

U.S. divisions sharpen on Gulf policy; Kurds flee Iraqi army

Kurds set up by allied war; Baghdad devastates Kurdistan

BY JAMES HARRIS

Sharp tactical divisions in the U.S. ruling class over the Bush administration's policy in the Arab-Persian Gulf are growing. Critics fear that Washington has missed its opportunity to get rid of Saddam Hussein and shift the relationship of class forces in the region more in favor of U.S. imperialism — thus missing the goals they waged the war to achieve.

The debate has widened as Hussein's military puts down rebellions by Shi'ites in the south of Iraq and the Kurdish people in the north. Some 1 million Kurds have fled to the borders of Turkey and Iran following a brutal assault by Hussein's forces on Kurdish cities.

Many critics accuse the Bush administration of causing this nightmare by first promising support to the rebels and then refusing to deliver as Hussein's forces began their massacre.

Stung by criticism of his March 3 decision to halt the slaughter of fleeing Iraqi troops and his obvious callous manipulation of the Kurdish people, Bush defended himself saying, "I went back and reviewed every statement I ever made about this, every single one, and there was never an implication that the United States would use force beyond the objectives which we so beautifully achieved."

In an April 7 NBC "Meet the Press" interview, Brent Scowcroft, the president's national security adviser, said the U.S. was "not in a position to take any action."

Continued on Page 7

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

As many as a million Kurds, fleeing intense air and surface bombardment by the Iraqi military, were made refugees the first week of April. Many trekked to the Turkish and Iranian borders.

President Saddam Hussein announced April 7 that the rebellion in the northern part of the country by the Kurdish people had been defeated. He called the revolts "the most serious conspiracy against the unity of its [Iraq's] land and sovereignty."

According to news accounts, the towns of Kirkuk, Dohuk, Zakho, Irbil, and Habur on the Turkish-Iraqi frontier, all of which had been under Kurdish control in recent weeks, have been recaptured by Iraqi military forces.

Kirkuk, an oil center in Iraq and a center of the Kurdish uprising, was hit particularly hard as Iraq threw heavy artillery and other military resources into an effort to retake the city. Kurdish residential neighborhoods, where helicopters made bombing sweeps on poorly built homes, were targeted. Some 150,000 Iraqi troops were involved in the fight for Kirkuk.

In all, the Hussein regime used tanks, helicopters, artillery, and multiple-rocket launchers to put down the rebellion.

The uprising centered in the town of Ranya began March 5, a few days after Washington



Some 1 million Kurds were made refugees following Iraqi military assaults. Above, Kurds on their way to the Turkish border.

declared a unilateral cease-fire in its war against Iraq, and quickly spread to most other towns in northern Iraq. Massoud Barzani, a leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party, said March 24 that the rebels controlled 90 percent of Iraqi Kurdistan.

There are an estimated 20-30 million Kurds living in Kurdistan, a mountainous

region divided between Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Syria, and the Soviet Union. They are a non-Arab, Sunni Muslim people. As many as 14 million live in Turkey; 7 million in Iran; 5 million in Iraq; 1.4 million in Syria; and 400,000 in Soviet Armenia. The Kurds have

Continued on Page 7

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Los Angeles: 5,000 demand 'Gates out'; city council defends cops' commander

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

LOS ANGELES — "Gates must go!" and "We want him out! Now!" echoed through downtown Los Angeles April 6 as 5,000 people marched on Parker Center, the police department headquarters. This was the largest action yet in response to the savage police beating of Rodney King.

In the days leading up to the demonstration, a series of developments revealed the sharp polarization in the city over the issue of police brutality and the deep-going political divisions among the ruling rich over the future of the police chief who has come to symbolize it: Daryl Gates.

In response to the growing pressure to get

Gates out, Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, in a live television broadcast April 3, called on Gates to resign "for the good of the LAPD and the welfare of all Los Angeles." Gates promptly refused.

The next day the police commission voted to suspend Gates for 60 days while it completes an investigation begun in the aftermath of the March 3 beating of King.

Gates immediately declared he would go to court to challenge the commission's action. Several city council members also spoke out against the move to suspend Gates.

On April 5 the city council voted 10-3 to reverse the commission's decision.

These events, all of which were front-page news, created the political backdrop for the broadly sponsored April 6 protest. Called by numerous community organizations, the demonstration received a boost from a news conference held April 5 at the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor.

A multinational protest of varying ages, the demonstrators were predominantly Black and young. "Gates must go!" T-shirts were widespread as were those with pictures of revolutionary leader Malcolm X. One, with a picture of the King beating, read, "never, never, NEVER AGAIN." Another featured a camcorder labeled, "Copcarn — don't leave home without it."

A young Black man selling T-shirts said

Continued on Page 4



Participants in April 6 demonstration in Los Angeles, the largest yet to protest savage police beating of Rodney King and demand ouster of Police Chief Daryl Gates.

'Militant' sales team heads for Los Angeles

Supporters of the *Militant* will launch a two-week sales team in Los Angeles April 13, joining in the fight to oust Police Chief Daryl Gates and selling the *Militant*, the December and April *International Socialist Reviews* on the Mideast war, and Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

The sales team will be made up of industrial workers, members of the Young Socialist Alliance, and other supporters of the *Militant*.

When they return home, team members will be able to give firsthand accounts of the fight and help win more backing for the struggle.

Those interested in joining the team should call (213) 380-9460.

Socialists meet Lynn ballot requirements

BY RUSSELL DAVIS

LYNN, Massachusetts — Supporters of socialist mayoral candidate Margaret Pucci gathered 1,153 signatures here to put the garment worker on the ballot.

Outstripping their original goal of collecting 1,000 signatures, over a three-week period, the campaign supporters garnered the names in one week. Five hundred signatures are required.

Ten miles north of Boston, Lynn is an industrial city of 80,000. A mid-February press conference by the Socialist Workers Party candidate was covered by all three of the city's daily newspapers.

"Pucci, 26, will use her campaign to speak out against the war in the Middle East," noted the *Lynn Sunday Post*, adding that Pucci "advocates the formation of a labor party to fight for and represent the interests of working people."

"Big business and the rich have two parties — the Democrats and Republicans," the socialist candidate told the press. "We, the working people, have none." Pucci is a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

Lynn has been hard hit by the recession. There have been major layoffs and plant closings at several local factories. The city is laying off 400 employees, half of them teachers, citing state budget shortfalls. A local high school is losing its accreditation due to cuts in funding and the local community college is slated to be closed.

During the petitioning supporters campaigned at local supermarkets, the unemployment office, and door-to-door in working-class neighborhoods. One teacher who signed said, "They are destroying our schools but they have money for war when they want it."

People were also interested in the campaign because Pucci is an active trade unionist and a former Eastern striker. "We need to fight for working people, not another politician," said one signer.

Several workers at the Lynn General Electric plant signed, some of whom know Pucci from the support their local gave to the Eastern strike. While on strike she had the responsibility of organizing the food bank for fellow strikers and three other strikes in the city.

Many people expressed interest in attending an upcoming socialist campaign rally in Lynn. Pucci was invited to address the Lynn Hispanic-American Club, attend the annual Black community banquet, and three people offered to organize other meetings for her.

Several high school and college students also expressed interest in the campaign. A Young Socialist Alliance class on Malcolm X is being organized in Lynn. A number of people took extra campaign flyers to hand out to their friends.

The party is also running Christopher

Hedges, a ramp worker at Northwest Airlines and member of the International Association of Machinists, for mayor of Boston.

BY CLAIRE MORIARTY

MORGANTOWN, West Virginia — City officials here certified two socialists for ballot status in the upcoming city council elections: Clare Fraenzl, a coal miner and member of the United Mine Workers of America, and Dick McBride, a garment worker and member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile workers. Both are running on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

Nearly 600 people in the city's fifth and sixth wards signed petitions to put the two working-class candidates on the ballot.

In several weekends of door-to-door canvassing, the socialists' supporters distributed thousands of campaign flyers denouncing the U.S. government's war against the people of Iraq and linking the war abroad to the employers' war at home against the wages, rights, and standard of living of working people.

A victory rally was held in the city March 23 to celebrate the petitioning drive. Fraenzl, and Linda Joyce, socialist candidate for mayor of Charleston, spoke to the gathering. Joyce was recently certified for the ballot as well.

The socialists were joined on the platform by Sam Murray, another city council candidate in Morgantown. Murray announced he would not have run had he known that McBride would be among his opponents. A long-time union activist, Murray has been the victim of anonymous threats for his role as whistle-blower in Morgantown politics. He thanked the socialists for speaking out in his defense.

The campaign supporters, a third of them in their twenties, responded enthusiastically to the socialist candidates' appeal to join the fight for a better world. Several signed up for a class series on the fundamentals of communist politics sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance.

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah — Members of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1384 are looking toward an April bankruptcy court decision on the Greyhound reorganization that may put some of their members back to work with union recognition. The Salt Lake City-based local has faced cop brutality, legal charges, and jailings of its members since Greyhound workers struck the bus line a year ago.

Nancy Boyasko and David Salner, Socialist Workers Party candidates for Salt Lake City Council, visited with about 15 strikers after their March 14 local meeting. The socialists kicked off a lively discussion, pointing out that they were campaigning against the U.S. war on the Iraqi people and opposed

Christopher Hedges for M

Margaret Pucci for M



Socialist mayoral candidates Margaret Pucci and Christopher Hedges

the U.S. occupation of Iraq. Several strikers had driven charter buses for Salt Lake City activists traveling to a January 24 antiwar protest in San Francisco.

Several unionists strongly opposed the U.S. war and others strongly defended it. Based on their experience of seeing the U.S. government side with the employers' union-busting, most were skeptical of Washington's claims and felt the war signaled a period of greater difficulty for working people.

When the socialist candidates explained their opposition to Utah's new restrictive

abortion laws, many of the strikers agreed. One striker said that although he was against abortion he was even more against the government making laws to restrict women's rights.

The strikers had varying responses to the Socialist Workers campaign, but were generally pleased that fellow unionists who had been walking the picket line with them were running for office. Their strike headquarters, a few blocks north of the Greyhound terminal, has a welcome mat out for Salt Lake-area unionists.

Mark Curtis defense campaign wins new support in Sweden

BY MARIA HAMBERG

STOCKHOLM — The fight for justice for Mark Curtis recently won new support in Sweden when supporters here organized a special outreach and fundraising campaign. Curtis, a Des Moines, Iowa, union and political activist, was framed in 1988 on false rape and burglary charges. He is now serving a 25-year jail term.

A March 16 public meeting was a focus of the effort. The featured speaker was Erik Dahlrot, a metalworker in Södertälje, who was part of an international delegation of Curtis supporters that attended a February meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva.

Dahlrot spoke about the victory of the Birmingham Six, Irishmen living in Britain who were framed up by the British govern-

ment for a 1974 bombing. They were released March 14. Dahlrot urged everyone to join the campaign for Curtis.

"The Birmingham Six spent 16 years of their lives behind bars, even though they were innocent," Dahlrot told the meeting of 30 people. "They won justice because of the campaign to free them. The same goes for Mark Curtis. I am confident that we will be able to win his freedom as well."

Rafiq Kahn, a former political prisoner in Pakistan and now a Curtis supporter, attended the meeting. Amnesty International named Kahn a prisoner of conscience and adopted his case. Anders Linder, a well known Swedish actor and musician, also attended.

Kadir Bux Jatoti, another former Pakistani political prisoner came to the Curtis meeting.

Continued on Page 12



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Editor: GREG McCARTAN

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International youth forum in Cyprus

Delegates launch campaign to demand end to sanctions, occupation of Iraq

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

NICOSIA, Cyprus — "Iraq is devastated — without potable water, electricity, food, fuel, or spare parts. The sewage system is destroyed and most hospitals are closed. Iraqi society is not working," said Alejandro Aguilar at the opening of an international youth conference here.

"This is what U.S. imperialism and its allies have accomplished," he added. Aguilar was representing the Union of Young Communists (UJC) of Cuba at the meeting. He is also the vice president of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY).

The March 30–April 1 conference, entitled "Youth Forum for a Just and Lasting Peace in the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean," was sponsored by WFDY and hosted by the United Democratic Youth Organization of Cyprus (EDON).

Some 50 delegates representing 30 youth organizations from 25 countries participated. They included representatives of the African National Congress Youth League of South Africa; the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)-Youth; the Socialist Youth League of Japan; and the Democratic Youth Council of the Philippines.

The Socialist Working Youth of Korea, the All India Youth Federation, the Vietnam Communist Youth Union, the General Union of Palestinian Students, the Jordanian Democratic Youth Union, Union of Democratic Youth of Lebanon, and the Iraqi Democratic Youth Federation attended.

Delegates were also sent by Democratic Youth Federation of Hungary, Komsomol [Communist Youth] of the Soviet Union, the Communist League from Britain, and the Young Socialist Alliance and the National Student and Youth Campaign for Peace in the Middle East from the United States. Other delegates came from Greece, Colombia, Cyprus, Libya, Malta, the Sudan, and Yemen.

Throughout the meeting delegates discussed and debated the outcome of the war against the Iraqi people and how best to advance the fight against imperialism and war.

Aguilar had led a nine-member delegation to Iraq March 9–16. Sponsored by WFDY, the delegation visited Baghdad, Mosul, and the desert area between the Jordanian border and the Iraqi capital. Aguilar presented a video filmed in Iraq by the delegation that showed the destruction caused by the massive bombing during the war.

'End the embargo'

"We should focus on a campaign among youth calling for an end to the embargo against Iraq, getting all foreign troops out of there, and sending emergency humanitarian aid to Iraq," said Puso Tladi of the ANC Youth League.

Mahmoud Hamza, the delegate from Libya, said, "Our priority should be collecting emergency aid for Iraq, not just talking and directing demands at the forces that carried out the war in the first place," he said.

"We are for humanitarian efforts only if aid reaches directly to the Iraqi people, not through the [Saddam] Hussein regime," said Gyorgy Szabo of the Democratic Youth Federation of Hungary.

Derek Bracy, national organization secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, said, "We must expose what U.S. imperialism has done in Iraq, to working people around the world — from the slaughter of thousands of fleeing Iraqi soldiers on the road to Basra to the devastation from the bombing." He pointed to the recent United Nations report describing "near-apocalyptic" conditions in Iraq as a result of the war.

The final conference resolution outlined a "campaign among youth concentrating on the demands: end the embargo against Iraq and lift the sanctions; withdrawal of all foreign troops from Iraq and the region; and immediate humanitarian aid to the Iraqi people with the contribution of coalition governments."

The campaign includes a call for "another broad international youth forum to focus on these demands."

Wide-ranging debate

A wide-ranging debate on U.S. imperialism's goals and accomplishments in the war, the implications of the Iraqi military defeat, the character of the United Nations, and the impact of the Hussein regime's actions on



Militant/Argiris Malapanis
Puso Tladi (second from left), delegate of the African National Congress Youth League, told conference youth should campaign to get all foreign troops out of the Mideast.

the Palestinian people followed the video showing.

"This war was a test for the new thinking and the new world order that has developed in the international community. The UN successfully utilized collective action against Iraqi aggression," said Anotoly Hvostov, a Komsomol delegate from the Soviet Union.

"This is the same ancient world order, based on brute military force by imperialism against peoples of the world," replied Bashar Nimry of the Jordanian Democratic Youth Union.

"Washington's goals in its war had nothing to do with the liberation of Kuwait," said Bracy. "Hussein's ruthless swallowing up of Kuwait gave U.S. imperialism a golden opportunity to militarily intervene, attempt to shift the relationship of forces in the region in its favor, and safeguard its economic and strategic interests in the region."

Marwan Jilani, of the General Union of Palestinian Students, said that the "real intention of the war was to destroy the strength of Iraq which presented a favorable balance of forces vis-à-vis Israel." The quick U.S. military victory "showed that the U.S. has a free hand to start and stop a war whenever it wants; to impose whatever conditions it wishes. We also saw the role of Europe," he said. "We depended on some European powers before. But they all lined up behind the U.S."

"U.S. and British imperialists invaded Iraq to control the oil, but also to regain some ground they lost since 1979 with the overthrow of the Shah of Iran," said Anne Howie of the Communist League in Britain.

"Out of the war against Iraq the conflicts between U.S., German, and Japanese imperialists and other capitalist regimes have intensified. We will see more wars like this," she said.

