emerge weaker from this special period, it will emerge stronger. [Applause] The road will be long, but we shall learn to be much more efficient, we shall reap the harvest of the experiences we are gaining at this time, when we are short of almost everything. Our revolutionary temper will emerge strengthened, that is forged at temperatures of hundreds or thousands of degrees. Our patriotism will emerge strengthened. Our consciousness will emerge strengthened, because we have not lost one iota of our understanding of the problems the world is going through, or of the understanding of our revolutionary duties. Our ideas will emerge strengthened and our love for the Revolution and socialism will emerge strengthened. [Applause] Our rejection of and repugnance for the capitalist system and neoliberal ideas will emerge strengthened. Our people will emerge strengthened because we do not wish to go backwards.

We do not want even a point of a single one of the

Granma

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ANC moves to isolate rightists, halt violence

Continued from front page

the privileged positions of some whites. Buthelezi spurned the ANC proposals out of hand. The Freedom Alliance includes Inkatha; the white-supremacist Afrikaner People's Front, Afrikaner Resistance Movement, and conservative Party; and Lucius Mangope, the military ruler of the Bophuthatswana homeland.

The ANC's proposals put the rightists further into a corner. ANC negotiators said they would be willing to support increased powers for provincial governments under South Africa's interim constitution; a double balloting system, which allows voters to choose separately for national and regional parliaments; and further negotiations on the demand for an Afrikaner homeland.

In his statement announcing the proposals, Mandela placed the blame for the violence squarely on those "steeped in the politics of the past—the politics of racism, ethnic chauvinism and violence—who seek to drown the process in blood. This shall not and cannot be allowed to continue." He reiterated that the elections cannot be postponed, and that the character of the new South Africa as a unitary nation with a central government is not up for discussion.

At a February 21 meeting the 21-member multiparty negotiating forum made further proposals to the rightists, offering expanded powers to regional governments, one of the Freedom Alliance's major demands. The white-minority parliament, in what will probably be its last meeting, will convene at the beginning of March to ratify amendments to the constitution and to extend the deadline for parties to register for the election to March 7.

ANC isolating right wing

With each of these moves, the ANC is exposing who is responsible for the violence wracking South Africa and threats to the elections. While still armed and dangerous,

the rightist forces are becoming more politically isolated and divisions between them getting sharper.

"We believe now that pressure should be put on them by the people of this country," said ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa, "by indicating to them that they now stand completely exposed, they stand completely against the democratic process that is unfolding."

In a dispatch from Johannesburg, Paul Taylor of the *Washington Post* wrote, "Buthelezi is harping on the fact that the new government would still have the power to rewrite the interim constitution without sufficient blocking mechanisms for minority interests. His bargaining stance has been one of constantly shifting goal posts, strengthening the impression that he really wants no part in the election." Over the past year Buthelezi has been losing support in Natal.

Inkatha held a rally in the town of Taylor's Halt on February 20, where Buthelezi threatened more violence. Police said the bodies of six people, all shot dead, were found six miles from the town.

The rightists' desperation is evident from a report in the February 11 *Johannesburg Business Day*. According to the paper, "A confidential Freedom Alliance strategy document proposes that in the event of the alliance boycotting the elections, it should prepare immediately for secession and create conditions making free and fair elections impossible. However, this should be kept secret for as long as possible..."

"Alliance Chairman Rowan Cronje confirmed the document was authentic, but said it contained only scenarios," the paper said.

Eugene Terreblanche, leader of the ultra-rightist Afrikaner Resistance Movement, appeared on South African television February 14 and distanced himself from Freedom Alliance leader Gen. Constand Viljoen, who has been conducting negotiations with the ANC and the government. "Was Gen. Vil-



Militant/Greg Rosenberg

At ANC-sponsored People's Forum on the Bophuthatswana homeland border on January 30, speaker asks what ANC will do to deal with military ruler Lucius Mangope.

joen not negotiating on your behalf?" asked interviewer Max du Preez. "No, not at all," said Terreblanche.

"It is unbelievable that a people believing in a living God should be granted vague promises from Satan himself and his peons," he added.

Violence targets democratic movement

The violence perpetrated by the government, rightist groupings, and the privileged rulers from some of the apartheid-created Bantustans is aimed at undermining the confidence and political activity of working people and their organizations.

The South African Human Rights Commission reported that 317 people died in political violence in January alone. Of the 15 percent whose political affiliation was reported, by far the highest number—34—were ANC members.

The ANC blasted the police Internal Stability Unit (ISU) in a February 17 statement. The day before, cops had fired on marchers in Standerton—located 100 miles south-

east of Johannesburg—injuring 68. The demonstrators were protesting attempts by rightists to declare the town part of a so-called white homeland.

The ANC said the ISU's action "must be a subject of thorough investigation and prosecution of those involved to the fullest extent of the law. The ISU once more demonstrated its racist, arrogant and blatant disregard for human life by indiscriminately firing into a crowd of about 4,000 people demonstrating against the declaration of Standerton as part of a Volkstaat, dismissal of workers at the local Spa supermarket and the segregated medical services."

On February 16, 30 ISU cops stormed the ANC regional office in Cape Town armed with automatic rifles and pistols. They kicked down doors and assaulted several ANC members, beating elections administrator Garth Strachan's head with rifle butt. "This act of terrorism must be condemned in the strongest terms," said an ANC statement.

The right-wing groups are not the only ones rejecting South Africa's interim constitution. The Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) announced in February that it will boycott the elections. AZAPO's student wing—the Azanian Students' Movement (AZASM)—launched a campaign in Cape Town to expel white teachers from Guguletu Comprehensive High School and replace them with Blacks. Twenty of the 48 teachers are white.

The school principal, Linda Qaba, reported that a planned assault by AZASM was thwarted when 60 parents chased them away. "I am totally against the AZASM campaign," said Qaba, "which is against my principles of nonracialism." The teachers have received support from the ANC and the South African Democratic Teachers' Union. Shepherd Mdladlana, president of the teachers' union, said that if AZASM carried out its threats there would be a confrontation.

S. Africa Coca-Cola workers win strike

BY BRIAN PUGH

Some 3,700 workers across South Africa won their one-month strike against Amalgamated Beverage Industries (ABI), a franchise of U.S. soft drink giant Coca-Cola. The 2,500 members of the Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU) and 1,200 nonunion employees obtained a 15-month contract with a 13.1 percent wage increase. Workers returned to their jobs February 1.

Strikers originally demanded a 15 percent increase for 12 months, while ABI management offered a 10 percent increase for 18 months.