Several delegates pointed to the undemocratic character of the United Nations and how it has been used by the United States to pursue its goals.

"The UN as a body is not a tool for peace and stability. Four of the five permanent member countries of the UN Security Council — the U.S., Britain, France, and China — have invaded my country in the past. Nothing has been done," said L. Chinh of the Vietnam Communist Youth Union.

"They are the only ones with veto power. And what about the U.S. invasions of Grenada and Panama? Or the invasion and division of Cyprus and Turkey?" he asked. The Soviet Union is one of five members of the UN Security Council.

All India Youth Federation representative Matthew Thomas Rajaji said, "We should unite all our efforts to salvage the UN. It should not be dominated by a few powerful military countries. It could guarantee peace and security in an impartial way."

The final conference resolution concluded: "The meeting expressed its disappointment at the double standards adopted by the UN and its failure to maintain peace

and implement its resolutions. The meeting called for a process of democratization of the United Nations."

Palestinian struggle

Marwan Jilani opened the session on the fight of the Palestinian people for a homeland by describing the intifada in the West Bank and Gaza as an "unprecedented popular revolution."

He said as a result, the PLO has overwhelming support in the occupied territories. He added that the uprising is continuing strong after the "virtual house arrest of all Palestinians by the Israeli army" following the beginning of the war.

The final conference resolution called for "the convening of a UN International Conference on the Middle East"; for a campaign to "confront attempts at bypassing the PLO as sole legitimate representative of Palestinian people"; and "to mark the 6th of June as the anniversary of the occupation of Palestine with organizing demonstrations in support of the intifada."

In explaining his views on the impact of the Gulf war on the Palestinian struggle,

Jilani stated, "Through statements of Saddam Hussein Iraq came to symbolize to Arab people a country that could say no to the Americans. There was massive support for Saddam in most Arab countries during the war. I think nobody supported the invasion of Kuwait, but they were willing to put it aside once the U.S. began its war."

"The war did not damage the Palestinian issue. It proved that there are no borders for the Arab-Israeli conflict once missiles landed there from Iraq," he added.

Mohammed Saleh of the Iraqi Democratic Youth Federation replied: "The Scud attacks against Israel damaged the Palestinian cause. They gave the Israeli government an opportunity to get a better image in the world."

"In Iraq, the imperialists did not confront a workers and peasants government like in Vietnam or Nicaragua. The Hussein government is a corrupt, brutal, expansionist capitalist regime," said Bracy. He said Iraqi capitalists invaded Kuwait to get its oil and territory.

"The Hussein regime started the war against Iran back in 1980 for the same reasons," he added. "Hussein's linkage of withdrawing his troops from Kuwait with solving the Palestinian issue was a phony. It hurt the Palestinian struggle."

The meeting also discussed the current situation in Lebanon as well as Cyprus. Pambis Kilritsis, general secretary of EDON, presented a resolution on the occupation of northern Cyprus by Turkish troops.

Turkey invaded Cyprus in July, 1974, and has since occupied the northern part of the island nation. The occupied territory amounts to 37 percent of the island. Since the invasion, Turkish-speaking Cypriots, comprising 18 percent of the population of 700,000, live in their overwhelming majority in the occupied part of the country.

Greek-speaking Cypriots, about 70 percent of the population, now mostly live in the southern part. Thousands of Cypriots on both sides were forced to move on either side of the "green line" dividing the country following the invasion. Thousands of troops from Greece are now stationed in the southern part of the country.

The resolution adopted calls for "the reunification and demilitarization" of the island and for the implementation of UN resolutions on Cyprus.

The conference received a message of solidarity from DGD, a Turkish Cypriot organization. Its representatives were prevented from crossing the "green line" by Turkish authorities.

New book on Eastern strike recommended by unionists

"The Bermuda Industrial Union is pleased to see that a book has been written about the Eastern Airlines strike," Ottiwell Simmons, president of the union, wrote recently about Pathfinder's new book, *The Eastern Airlines Strike*.

Simmons' union was part of the 22-month battle by Machinists against the union-busting drive of Eastern owner Frank Lorenzo.

When the BIU learned of the strike in 1989, it decided to take action in solidarity with members of the International Association of Machinists. The union called on its 6,000 members to launch a boycott of the airline, which carried 60 percent of the passenger load from the eastern seaboard of the United States to Bermuda.

In early 1990, Eastern was forced to cancel all flights to the country because of the successful boycott.

Simmons wrote that the new 91-page book "should be in every union library and read by all trade union leaders and rank-and-file members. This book has lessons for both labor and management."

Three chapters of the book tell the story of how the rank-and-file fighters at Eastern utilized union power. They review the gains for the labor movement in the fight and present the state of the labor movement and



broader political conjuncture in which the strike took place.

The opening chapter by former Eastern striker Ernie Mailhot, provides a summary of the strikers' determined fight to stay out "one day longer than Eastern." A narrative by *Militant* staff writer Judy Stranahan and an article by Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes, "Capitalism's march toward war and depression," round out the book.

Retired IAM Grand Lodge Representative Bill Schenck, from Clemmons, North Carolina, wrote that *The Eastern Airlines Strike* "does an excellent chronology to the strike as we saw it on the picket lines for more than 22 months and is a real tribute to these fighters."

"It also contains some thought-provoking analysis of decisions made during the course of the strike by the Machinists," he said.

The book is "recommended reading for the trade union movement and a 'keeper' for those of us directly involved in this historic struggle," Schenck concluded.

A photo section and chronology of the fight are included in the book. It is available for \$8.95 from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$3 shipping charge per book; \$.50 for each additional book. Or contact the Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12.

Los Angeles: 5,000 demand Gates' ouster

Continued from front page

he was a veteran, and had been sent to Grenada during the U.S. invasion of that country. Police brutality, he said, "has been going on for too long. What about the guys who were beat up before Rodney King?"

"I've been beat up by sheriff's deputies myself," he said. "I know what it's like to be Rodney King."

Another young man wore a popular T-shirt that read: "A police department that's out of control. A clear and present danger. Gates, you must go." Asked if he saw the fight against Gates as primarily a racial issue, he said, "There's more to it than that. Black people aren't the only ones who are human beings." Asked if more demonstrations are needed to press the fight, he said, "Yes. Yes. Yes."

Nearby, a contingent of members of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 399, organized in the "Justice for Janitors" campaign, was assembling. A protest by this union, made up primarily of Spanish-speaking immigrant workers, was brutally attacked by the police last summer.

One worker who had his wrist broken in the attack, said the unionists were there to support the call to get rid of Gates and "to demand more respect and dignity for Latinos and African-Americans in this city." It is "very important for the unions to support the anti-Gates march."

Another contingent of unionists marched behind SEIU Local 660's banner. Brenda Brown said the assault on the janitors "was the same type of brutality" as the beating of

Stories of similar experiences with the cops were related by many in the protest. Signs, such as "Marcus Donel 1958-1989. Unarmed Black male killed by Lennox Sheriff. So-called mistaken identity," were not uncommon. Another group wore shirts that read, "Frankie Martinez, 1970-1988. Rest in Peace." Martinez's mother said that her son had been shot by cops in Orange County when they burst in on her birthday party.

As the march proceeded through the Broadway shopping district the protesters picked up the chant, "Gates must go and they all must go!" Several marchers explained what the chant meant to them.

"All the racists," said one. Another demonstrator, C. Lewis, said the chant meant Mayor Bradley and the city council. "We have a new foe. The city council shows its real face," he said, referring to their action backing Gates.

Same brutality as in Iraq

The brutality against King, Lewis said, "was the same brutality as when they bombed that shelter in Iraq. The chain of command starts with the president. I told people during the war, 'its going to come home.' The same thing they did to Iraq they'll do to us too."

One Vietnam veteran said the entire city council should resign. Many carried signs that read, "City council votes 10-3 to continue brutality."

Speaking to the rally, Congresswoman Maxine Waters said, "It's important to understand how much power you really have. Today the people turned out and if this is a test of wills, we are stronger." She urged people to return on April 9, at 10:00 a.m., for a protest at the next meeting of the police commission. The rally will be followed by a march to the city council chambers at City Hall.

John Mack, president of the L.A. Urban League, said of Gates and the council: "They're not the only ones with guts and nerve," to cheers from the crowd.

Other speakers included Rev. Jesse Jackson; Frankie Martinez's brother Joe; Brotherhood Crusade leader Danny Bakewell; entertainment figure Casey Kasem; American Civil Liberties Union leader Ramona Ripston; City Council member Michael Woo; former cop Don Jackson, who is suing Long Beach police for brutality; Ahmed Nasser, representing the L.A. Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East; relatives of two Samoans murdered in Compton; several NAACP leaders, and others.

A real battle

Demonstrators evidenced a clear sense that they are in the midst of a real battle to get rid of Gates. This fact was apparent in the response to Bradley's call on Gates to resign and the action of the police commission to suspend the cops' commander.

"We emphasize that this action is not punitive in nature and results in no loss of pay or benefits for Chief Gates," police commission president Daniel Garcia insisted. If Gates is not proven derelict in his duties he will be returned to the job, Garcia promised.

But Gates responded that he had been "disgraced and defamed" and insisted that he had "done nothing wrong." He said he would go into Los Angeles Superior Court April 8 to challenge the police commission action. "No question about it," Gates added later. "I'm coming back."

Los Angeles cops condemned the commission's action and the police union threatened an "unprecedented job action" if Gates doesn't get his job back.

The city council's April 5 action backing Gates took the form of ordering the city attorney to reinstate Gates as part of settling the lawsuit. The council does not have the formal authority to overrule the commission's action but is empowered to settle lawsuits filed against the commission. This action could put Gates back on the job as soon as April 9, the date of the next commission hearing.

"We wanted to assert our authority," explained Gates supporter and council member Joy Picus. Earlier Picus had opposed Bradley's call for Gates' resignation, claiming that "if the chief resigns it will create a firestorm."

"We did not agree with the commission's action," said city council President John Ferraro. "They acted illegally and irresponsibly. They besmirched a public servant of 42 years."

Bradley condemned the city council's action and questioned its legality. Police commission president Garcia threatened to resign. By the next day, however, Bradley told the *Los Angeles Times* that he will take no further action regarding Gates' tenure.

Gates, on the other hand, was elated with the council's move. He spoke at a fund-raising luncheon organized by the Citizens in Support of the Chief of Police (CISCOP), attended by more than 1,000 people. The group honored George Holliday, the plumbing contractor who videotaped the King beating.

The appearance of Holliday, who is credited with helping to expose the beating, gave a small boost to Gates and his supporters.

Gates, however, could not resist another of the many public comments that have helped to expose his real views. He told Holliday: "As a guy who never goes to movies, and loves home movies, that was a lousy movie. . . . If it wasn't for our helicopter [the cop helicopter circling overhead as King was beaten], the lighting would have been terrible." The audience, the *Times* reported, laughed loudly.

Labor federation helps build 'Gates out' march

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — The Los Angeles County Federation of Labor hosted a news conference here April 5 to help build the mass march and rally the next day demanding the ouster of Police Chief Daryl Gates.

William Robertson, executive secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO body, said the group has strongly backed the fight for the removal of Gates. "We're committed to the long haul," he declared. "We're going to go to the last mile."

Jesse Jackson, 1988 presidential contender, participated in the news conference. Jackson declared that the brutality of the Los Angeles police cannot be viewed in isolation. "This is indeed a national challenge," he insisted.

Jackson called on President George Bush to take a clear stand "on this naked aggression."

He emphasized the fact that three days after the nationwide showing of the video of King's beating, Bush invited Gates to the White House and saluted him as the nation's "top cop hero."

While he fully supports the demand for Gates' resignation, Jackson added, that is "not enough." The "structure" must be changed, he argued. "The military must be accountable to the civilians."

He called for the registration of one million new voters to "empower" the people.

He also suggested organizations refuse to hold conventions in Los Angeles until business people are compelled to stand up against police brutality. Asked if he felt racial tensions are increasing, Jackson responded, "It's class tensions." He pointed to the current recession as a factor.

Ramona Ripston, director of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union, addressed herself to the furor created when the Police Commission suspended Gates for 60 days.

Recalling that the ACLU had won a \$1.8 million damage award in a lawsuit against police spying, Ripston noted that in the aftermath of the beating of King, Gates made thinly veiled threats to release damaging information against Mayor Thomas Bradley and a member of the police commission.

She linked this to the "bizarre" response of the city council to the suspension of Gates. The council has moved to reinstate the police chief.

"It causes me to wonder," Ripston said, "what has been said behind closed doors to some council members."

William Gibson, chairman of the national board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), pledged the full support of that organization's half-million members to the fight against Los Angeles police brutality.

Area Congresswoman Maxine Waters declared she was "delighted that we have finally come to the point" of demanding Gates' ouster.

"I think it's time," said Waters "to get rid

The counter-campaign by Gates' supporters will clearly continue as the fight against Gates and the cop brutality he represents deepens. Leaflets distributed by organizers of the April 6 march urged, "Keep the pressure on!" and called for continuing actions every Saturday morning from 9:00 a.m.-12:00 noon at the Parker Center.

"The fight to get rid of Gates is a fight that we can win," Socialist Workers Party City Council candidate Eli Green said after the march. "We need to stay active in the streets, visible, and reach out to the unions and working class to mobilize the forces that can get Gates out."

John Evenhuis, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, said involving more youth is especially important. Referring to the April 6 protest, he said, "We know there are thousands more of every nationality who will join this battle."

Protest messages can be sent to Mayor Tom Bradley and city council president John Ferraro at: 200 N. Spring St., Los Angeles, CA 90012. Copies should be sent to: NAACP, 2907 W. Vernon Ave, Los Angeles, CA. 90008.

of fear and intimidation."

A statement by Jack Henning, executive secretary-treasurer of the California Labor Federation, was distributed at the press conference.

Solidarizing with the demand for the resignation of Gates, Henning pointed to a police attack on striking unionists by the Los Angeles cops last June. Peacefully demonstrating striking janitors were brutally attacked by club-swinging cops. A number of the injured workers have filed damage suits against the police.

500 U.S. mines are fined \$5 million for tampering with coal dust samples

BY JOHN HAWKINS

The U.S. Labor Department, in a sweeping indictment of mining companies, announced April 4 that it was levying \$5 million in fines against 500 mining companies for tampering with coal dust samples they are required by law to provide the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA).

These samples are tested to determine the level of dust in the atmosphere in which miners work — a fairly accurate gauge of the risk miners run of contracting black lung disease.

According to the Labor Department, it received 4,710 faked samples in the past year and a half from 847 coal mines across the country — about 40 percent of the mines where samples are taken.

Although the \$5 million represents a significant sum, \$1 thousand for each violation, these fines are far below the \$10,000-to-\$50,000 maximum the companies could have been charged.

In a statement in response to the Labor Department announcement, United Mine Workers of America President Richard Trumka expressed the union's appreciation for the efforts of MSHA in uncovering and prosecuting the companies implicated in the tampering.

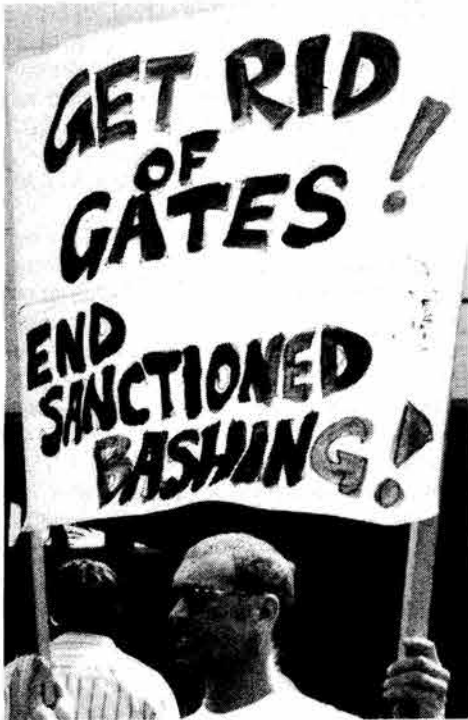
"But this is a program so structurally flawed that no amount of enforcement can correct it," Trumka said.

Stressing that the industry cannot be trusted to police itself, Trumka noted that so far criminal charges are being pursued against operators in only two states, West Virginia and Pennsylvania.

"This fraud occurred in every coal mining state," the UMWA president said. "We urge the U.S. Attorneys to actively pursue investigations in Virginia, Alabama, Kentucky, and the other coal-producing states as well."

"Coal miners themselves should have the right to monitor the sampling at every step," he added. "And sampling technology should be modernized to prevent tampering."

John Hawkins is a member of UMWA Local 2368 in Brookwood, Alabama.



Militant/Lisa Ahlberg

March 30 demonstration in Los Angeles

Rodney King. "If we don't step in and stop it, it will not end." She said that the labor movement should "most definitely" get involved in the protests.

A few workers with union hats and jackets from the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-547 also attended. Bob Tougas, editor of the local's *Union Bulletin* and a member of the local's executive board, said that several oil workers joined the action in part as a result of a motion adopted at a local meeting to send a message of solidarity to King.

Tougas said that police brutality was "absolutely" a union issue, "an issue for everybody who belongs to this community." Cop brutality "could migrate straight over to the picket line, and we don't want that."

The video of the King beating created an opportunity, Tougas added. "Now we can do something about it. The turnout today," he said pointing to the crowd, "shows others believe what I just said."

Russell Wong, another OCAW member, said he also belongs to the Alliance of Asian-Pacific Labor. In the recent murder of a 15-year-old Black woman by a Korean shop owner, he said, the media "makes too much of a racial issue" of it. Koreans and other Asian-Americans, as well as Blacks, "both suffer from racism. We're all one people."

A group of friends of Tracy Mayberry, another man murdered by the police, were also at the demonstration. "The whole block saw it," Kevin Tolbert said of the seven-minute beating of Mayberry. Neighbors tried to stop them, he continued, "but the cops just kept beating on him."

Cuba condemns UN sanctions against Iraq as 'unjust and unjustifiable'

Reprinted here are remarks by Ricardo Alarcón, Cuba's permanent representative to the United Nations, during the April 2 Security Council debate on Resolution 687 (see box). Twelve of the 15 council members voted for the resolution. Cuba cast the sole vote against the resolution. Ecuador and Yemen abstained. The translation from Spanish is by the *Militant* and is based on an initial UN transcript of Alarcón's remarks. Subheads and footnotes are by the *Militant*.

Mr. President.¹ First, allow me to tell you how pleased my delegation is to see you presiding over the council's proceedings this month. In the short period of your term, we have been able to confirm the diplomatic qualities you possess, your courtesy and your sense of impartiality in conducting our work.

I wish also to take this opportunity — now that he is no longer carrying out his functions — to express our appreciation to our colleague from Austria for the exemplary manner in which he presided over the Security Council last month.

I am also pleased to welcome the new permanent representative of Côte d'Ivoire, to whom we wish every success in the discharge of his responsibilities.

The Security Council has before it a draft resolution that will be remembered for more than one reason in the times to come. Perhaps because it could be included, as has been suggested, in a certain book.² Perhaps because, in spite of the fact that the text before us bears a different date for more than one reason, we should remember it in the future as the April 1 resolution.³

In handling this regrettable conflict, this council has at times been especially concerned about demonstrating its good memory. More than once, and this text does so again, it has recalled one after another all the previous resolutions and it has reaffirmed them.⁴ This council has also demonstrated on more than one occasion that it is also capable of suffering from poor memory.

On other occasions we have said our delegation opposes the attempts to use this body for the ends and purposes of one state and to do so in a way in which the council simply should not be used.

The Security Council is a powerful body because the member states agreed to give it special responsibility, which is enshrined in the [UN] charter. But the Security Council absolutely lacks legal, political, or moral authority to reinterpret the charter whenever that may suit one of its members; or to recall just some of its fundamental principles and to ignore others when it is judged more convenient.

The Security Council's odd memory

The odd way in which the council exercises its memory goes to the extreme of not remembering very well its own texts which we, nevertheless, start out by recalling every time that we meet.

In the text we have before us, my delegation finds a series of points that are absolutely impossible for us to accept. On one hand they want this body to take on — to my knowledge for the first time — certain functions with relation to international boundaries between two member states.

In passing, the council begins to modify the text of the first of its resolutions, which

it takes the trouble to recall here. Resolution 660 obviously establishes a different approach which is much more in keeping with international doctrine and practice than what they want to impose now.⁵

My delegation believes international boundaries must be respected. My delegation believes the Security Council has the obligation to ensure these boundaries are not violated.

However, the Security Council completely lacks the authority to demand respect for certain border lines, to demarcate them, to choose in what part of which region of the world these boundaries are violable, or to proclaim the will to shoulder a special responsibility in regards to these boundaries.

Moveable boundaries

Without a doubt this strange selectivity by the council will be remembered in the future. Many will recall that the conflict we have been examining for so many months has taken place in a part of the planet where there has existed, and continues to exist, more than one conflict that are closely related to the fact that for some, boundaries don't exist or they are moveable, or adjustable.

The old maps that clearly showed the extent of the entity called Palestine are not always remembered. Some do not want to remember. We are not always willing to recall the Security Council has also taken on concrete responsibilities with respect to those international borders that delimit the area of the state of Israel and the republic of Lebanon.⁶

We mention just two examples, and as we all know there are others. The Security Council affirms in paragraph 4 of the operative part of the draft resolution, which certainly will be approved, its decision to "guarantee



Ricardo Alarcón, Cuba's permanent representative to the United Nations, denounced sanctions as "causing grave harm to the Iraqi people."

the inviolability" of the particular boundary [between Iraq and Kuwait] mentioned in the paragraph. After all, this resolution was born April 1. At least for the sake of decorum, it could have said it is also disposed or willing to see to it that other international boundaries appearing on the maps of the region are respected.

The text before us contains other examples of selectivity, such as the section dealing with the destruction or elimination of weapons of mass destruction with respect to Iraq.

In the spirit of April 1, the authors close this chapter of this long draft resolution with a paragraph, paragraph 14, under which actions to be taken by Iraq in conformity with paragraphs 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 are characterized by the term "unconditionally." The April 1 imagination managed to indicate that these measures, that Iraq is to adopt "unconditionally," constitute a step toward the goal of establishing in the Middle East a zone free from weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles, and a step toward the objective of a total ban on chemical weapons.

History will show us how much of a joke this is, or to what extent the Security Council is going to do something — which in our view is a legitimate goal — so the prohibition and elimination of these types of weaponry is not used selectively and imposed unilaterally on

one state. As we all know, in this same region there is a state without boundaries, with moveable borders, which possesses, manufactures, develops, and researches these same types of armaments. In addition, we know that this state has used force against its neighbors and for many years has been oppressing an entire nation: the people of Palestine.

Withdraw foreign troops

The draft resolution before us does not recognize the facts of the evolution of the conflict we have been considering since August. It still does not state clearly, categorically, and explicitly what the Security Council should have done a long time ago: establish a definitive cease-fire, a cessation of hostilities in the region, and the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops, in particular those that without any right and without any justification continue occupying part of Iraqi territory.

We cannot agree to any understanding that there are bad military occupations and good military occupations; or that some have the right and moral authority to send their troops wherever they please without having been authorized by anyone and to use them as a means of pressure, intimidation, and interference in order to achieve aims of their own.

The Security Council has for quite some time had the obligation to eliminate all of the economic sanctions imposed against Iraq, because the sanctions were established by virtue of specific conditions that have ceased to exist.

This council has persistently ignored the fact that the economic sanctions were established to achieve compliance with the paragraph of resolution 660 that called for the unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi troops from the territory of Kuwait.

Now the council is going to disregard another operative paragraph that called for negotiations between Iraq and Kuwait to resolve their differences.

I hope, when the first paragraph of the preamble is drafted in future draft resolutions that are brought before this council, they have the prudence to no longer recall resolution 660. For all practical purposes, it does not have any real standing in this council, since we are maintaining sanctions after they have achieved one of their objectives. Now we reformulate objectives established in another of its paragraphs. That resolution, which was the pillar, the basis of the activity of the Council, inevitably is going to die at the moment that the April 1 resolution comes to life.

Sanctions are unjust and unjustifiable

The question of sanctions is one in which we can see with special clarity the peculiar way the council uses or stops using its memory. First of all, it tries to ignore that the continuation of the unjust and unjustifiable sanctions is causing grave harm to the Iraqi people. It ignores what this council knows: the report of the World Health Organization and the report the general secretary presented on the outcome of the mission carried out by

Continued on Page 6

UN Security Council imposes stiff conditions on Iraq for cease-fire

BY SETH GALINSKY

UNITED NATIONS — In what is the longest resolution ever adopted in its history, United Nations Security Council Resolution 687 lists new demands Iraq must meet in the aftermath of the U.S.-led war.

The resolution sets the terms for a permanent cease-fire and adopts a timetable for lifting some sanctions if Iraq accepts the conditions. The resolution was spearheaded by the governments of the United States and Britain and cosponsored by France, Rumania, Belgium, and Zaire.

David Hannay, Britain's UN representative, threatened economic sanctions that would remain in force "doing great and continuing damage" if the Iraqi government were to reject the provisions.

The Iraqi ambassador to the United Nations, Abdul Amir al-Anbari, informed the council on April 6 that Iraq had agreed to the "one-sided and unfair" dictates.

Among the main points required of Iraq in Resolution 687 are the following:

- recognition of the 1963 border between Kuwait and Iraq. This would leave all contested territory in an ongoing border dispute in Kuwaiti hands.

- the establishment of a 9.3-mile-wide security zone along the Iraq-Kuwait border with the deployment of UN troops and observers. U.S., British, and French troops would be part of the force. The zone would be 6.2 miles wide on the Iraqi side and 3.1 miles wide on the Kuwaiti side.

- destruction of chemical and biological weapons, research facilities, and manufacturing plants in Iraq. Destruction of all ballistic missiles with a range greater than 93 miles and a continued ban on the import of conventional weapons.

- on-site inspection of all locations alleged to have the capability of producing components of nuclear weapons.

- establishment of a reparations fund. The UN Secretary General is directed to set up a procedure for determining the percentage of Iraq's oil profits that will go to paying compensation to Kuwait and to other governments and corporations, while "taking into account the requirements of the people of Iraq."

- requirement that Iraq pay its foreign debt while at the same time renouncing its right to demand that governments and companies that made contracts before the war carry out their commitments.

In return for Iraq's agreement to these conditions the UN Security Council will set up a complex timetable and mechanism for gradually easing economic sanctions, holding out the possibility of eliminating sanctions on the buying of weapons in the future.

- Iraq is immediately permitted to buy food.

- Materials for essential "civilian" needs may be imported into Iraq. However, members of the Security Council still retain the right to veto any such imports. Bans on other imports remain in effect.

- After it is determined that Iraq is complying with the resolution, the Security Council will lift prohibitions on the selling of Iraqi exports.

Hours before the Security Council voted to approve the resolution, an announcement was made by the council chairperson that a "technical" mistake had been made in the text of the resolution. Under the section dealing with the percentage of oil profits to be paid out for reparations, the uncorrected text said that "in particular, humanitarian needs" of the Iraqi people would be taken into account.

Those four words should be deleted wherever they appear, the chair stated.

1. The chair of the UN Security Council rotates once a month. The chair in April was the UN representative from Belgium.

2. The representative of Zaire said earlier in the meeting that the resolution was so long it should be noted in a book of world records.

3. Although the resolution is dated April 2, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations announced on April 1, April Fools' Day in the United States, that it would easily pass.

4. Each Security Council resolution dealing with measures against Iraq begins by recalling and reaffirming all previous resolutions — now 13 in all — adopted by the council since the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

5. Adopted Aug. 2, 1990, Resolution 660 condemned the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, demanded Iraq's immediate withdrawal, and called on Iraq and Kuwait to negotiate. Cuba voted for the resolution.

6. The state of Israel, created in 1948 out of part of Palestine and recognized by the UN, has expanded its 1948 borders by militarily occupying parts of Syria and Jordan. It also occupies a so-called "security zone" in southern Lebanon.

Drop in trade forces restrictions on supply of medicines in Cuba

Cuba has tightened control over distribution of medicines with new measures to reduce availability, including higher prices and stricter prescription rules.

The steps were taken by the government to alleviate supply problems stemming from disruption of trade due to the growing political and economic crisis in the Soviet Union.

Cuba has for more than 30 years been the target of a U.S. economic embargo that has prohibited sales of even the most basic medicines and forced the country to rely almost exclusively on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe for needed trade.

Despite these difficulties, the World Health Organization's executive counsel, Pedro Caba, declared March 19 that Cuba was a model for Latin American countries in the field of health because of its efficient health-care system.

"The fact is that these other countries do not even have a health system," Caba said.

Nelson Mandela meets Inkatha chief to stem rising violence

Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the African National Congress of South Africa, met March 30 with Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, to discuss the rising violence between supporters of the rival organizations. Clashes between the groups in the Black townships have recently escalated resulting in scores killed.

Mandela has laid blame for the violence on the apartheid regime and has called on Buthelezi to join in an effort to end the killing. The ANC leader met with the Inkatha chief in January to discuss steps to forge a common front against apartheid.

"Violence is increasing," Mandela told the press, "and a large number of our people throughout the country are being slaughtered."

Following their meeting, Mandela and Buthelezi released a statement saying that "the continuing violence is seen as an indictment of black leadership in this country." Both agreed to exchange information on their respective rallies and other initiatives to diffuse tensions in the Black townships.

South Korean riot police attack worker, student rally in Pusan

South Korean riot police attacked a rally of more than 1,000 workers and students in the southern city of Pusan. The protesters demanded the Seoul government provide workers protection against inflation and repeal repressive labor legislation.

South Korea's inflation rate has soared to its highest level in 11 years, according to official figures. A 4.9 percent increase in the consumer price index for the first quarter of 1991 left in doubt the government's goal of holding inflation below 10 percent this year. The jump will affect this year's wage talks.

A March 31 Reuters dispatch reported that "workers have turned their anger increasingly toward a government they believe is letting inflation soar while arresting union leaders who demand wages keep pace with higher prices."

Germany leads world in exports

The world's leading trade organization, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, announced that Germany emerged as the world's leading exporter in 1990.

A 165 percent increase in the value of the mark against the dollar helped to raise the value of German commodity exports to \$421 billion, compared with \$394 billion for U.S. exports.

The U.S., however, had an 8.5 percent increase in export volume compared with Germany's 1.5 percent.

Argentina farmers wage protest

Farmers in Argentina launched a two-day strike in March cutting back the deliveries of cattle to the country's biggest stockyard. They demanded reduced export and land taxes, low interest loans, and an increase in the exchange rate. Inflation in the country surged 28 percent in February alone.

Cuban delegate speaks at UN

Continued from Page 5

Mr. Martti Ahtisaari.⁷

Do you remember that report, where we said the council would be called upon to act immediately? And what has the Security Council done immediately? It has ignored what this report describes in very vivid terms. But the council is going to confirm this afternoon the extension and continuation of a regime of sanctions that not only is not justified but is the cause of the ongoing misery and problems the Iraqi people face.

There is a disregard for the fact that the Security Council also has some responsibilities, at least of a moral kind, toward those states suffering adverse consequences as a result of the ongoing sanctions.

It would be very difficult for the council not to remember this fact because the council has before it, from several days ago, a communiqué that was sent by representatives of 21 member states — three of them members of this council and who are present in this hall. They remind us their countries are facing grave consequences as a result of the maintenance of the economic sanctions that these states, like everyone, are observing. At the end of the communiqué, it says the Security Council should pay renewed attention to these problems with a view to finding quick and effective solutions.

They achieved their objective. Some 10 days later the Security Council meets and says to the Iraqi people and other states that the economic sanctions will continue and a complicated mechanism will be established.

Frankly, I have given up on the idea of trying to understand how it's going to function: every 30 days, every 60 days, every 120 days, or regularly. This council will continue to look into the operation of the very complex mechanism for sanctions of diverse types that it has seen fit to establish.

Serious consequences

Now they present us with a draft resolution that is sensitive and receptive — not to the clamor, the anguish, and the tragedy of the Iraqi people or the dozens of states in the world that are paying very serious consequences for observing the council's sanctions — but to the payment of compensation to national governments and foreign businesses.

It became clear in the fruitless negotiations that the non-aligned countries carried out with the sponsors of this draft resolution, or with some of them, that this would not imply the recognition of obligations that we consider legitimate: that Kuwait be fully compensated for the consequences of the aggression and military occupation of which it was an object.