Ismael Mtamane, FAWU chairperson for the Westland plant, stated that the workers were confident with the new contract. Mtamane pointed to the success of the national consumer boycott of ABI products, led by the union.

"Shop owners in the townships began faxing messages to the ABI management to stop sending deliveries because it was causing them trouble," Mtamane said. Unionists picketed shops that sold ABI products in the townships, convincing business owners to display signs that read "Drink Juice," he added.

Hundreds of workers returned every day to nine ABI plants throughout South Africa to protest the apartheid conditions in the factories. Workers explained that they would remain on strike if necessary until an ANC-led democratic government was elected at the end of April. In this period of social and political upheaval in South Africa, the striking workers succeeded in forging unity despite a 50 percent unemployment rate and attacks and scabbing organized by the company against the strike.

Mtamane said that representatives from

Coca-Cola were flown in from the United States to participate in the contract settlement.

In other news, Carlton Paper of South Africa made a new offer to striking members of the Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union on February 18. Union members struck the company's four plants February 2 with factory occupations.

Management offered a 7 percent wage increase, maternity leave for three months with full pay after three years employment, and other proposals. Workers struck for a 12 percent wage increase. Union members are discussing the company's offer.



Militant/Brian Pugh

Coca-Cola strikers picket plant in Devland, South Africa, in January.

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BY NELSON MANDELA

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Immigration

Continued from front page

ican who sponsored the amendment denying aid to undocumented workers, said, "When it comes to the spending of taxpayers' dollars, I cannot turn my head and treat undocumented aliens like citizens."

Dianne Feinstein, a liberal Democrat from California and former mayor of San Francisco, has been a particularly vigorous immigrant-basher since her election to the U.S. Senate in 1992. Last May she told a reporter, "I began getting all these complaints — particularly in southern California — from people who are not prejudiced. . . . They talked about overcrowded schools, the absence of affordable housing, the absence of health care. Judges told me their calendars are clogged with excessive numbers of illegal aliens."

Laura Bahena, who moved to the United States after a 1985 earthquake devastated Mexico City and does not have legal residence, said the restrictions are racist. "The earthquake did not ask for paperwork," she told the *New York Times*.

The strict limits on earthquake relief follow a proposal by California governor Pete Wilson to deny health and education benefits to undocumented immigrants.

New restrictions on political asylum

The *Washington Post* described the INS's new obstacles to political asylum as "part of a broad Clinton administration plan to restrict immigration and deter abuses of the asylum application process."

In early February the administration unveiled a \$368 million scheme to put 1,000 more immigration agents and high tech equipment along the U.S.-Mexico border as part of its budget proposal. Clinton also calls for deporting undocumented immigrants who are in prison on criminal charges. The administration's proposals will increase the INS budget by 22 percent to \$2.1 billion in 1995.

The \$130 asylum application fee will make the United States the only country in the world where people fleeing political repression are forced to pay to seek refuge. U.S. attorney general Janet Reno defended the fee, saying it could be waived for immigrants who cannot afford it. There is no proposal for such a waiver procedure, however.

Under the current rules, an immigrant can apply for permission to work in the United States while their asylum application is pending. The worker can receive a permit 90 days after applying for asylum. The new INS procedure, which may take effect as early as October 1, would forbid an immigrant from applying for a work permit for 150 days. The actual permit would not be issued for another 30 days, on the condition that the asylum application is still pending.

"To wait six months for a work permit — how will they survive?" asked Jeanne Butterfield of the American Immigration Lawyers Association.

One immigration official told the *Washington Post* the new regulations are intended "to deter the filing of spurious claims" filed in order to get work permits, which he contended account for at least a third of all asylum applicants.

Dan Stein of the Federation for American Immigration Reform complained the measures are "mild and meaningless." His group favors legislation pending in Congress that would summarily reject most asylum applicants arriving at U.S. airports and border stations.

More than 330,000 immigrants who have asked for political refuge are currently awaiting hearings. Of the cases the government did hear last year, less than a quarter of the applicants were granted asylum.

In response to stepped-up attacks on immigrants' rights, the One Stop Immigration and Educational Center is planning a February 26 demonstration in Los Angeles. The leaflet calling the march reads, in part, "We the people have the constitutional rights to association, assemble and expression, to counter the racist attacks against our community." Organizers expect it to be the largest rally in some time in defense of immigrants' rights.

Militant staff writer Naomi Craine contributed to this article.

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What's Behind the War in the Former Yugoslavia? Speaker: Joe Callahan, Socialist Workers Party, member, United Auto Workers Local 879. Sat., March 5, 7:30 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave. (One block north of University ave., near 16A, 21A, and 4 buslines) Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Malcolm X: Evolution of a Revolutionary. Discussion and video showing introduced by Ma'mud Shrivani, who has lectured on "Iran, Azerbaijan and the Central Asian Republics" and co-authored the introduction to the Pathfinder book *To See the Dawn*. Sat., March 5, 7:30 p.m. 59 Fourth Avenue (Corner of Bergen Street, near Atlantic and Pacific subway stations). Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish and French. Tel: (718) 399-7257.

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Showing of the documentary: *Rosie the Riveter*. Sun., March 6, 6 p.m. 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene Street. Donation: \$3. Tel: (910) 272-5996.

PENNSYLVANIA

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Eyewitness Report from the Fight for a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa. Speaker: Greg

Rosenberg, staff writer for the *Militant*, just returned from South Africa where he attended the African National Congress Youth League conference. Sat., March 5, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation \$5. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

Capitalism in China? Speaker: Doug Cooper, Communist League, member of the National Union of Workers. Sat., March 12, 6 p.m. Surry Hills Neighbourhood Centre, corner of Norton and Collins Streets. Donation: \$3. Tel: 02-281 3297.

BRITAIN

Manchester

Report from Revolutionary Cuba. Speaker: Jonathan Silberman, Manchester engineering worker who took part as a representative of Pathfinder Press in the Havana Book Fair in February. Sat., March 5, 6 p.m. 1st floor, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £2. Tel: 061-839 1766.

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CANADA

Montréal

Government Tax Campaign Scapegoats Mohawk Indians. Speakers: Joe Deom, participant in 1990 Mohawk land rights fight; Roger Annis, Communist League. Sat., March 5, 7:30 p.m. 4581 St. Denis. Donation: \$4. Tel: (514) 284-7369.