The resolution wants to go way beyond that to benefit others. It is not stated exactly which governments or corporations, but certainly not only the Kuwaiti government, people, and businesses. If that was the intention, the amendment by the non-aligned countries would not have been rejected; an amendment in which we all expressed our agreement that reparations and compensation be paid to the state that was victim of a violation of international law.

My delegation wishes to state — with all due respect to certain foreign corporations — that frankly it does not feel very motivated to demonstrate toward them the generosity and sensitivity that has been totally absent from this council when it has dealt with third world peoples or innocent civilians, like the Iraqi people.

Another delicate aspect is the topic of compensation. The charter of our organization, which is supposed to be the mandate under which this council has the obligation to act, does not grant this body under any section any power to decide or determine things with respect to claims of this character.

International Court of Justice

It could be argued that a body as powerful as this one has the right to assume rights and responsibilities in areas not defined by the charter. But I wonder what can be argued

when the charter clearly states that the judicial body of this organization is the International Court of Justice. Article 36, paragraph 2b, the statute of the court — which is part of the charter as we all know — clearly grants the court, not the council, the responsibility to deal with this matter.

In the exceptionally long draft resolution we have before us, you may have noted and historians of the future will note, no space could be found to mention the International Court of Justice even once. The authors surely know why this was impossible.

The court is one of the principal bodies of this organization. It has its own powers. The Security Council has its own. The General Assembly its own. Nowhere in the charter does it grant any authority to the council to decide on matters pertaining to compensation or reparations in the event of a dispute or difference about the respective areas of competence of different bodies of the organization.

\$3,800 raised at Western coalfields meeting

BY CINDY JAQUITH

PRICE, Utah — The efforts of socialist workers to campaign against U.S. imperialism's war on Iraq have not gone unnoticed among working people in this coal-mining town.

Fifty-five people turned out for an evening meeting here April 6 to celebrate the upcoming publication of a special issue of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist* on "Washington's Assault on Iraq: Opening Guns of World War III." In addition to coal miners, workers came from the rail, garment, copper, and magnesium industries in the state.

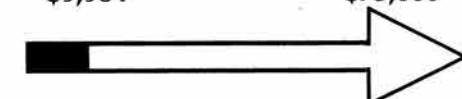
Trade unionists from Los Angeles; San Francisco; Seattle; and Phoenix, Arizona, also attended. The meeting coincided with a two-day conference of members of the Utah Socialist Workers Party.

One Price coal miner who came to the meeting first met the socialists at his mine portal where they regularly sell the *Militant*. Since then, he has become a sub-

NEW INTERNATIONAL FUND

Collected:
\$9,984

Goal:
\$75,000



scriber and has also bought previous issues of the *New Internationalist*. A Price rail worker who subscribes to the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* also attended.

From Ogden, Utah, came a young worker who recently joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

Tony Dutrow, a member of the United Mine Workers of America and SWP candidate for Price City Council, chaired the meeting. He explained the plans for publishing 10 issues of the Marxist magazine this year and reported the contents of *New Internationalist* no. 7, on the imperialist war drive, and no. 8, on Che Guevara and the building of socialism.

In June, Dutrow announced, the major articles from issue no. 7 will be available in Spanish in *Nueva Internacional* and in French in *Nouvelle Internationale*. A team of volunteer translators is hard at work preparing these issues, he said.

The international character of this campaign was highlighted by greetings from a coal miner from Yorkshire, England, who said a few words about circulating *New Internationalist*, the *Militant*, and *International Socialist Review* among members of the National Union of Mineworkers there.

This writer gave the main talk, on the theme of the "Opening Guns of World War III."

Before the floor was opened for discussion, Denise McInerney, a member of the YSA National Committee, appealed for contributions toward the \$75,000 fund to finance the *New Internationalist* publishing project. More than \$3,800 was pledged by those present.

tion. The charter grants this power to the General Assembly. Therefore, if anyone wishes to reinterpret the respective powers of the various principal bodies, I believe that no one can be permitted in any form, using or abusing their powers, to usurp the place of the General Assembly, which is the collective body of all the members of our organization.

It is late. As usual, the Security Council started with the punctuality that also merits a prominent mention in that book that the distinguished colleague from Zaire mentioned. The reasons are not always clear or known.⁸ But taking into account the lateness of the hour, my delegation will not continue studying the strange text presented to us and will content itself with assuring you that we reject it and will vote against it.

8. Scheduled to start at 10:30 a.m., the meetings did not begin until after noon.

Scoreboard

Area	Goal	Paid	% of Total
Charleston, W.Va.	\$1,400	\$800	57%
Atlanta	2,300	903	39%
Austin, Minn.	750	250	33%
San Diego	1,000	320	32%
San Francisco	3,500	1,115	32%
Miami	1,200	350	29%
Cleveland	1,600	455	28%
Los Angeles	6,000	1,680	28%
Houston	1,500	385	25%
Birmingham, Ala.	1,750	320	18%
Omaha, Neb.	750	125	17%
Newark, N.J.	3,800	580	15%
Pittsburgh	1,900	270	14%
Boston	1,500	200	13%
St. Louis	2,000	200	10%
Philadelphia	2,000	150	8%
Chicago	2,600	225	8%
New York	7,000	200	2%
Albany, N.Y.	350	0	0%
Baltimore	900	0	0%
Des Moines	1,000	0	0%
Detroit	2,100	0	0%
Greensboro, N.C.	750	0	0%
Morgantown	1,250	0	0%
Phoenix	750	0	0%
Price, Utah	600	0	0%
Salt Lake City	1,700	0	0%
Seattle	2,250	0	0%
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,750	0	0%
Washington, D.C.	1,250	0	0%
TOTAL U.S.	\$57,200	\$8,258	14%
Canada	4,250	1,581	37%
Montréal	1,529	366	24%
Toronto	1,370	211	15%
Vancouver	791	494	62%
Other	560	510	91%
Australia	500	0	0%
Britain	6,500	0	0%
London	1,850	0	0%
Manchester	1,600	0	0%
Sheffield	1,600	0	0%
Other	1,450	0	0%
France	1,000	0	0%
Iceland	300	0	0%
New Zealand	3,011	0	0%
Auckland	770	0	0%
Christchurch	1,286	0	0%
Wellington	955	0	0%
Sweden	1,000	0	0%
Other		145	
TOTAL OVERALL	\$73,261	\$9,984	13%
SHOULD BE	\$75,000	\$21,107	28%

One million Kurds flee Iraqi military

Continued from front page

been discriminated against and oppressed in all five countries.

Facing a fierce onslaught that included napalm attacks by the Iraqi regime's forces, Kurds headed for Turkey and Iran at the end of March and beginning of April. In sub-zero temperatures and cold rain, the mass of refugees traveled aboard huge trucks with homemade baby cradles tied to the sides; by mule-back; or squatting on blankets on top of a gasoline truck.

Thousands without gas for vehicles set out on foot, moving down hillsides in the first stages of a 100-mile trek. One crossing alone at the Iranian border was said to have a 45-mile-long column of refugees.

The Associated Press reported April 7 that even more refugees were headed for Turkey after Iraqi troops pressed deeper into northern zones to wipe out the last traces of the rebellion. It also quoted refugees as saying Iraqi helicopter gunships were strafing Kurds trying to reach the Iranian border.

Massoud Barzani appealed to the U.S. government, as well as governments in other countries, to save the Kurds from "destruction."

Tens of thousands of Kurds are huddled in makeshift camps in the mountains along the Turkish border. Ahmet Kurtecebe Alptemecin, foreign minister of Turkey, said about 1,500 Iraqi Kurds have died of hunger, disease, and exposure in the first week of April while fleeing to Turkey.

The Turkish government had until recently closed its doors to the Kurds. "These people who are being forcibly directed toward the Turkish frontier constitute a serious threat to our security," said Tugay Ozceri, deputy foreign minister of Turkey.

Turkey then modified its stance April 7, but only allowed some Kurds into areas just within its borders.

The Turkish foreign minister said 280,000 Iraqi refugees were either in the country or massed along the border.

The April 8 *New York Times* reported that as the Kurds have entered Turkey, tension has risen and sometimes exploded in exchanges between refugees and soldiers ordered to keep them within the border area. Turkish troops have fired warning shots over Kurds' heads in an attempt to keep them from moving farther inland.

Iran closed its border April 7 after allowing entry to some 500,000 refugees, then reopened it the next day. Interior Ministry officials said another 771,850 refugees had arrived that afternoon.

Iranian radio explained the initial decision to close the border had been "due to the shortage of resources. At present, hundreds of thousands of refugees are massed across the border, waiting to enter the Iranian soil. But, unfortunately, lack of food, bedding, and

clothing make it impossible to accept more."

At the same time, the Iranian government urged Kurds to continue their rebellion against Hussein's regime. On April 5 Iran's Ayatollah Ali Khamenei called on rebels facing defeat to rise again or face repression "that will make previous ones pale by comparison."

Following the cease-fire, the Bush administration called for President Hussein's ouster and encouraged Iraqis to rebel against him. But Bush also made it clear that U.S. forces will not intervene against Hussein's forces as they put down the Kurdish rebellion.

Under increasing pressure to do something to alleviate the horrible conditions faced by Kurds in areas along the Turkish border, the U.S. government began airdrops of food and limited medical supplies April 7. U.S. government officials said they hoped to provide provisions to at least 50,000 people.

After giving the go-ahead last November to imperialist powers to use force against Iraq, the UN Security Council voted April 5 to condemn Hussein's repression of the Kurds and other groups. The UN resolution said the wave of refugees flowing toward Turkey and Iran threatened "international peace and security," and called on Iraq to halt the crackdown.

Representatives of Cuba, Zimbabwe, and Yemen voted against the resolution. China and India abstained. Those voting against explained they opposed the measure on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of nations.

Iraq's UN representative called the reso-



A Kurdish family near the Turkish border

lution "blatant interference" and said Iran had been stirring up dissent inside Iraq because they plan to partition it.

In the meantime, on April 5 Saddam Hussein offered amnesty to Kurds, including army and police deserters, but excluded those who had committed "murder, rape and looting during acts of riot and treason."

Iraqi military helicopters flew over mountain areas and broadcast statements in the Kurdish language. "We appeal to you to return to your homes," the announcement said. "It is safe. There is amnesty. Do not fear."

This is not the first time the Iraqi regime has waged an offensive to put down the Kurds. In March 1988, the Iraqi air force

gassed the town of Halabja, near the Iranian frontier, killing some 5,000 people. Five months later, Iraqi soldiers were ordered into Halabja and dynamited every building in the city which once had 75,000 inhabitants.

At the refugee camps in the mountains, the main help has come from Kurds living nearby in Turkey. In Sirnak, 30 miles to the west, a Kurdish bakery has been operating almost nonstop to produce 17,000 loaves of bread a day instead of the usual 5,000 or less. Villagers collect what they can in supplies and food and truck it up the mountain roads.

Meanwhile, Yacob Youssif, a Kurdish opposition official, said that between 40 and 50 children are being buried daily in a refugee camp close to Cukurca, Turkey.

U.S. divisions widen on Gulf policy

Continued from front page

tional security advisor, further explained the Bush administration's decision. "For us to get involved in a civil war in Iraq means occupying it, means replacing the government, means setting up a new government which undoubtedly would be overthrown as soon as the coalition troops left," he said. "That's a horrible morass which to get in, and from a policy standpoint it's just unacceptable."

There has been a growing convergence of views between liberals and right-wingers in U.S. ruling-class circles. Critics fear continued destabilization of the area with no end in sight.

Liberal columnist Anthony Lewis in his column in the *New York Times* wrote, "It is a shameful record: a great power encouraging people to revolt against a tyrant and then letting them be crushed without a word, a sign."

Lewis goes on to quote an Iraq expert,

Christine Moss Helms, on the results of the war. "What we have now is worse than what we had when Iraq was in Kuwait," she said. "We still don't have Saddam Hussein out of power, and now we have this deteriorating situation on the frontier between the Persians, the Arabs and the Turks."

Also arguing against Bush administration policy is *New York Times* senior columnist Flora Lewis.

"The justification for the war is being put in doubt by the coalition's willingness to let Saddam Hussein snatch victory, over his own people, from defeat at allied hands," Lewis wrote. "Hypocrisy is too weak a word for a policy of bombing the daylight out of Iraq and then asserting no responsibility at all for its internal affairs, after calling on Iraqis to overthrow their tyrant."

Right-wing columnist William Safire, who in a series of articles has advocated military intervention, wrote, "Not since Jimmy Carter's Desert One has a failure of nerve resulted in such ignominious American defeat. Not since John Kennedy failed to provide air cover at the Bay of Pigs has a President made such a costly military blunder."

The conservative magazine *New Republic*, in its April 8 issue, featured an editorial disagreeing with the administration's stated policy of not letting Iraq become fragmented.

"The dismemberment of Iraq by its long-suppressed populace, and with our acquiescence, would be a gain for all the peoples of the region," the *New Republic* argued. "The fears about Iranians dominating whatever may emerge from Iraq are ill-founded. Iran would find it very hard to tame even a Shi'ite government in the south."

And as for the Turkish regime, which has opposed any form of Kurdish independence, the edit said, "The greater the success of Kurds in Iraq's west and north, the more anxious the Turks will become. The Turks have not historically been kind to the Kurds, but the Turks have given us no reason for us to wish them ill. Reconciling Turk and Kurd would be an appropriate purpose for U.S. diplomacy."

All of the administration's critics, both liberal and conservative, believe that U.S. imperialism has the right to intervene in the affairs of countries in the Mideast. Their tactical criticisms are in the framework of Washington's right to impose sanctions against Iraq and continue a military presence in the region to make sure nothing gets be-

yond the control of imperialism.

Commenting on the stance taken by Washington and the capitalist regimes in the region toward the rebellions, Talib Shibib, an Iraqi opposition leader, said, "Everyone was counting on a palace coup and when that didn't materialize, we were abandoned. No one was prepared to support a popular revolt."

Fearing the destabilization unleashed by the rebellions and especially worried about the Kurdish fight for independence in Turkey, the governments of Saudi Arabia and Egypt have made gestures that indicate they are willing to accommodate themselves to the Hussein regime.

Amidst this debate, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker returned to the Mideast on April 7 for a new round of talks.

"The reason for the trip, quite frankly, was because we don't know how long this window of opportunity might last," Baker said prior to his departure. "We don't think things should be permitted to simply drift."

Quelling any high expectations resulting from his trip, Baker added, "I'm not suggesting that there are any new factors. We owe it to ourselves to make every effort possible. If we can't get anywhere, then we'll just have to fall back and look at other options."

Washington has won backing from the United Nations Security Council for a new resolution against Iraq that severely violates the country's sovereignty. It gives Iraq 120 days to comply with new demands laid out in Security Council Resolution 687.

UN secretary-general Javier Pérez de Cuéllar is charged with sending a UN military observer force to monitor a demilitarized zone along the Iraq-Kuwait border. When this force is deployed, allied troops are supposed to begin withdrawing from southern Iraq. The secretary-general estimated that the observer force of 300 will need to be protected by about five infantry companies, about 1,300 soldiers.

In addition, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, U.S. Gen. Colin Powell, announced April 4 that U.S. warplanes will be patrolling Iraqi airspace "for an indefinite period."

Powell said it might take more than a month to pull out all the 100,000 U.S. ground troops now in southern Iraq. He also said that of the 367,000 troops remaining in the region 3,000 to 5,000 are leaving each day.

U.S. Navy charges sailors with attempted mutiny, support for Iraq

BY JAMES HARRIS

The U.S. Navy has charged two young sailors with attempting to provoke a mutiny aboard the aircraft carrier *Ranger* and acting in support of Saddam Hussein during the war against Iraq. Both men are Muslims and Black.

The two men charged are Airman Apprentice Abdul Hakeem Shaheed, 22 years old, and Seaman Apprentice James L. Moss, 24. Both served on the *Ranger*, stationed in the Arab-Persian Gulf. Rear Adm. Thomas Mercer, commander of the United States Navy in the Philippines, has ordered that the two face court martial.

The Navy charges that on January 17, the day after the beginning of the bombing of Iraq and Kuwait, Shaheed and Moss urged other crew members to take their officers hostage, sabotage the ship's aircraft catapult launcher, and wage a "Moslem holy war sponsored by Iraqi President Sadaam Hussein." If convicted the two men can face up to 10 years in jail and court martial. Shaheed and Moss deny the charges against them.