Vancouver

Eyewitness Report from the Fight for a Democratic Nonracial South Africa. Celebrate the publication of *Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa* by Pathfinder Press. Speaker: Brian Pugh, Socialist Workers Party in Salt Lake City, just returned from South Africa where he attended the African National Congress Youth League conference. Sun., March 6, 3 p.m. 3967 Main St. (between 23rd and 24 Ave). Donation: \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

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Tobacco workers in Cuba

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[2] **The Russian Revolution — from the Baku Congress to the New Economic Policy.** Speaker: Ma'mud Shrivani, co-author of introduction to *To See the Dawn: Baku, 1920 — First Congress of the Peoples of the East*

[3] **The Origins of Female Oppression and the Fight for Women's Rights Today — A Marxist View.** Speaker: Maggie Trowe, Socialist Workers Party

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Seemed entrepreneurial to us
— During the recent blizzard, a chap in a snowmobile pulled up at the drive-in window of an Illinois



Harry Ring

bank, brandished what appeared to be a pipe bomb, and took off with a bundle. When the cops finally got there, one complained, "He was just an opportunist."

Gold credit card? — With falling oil prices, the Saudi Arabia gov-

ernment has cut spending 20 percent. In December, U.S. military contractors and Washington rescheduled payments on \$30 billion worth of weapons being bought by the Saudi regime. Now, with the deal for it to buy 50 commercial planes from Boeing and McDonnell Douglas, the \$6 billion loan the Saudis will need for the buy will be guaranteed by the U.S. Export-Import Bank.

Rational, humane — Phasing out its L.A. earthquake shelter program, the Red Cross shut down its big one in hard-hit Santa Monica. Those with no homes left to go back to were given temporary hotel and food vouchers. Those who had been homeless

but managed to get into the shelter, found themselves back on the street. A Red Cross staffer explained: "We can only return people to their pre-disaster status."

The give-'em-a-break system — If you're an L.A. homeowner and had more than \$5,000 damage from the quake, you qualify for a temporary tax deduction, which officials estimate will average \$140. The estimate includes apartment and office buildings and shopping malls.

They'll also give you a break — If you qualify but don't have time to fill out the single-page, six-question L.A. tax relief application, a number of lawyers and real estate

brokers are ready to do it for you. Like, big-time CB Commercial will fill it out for \$500 tops. A spokesman says "it is a nominal charge for paperwork handling."

Nonpartisan — Hermann Abs, 92, the veteran German banker who checked out recently, was a member of the Nazi state bank during World War II. He was interned briefly by the victorious Allied powers, but then organized use of the U.S. Marshall Plan program to rebuild and restabilize West German capitalism. In the 1980s, Pope John Paul II appointed him to advise the Vatican Bank.

"The family that starves together..." — In Vista, Califor-

nia, a right-wing school board majority, now a recall target, pushed for teaching creationism, no-sex education, etc. In addition, they rejected an aid program that included free breakfast for children of low-income families. They said eating breakfast away from home erodes "family values."

Thought for the week — "Be safe and know that we are all out there together protecting and serving the public and each other." — From letter of apology to California Highway Patrol, one of whose members was shot at by two off-duty, drunken L.A. cops who said they were only shooting at street signs and didn't even see the guy.

Canadian gov't steps up anti-Mohawk campaign

BY ROGER ANNIS

MONTREAL — The federal and several provincial governments in Canada along with the big business media have unleashed a barrage of anti-Mohawk propaganda aimed at blaming a "breakdown of law and order" on the supposed proliferation of cigarette smuggling in Mohawk territories. Police patrols of Mohawk areas are being stepped up and the option of cop and army occupations there is being considered.

The racist campaign follows a decision by Ottawa and the provincial governments of Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick to lower tobacco taxes by up to 65 percent.

Federal and provincial tax increases in recent years have pushed the retail price of a carton of 200 cigarettes to Can.\$45 or more, depending on the province [one Canadian dollar equals U.S. 75 cents]. Taxes represent up to 80 percent of that price. The result has been a flourishing underground sales market, which accounts for 40 percent of all cigarette sales in Canada. The cigarettes are exported legally to the United States by Canadian tobacco companies and then smuggled back into Canada. The smuggling — only a part of which is conducted through Mohawk territories — had become so widespread that overall tax revenues were in sharp decline.

The series of measures announced by the federal government on February 8 include big reductions in federal tobacco taxes, which together with corresponding reductions in provincial taxes, will lower the price of a carton of cigarettes to as low as Can.\$23; greater powers for police to spy on and arrest consumers and sellers of tax-free cigarettes; and stepped-up surveillance and patrol of Mohawk Indian territories in Ontario and Quebec.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police commissioner Norman Inkster told a February 8 news conference that there would be a "significant effort" to seal off and tightly control the transport of people and goods to and from Mohawk territories of Kanesatake and Kahnawake in Quebec, and Akwesasne. The latter territory straddles the Canada-U.S. border along the St. Lawrence River as well as the borders of Quebec, Ontario, and New York state.

"We'll start at the outside and work in," Inkster said. "No one can expect to be immune from Canadian law."

Mohawk leaders were given assurances in early February that no raids would be conducted there. But when asked on February 18 about such promises, Deputy Prime Minister Sheila Copps replied, "Absolutely not."

A spokesman for the Canadian army base in Gagetown, New Brunswick, admitted February 16 to giving "an order to the Royal Canadian Regiment to organize a special regiment for matters of internal security, that is to say internal to the borders of Canada."

Meanwhile, provincial police in Prince Edward Island have begun conducting widespread searches of cars entering that province. The government there has decided against lowering tobacco taxes and police will search for cigarettes purchased in other provinces that have lowered taxes, using an obsolete, 50-year-old law that obliges residents to pay a sales tax for anything purchased outside the province.

The government of Manitoba has announced similar police measures.

Aim of government campaign

The federal government calls its drive a campaign to restore "law and order." There is widespread opposition among working peo-

ple to regressive sales and services taxes and rising income taxes. The government wants to shore up the authority of its taxation powers.

It also wants to reestablish its political and police authority over Mohawk lands. Mohawks have fought with some success over the past 25 years to run their own territories, free of control by the Canadian state. The Jay Treaty of 1794, signed with the British government (then in control of Canada) and the U.S. government, promised free commerce for Mohawks across the international border.

The tax measures also aim to boost the popularity of the governing Liberal Party in Quebec. An election is scheduled in that province this year. The Canadian ruling class wants to block the election of the Parti Quebecois, a bourgeois nationalist party that wants to alter the capitalist political setup in Canada to give more autonomous powers to the Quebec provincial government.

Anti-Mohawk campaign in Quebec

The anti-Mohawk drive is the strongest in Quebec. This is also where the resistance of Native people to the trampling on their rights has been the most outspoken and successful.

The Canadian and Quebec governments were dealt an important political defeat in the summer of 1990 at Kanesatake, near Oka, Quebec, when Mohawks and non-Native residents there stopped a project by a group of businessmen to expand a golf course onto historic Mohawk territory.

For 13 weeks, the Mohawks and their supporters held off some 4,000 provincial and federal police, as well as Canadian army troops sent to crush their protest. A core of demonstrators was eventually surrounded and arrested. But in subsequent trials, most were found not guilty of various criminal charges. The golf course project died on the drawing board.

An editorial in the February 18 Montreal *La Presse* called again for armed intervention in the Mohawk territories. It decried the growth of cigarette smuggling and stated, "There is more and more proof of trafficking of all kinds, including arms and cocaine, and the existence of relations between Mohawks and organized crime."

"A strong and determined intervention by police forces, and if necessary the army, has become unavoidable because... the situation is very serious," the paper said. "We find ourselves with a mini-Panama at our doorstep."

The federal Bloc Quebecois party has repeatedly called on the Canadian government to mobilize its police and army to invade the Mohawk territories. The Bloc Quebecois is the federal counterpart to the Parti Quebecois. It became the official opposition in the Canadian parliament following the federal election in October 1993.

Mohawk protest

The Mohawks have strongly protested the growing chorus calling for intervention. In a letter to the February 19 edition of *La Presse*, two residents of Kanesatake wrote, "There is no doubt to us that you are perpetuating the same clichés and the same lies towards us which the missionaries used against us during the original colonisation on our territories."

Mohawk chief Joe Norton of Kahnawake observed, "The law-enforcement agencies want to get into the community so bad that they'll do and say anything."

Self-defense units are being organized within the Mohawk communities in the event of an assault.



Militant/Cheryl Pruitt

July 1990 protests helped stop expansion of golf course onto Mohawk land

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interest of the Working People
March 7, 1969 Price 10¢

In four days the Vietnamese revolutionaries have demonstrated again, as they did in their devastating Tet offensive one year ago, that they can attack any city, town or U.S. military base in South Vietnam.

The attack at this stage is not on the scale of the Tet offensive but it has brought heavy U.S. casualties. During the first two days of shelling, 200 American GIs were reported killed, which is approximately the level of American fatalities on a weekly basis.

Apparently Washington assumed the guerrillas would sit idly by while the U.S. simultaneously talked "peace" in Paris and rained bombs and napalm on the Vietnamese people.

The new guerrilla offensive once again points up the really incredible U.S. credibility gap.

For instance, a front page article in the Oct. 17, 1968 *Wall Street Journal* was headlined: "Administration Thinks Reds Have Weakened and May Settle Soon." The article stated:

"The men who are managing this war have become convinced by intelligence reports that the Vietnamese Reds are now 'hurting' very badly indeed — and may well feel obliged to accept a compromise settlement within a few months."

The hollowness of the official lies about U.S. "victories" in Vietnam makes clear Washington's aim in the Paris talks. It seeks there to wrest from the Vietnamese people what it cannot win on the battlefield — the thwarting of the liberation movement and the preservation of its hated puppet Saigon regime.

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

March 4, 1944

Negotiations for a wage increase of 17 cents per hour for 750,000 steel workers have now been in progress for a period of four months. The case has been relegated to that graveyard of grievances, the War Labor Board.

The Washington correspondent of the N.Y. *World-Telegram* indicates what fate the War Labor Board has in store for the steel wage dispute when he reports:

"It will take some time just to separate the industry into its various classifications. Each will have to be dealt with differently. Then will come sessions of the panel with union and employer representatives on whether or not WLB can consider a case if it asks for wage increases beyond the Little Steel formula, and which of the 22 points at issue are under its jurisdiction. Referring back this fundamental question, the full board may find that it has no authority to consider some issues of this case at all, in which event it will have to ask the President what to do next, resulting in a stalemate all around."

Under Roosevelt's "hold the line" Executive Order, the sole function of the WLB has been to ENFORCE the Little Steel formula. Under the circumstances there are only two alternatives open to the WLB members. They can either reject the wage demands of the steel workers as a violation of the Little Steel formula, or — delay the inevitable showdown on this issue to a time most unfavorable for the workers. They have apparently chosen the latter course as being more politically expedient at the moment.

Defend rights of immigrants

"Proposed quake aid limit seen as mostly symbolic." That was the assessment made by the *Los Angeles Times* as Congress was approving the California aid bill, which curbs disaster relief to undocumented immigrants left homeless by the January 17 earthquake.

The measure was sized up quite differently by Rep. Dana Rohrabacher, a California Republican and rabid immigrant-basher. He saw it as "a major turning point" in the drive to further curb immigrant rights. "This is the first step," he declared, "in evolving back to a more sane economic policy in which illegal immigrants do not have the same rights as legal residents."

Codifying into law that undocumented disaster victims can be denied all but the most immediate emergency relief is surely significant. It adds to the list of rights legally denied the undocumented. The curb on disaster relief should be seen in the context of the whole of the anti-immigrant drive being pressed by the politicians of both major parties, from President Bill Clinton on down.

There is Clinton's cry to beef up the racist Border Patrol and California governor Pete Wilson's persistent efforts to deny education to the children of undocumented residents. Some politicians have even been proposed rewriting the Constitution to strip these children who are born in the United States of their citizenship.

And now there is the outrageous move by the Justice Department, which runs the Immigration and Naturalization Service, to demand a \$130 filing fee from those who apply for political asylum. Additionally, applicants would be denied work permits for six months. No other country charges a fee to those seeking political refuge.

Taken together, these various reactionary moves are

intended to victimize all workers, not just immigrants who lack papers. All those who look "foreign" or speak with an accent become more vulnerable. It's a club for bosses to hold down wages and conditions for immigrants, and thereby drive down the expectations and living standards of all workers. It's a bonanza for rent-gouging landlords. It's extra license for trigger-happy cops.

A major goal is to scapegoat immigrants. Look at the lying claim by Sen. Dianne Feinstein of California that undocumented immigrants are responsible for the shortage of decent housing, education, and medical care, and are the perpetrators of crime. Such scapegoating is designed to divide and disorient the entire working class — to pit "American" workers against those who are "foreign." It's intended to conceal the fact that capitalism — not immigrant workers — is responsible for steadily multiplying social evils. The U.S. government wants to see workers fighting each other, not their common exploiter — the ruling capitalist class.