"I am a victim of incredible exaggeration, hysteria, and paranoia," said Shaheed at a

press conference at Subic Bay Naval Station, in the Philippines. "I have never supported Saddam Hussein, and I also never supported his invasion of Kuwait and his so-called holy war against the United States and the rest of the coalition forces. The only reason I am here before you today is because some people on my ship, and I guess some back in the U.S., prefer to think that all Muslims are evil."

Moss, who had submitted a request to be discharged from the army as a conscientious objector on religious grounds prior to any of these events said, "My only wish is to separate from the armed forces because of my religious convictions. Until I am discharged I plan to obey all the rules and regulations."

Both Shaheed and Moss say that the charges against them stem from Airman Apprentice Gregory Jones, also stationed aboard the *Ranger*. Defense attorneys say that Jones claims that Shaheed and Moss communicated their support of Hussein and proposed sabotaging the ship during a prayer session which Jones took part in. Shaheed and Moss deny the charges and say that Moss was not even present when the prayer session took place.

Next steps in working-class against imperialism and war

BY GREG McCARTAN
AND RONI McCANN

NEW YORK — A March 23-25 meeting of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee here discussed deepening a working-class campaign against imperialism and war.

In attendance were leaders of the party's local branches and trade union work; of communist leagues in Canada, Britain, France, Sweden, and New Zealand; and of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Participants in the gathering came fresh from a half-year's experience campaigning among unionists and on the job to tell the truth about imperialism and war, reaching out to young people opposed to the war drive, and joining in building local, regional, and national protests against the war. In local areas they had worked with students on college campuses in antiwar actions and educational events.

The meeting assessed the results of Washington's assault on Iraq, the state of the U.S. labor movement, and the next steps in building a party of communist workers.

In the opening report to the meeting, Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes said the party could build on its rich experiences since August to continue with a working-class campaign against imperialism and war. Communist workers who explained on the job, at union meetings, to striking workers, and others why the war was not in the interests of working people around the world will get a wider hearing as the horrors of Washington's war against Iraq and Baghdad's assault on the people in Iraq unfolds.

At work places, college and high school campuses, and elsewhere there are more opportunities to discuss and debate, circulate the socialist press, and win readers for the upcoming issues of *New Internationalist* no. 7 (see ad below).

The impact of what is coming cannot be underestimated, including widespread devastation and a massive flow of refugees similar to the migration of millions during the war drive, Barnes explained. At that time hundreds of thousands of Yemenis were forced out of Saudi Arabia and immigrant workers — from across the Middle East, Africa, and Asia — fled Kuwait and Iraq. Governments in the region have been destabilized, as in Kuwait, as a result of the imperialist assault.

No ground war

Barnes said that following the U.S. invasion of Iraq "there was no ground war." During the invasion, few Iraqi units engaged U.S.-led forces, and then only briefly in rear-guard actions; few U.S. tanks were destroyed by Iraqi fire; and the number of deaths among the coalition forces from anything other than accidents and friendly fire was a fraction of the total killed.

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein sent his military forces into Kuwait for the same reasons he waged an eight-year war against Iran: to extend control over oil resources, shipping lanes, refineries, and other resources on behalf of the capitalist rulers of Iraq. Rather than being a fight against imperialism on behalf of the masses of toilers in the Mideast as he claimed, Hussein simply sought to bolster the political and economic strength of the Iraqi capitalist class in the region.

From the beginning, Hussein sought to carry out a political campaign to make the imperialist coalition back off its threats of war or to strike a deal with imperialism. Possibly even believing that the U.S. government would not respond to the August 2 invasion, Hussein then hoped that by placing a massive number of soldiers and tanks in Kuwait and southern Iraq the simple threat of a widespread war would deter any aggression; that through diplomatic maneuvering the imperialist coalition would divide; or that by drawing the Israeli regime into the war the allied forces would splinter.

Various diplomatic gestures were made by Hussein to the French and Soviet governments, in the latter case right up through the invasion of Iraq by Washington and its allies.

Prior to the invasion, "the regime first took the air cover away and sent the best warplanes to Iran, Barnes said. Then it became obvious that there was no fight or call for an international campaign to get rations to these soldiers.

"Slowly, even the caloric intake of the soldiers went down and there was no increased attempt to get food to the troops," he said.

"Third, the attack helicopters were taken out too. Iraq has a large number of attack helicopters equipped to give soldiers a chance to fight in the face of armor and mechanized forces. But to our knowledge not a single one was used in any way.

"Fourth, the officer corps was organized to get out of the battle zone at least 12-36 hours before the invasion. The command structure was stripped," the SWP leader said.

Hussein got enough of the best tanks and heavy weapons out of Kuwait to maintain what amounts to an internal heavily-armed massive elite police force capable of putting down rebellions in the country and protecting the interests of the regime. Now the attack helicopters and coordinated assaults are being launched against the Kurds and others in the country who rebelled following the invasion.

By the time the invasion began, the soldiers had lost organization, a combat structure, communications, and the weapons needed to engage the imperialist forces — except for several elite units whose job was to get out of the area to act later as guards for the regime, Barnes explained.

There was, in fact, no longer an army. The troops had been turned back into individual workers and peasants sitting in fox holes facing a massive bombardment and armored invasion force. Without coordination, a military command, or a defensive strategy these individuals were stripped of everything that could be recognized as a fighting force but their tattered uniforms. They were no longer soldiers, nor had they been given the chance to fight.

Because of the political course of the regime, including its military decisions, the soldiers facing the imperialist forces — workers and peasants in uniform — who would and could have waged a battle to defend their country were denied the opportunity to do so.

"If we had been in those bunkers and in those trenches with the Iraqi soldiers, we would have known what was being done to the structure, supplies, and morale of the army," Barnes said. "We would have known what wasn't being done during the bombing, prior to the invasion. Faced with these conditions during the invasion, we would have organized them to surrender," Barnes said. "Any other course would have been grotesque."

The correct tactical and political thing for these workers and peasants to do was to get their hands in the air as fast as possible to try and get out of the killing fields and survive to fight another day, he said.

Moreover, because Washington called off the invasion when it did, the interests of workers and peasants in Iraq never coincided with Hussein regime's interests in defending itself.

Soon after the invasion, U.S. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf bragged that the military assault had gone so well that U.S. forces had nothing "between us and Baghdad." Unlike the retaking of Kuwait and the occupation of the southern part of Iraq though, such a move would have posed a serious threat to the Iraqi regime. Hussein still had the resources to organize and mount a defense of the country and a drive on the capital by allied forces would have met resistance for that reason.

The imperialists learned this lesson during World War II when the ruling caste in the

Soviet Union sought accommodation with and made many concessions to Germany's Hitler, believing he would not invade. But in June 1941, Hitler launched a massive invasion, quickly capturing a half-million square miles of the USSR. Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin acted in a similar but even more treacherous way than Hussein for nearly the next two years. Then, when the German armies advanced far enough to threaten the regime itself, the Soviet regime gave the workers and peasants the weapons and military organization needed to halt and then reverse the invasion.

Recent reports from the U.S. military highlight the universal character of the fact that there was no ground war. In a March 27 interview with David Frost, Gen. Schwarzkopf described his first report from the commander of the 18th Airborne Corps deep inside Iraq. The invasion began in the early morning hours of February 24.

The commander told the general that he had "captured 3,200 prisoners so far and they are just streaming in and we've accomplished all of our objectives. We are in the Euphrates valley with the 101st." When Schwarzkopf asked the commander for U.S. casualty reports, he was told: "We have one wounded in action."

In a March 26 *New York Newsday* report, senior military officials say the few Iraqi officers captured "assumed Saddam was playing a game of chicken and would turn off the road at the last minute or reach a political compromise." The Iraqi generals "weren't planning to fight a war," they said.

A March 31 *Newsday* report said: "There was no opposition at all to the American attack on Iraq's first line of defense in Kuwait, and only brief resistance at the second. Most Americans never fired a shot. Most allied units escaped without fatalities. Most of the Iraqi tanks that were destroyed had already been abandoned."

"Dazed and starved front-line Iraqi conscripts happily surrendered by the thousands," the article added.

An Army captain told the reporters, "So now you know what it's like if they gave a war and nobody showed."

But that brutally cynical remark masks the truth of Bush's "100 hours war," Barnes said. It was not a war; it was a murderous four-day armored police riot whose real toll in the lives of Iraqi soldiers — and civilians from many countries in Kuwait and Iraq — will never be known.

Treachery of Iraqi regime

The treacherous and brutal course of the Iraqi regime during the war increased the enormous death toll.

"Both the Iraqi government and the imperialist coalition will forever down play the actual number of soldiers killed on the road between Kuwait and Basra," Barnes said.

In what some U.S. pilots called a "turkey shoot," tens of thousands of Iraqis were slaughtered attempting to flee Kuwait. "The intent is to block the enemy forces from escaping into Iraq," said one radio message overheard by a reporter. The transmission referred to huge columns of cars, trucks, and army vehicles backed up for miles on roads leading out of Kuwait.

One pilot told reporters that he was diverted to a secondary road on one mission because so many warplanes were in the area that air traffic controllers thought chances for a collision were too high. Even on the secondary road traffic was backed up for 20 miles, the pilot said.

Less than 10 percent of the vehicles on the road were military, most carrying people and not heavy weapons. "Planes attacked the targets all day long, as weather permitted," one officer said. At one "huge choke point" near the city of Basra smaller warplanes were called off, and giant B-52 bombers, each carrying 51 bombs, were called in to slaughter the fleeing Iraqis.

"This was one of the great atrocities of

modern warfare," Barnes said. "The front of the road was sealed off to the retreating troops. Artillery, mechanized artillery, was brought up on the hill and they simply slaughtered them from three directions with bombs, guns, and artillery. That was the killing zone," Barnes said. "They kept shooting until they thought everyone was dead."

The slaughter of soldiers who weren't carrying heavy weapons, who joined with civilians in fleeing Kuwait from the invasion, is a war crime of the highest magnitude, he said.

"The Iraqi people," the SWP leader said, "were simply led into a slaughter" by the Hussein regime. These results are the work of a capitalist gangster who has no interests of any kind identical to that of the toilers and the great mass of humanity," he said. "The real architect of the defeat was Baghdad and Baghdad's allies."

Barnes said working-class fighters around the world cannot step back one inch from placing a share of the responsibility for this slaughter on Hussein, the Ba'athist Party, and his political supporters.

Devastation of war

"We are now starting to get further knowledge of what the war began tearing apart month ago, both inside Iraq and in neighboring countries," Barnes said.

"What we have just seen is a classical example of a total war," he said. "From day one, the target of the assault was anything in the country that could have contributed to sustaining an army in the field over a long period of time — food, transportation, communications, water, and other means," he said.

This kind of war was waged during the last year of the U.S. Civil War by the Union forces led by Gen. William Sherman on his march to sea, Barnes said.

The March 20 United Nations report detailing the destruction caused by the war revealed not only the damage inflicted by 109,876 bombing sorties, but the blows struck to Iraqi agriculture, industry, health care, and housing by the sanctions initiated by Washington in August 1990.

Exposure of what the war did to the toilers in the region has caused a growing problem for Washington. Responding to the "near-apocalyptic" conditions in Iraq described in the United Nations report, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater vigorously defended the war and repeatedly said that he rejected "the argument that there can somehow be some guilt associated with the destruction of a war caused by Saddam Hussein."

But guilt, debate, and deepening division among the American people is exactly what will build up as the truth about the slaughter, its extension today, and the aftermath of the great bipartisan "military victory" becomes known.

Pointing to the admission by the U.S. government officials that at least 100,000 Iraqi soldiers were killed in the war, Barnes said class-conscious workers must combat attitudes among fellow workers that "at least the war was quick."

A similar feeling swept through a section of the workers' movement after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, "a relief that the war was finally over and, to use ruling class terms 'an invasion of Japan would not be necessary,'" he said.

But communists reject this approach. "We begin not just with what the war did to Americans but to the Iraqis, Kuwaitis, and the hundreds of thousands of immigrant workers who were there when the war was started. These working people were the ones that suffered this," the SWP leader said.

"This is why the proletariat needs a military policy," he said. Those who accepted the political framework of supporting "our troops" and appealed to youth and working people to oppose the war mainly on the basis of the number of body bags of U.S. soldiers

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that might come back helped to disorient fighters and fell into the trap of prowar forces, as did any justification or support to military action in the area or backing some kind of sanctions or military blockade.

The devastation of Iraqi society shows why the military consequences of political decisions are important and the "idea that a lesser evil, such as the sanctions, can lead you forward is dangerous."

With the end of the war against Iraq a shift takes place. "Whether it was the war in the form of the brutal blockade, the large-scale...filtration of Iraq by Special Forces units before the bombing, the massive bombing itself, or the invasion, the war drive continued from August through the invasion with a specific, political logic," the SWP leader said.

"You could guarantee to any fellow worker that the delegate from the Soviet Union would continue to vote with the imperialists in the UN Security Council through to the invasion of Iraq itself."

A shift now takes place, Barnes said. "Instead of seeing the world through the inexorable logic of the advancing war drive in Iraq — which was the engine to accelerate and pick up in a differential way the contradictions of all the class forces and states involved in the world — now that reverses and we see Iraq through the broader world," he said.

"There is no such inexorable logic at work now," Barnes said, either in a settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, relations between the regimes in Syria or Iran and imperialism or Israel, or other intertwined national and class conflicts in the region. These contradictions and conflicts will be fought out in struggle.

Sharper conflicts with imperialist rivals

"We can say one thing for sure about Germany and Japan," Barnes continued. "There will be a further rearmament in both countries and a decision by both ruling classes to use military force to advance their own interests the next time a war like that against Iraq breaks out."

The capitalists in Bonn and Riyadh, Saudi Arabia "have at least one thing in common — the growing discovery that you can't simply buy power. You have to organize it, structure it, and have all its elements. And you have to be willing to use it," Barnes said. "You have to be willing to use it or you will only decline in the late 20th century."

The competition between U.S. imperialism and its German and Japanese rivals "has been accelerated by this war and has prepared a sharper conflict in the next war," Barnes said.

"What we now face," he said, "is the decision both in Tokyo and Bonn to do the one thing that history has proven must be done — to use force, to act abroad militarily."

Both the German and Japanese armed forces are massive and modern. "It's a political decision now, the same one that the ruling family of Saudi Arabia made when they saw the Iraqi tanks up on the border — put the billfold away, put the gold away, put the checkbook away, and find the troops now."

The imperialist ruling classes in Germany and Japan are now "in an accelerated way becoming military powers who will use their military force in the world outside of their own countries," the SWP leader said. "The world has become more unstable; trade, currency, and political conflicts between them and the United States, France, and other competitors will become sharper."

"It's ultimately not simply a political or military question, it's ultimately an economic question," he said. Without using forces abroad the Japanese and German imperialists face the same problems they faced in the war against Iraq.

"These accelerated conflicts slow down the drive toward a common currency in Europe," Barnes said. "Without a common foreign policy, without a common military policy, with the building up of state military

forces to be used for state reasons first and foremost, progress toward a common European Community gets set back."

The relationship of forces that existed before the war are now reasserted, he said. "The British are subordinate to the Germans. The pound is subordinate to the mark. But the British will also try to use, in every way they can, relations with the Americans and use of military power, to take an extra inch or two in this relationship."

The Soviet government's support to Washington through the entire course of the war drive is an example of how the bureaucratic regime's problems are different from the imperialists, going beyond trade or simply reversing the plans of finance capital to cut back on "investment" or loans.

"The imperialists are not solving things for the world and the great majority of people, they are making things worse," he said.

Far from bringing in a "new world order," the war against Iraq is an attempt by Washington to use military might to stave off the crumbling of the old capitalist world order and in the process accelerate and make more public its horrors — if it is not overturned. The imperialist war against the Iraqi people accelerated the contradictions that existed between and within conflicting social classes before the war began.

What lies ahead through the decline of the world capitalist system are more wars with even more devastating consequences for working people the world over, Barnes said. The war against Iraq signaled the opening guns of the imperialists heading toward broader world conflicts and eventually toward World War III.

Whether or not another world war will be inflicted on humanity will be decided over the coming years through battles of the toilers against each new assault by the employers at home and employers' government's wars abroad.