This is not simply the work, as is often suggested, of right-wing Republicans. Just look at the way the anti-immigrant clause in the California earthquake bill was put through Congress, by the Democratic majority. Witness the immigrant-bashing by liberal Democrats like senators Feinstein and Barbara Boxer of California and you can see that the anti-immigrant campaign is totally bipartisan.

Some opposition to this is developing now. One example is the immigrant rights march organized for February 26 in Los Angeles. Initiated by One Stop Immigration, a major Latino immigration service, it won the support of the garment workers' union, Justice for Janitors, major church forces, and others.

This is an important step in the right direction.

Fight conviction of Dudley Laws

Dudley Laws, a leading antiracist fighter in Canada, was convicted February 21 on three counts of conspiracy to "smuggle aliens" between Canada and the United States in 1991. After a week-long hearing, Ontario Justice Arthur Whealy dismissed a motion to stay the guilty verdicts against Laws on the grounds of police entrapment.

This ruling flies in the face of the facts of the case, which prove the opposite. Laws was the victim of an ongoing campaign that culminated in an entrapment operation organized jointly by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and Metro Toronto Police with the collaboration of the U.S. immigration cops and the courts. The huge resources devoted to the case, which involved months of surveillance, wiretaps, and video taping, never revealed any evidence of an ongoing "alien smuggling" operation. The prosecution's case came down to the four undercover cops who were brought across the border.

Laws was targeted because he was a leading opponent of police brutality and racism in Toronto. The cops hoped that by framing up Laws they could discredit him and, more importantly, push back the political protests that had grown up in response to a series of racist police shootings over the last decade.

The judge ignored the evidence of police bias. Despite Laws's long history as a leading organizer of protests against police brutality and racism and a Toronto Police Association libel suit against him, Whealy accepted the

Toronto cops' bland denial of any hostility to Laws. In any case, the judge argued, the fact that the RCMP was leading the investigation eliminated any possibility of bias since there was "no history of strained relations with the RCMP."

But outside the courtroom, in the broader political arena, the evidence presented in the entrapment hearing has helped expose the extent of the police operation against Laws and other antiracist activists and groups in Toronto.

A 1989 secret police report, revealed during the hearing, documents police surveillance of 13 groups and 18 individuals — including Laws — who were active in the fight against cop brutality, racism, and apartheid in South Africa.

The widespread condemnation of this police spying has strengthened support for Laws. On February 19 he was honored at the 1994 Canadian Black Achievement Awards ceremony. "The court will make its decision, and in court it's up to Mr. Laws to prove he was entrapped," wrote *Globe and Mail* columnist John Barber February 18. "But in the community at large, it's up to the police to prove that he wasn't."

Laws will appear for sentencing March 14. He faces a maximum two-year prison term on each count. The prosecution may also decide to ask for a new trial on two counts where a mistrial was declared.

Laws intends to appeal both the convictions and the entrapment ruling. He deserves the support of working people and defenders of democratic rights everywhere.

Win readers to socialist press

Continued from front page

only place to find an understanding of the world based on the interests of working people internationally.

The *Militant's* coverage from recent reporting teams to Cuba and South Africa, explanations of the right wing's "culture war," articles on labor struggles around the world, and analysis of the burgeoning trade wars between Washington, Tokyo, and other imperialist centers are invaluable to those coming into political activity and thought today.

Workers and youth involved in political actions, such as defending abortion clinics, supporting the African National Congress election campaign in South Africa, protesting police brutality, and opposing the U.S. government's embargo against Cuba, will be among the first that supporters will want to introduce to the socialist press.

In addition, *Militant* supporters who are members of industrial trade unions around the world will be taking sales goals and approaching coworkers with the papers. Sales to unionists have been a bedrock of previous circulation campaigns.

Distributors in many areas have already begun to get a taste of what's possible. Some 175 people attended a recent *Militant* Labor Forum in Los Angeles condemning repression by the Mexican government in Chiapas. Participants bought 5 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions, 10 single copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*, 17 copies of the *Militant*, and \$350 worth of Pathfinder literature.

Militant supporters from Seattle and Vancouver, British Columbia, for instance, participated in a February 20 rally of 300 at the Canada-U.S. border to support a caravan from Canada joining the Friendshipment to Cuba. They sold 40

copies of the *Militant*, one *Militant* subscription, and \$50 worth of Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

New York supporters sold 5 *Militant* subscriptions, 5 subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and more than 100 single copies of the periodicals at a February 12 "Peace for Cuba" rally.

Many such opportunities will open up in the next few weeks, as the Friendshipment caravan travels through dozens of cities on its way to deliver material aid to Cuba. In addition, Cuban youth leader Pavel Diaz Hernández will be touring the United States in March, offering many chances to meet workers and youth attracted to the socialist revolution in Cuba.

Militant supporters will be able to combine the circulation drive with efforts to build socialist educational conferences planned for New York March 12-13 and Chicago April 1-3. Socialist youth from New York; Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota; and elsewhere will be traveling to many campuses in the next several weeks to publicize these meetings and link up with people interested in building a nationwide socialist youth organization.

There are many ways readers can help get the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New International* around. Link up with distributors in your area, many of whom are listed on page 12. Take your own goal for the drive, to be included on a chart that will appear in the *Militant* each week. Order a bundle of papers to sell at work, school, political events, or anywhere else you know people who would be interested.

Every subscription and *New International* can help win more workers and youth to a socialist perspective.

Nation of Islam's Jew-hatred sets off heated debate

BY STEVE MARSHALL

NEWARK, New Jersey — The media's attention to a speech delivered last fall on a New Jersey campus was organized by a Jewish conspiracy, Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan said in an televised interview February 19.

"If you look at their names," Farrakhan said of the reporters involved, "most of the names are Jewish, and they wrote similarly throughout the country."

Khalid Muhammad's remarks at Kean College touched off a firestorm of debate on Jew-hatred, racism, and free speech that is continuing in the United States. Muhammad had been a prominent public spokesperson for Farrakhan for some time.

The Nation of Islam, a bourgeois-nationalist organization, utilizes demagoguery based on "race" to advance its political perspectives and expand its business apparatus.

On November 29 Muhammad, who is also an assistant to Farrakhan, spoke at the Union, New Jersey, campus on "The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews." Muhammad blamed the racism that Blacks confront — from slavery in the American South to the exploitation of miners in South Africa today — on cabals of Jews.

"The Federal Reserve ... it's owned by Jews," as are the White House and Hollywood, and many libraries, banks, newspapers, and other institutions, he said.

Muhammad attacks Catholics

The Nation of Islam spokesperson also attacked white people, Catholics, homosexuals, women, and the handicapped. He taunted interracial couples in the audience.

"Go to the Vatican in Rome, when the old, no-good Pope, you know that cracker," said Muhammad. "Somebody needs to raise that dress up and see what's really under there." Muhammad asked his audience "who is sucking our blood in the black community? A white impostor Arab and a white impostor Jew."

Muhammad declared his opposition to Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress, and ridiculed the ANC's program of building a nonracial South Africa. Muhammad advised South African Blacks to kill every white person in the country.

"We kill the women, we kill the children," said Muhammad. "We kill the babies, we kill the blind, we kill the crippled, we kill them all. We kill the faggot, we kill the lesbian, we kill them all."

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith published excerpts of Muhammad's address in a full page advertisement printed in the *New York Times*. The ADL bills itself as "the world's leading organization fighting anti-Semitism through progress and services that counteract hatred, prejudice and bigotry." The ADL is a strong supporter of the Israeli regime, has participated in spying on political organizations in the United States, is an opponent of affirmative action quotas, and demands tougher policing in Black communities.

Rev. Jesse Jackson, U.S. Rep. Kweisi Mfume and other capitalist politicians who are Black called on Farrakhan to renounce his aide's remarks.

Censorship proposed

The big-business press unleashed a raft of articles on so-called hate speech. Some columnists said censorship in this case would be justified. The U.S. Senate passed a unanimous resolution condemning Muhammad's speech.

Government and college officials in New Jersey, meanwhile, convened several committees to study "prejudice reduction." These committees are proposing various ways to restrict college students' ability to invite speakers to campus. Gov. Christine Whitman ordered showings of "Schindler's List," a film about the Nazi holocaust, at several New Jersey colleges. Students at Trenton State College have invited Muhammad to speak there on February 28.

In February Farrakhan suspended Muhammad from his duties, criticizing the tone of his speech but defending the "truths" he had spoken.

In an interview in the February 28 issue of *Time* magazine conducted at his Chicago mansion, Farrakhan said he had "rebuked" Muhammad for making "a mockery" over people. In the same interview Farrakhan reiterates his view that Jewish merchants, followed by "Arabs, the Koreans, and others" are bloodsuckers.

In the January 8 *New York Amsterdam News* Farrakhan explained his views on Blacks' "behavior." "We have to change the behavioral pattern of our people," he said, "and fill the void created by the need for drugs with something that can fill the void."

On February 19, the NAACP announced it would hold a summit of prominent Blacks to discuss racism, health care economic development, and the Clinton administration's proposed crime bill. Some groups protested the NAACP's decision to invite Farrakhan.

NAACP executive director Benjamin Chavis had earlier condemned Muhammad's remarks, saying that anti-Semitism was "a virulent strand of racism that must not go unchallenged." Members of the Congressional Black Caucus, who had previously courted Farrakhan's favor, distanced themselves from the Nation of Islam leader in the wake of Muhammad's speech.

Metalworkers in Germany stage warning strikes

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

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

The 3.2 million-member IG Metall trade union in Germany declared February 18 that negotiations

hours. At the Mercedes plant at Sindelfingen, near Stuttgart, 20,000 workers attended a rally February 17 as part of these protest actions.

Contract negotiations are also taking place for workers in the printing industry, construction, and for federal, state, and municipal employees. □

Workers in New Zealand strike for decent contract

In a fight to maintain their union coverage, workers at Yeoman Industries in Auckland, New Zealand, have been on strike for more than two weeks. During this time they have kept up a 24-hour picket line,



Members of the IG Metall union march and rally outside the GM Opel plant in Russelsheim, Germany, on February 9. Metalworkers have been participating in a series of warning strikes as part of their fight for a new contract. Sign in picture says, "Workers are not slaves. We insist on our rights."

ON THE PICKET LINE

for a new contract with the employers group Gesamtmetall were at an impasse. The union plans to hold a strike vote in one of its 14 regions in early March. If 75 percent of the membership votes in favor, a regional strike could begin March 7. The employers have vowed to match any strike action with lock-outs.

The bosses are demanding a wage freeze, elimination of extra pay for vacation days, the giveback of some paid holidays, and the right of individual companies to lengthen the workweek to 40 hours from the current 36 without paying overtime. The union is seeking a pay raise of 5.5 percent to 6 percent and guarantees of job security. Since 1991 some 600,000 jobs have been eliminated in metalworking industries.

Since early February the union has been conducting a series of warning strikes throughout the country. According to the union, 700,000 workers participated in IG Metall short work stoppages during the first week in February. IG Metall said it interrupted work at 669 plants throughout western Germany on February 1, as 141,000 workers in automotive, electronics, and engineering industries put down their tools and picked up picket signs for several

sleeping in a tent outside the factory entrance.

The 12 workers rejected an offer by the boss that would see their redundancy (layoff) pay cut in half and would remove a "last on, first off" seniority clause and a reemployment clause. The company is also refusing to recognize as a party to the contract the Drug and Chemical Union, which represents the workers.

The strike takes place after five months of negotiations and a history of company attacks on working conditions in the factory.

Two years ago, on the promise from the boss that he would "look after them," the workers left the union and accepted a takeback contract. This followed passage of the Employment Contracts Act, legislation that represents a serious attack on the rights of unions to organize in New Zealand.

The workers quickly realized they had made a mistake. Within six months they decided to rejoin the union and a year ago waged a successful three-day strike to win a better contract. Now the workers want this contract extended.

The strikers are appealing to other workers for support and are distributing leaflets at supermarkets. Yeoman Industries is majority owned by Foodstuffs, the

biggest food retailer in New Zealand. □

New Zealand meatpackers told to 'make sacrifices'

Meatpackers employed at the Fortex Group's two South Island plants in New Zealand were called on to "make sacrifices" after the company announced a \$NZ4.8 million (\$US 2.7 million) loss for the year ending Aug. 31, 1993. Workers were warned that if they did not increase productivity, Fortex might be taken over by a rival meat-processing company and they could lose their jobs.

At meetings held last December the 900 workers at Fortex's Ashburton plant voted to work an extra 20 minutes a day for no extra pay, work Sundays at straight-time pay, increase the number of lambs killed per minute, and forfeit a fifth of their annual holiday pay. Workers at the Mosgiel plant, where 700 are employed, also voted to increase

the length of the work day and take a cut in holiday pay.

Fortex managing director Graeme Thompson argued that the company's progress was hampered by the agreements it had signed with the New Zealand Meat Workers Union covering wages and working conditions. Other meat companies, he said, had been able to enter into new agreements that cut production costs.