The reason communists must pay attention to the class differentiations among oppressed nations expressed during the war against Iraq was made apparent by the conduct of governments in capitalist Arab countries and the leaderships of national liberation struggles. "The key to understanding the relations among the oppressed nations is the class differentiations," Barnes said.

Broadening of communist leadership

Unless one looks at the world as it is, and not as many people wished it was, "it's impossible to do communist politics," Barnes said. "It's impossible to look to where real fighters are and to believe that they are the agents of change as a whole in the working class, and not the opposite." This course opens up the qualitative broadening of communist leadership on a world scale.

Without clarity on these complexities in the world, he said, it might seem the imperialists are invincible. "But they are a deeply vincible ruling class. They are now substituting military might for declining political and economic power — an attempted substitution that will only destabilize relations between capitalist powers more, not less."

The SWP leader said that in an interview in the March 11 *New Republic* on the 1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada General Schwarzkopf highlighted the problems U.S. imperialism faces in military assaults against countries where working people are organized to resist.

In the interview, the general explained what began as a "quick in, quick and dirty," operation "went sour right away."

The U.S. military assumed Cuban construction workers on the island "weren't going to fight" and that Grenadan anti-aircraft



Results of U.S. bombing of Iraqi troops fleeing Kuwait. The highway was sealed off and U.S.-led allied forces opened fire from three directions on soldiers and others trying to escape. This "was no ground war," said SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes.

gunners would not be effective against the imperialist assault. They were wrong on both counts, he said.

"We had 800 Cubans on the island who were well armed and damn sure were going to fight," the general said. (There were actually fewer than 800 Cuban construction workers who were armed.) The Grenadians fought bravely, remained at their posts, and fired back at U.S. helicopter gunships despite heavy fire.

"Never underestimate your enemy," was Schwarzkopf's conclusion from the unexpected fight against the overwhelming U.S. invasion.

In its war against the Iraqi people, Washington "won a military victory. Now they have a political problem, and it is growing," Barnes said. "The military solution in Grenada and Panama and the political solution were simultaneous. They went there, replaced the governments, and solved their problem as much as they could."

"But this is not true in Iraq or the Arab-Persian Gulf. The military victory has opened up the political fight, opened up the deepening conflict, expanded the death and damage of the civilian toll, precipitated a massive new refugee population with its political implications, and destabilized the entire area," Barnes said.

Working-class campaign

Through its success in waging a working-class campaign against imperialism and war over the past six months the party can build on its capacities to respond as a vanguard of a class, the SWP leader said.

Strengthening the structures and organization of the party, the dual axis of branches and industrial union fractions, is possible now after turning right into and meeting the massive political challenges during the war. A new generation of party members gained invaluable experience through organizing and carrying out a working-class campaign

against imperialism and war and the party as a whole is more politically confident today, he said.

They defended political space on the job and in the unions and reached out more broadly to young fighters coming into the struggle against the war drive. Because of what they did they have the opportunity to take even more space now than before the bombing of Iraq began back in January.

Socialist workers are planning to focus over the next few weeks on distributing the December and April issues of the *International Socialist Review* supplement in the *Militant* (see ad on page 10). They are making plans to introduce *New International* no. 7 to workers, youth, farmers, and others who bought copies of the *International Socialist Review*, those who now want to learn about and discuss Washington's assault on Iraq, and unionists resisting the employers' offensive at home.

The National Committee meeting discussed how through this continued campaign the party can reach out more broadly to young workers, students on college campuses, and elsewhere and recruit to the Young Socialist Alliance.

Ability to respond to the war

The centerpiece of the working-class campaign against imperialism and war continues to be the distribution of the *Militant* and other socialist publications and Pathfinder books and pamphlets among unionists, coworkers, veterans and GIs, farmers, and young people.

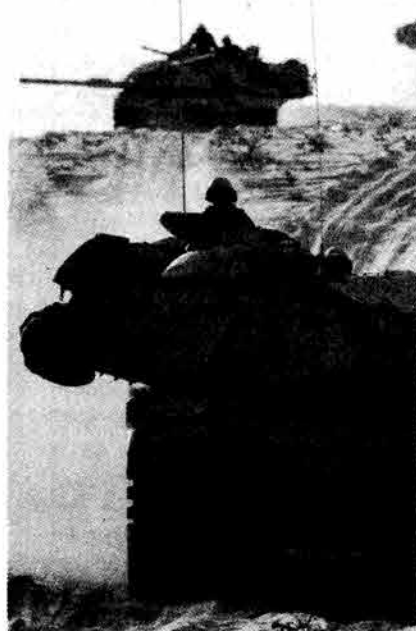
Socialist workers aggressively used the December *International Socialist Review*, the recently published books *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations* and *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, and the *Militant* to get out the truth and help mobilize opposition to the employers' war at home and abroad.

"If there's ever been a six-month period

Continued on next page

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Campaign against imperialism and war

Continued from previous page

in the history of the party where the importance of our ability to rapidly get these materials into print was clear to all of us, you can certainly say it was the last six months," said SWP Political Committee member Mary-Alice Waters in an organization report to the meeting.

"Only with the kind of publishing and printing apparatus that has been built by the volunteer labor, donated time, and voluntary financial contributions of workers and others supporters can the party respond to these kinds of needs and under these kinds of campaign conditions," Waters said.

"The whole political confidence of the party that we've been discussing the last day and a half," she explained, "is rooted in the political clarity achieved by reading, discussing, and campaigning with the books, *International Socialist Review*, and the *Militant*."

Construction project

In her report Waters described the perspectives aimed at further strengthening the party's propaganda apparatus.

Foremost was the announcement that preparatory work by a team of volunteers for a major Pathfinder Building reconstruction project is set to begin in mid-April. The project — which will reorganize and rebuild the SWP national offices, along with those of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Pathfinder* — is set to be in full swing by May.

The construction effort was projected at the second session of the 1990 SWP convention under the banner "Building the Communist Movement in the 1990s."

A capital Expansion Fund for the undertaking was kicked off with a goal of raising \$1 million by August 1991. "We now have pledges for over \$900,000 of the special capital fund," SWP leader Waters said. Of the monies pledged, \$473,400 has been collected.

The goal, Waters explained, is to have the remaining pledges made by June and the entire amount of the fund collected by August.

Waters said two issues of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist* will be published in the next few weeks, as well as several more *Pathfinder* titles this spring.

Waters emphasized that these newspapers, books and magazines are not simply publications, but fighting workers' most powerful weapons in the class war. They combat the lies and obfuscations of the rulers aimed at making us think "we" — working people and the employers — have something in common.

Leading up to and through the imperialist

assault against Iraq, socialists who are members of 10 industrial unions organized an effort to widely distribute selected *Pathfinder* books and to sell subscriptions to the *Militant* and copies of the December *International Socialist Review* to coworkers and fellow unionists. This approach helped advance the overall political work of socialist workers, SWP leader Ernie Mailhot said in his report to the national committee meeting.

Mailhot reported on the progress made over the past several months in sales of the socialist press on the job, discussing Washington's war against Iraq with coworkers, and building among union members the street actions and protests that took place. One highlight was the successful February 21 mobilization of SWP members, with most taking the day off work, to fan out to campuses in their region for the international day of student protests against the war.

Over three weekends in April, SWP members of 10 industrial unions will hold national meetings to discuss their accomplishments and the challenges ahead. These unions include the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; International Association of Machinists; International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; International Union of Electronic Workers; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; United Auto Workers; United Food and Commercial Workers; United Mine Workers of America; United Steelworkers of America; and the United Transportation Union.

"It's very clear," Mailhot said, "that advances we've made since the round of meetings of SWP members in the 10 unions in November and December flowed from campaigning against the war."

Labor movement in retreat

Mailhot explained that while the offensive by the employers and their government has not succeeded in pushing the industrial labor movement out of the center of politics in the United States today, a deep retreat by the unions continues.

This is true even though the all-out rout of the labor movement was broken in the late 1980s by strikes of meatpackers, paperworkers, and others, Mailhot said.

"Union struggles today, such as the fight by the New York *Daily News* workers to defend their union and win a contract, the fighting sentiment of Los Angeles-area United Auto Workers members at McDonnell Douglas, and job actions taken by North Carolina textile workers occur as the actual number of strikes declines and union



Militant/Seth Galinsky

Socialist auto and aerospace workers, who are members of the Socialist Workers Party, discuss campaign against war at national meeting in St. Louis. Communist workers explained throughout the assault why the war was not in the interests of working people and are now receiving a wider hearing.

membership as a whole is at a low point," Mailhot said.

In the face of the employer assault, the union officialdom, instead of organizing the membership to fight effectively to defend its interests and the interests of working people as a whole, has deepened its treacherous collaboration with the employing class.

"This means the bosses have a lot of help right now in continuing their attacks on working people in this country and making the whole situation worse for workers and worse for the union movement," the SWP leader said.

"They have help from officials such as the ones in the rail unions who said during the war, rail workers 'can't strike because of the war.' Now that the war is over they still do nothing," Mailhot said.

Outbreaks of resistance continues

Despite tremendous odds, Mailhot said, outbreaks of resistance to the employers' war on the working class here at home continue to take place.

"Think about what a strike has come to mean for many workers today," the SWP leader said. "Instead of being a tactical move to get into a stronger position vis-à-vis the boss, it has come to signify going into a fight with a leadership that doesn't want to fight, the growing possibility of being permanently replaced by scabs, and maybe winning your job back after mounting a huge struggle and winning solidarity."

Even under these conditions, workers are willing to fight and we can better appreciate battles such as the Eastern Airlines strike, the United Mine Workers' struggle against Pittston Coal Group, the *Daily News* strike, and the Greyhound drivers fight, said Mailhot.

A focus of the national meetings of SWP trade union members will be a discussion on the state of the labor movement today.

Spring circulation campaign

"Discussing and selling the socialist press openly on the job," Mailhot said, "allowed us to stand our ground in the face of the pressures we encountered during the war."

From January 1, through the massive allied bombing of Iraq, the invasion, and bloody slaughter of fleeing Iraqi soldiers, more than 1,300 workers purchased copies of the December *International Socialist Review*, placing the sales effort over the goal. Mailhot reported that many subscriptions to the *Militant* were sold but the goal on this fell short.

"By placing the effort to sell *Militant* subscriptions at the center of what we do, we can boost the subscription base of the paper," Mailhot said. In the continued working-class campaign against imperialism and war, socialist workers will introduce the new issues of *New Internationalist* to coworkers, unionists, and youth who want to discuss the results of Washington's war against Iraq.

At upcoming meetings, socialists who are members of trade unions, as well as branches of the party, will discuss and set goals for a spring subscription drive to last from April 27 through June 15. The goals taken by members of the industrial unions will be listed on the weekly scoreboard along with

the results of their efforts.

The meetings will also discuss efforts to win youth to membership in the Young Socialist Alliance, selling *Pathfinder* books on the job and signing up coworkers in the *Pathfinder* Readers Club, and advancing the financial campaigns of the party.

To strengthen the international fight for freedom for Mark Curtis, SWP members of the 10 unions will work to get union officials and activists to write letters calling for Curtis' immediate parole, along with raising funds and winning new endorsers for the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

Rich experiences

Throughout the national committee meeting, participants described and drew lessons from the rich experiences in campaigning against the war.

An oil worker from Houston explained how long-term subscribers to the *Militant* joined with supporters and members of the SWP in the refinery where she works in campaigning against the imperialist war. "Many of our coworkers have worked in the Mideast and don't have a progressive opinion about the toilers of that region," the oil worker said. "Our common efforts helped expand the reach of the party and take advantage of opportunities to discuss politics."

One of the strike battles that took place during the war is the ongoing fight by Steelworkers at Ravenswood Aluminum Corp. in West Virginia. A participant in the meeting described the fighting spirit of the workforce as they prepare for their April 28 rally. "A two-day sales effort on the picket lines and in the area resulted in 80 strikers and supporters buying copies of the *Militant*," she said.

Participants in the leadership meeting from Sweden described the effort among industrial workers there to campaign against the war and sell the socialist press. "We kept our own scoreboard, and among the successes were the five new subscribers won in the metal workers union alone," a socialist worker from Sweden said.

In France, communists launched an effort to widely distribute *L'internationaliste*, which features an article on the fight against imperialism and war by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes. One worker at the Renault plant in Paris sold 19 copies of the magazine in just a few weeks.

"Most of all, the discussions I have with coworkers about the war drive gets down to one thing — 'us' and 'them,'" an airport worker from Atlanta said. "Many workers believe that 'we' means all Americans," a view that the employers and government promote, he said, but this sometimes changes as workers get a better idea of whose interests the wars are fought in.

The national committee voted to call the 36th Constitutional Convention of the SWP, which will convene on June 26 in Chicago and continue through June 30.

A period of preconvention discussion in SWP branches opened March 25 and will culminate with the five-day convention. Along with SWP members and guests, members of the Young Socialist Alliance and active supporters of the party plan to attend.

Join the campaign to get out the truth

Order your bundles of 'International Socialist Review'

Join *Militant* readers and others campaigning against imperialism and war. Help get out the facts about the war the imperialists waged against the Iraqi people and Washington's aims in the region by distributing the *International Socialist Review* to unionists, working farmers, GIs and reservists, and students and other young people.

New April supplement

The new supplement reprints the main portion of the March 20 United Nations report describing "near-apocalyptic" conditions in Iraq as a result of the U.S.-led war and murderous embargo imposed on that country.

December supplement

This supplement contains two articles by Socialist Workers Party leader Jack Barnes. He outlines the imperialist character of the war against Iraq, the underlying economic and political considerations that drive Washington to war, the broader goals of U.S. imperialism in the Mideast, changes in the U.S. working class that make possible the resistance to the employers' offensive at home and war abroad, and the prospects for building the communist movement today.

Bundles of 100 or more of the April supplement may be ordered for \$.30 each; \$3.50 for 10; \$2.00 for 5; \$.75 for single copies. Bundles of 10 or more of the December supplement may be ordered for \$1 each, a 33 percent discount. Single copies are \$1.50 each. Shipping included. Just send in the coupon below.

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Historic forum on Korea reunification held in Berkeley

BY MARGARET JAYKO

BERKELEY, California — A historic symposium on "Prospects for the Peaceful Reunification of Korea" was held here March 15-16 at the University of California campus. According to event organizers, this was the first time since Korea was divided 46 years ago that scholars from both North and South Korea were allowed to participate, along with Korean-Americans, in a public, open discussion in the United States on reunification.

The U.S. State Department has generally excluded North Koreans from the United States. Those few who do receive visas have tight restrictions on where they can travel once inside the country. For example, the two symposium participants from North Korea's capital, Pyongyang, were confined to the greater Northern California Bay Area.



Militant/Robert Kopeck
South Korean professor and journalist Lee Yueng Hui, imprisoned several times by Seoul regime, was one of 400 participants at meeting on Korea.

The South Korean government granted permission for three prominent dissident intellectuals to attend the symposium. Such permission is necessary because any contact with North Koreans is illegal under Seoul's draconian National Security Law. (After the Korean War ended in 1953, no peace treaty was ever signed; the North and South remain formally at war.)

The South Korean consulate in San Francisco was quoted in a Korean newspaper published in the Bay Area as stating that it was okay for the "average" Korean person to attend the symposium; any "personal" contact with Koreans from the North, however, would have to go through the consulate first.

'Korea Unification Day'

The honorary hosts of the symposium were the University of California, Berkeley; UCB Chancellor Chang Lin Tien; Democratic Rep. Ronald Dellums; and Berkeley Mayor Loni Hancock.

The mayor presented the guests from Korea with a city proclamation marking March 16, 1991, Korea Reunification Day in Berkeley. The document pointed out that since 1945, 10 million families have been divided — unable to meet, talk, or even send or receive mail between the two halves of their divided homeland.

More than 400 people attended the symposium, and many more heard the speakers at a weeklong array of presymposium events organized for students, faculty, and religious people. The big majority of participants were Koreans and Korean-Americans. Some 80,000 Koreans reside in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Students came from all over the United States, including Yale University, Harvard University, New York University, Chicago, and campuses throughout California. Korean businessmen, professors, Buddhist monks, and workers turned out as well. Reporters from major South Korean dailies covered the event, as did the local Korean media. Virtually the entire symposium was translated into

Korean and English.