Fifteen meat-processing plants have closed down in New Zealand in the last 10 years and the workforce has been reduced by a third, down from a peak of 34,000 in the mid-1980s to the present 22,000. Over the same period, however, the number of meat-processing plants has increased from 43 to 65. These are usually small plants operating shifts. Many of these are nonunion, and pay lower wages than unionized plants.

Workers at one of New Zealand's largest meat-processing plants, Weddel Tomoana in Hastings, voted last July to accept contracts that for many meant cuts in

pay. The workers were told that the plant would be closed within three years if they did not make concessions. A year earlier Tomoana workers had signed a three-year contract that included a no-strike clause.

Currently, workers employed by Primary Producers Cooperative Society at the Canterbury Frozen Meats mutton plant in Christchurch face company demands for cuts in jobs and wages in seven departments. The company informed the New Zealand Meat Workers Union January 20 that it was canceling all contracts in these departments as of February 7 and implementing the proposed cuts. □

The following people contributed to this week's column: Lüko Willms in Frankfurt, Germany; Brigid Roth-erham, member of New Zealand Engineers Union in Auckland; and Joan Shields, member of New Zealand Meat Workers Union in Christchurch, New Zealand.

LETTERS

A few questions

The *Militant* always offers me light and hope in our struggle against this corrupt capitalist ruling class. When you can I wish you would address my questions.

Why would Third World countries, victims now of capitalist rip-off, seek more U.S. capital, which only opens them to further U.S. exploitation? Hanoi wants \$40 billion investment to rebuild. But the U.S. will only continue to exploit them as before. Isn't U.S. investment tantamount to U.S. exploitation? Isn't this boosting capitalism instead of overthrowing it?

On the principle of trade: Can Third World countries trade without being exploited by the capitalists? Must Third World countries be dependent upon capitalist trade? Can they not maintain more self-sufficiency and less dependency?

Even the capitalist vs. capitalist cycles of exploitation seem like nonsense. The capitalists of Japan exploit workers making cars and shipping them to U.S. capitalists who exploit workers making cars and shipping them to Japan capitalists.

In what way can the worker as consumer fight back?

Lloyd Shank
Ft. Lauderdale, Florida

Free speech victory

I want to share news of a victory for free speech won with the help

of the ACLU [American Civil Liberties Union]. The State of New Jersey recently dropped charges against me for handing out leaflets at the Walt Whitman turnpike rest stop on my way to the National March on Washington for Lesbian/Gay/Bisexual Rights in April of last year.

After receiving hundreds of petition signatures and many letters supporting my case from across the country and abroad, the N.J. Turnpike Authority promised to change the clearly unconstitutional ordinance used to harass me as a gay radical. This legal vindication of civil liberties and the Bill of Rights is a victory for the working class. Spreading the word is crucial to letting Governor Whitman know that we expect the State of New Jersey to live up to its promise and do the right thing.

Stephen Durham
Freedom Socialist Party
New York, New York

Cod fish stock decline

Scientific measurements of the northern cod fish species taken several months ago off the coast of Newfoundland, Canada, confirm there has been a catastrophic decline of the stock. "The 1993 fall estimate is 5 percent of what it was in the fall of 1990," said fisheries scientist Larry Coady January 25 in releasing the results of a federal

government study.

Northern cod is the most important fish species in the Atlantic Canadian fishery. In 1991 landings were worth \$700 million, 21 percent of the value of all fish landings there.

More than 30,000 fishermen and fish processing workers have been thrown out of work in Atlantic Canada by the destruction of cod and other fish species caused by the profit drive and overfishing of Canadian and European fish companies. Since 1992, the Canadian government has been forced to close most east coast fishing grounds. The closings came long after the destruction of fish stocks became evident.

Some scientists fear that the northern cod may be on the verge of extinction.

Hundreds of fishery workers in the northeastern United States lost their jobs for the same reason following recent fishing grounds closings there.

Contrary to the false hopes deliberately created by Canadian government officials as fishing grounds closings were announced, thousands of laid-off workers in the Canadian fishery will never again find work in the industry. If stocks recover, it will take decades. Meanwhile, the federal and provincial governments are driving to dismantle the unemployment insurance system that made it possible for fish

industry workers to eke out a living on as little as 10 weeks of work per year.

The province of Newfoundland has been hit the hardest by this catastrophe. Many communities along its rugged coast are faced with extinction because they are entirely dependent on the fishery.

Roger Annis
Montreal, Quebec

Appreciates paper

I really appreciate what your newspaper does, however I often have questions about particular articles—some details could stand to be clarified. But thank you for providing me with a source of information unsullied by advertisers' and others' capitalist political agendas.

M.J.
Seattle, Washington

Valuable source of news

As a student, I find the *Militant* a valuable source of news. It's great to be able to read about things that haven't been edited in the interest of big business and capitalists. Good work! And thank you!

T.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Infant mortality facts

The risk of dying during the first year of life was 2.4 times higher for

Black infants than for white in 1991, the most recent year for which figures are available.

Among Black infants, the leading cause of death was disorders relating to short gestation and low birth weight (LBW), factors associated with poverty and lack of access to medical care. Among white babies, the leading cause was congenital defects. In 1990, nearly three times as many Black as white infants were member of families with incomes below the poverty level.

Nearly 7 percent of infants were born with LBW in 1987 (the most recent year figures are available for), but 61 percent of all infant deaths occurred among these infants. In 1991, 13.6 percent of Black infants were born with LBW, as compared to 5.8 percent of white babies.

In 1989 the U.S. ranked 24th in infant mortality rate among countries with a population of at least one million, a drop in rank from 20th in 1980.

Robert Dees
Greensboro, North Carolina

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.

Ireland: activists debate 'peace' plan

BY TONY HUNT

DERRY, Northern Ireland — Fighters for Irish self-determination, civil rights activists, and others recently discussed and debated at three public meetings the so-called peace declaration signed December 15 by the British and Irish governments. Participants in the public forums also addressed the possibility that the nationalist party Sinn Fein would be allowed to participate in the talks.

Dublin and London have refused to allow Sinn Fein to be part of the negotiations unless it accepts the declaration and calls on the Irish Republican Army (IRA) to end its military campaign for British withdrawal from Northern Ireland.

Sinn Fein, for its part, has demanded that London clarify the joint declaration. According to an article in the January 31 *Irish Times*, Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams is anxious to be persuaded that the joint declaration is a step toward ending British interference in Irish affairs. "But I want to know what the second step is," he said.

Role of police, British troops

Sinn Fein held the first of four hearings of its Peace Commission in Derry on January 29. Twenty-two individuals and organizations submitted statements to the panel of Sinn Fein leaders. Several participants discussed the role of the police and army. Representatives from the Derry-based Pat Finucane Center — a human rights organization — welcomed the talks, but said this was only a beginning. They pointed to the need to deal with the violence by the police and army. Earlier in the week a police officer was acquitted in the murder of Kevin McGovern, a young unarmed student who was shot in the back.

A representative from the Springfield Inter-Community Development Project from Belfast said the main challenge for Sinn Fein and other supporters of Irish self-determination is winning over the "Protestant community." This, they said, was more important than opposing the presence of the British troops.

The representative from the Lynx Project,



Militant/Jim Gordon

Rally in Derry, Northern Ireland, protesting the January 28 arrest of Lorraine Taylor under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

a youth project from Twinbrook in west Belfast, a mainly Catholic area, disagreed. The British government and its troops, not "the conflict between unionist and nationalist identities," are "central to the problem," the delegate said. The Lynx Project spokesperson described the daily harassment by the British army of working people and youth who are Catholic.

Sinn Fein spokesperson Richard McAuley spoke to the *Militant* after the hearing. He said the withdrawal of British troops was a matter "for the British government and the peace process." He added that "any process which is successful will take time to evolve."

Some meeting participants objected to the provision in the declaration that makes the

unification of Ireland conditional on approval of the majority Protestant population in Northern Ireland. The representative from the Pat Finucane Center condemned this as "undemocratic."

"Unionists amount to only 18 percent of the Irish population," said Anne-Marie Joyce, who describes herself as a cultural activist. "They have no right to a veto."

Des Boyle from the group Derry Equality said that, in his opinion, fighting discrimination against Catholics in employment is at the center of bringing about peace. Catholic workers are still two-and-a-half times more likely to be unemployed than Protestant workers, he said.

Longtime civil rights and nationalist

leader Bernadette McAliskey addressed 150 people January 29 at a gathering hosted by the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign. "Take that piece of paper off the table" she said, rejecting the declaration. McAliskey was critical of Sinn Fein for not renouncing the declaration from the outset. She also charged the British government with lying. "How dare these people lecture us on justice," she said. The declaration is being used to head off "resistance from nationalist people," McAliskey stated. "British withdrawal is a prerequisite for justice."

Two-hundred-fifty people attended a public forum titled Just Peace on January 30. It was hosted by the Pat Finucane Center. More than 30 people spoke at the meeting.

Mark Durcan, chairperson of the nationalist Social Democratic and Labour Party, argued that once London stated in the December 15 declaration its support for Irish national self-determination, "the reason for violence disappeared."

Marie-Mulholland described the declaration as a "nonstarter." The first task she said was for the "broad republican spectrum to dictate the agenda" not the British government.

She argued for greater unity among "all the dispossessed people of these islands."

Pete Clifford, a member of the Transport and General Workers' Union in London and a representative of the Communist League of Britain said that the "sharpening assault on working people in Britain creates new openings to win support for the fight in Ireland for self-determination. Its more possible today to explain that what the rulers are doing in Ireland is the same as what they do in Britain — trying to keep us divided and weak to maintain their rule."

"London hasn't changed heart on Ireland," he said. "Rather it is trying to reorganize its domination of Ireland from a position of weakness."

Workers tell of cop brutality, labor fights in Ireland

Militant reporters Pete Clifford, Julie Crawford, Jim Gordon, and Tony Hunt recently traveled from Britain to Ireland at the end of January. Below are excerpts from some of their notes about the trip.

Eamon McVeigh, a 21-year-old construction worker from Cappagh, described the harassment he has faced at the hands of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC).

McVeigh spent some time in jail nine months ago under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, which allows the government to hold "suspected terrorists" for up to seven days without charging them.

REPORTERS' NOTEBOOK

On January 7, plainclothes cops from the RUC came to his house at 3 a.m. They said their car had broken down and could he and others in the house help them out. "As I went towards the door," McVeigh explained, "I remembered one of them from my arrest. They grabbed me and tried to pull me towards their car. I fought back and escaped."

The next day McVeigh says, he was stopped by a joint RUC/British army patrol and forced to stand in teeming rain with his shoes and socks removed for three hours. His car was taken to a search center where the RUC acknowledged the strange smell they'd found in the car was air freshener. McVeigh responded to this harassment by organizing a public picket at the RUC station. "I had to show them for what they were, otherwise they'd keep

coming back for me," he said.

Fifty people held a spirited protest in Derry city center to alert Saturday morning shoppers to an arrest that occurred the day before on January 28. Lorraine Taylor, who is pregnant and suffers from a heart condition, was seized by RUC officers at 3:30 a.m. and held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Taylor had been with her husband in the hospital. He had been critically injured a day earlier when a bomb exploded. The police, who want to interview him, have placed him under armed RUC guard.

Brian Monaghan, a Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU) shop steward from the Du Ponts chemical factory in Derry, tells how workers at his plant voted to reject a management package of cutbacks aimed at saving the company £3.5 million (U.S.\$5.2 million). This attack comes only months after 400 of the 1,100 workers were laid off.

Although two-thirds of the workforce is Catholic, Monaghan says, almost all the supervisors are Protestant. The day after seven people were killed by the rightist Ulster Defense Association, the company agreed workers could join a protest demonstration in Derry. The march, which was organized by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions attracted 5,000 people — including both Catholics and Protestants — and demanded the paramilitary forces end the violence.

Frances Donaghy, a member of the hospi-

tal workers union said that there is little political discussion among coworkers. After 10 people were killed in a bombing last October by the Irish Republican Army of a fish and chip shop in the mostly Protestant Shankill road area in Belfast, there were little groups of Protestants and Catholics talking among themselves but not with each other, she said. Donaghy is in the fourth year of a temporary contract with the hospital. She's glad to have the job. "Ten years ago very few Catholics would have been able to get a job in the hospital, now its fifty-fifty," she said.

Paul Mc Menamin, Student Union pres-

ident from Queens University in Belfast, said that a growing number of people here closely follow developments taking place in South Africa and among Palestinian fighters in Israel. Growing interest in political developments throughout the world was confirmed by the response to a Pathfinder booktable set up on this campus January 31. In four hours students purchased 12 copies of the *Militant*, and £32 (U.S.\$48) worth of Pathfinder publications. The best sellers were three copies of the *Communist Manifesto* and two copies of *New International No. 8* entitled "Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism."

For Further Reading

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