Banners in both languages that framed the meeting hall read: "One people, one country, one Korea" and "Peace and friendship between the Korean and American people." Student artists produced six giant cardboard figures, flanking each side of the stage. Three of the figures represented fierce-looking U.S. soldiers — one holding an atomic bomb, another a Coca-Cola can, and the other a machine gun. Some 43,000 U.S. troops, armed with nuclear weapons, are currently stationed in Korea. The other three figures were Koreans — holding a book, a shovel, and a cross.

Rev. Gus Schultz, University Lutheran Chapel pastor and University Religious Council president, opened the symposium. The event had been planned, he explained, with the assumption that due to U.S. and South Korean government restrictions, "none of our guest speakers would be able to get visas." All, however, were able to participate, except for one of the North Korean speakers who was too ill to attend.

Suh then introduced Suh Sung, one of the most famous political prisoners in South Korea until his release last February. Suh, a leader of Korea's prodemocracy student movement, was imprisoned in 1971. He was convicted on frame-up charges of spying for the North Korean government. Viciously tortured while in prison, Suh tried to immolate himself. He is now a visiting scholar at UCB's Sociology Department.

Suh struck the major theme of the weekend — Washington's responsibility for dividing Korea and keeping it that way. Washington partitioned Korea, Suh explained, just as the Korean people were liberating themselves from the yoke of Japanese imperialism. Ever since, he said, Washington has supported the succession of South Korean military dictatorships and "obstructed the struggle for peace, democracy, and reunification."

More than 1,300 political prisoners still languish in jails in the south, Suh said.

U.S. gov't obstacle to reunification

The bulk of the symposium consisted of presentations by each of the five guest speakers from Korea. They also had an opportunity to answer questions written to them by members of the audience.

The first speaker was Dr. Kim Gyong Nam, research associate, Institute for Reunification Affairs, Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea). Kim said that the main obstacle to reunification is not the fact that the North and South have two different social systems — capitalist in the South and a workers' state in the North. The major



Militant/Robert Kopeck

Symposium on Prospects for the Peaceful Reunification of Korea held March 15-16 in Berkeley, California. Two North Koreans, as well as three prominent South Korean dissidents, were able to participate in the conference.

obstacle to Korea's reunification is the U.S. military occupation of South Korea and Washington's interference in her internal affairs, he stressed.

Washington tried to occupy all of Korea after World War II, Kim reminded the audience. But it was unable to conquer the North, and so under the pretext of disarming the troops of defeated Japan, U.S. soldiers occupied the southern part.

Washington's current policy, Kim said, is to hamper reunification and instead push the notion of a permanently divided Korea — what's known as a "two Koreas policy." The South Korean authorities have a similar approach — push for recognition of both North and South Korea by major governments, and simultaneously press for two separate seats in the United Nations. (Currently, there is no Korean UN seat.)

There would be no South Korea, the North Korean scholar concluded, without massive military, economic, and political aid from Washington.

The next speaker was Rev. Park Hyung Kyu, chair of the Seoul Cheil Presbyterian Church. He has been imprisoned several times by the regime for his dissenting political activities.

Given the end of the Cold War, "a new world order [is] being created, based on dialogue and reconciliation, interdependence and cooperation, symbolized by the Malta Conference," Park said. In December 1988 U.S. President George Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev held a summit meeting off Malta. Within this new world order, Park said, there are new opportunities for Korean reunification.

It was the process of "capitalistic expansion" that caused Korea to lose its sover-

eignty; and it was through the "ideological confrontation between capitalism and its counterpart, socialism and communism, that Korea was artificially and irrationally divided by superpower rivalry," he continued.

Under Japanese imperialist occupation of Korea in the first half of the twentieth century, "fervent nationalists" waged armed struggle. "Learning from the Russian Bolshevik Revolution, these nationalists brought together the issues of independence and class struggle," Park said. When Tokyo was defeated, however, the U.S. and Soviet governments divided and occupied Korea. Now, both the South and North Korean governments "have designated reunification a priority."

The contradictions wrought by capitalism in the South, Park said, "became the cradle for the Korean national, democratic, and people's movement," which was brutally suppressed by the government. This movement, however, "is not ideologically mature nor organizationally strong enough to topple the capitalistic structure that brought economic development" to the South.

In the 1980s, Park continued, "the revolutionary ideologies of Marxism-Leninism and Juche" — the North Korean government's proindependence ideology — were introduced to "fortify" the movement in the South. These ideologies, he stated, "have not helped the movement but rather have fostered disagreement and disunity within the movement." The Seoul government will "continue to suppress any movement that does not accept the premise of the capitalistic system."

The majority of people in South Korea, "in spite of capitalism's contradictions," believe that capitalism is better than communism,

Continued on Page 13

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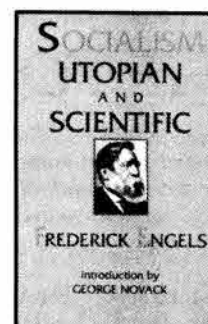
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ALABAMA

Birmingham

Cuba-South Africa: After the Battle. Video. Sat., April 20, 7:30 p.m. 111 21st St. S. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

IOWA

Des Moines

The Soviet Union in World Politics Today. Speaker: Mitchell Rosenberg, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1149. Sun., April 21, 7 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

MASSACHUSETTS

Lynn

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speaker: Margaret Pucci, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Lynn, Massachusetts, mem-

ber Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Sat., April 13, 7 p.m. 88 Broad St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Campaign 1991. Tel: (617) 247-6772.
Malcolm X: His Meaning for Young People Today. Discussion and video. Thurs. April 18, 7 p.m. Community Minority Cultural Center, 33 Sutton St. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. Tel: (617) 247-6772, 581-5394.

MINNESOTA

Austin

Stop Police Brutality. Speakers: Garmez Parks, Twin Cities Committee Against Police Brutality, student, Univ. of Minnesota; Sylvia Giesbrecht, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Austin school board; representative, Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Sun., April 14, 4 p.m. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (507) 433-3461.

OHIO

Cleveland

Korea: The Struggle for Unification. Explosive Fight for National Liberation. Speaker: Kyung Him, Korean student activist. Video of recent labor battles in S. Korea. Sat., April 13, 7:30 p.m. 1863 W 25th St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Gates Must Go! The Fight Against Police Brutality. Sat., April 13, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (215) 546-8196.

The Fight for Our Unions in the 1990s: Can We Win? Sat., April 20, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (215) 546-8196.

Pittsburgh

Help Poor Women Obtain Safe, Legal Abor-

tions. March and rally. Sun. April 21. Assemble noon, Civic Arena; march 1 p.m., Freedom Corner; rally, 2 p.m., Market Square. Sponsor: Women's Health Services. Tel: (412) 562-1900.

UTAH

Price

Los Angeles Police Brutality: An Exception or the Rule? Speaker: representative, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 13, 7 p.m. 253 E Main. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (801) 637-6294.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

Lessons for Today from World War II — Not a War for Democracy. Speaker: representative, Communist League. Sat., April 20, 4 p.m. 19 Terry St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: 02-281 3297.

Forum on Palestine. Sat., April 20, 10 a.m.—4 p.m. University of Technology, Broadway, Room 41. Sponsor: Palestine Human Rights Campaign.

Free Tim Anderson! Public Meeting. Tues., April 23, 6:30 p.m. Glebe town Hall, St. Johns Rd. Glebe. Sponsor: Campaign to Expose the Frame-Up of Tim Anderson.

BRITAIN

London

The Highway to Basra Massacre. Video and eyewitness report from member of news team. Fri., April 12, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: The Militant Forum. Tel: 71-928-7993.

CANADA

Montréal

Young Socialists Discussions on the Middle East War. Every Sun., 3 p.m. 6566 boul. St-Laurent. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Sydney

The Cuban Revolution Today. Speaker: Roger Annis, member Communist League, participant in 1989 work-study tour of Cuba. Sat., April 27, 3 p.m. Center for International Studies, Vogue Annex, Charlotte St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Young Socialists. Tel: (902) 562-9829.

Germany discusses future use of military

Continued from Page 16

"[and which] caused currencies to go haywire. Meanwhile, Japan was debating its own financial problems, seemingly divorced from everyone else."

He concluded with the Gulf war, in which, he noted, "Tokyo and Bonn were thinking in terms totally incompatible with those of

Washington. They had a different notion of world order and the price they were willing to pay — and not just in money — to maintain it."

"What Washington may have failed to anticipate [during the Gulf crisis]," Garten warned his readers, "is that just because Japan and Germany wanted the U.S. out front

didn't mean they would be willing followers. They may, in fact, want a much bigger say in the decision-making process than the U.S. wants to cede. They may have distinctly different interests, too."

After giving examples of the growing economic competition between the three countries, Garten asked, "could it be that the prospects for an internationalist outlook on the part of the Big Three are actually receding rather than progressing?" The "internationalism" which he feels disappearing is the undisputed economic, political, and military domination of U.S. imperialism over its German and Japanese rivals in the years following World War II.

This imperialist spokesperson put his finger on something real. Washington's war in the Mideast accelerated the clash of interests between the rival imperialist powers. The new moves by Germany's rulers to prepare for independent military action, both within and beyond Europe, reflect this deepening conflict.

NEW INTERNATIONAL FUND

Washington's Assault on Iraq Opening Guns of World War III

Celebrating two new issues of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory: no. 7, special issue on Washington's war against Iraq, and no. 8, Che Guevara and the building of socialism.

The meetings listed below launch an international fund-raising effort to make the publication of these issues possible.

ATLANTA

Speaker: John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Birmingham, Alabama, member United Mine Workers of America. Sat., April 13, 7:30 p.m. Penta Hotel, Georgia Room, 590 Peachtree St. NW. Donation: \$5. Tel.: (404) 577-4065.

CHICAGO

Speaker: Mary Zins, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, member United Mine Workers of America. Sat., April 13, 5 p.m. 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$5. Tel.: (312) 829-6815, 829-7018.

NEW YORK

Speaker: Andrea Morell, national leader, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 13, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$5. Tel: (212) 727-8421.

SAN FRANCISCO

Speaker: Joel Britton, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers. Sat., April 13, 7:30 p.m. Airport Travel Lodge, California Room, 326 S. Airport Blvd. Donation: \$5. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA

Speaker: Russell Johnson, contributing editor *New International*. Sat., April 13, 4 p.m. 19 Terry St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$3. Tel: 02-692-3297.

REYKJAVÍK, ICELAND

Speaker: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., April 13, 5 p.m. Hladvarpin. Vesturgata #3B. Sponsors: The Preparation Group (high school students) and supporters of *New International*. Tel: (91) 17513.

Curtis supporters in Sweden host events, win new backing for fight

Continued from Page 2

He discussed Curtis' fight and his own struggle with Dahlrot and others at the event.

Bux Jatoi was the press secretary of the Pakistani Jeay Sindh Students Federation (JSSF) in 1978. He helped organize protests against the rape of a female student by a military officer. The demonstration was attacked by hundreds of police and soldiers, injuring several protesters. One soldier was killed.

The government charged Bux Jatoi and another student leader with instigating students against the government and killing the soldier. Both were sentenced to death. The sentences were later reduced to imprisonment.

After members of the Pakistani Peoples Party hijacked a Pakistan International Airline jet in 1981, the government released and

exiled Bux Jatoi and 50 other political prisoners. He finished his studies as an exile in Bulgaria, but the government there would not allow him to stay. He is now applying for asylum in Sweden. Swedish authorities have thus far rejected his request and he could be deported back to Pakistan.

Curtis supporters have organized phone calls to supporters and special collections among unionists to raise funds for the defense campaign. A collection at a meeting of the Swedish food workers union at the San Remo Bakery raised \$60. Sven Wolter, chairman of the actors union, sang a song written by Joe Hill at the meeting. Hill was a Swedish-born labor activist, executed by the state of Utah in 1915. Wolter made a financial contribution to the Curtis defense.

The campaign in Sweden raised \$1,000 for the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

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ARIZONA: Phoenix: 1809 W. Indian School Rd. Zip: 85015. Tel: (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **San Francisco:** 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

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KENTUCKY: Louisville: P.O. Box 4103. Zip: 40204-4103.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 605 Massachusetts Ave. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

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UTAH: Price: 253 E. Main St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** 147 E 900 South. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: 523 8th St. SE. Zip: 20003. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: 1405 E. Madison. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: 1586 E. Washington St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 5398. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

AUSTRALIA

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BRITAIN

London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 71-401 2293.

Manchester: Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Postal code: M4 4AA. Tel: 061-839 1766.

Sheffield: 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St., Sheffield S3 8GW. Tel: 0742-729469.

CANADA

Montréal: 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Postal code: H2S 3C6. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Toronto: 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400. Postal code: M5V 1S8. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

Vancouver: 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Postal code: V5V 3C7. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

ICELAND

Reykjavik: Klappartíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Tel: (91) 17513.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: 157a Symonds St. Postal Address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 793-075.

Christchurch: 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 656-055.

Wellington: 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Postal address: P.O. Box 9092. Tel: (4) 844-205.

SWEDEN

Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10. Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

Breaking the sound barrier — In Havana, the chairman of the Grammy Awards and president of Capitol Records presented an award to Irakere, the celebrated Cuban band. The award had been



Harry Ring

bestowed in 1979 but thanks to Washington's Cuba embargo, it took 12 years and a trip to Havana to present it.

Might be safer than L.A. — Interviewed in the TV film, "Police Chiefs," Daryl Gates, Los Angeles top cop and defender of club-happy underlings, said he favors moving "criminals" out into the desert. Give them "a rake and some seeds and let them fend for themselves," the chief said. To discourage escapes, he'd build "a mile of land mines and a wall."

The New Order — In 1975, a reported 75 percent of U.S. jobless qualified for unemployment insurance. By this past February, those covered had been sliced down to 37 percent.

Think you got troubles? — In

the current recession, reports the Boston Globe, well-paid professionals are losing their jobs, as well as factory workers. The toll is substantial. For instance, a boutique is renting \$900 briefcases by the day because they can't sell them.

Skip the shock, buy quality — It's reported that for the first time in nearly a decade, the price of goodies didn't surge past the general inflation rate, with some items actually trailing the reported 6.2 percent rise in living costs. Like, a Rolls-Royce Corniche III had a sticker price of \$226,700, only 5 percent more than the previous year.

A new falsie? — Tamara Rhoads, "Miss Georgia USA," protested directives from the pageant director. "I was told I needed to get a breast augmentation, have liposuction, get collagen injected into my lips," Rhoads said. "I told him no." Responded the director, "The allegations are false."

Or maybe another dime an hour — Sam Walton, who makes money like a cop from his Wal-mart retail chain, sends messages to his "associates." The following message from Sam was forwarded by a truck-loading, \$4.50-an-hour "associate": "I believe people who choose the path of extra effort are demon-

strating their love for humanity and posterity."

Me and Ralph — From Montréal comes word of Atlantique, a car wax. At \$500, it seems pricey, but only 500 containers are being produced. And, it's the same wax that was created for designer Ralph Laurent, whose Bugatti Atlantic has won numerous awards for elegance.

Thought for the week — "Everybody's focusing on consumer confidence. The problem is, you can't spend confidence." — Lawrence Chimerine, economic adviser to McGraw Hill.

Historic forum held on reunification of Korea

Continued from Page 11

nism, asserted Park, "because it allows individual freedom." That's why many people in the South support Seoul's reunification proposal, which has the goal of a united capitalist Korea.

Park advocated high-level governmental negotiations to facilitate rapid reunification, preceded by "non-political exchanges, such as visitations of separated families and exchanges of academic, religious, and cultural groups."

Prof. Pak Yong Su, deputy director of the Committee for Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland in Pyongyang, spoke next. War on the Korean peninsula is a "real and constant danger," he said, as a result of the tense military standoff between the two states, and the presence of U.S. troops in the South.

Pak discussed the two basic views on reunification. He first explained the North Korean government's proposal to rapidly establish a single confederated government, while maintaining two different social systems and two different local governments. This is possible, Pak said, because the vast majority of Korean people — regardless of where they live — favor reunification. In the South, he said, the struggle for reunification is closely linked to the fight to win independence from U.S. domination.

Pak then criticized the reunification plan of the South Korean government, which proposes an initial process of the people in the North and South getting to know each other, followed by a unified constitution and a general election leading to the founding of a "unified democratic republic."

This assumes a process like in Germany, where the capitalist west "assimilated" the workers' state in the east, according to Pak. But the DPRK, he stressed, is not like the countries in eastern Europe; the "establishment of capitalism in the DPRK is not a possibility," he stated.

Thus the plan put forward by DPRK President Kim Il Sung in 1980 for a confederated, democratic republic is the most realistic, Pak insisted.

Pak pointed out that since Washington's invasion of Grenada in 1983, the U.S. government has demonstrated a willingness to wage war against countries that pose obstacles to its interests — from Panama to Libya to Iraq. In light of the U.S. government's military success in the Arab-Persian Gulf, he added, the possibility of military adventures in Korea cannot be ruled out.

Women's rights, reunification

The evening before the symposium started, 55 people — mostly young Korean and Korean-American women — turned out to hear Prof. Hyun Back Chung from Sung Kyun Kwan University in Seoul speak on the struggles of Korean women in the labor movement. Chung is currently a visiting professor at Harvard University.

At the symposium, she explained the ways in which working-class women in South Korea are especially victimized by the division of their homeland, including the massive institutionalized prostitution.

Chung advocated a North-South peace treaty, abolition of the National Security Law, withdrawal of U.S. troops, an end to the joint U.S.-South Korean annual Team Spirit military exercises, getting to know more about the situation of North Korean women, disarmament, and an end to company-organized hooligan assaults on South Korean women workers fighting for their rights.

Prof. Lee Yueng Hui, from Hanyang Uni-

versity in Seoul, presented a detailed refutation of the myth that the North Korean military is larger and more belligerent than that of the South. Lee has been jailed for his political activities.

Washington's role in reunification?

A lively, and at times, heated, exchange took place at a roundtable discussion Saturday evening on the role of the United States in reunification. Panelists included several people associated with Korea in the United States as well as the speakers from Korea.

Prof. Robert Scalapino, from the University of California, Berkeley, presented the U.S. State Department's view: Moscow, Beijing, and Tokyo are all adopting Washing-

ton's "two-Korea" policy; Pyongyang should open up its nuclear facilities to international inspection; reject "terrorism"; and soften its "rhetoric" as a way to further knit relations with Washington. Scalapino announced that he is leading a delegation in May to Japan, China, the Soviet Union, Seoul, and Pyongyang to discuss these questions.

Pak from Pyongyang explained that North Korea would be ready for UN International Atomic Energy Agency inspection when Washington is.

Ying Lee Kelly, administrative aid to Rep. Ronald Dellums, reviewed the parallels between Washington's war against Iraq and its war in Korea, as well as Washington's history of intervention in Third World countries.

Plans launched for Pathfinder Mural repair

BY MERYL LYNN FARBER

NEW YORK — The Friends of the Pathfinder Mural in New York have launched plans for a restoration effort to repair the six-story work of art, which was defaced by vandals.

The giant mural, located on Manhattan's west side, adorns the Pathfinder Building. On March 17 two glass containers were hurled at the mural, splattering paint and acid on several portraits.

The mural depicts the struggle of the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world and their leaders, many of whose written works are published by Pathfinder press. The mural was the collective undertaking of 80 artists from 20 countries who donated their time and effort to create the public work of art.

At a protest meeting set for April 20, Friends of the Pathfinder Mural will launch an ambitious project to remove the paint and corrosive material hurled at the mural and repaint the damaged portraits.

The meeting will address the most recent attack on the mural, the second since the mural's unveiling in November 1989, and speak out against the numerous attacks on freedom of artistic expression and democratic rights that have occurred in the past year.

A fund appeal for \$2,000 needed to repair the mural is being mailed to supporters in the United States and around the world. A team of artists is now being assembled who will begin this work at the end of April. The restoration project will run through May. Many of the artists who helped create the mural in the almost three-year project are being contacted. New volunteer artists are being sought, as well.

Messages condemning the attack and urging New York City authorities to press forward the investigation and prosecution of the vandals continue to be sent to Mayor David Dinkins. In the past week messages have arrived from artists, professors, and unionists around the country and the world.

Malcolm McAllister and John Walsh, artists from New Zealand who worked on the mural, wrote to Mayor Dinkins. "The mural will, we are sure, be restored and protected. We request that you use your good offices to aid the mural's custodians to repair the damage, help with further security, and see to it that everything possible is done to bring the perpetrator of this attack to justice." One of McAllister's portraits, that of José Martí, was damaged in the attack.

Kim Ramsey, president of International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE) Local 1002 in Seattle, wrote in part, "I am outraged by the violence and destructive tactics used by the vandals.... The city should take a leadership role against this form of intimidation and preserve freedom for truly civilized political debate, education, and expression."

Messages were also received from Alderman Harry Rankin of the City of Vancouver, British Columbia; Jonathan Boyarin from the International Jewish Peace Union of New York; Charles Tilly, Director, the Center for Studies of Social Change of the New School for Social Research in New York; John Langford, Recording Secretary of United

Steelworkers of America Local 8319, Salt Lake City; and many others.

Industrial workers who are supporters of the mural have begun to seek support from coworkers in the mines, mills, and factories they work in. A dozen members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union signed a support statement circulated at the union hall. A member of IUE Local 485 in Long Island volunteered to deliver a press packet to a Haitian radio station he listens to.

Protest letters should be sent to: Mayor David Dinkins, City Hall, New York, N.Y. 10007. Fax (212) 791-9628. Copies and funds should be sent to Friends of the Pathfinder Mural, 191 7th Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

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NEW YORK — "I think this war is uncalled for and I think my son and all the other sons died in vain," Frank De Marchi told a *New York Times* reporter in a telephone interview that appeared in the April 8 issue. De Marchi was informed the day before that his son Frank, Jr., 22 years old, had been killed in Vietnam.

"It was like all the others," De Marchi said about his son's last letter. "He said it was a lousy war, that he didn't like it and that he thought it was unnecessary." De Marchi told the interviewer he opposed the war before his son had been sent to Vietnam, and that many people share his feelings about the war. De Marchi is a truck driver and a combat veteran of World War II.

THE MILITANT

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

April 19, 1941

One thing about the neutrality pact that Stalin signed with Japan on April 13 is as clear as daylight: Stalin by means of the pact, has dealt a severe blow to the struggle of the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism.

Stalin's mouthpiece in the United States, the *Daily Worker*, can shamelessly assert that "out of the present Soviet-Japanese pact the Chinese people will gain." But the unalterable fact remains that in the midst of a life-and-death struggle on the part of the Chinese people to expel the Japanese invader, Stalin signs a pact with that same invader.

The *Daily Worker* does not attempt to explain just how the Chinese people will gain out of the pact. It makes that mere assertion and wants everybody to be satisfied with it. But not even dupes of Stalin can swallow that.

The pact does not in so many words say that the Soviet Union will cease to send arms to China. This may be explicitly part of the secret clauses which undoubtedly are part of the pact. More important, the signing of the pact this moment, in and of itself, constitutes a blow at the Chinese people.

Especially so because by promising in a declaration connected with the pact to respect the territorial integrity of Japan's puppet, Manchukuo — the right of Japan to that part of China is virtually recognized.

And if the Chinese people have been dealt a blow by Stalin, it stands to reason that the Soviet Union has also suffered. Because tens of millions of Chinese and the masses of the Far East generally will be alienated from the Soviet Union by this serious blow dealt to the Chinese by Stalin. Thereby Stalin has weakened the only real defense of the Soviet Union — the support of the masses.

UN council sheds crocodile tears

In the preamble to Resolution 687, which sets the United Nations Security Council conditions on Iraq for implementing a permanent cease-fire, the council claims it is affirming its commitment to the "sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence" of Kuwait and Iraq.

But in that strange world of doublespeak that has marked the Security Council's actions, statements of principle in reality cover up their opposite. The council has once again rubber-stamped Washington's proposals to punish the Iraqi people.

The five permanent members of the Security Council, who hold veto power: the governments of Britain, France, China, the Soviet Union, and the United States; and the other council members who backed the resolution, have demonstrated through their demands on the Iraqi government that they do not have one ounce of concern for the Iraqi people.

The Security Council shoved aside the report by the UN under secretary-general, which said conditions in Iraq were "near-apocalyptic" and that "drastic international measures" were immediately needed to avoid a "catastrophe."

Instead the council voted to continue many of the sanctions and impose onerous conditions on Iraq.

Only the voice of Cuba stood out, clearly condemning the council's actions. Ricardo Alarcón, Cuba's ambassador to the UN, called the sanctions "unjust and unjustifiable." He pointed out that the sanctions are the "cause of the ongoing misery and problems the Iraqi people face." Alarcón called for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraqi territory and for an end to the violations of its sovereignty.

Cuba's truly principled stand, often a minority of one on the council, is an example to the world.

Washington is not satisfied with the eight months of

economic embargo and six weeks of uninterrupted bombing which devastated Iraq's electrical power, water supply, and agriculture.

The tons of smart and dumb bombs dropped on Iraq, including on Kurdish towns in the north and Shi'ite-majority towns in the south, killed thousands of Iraqi workers and farmers, Kurds and Arabs, Shi'ite and Sunni Muslims. The continued sanctions and the council's other conditions are economic bombs that will result in more deaths and misery for the Kurds, the Shiites, and all the Iraqi people.

Millions around the world are beginning to see the harsh results of the U.S.-led war. Many are questioning Washington's course; they see the vindictiveness of the Security Council resolution, the crocodile tears shed for the Kurds, and the growing plight of the Iraqi people.

Two supplements to the *Militant*, the December and April editions of *International Socialist Review*, are important contributions to exposing the truth about the imperialist war and its aftermath.

The December issue carries "Working-class campaign against the imperialist war drive," an indispensable tool for understanding what is behind the U.S. actions. The April edition contains the main text of the UN report on the catastrophic conditions in Iraq: the stark facts on the results of the war.

U.S. Hands off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations, published by Pathfinder, exposes the hypocrisy of Washington and its allies on the Security Council.

Now is the time to take advantage of the growing debate to get out the facts about the U.S. war drive by distributing these three publications to workers, farmers, students, GIs, and all those who, unlike Washington, are concerned about humanity. We encourage the readers of the *Militant* to join us in this effort.

Keep pressure on to oust Gates

Labor unions, civil rights organizations, student groups, and working people everywhere should send protest messages and participate in the rallies and demonstrations to demand that Police Chief Daryl Gates be forced out of office.

The battle is deepening with the recent decision of the Los Angeles City Council to reinstate the city's top cop and commander-in-chief.

The council's action, along with Gates' determination to keep his position, have clearly demonstrated that the fight to get him out is a necessary step and is at the heart of the struggle against police brutality in Los Angeles and elsewhere.

The actions of the council and the show of support for Gates also make it clear that the fight for his removal is a big one. To realize this goal we need to keep up the pressure. This will require mobilizing the broadest possible number of organizations and individuals to join in the fight and turn out for the next actions.

The wide backing received for the April 6 protest, including from the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, indicates there is an important opportunity to increase the active support for this battle from the unions, young people, and working people as a whole.

The recent demonstration, which drew 5,000 people, also showed that a floodgate has been opened. More and more working people are stepping forward with their own stories of cop harassment, intimidation, and violence. They have witnessed brutality against others or have fallen victim to it themselves.

As more incidents of cop violence in Los Angeles and in other cities come to light, and as the protests against them

mount, it shows this is not simply a case of one rotten apple. The brutal behavior of the cops in Los Angeles is in reality standard operating procedure for all cops.

As one unionist commented at the April 6 protest, this fight is a union issue. He was right in stating that cop brutality indeed "could migrate straight over to the picket line" and that this is "an issue for everybody who belongs to this community."

The force and violence of the cops are wielded against human beings. Their actions, backed up by cop boss Gates, are a barbaric violation of the most basic of human rights. When the rights of some are trampled upon, all working people become the victims.

If such brutal methods are left unchecked, and allowed to operate freely, it will serve to embolden others to mete out their own forms of force and violence to get what they want. Topping the list are the employers.

But a victory in the fight to oust Gates can send a powerful message that violence against working people will not be tolerated. Getting Gates out would make other cops and law-enforcement authorities think twice about how far they can go in victimizing others. It would push back the employers' ability to use cops against strikes, union protests, or other social protest actions.

The gauntlet has been thrown down. The cops and the city council have vowed to stand behind their commander. We need a countermobilization to defeat their campaign to defend Gates. We must wage the kind of fightback that can draw the biggest numbers to the next demonstrations and protests. We must step up the pressure to force Gates out of office.

Korea meeting a victory

The historic symposium on "Prospects for the Peaceful Reunification of Korea" held in Berkeley, California, March 15-16, represents a significant victory for the working people of Korea and the United States.

Many obstacles had to be overcome for Koreans from the two parts of the peninsula to engage each other, Korean-Americans, and the U.S. public in a civil discussion and exchange of views on the destiny of their country.

The U.S. State Department has generally excluded North Koreans from the United States. Travel restrictions make it very difficult for U.S. citizens to visit the North. The United States has no diplomatic relations with North Korea. Diplomats from North Korea to the United Nations are strictly limited by U.S. authorities to a 25-mile area in New York around the UN complex.

The U.S.-backed regime in Seoul, the capital of South Korea, has harshly punished Koreans in the South for traveling to and having contact with their compatriots in the North, or for even holding ideas opposed to the regime's policies.

Not only do draconian laws exist in the South to create a legal barrier between the two parts of the country, but Seoul built a concrete wall in 1977 with Washington's aid that today runs across the width of the peninsula, physically dividing the country in two.

The barriers erected by Washington and Seoul are an obstacle to Korean self-determination and the reunification

of the country. They also help keep hidden from working people in the United States Washington's true role in the occupation, domination, and exploitation of South Korea.

Since the 1950-53 U.S. war in Korea, 43,000 U.S. troops equipped with nuclear weapons have occupied the South. Washington conducts annual "military exercises," currently under way, involving hundreds of thousands of troops to amplify its presence in the region and maintain the division of Korea.

But the sentiment and struggle for reunification and self-determination is growing among people in Korea — especially in the South, and among those living in other countries — particularly among the large Korean communities in Japan and here in the United States. The symposium in Berkeley reflected this.

Breaking down the barriers that separate working people in Korea from each other and from working people in the United States is essential to getting out the truth and advancing the cause of reunification.

Meetings like the one in Berkeley help clarify the stakes in the struggle for Korean self-determination and provide an opportunity to lift the veil on a hidden chapter of U.S. history.

Working people, defenders of democratic rights, and others have a stake in demanding Washington and Seoul drop their undemocratic restrictions so that more meetings, exchanges, and discussions on Korean reunification can take place.

A cop is a cop is a cop. . . .

BY DOUG JENNESS

Since the March 3 cop beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles, a nationwide battle has been joined over the ouster of Police Chief Daryl Gates. Reactionary forces, emboldened by the rightward political shift generated around Washington's aggression in the Middle East, are rallying to the defense of Los Angeles's top cop.

On the other hand, opponents of police brutality across the country are stepping up pressure for the immediate and permanent removal of Gates. A victory in this fight will strengthen the efforts to curb the abuse of the police and

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

give working people more elbow room to organize to defend our rights.

The fight to remove Gates has sparked a debate over the role of the police in our society. One common view is that the Los Angeles Police Department is exceptionally bad and the behavior of cops there is not representative of cops around the country.

"Police brutality is not the norm," was the headline of an op-ed column in the April 5 *New York Times* by former New York Police Commissioner Patrick Murphy, who is currently director of the police policy board of the U.S. Conference of Mayors. He stated that the "violence by more than 20 officers and a sergeant seen in Los Angeles, could not have occurred in New York or many other cities where chiefs exercise tight control through accountability, internal investigation, and strong leadership."

Even some radical-minded opponents of police brutality slip into this view of Los Angeles exceptionalism. In a column in the April 4 *Wall Street Journal*, Alexander Cockburn, who also writes a regular column for the *Nation*, a weekly liberal magazine, wrote, "A strong, reforming police chief, backed by a strong and politically secure mayor, can turn around a scandal-torn and violence-prone department. It happened in Houston, where Mayor Kathryn Whitmore fired her city's version of Daryl Gates, brought in Lee Brown, and gave him full support. Today, Houston's reputation for uncontrolled police violence has subsided, and Chief Brown has moved on to lead the New York City Police Department."

Just two days before this article appeared, however, Ira Glasser, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, issued a report on police brutality in Washington, D.C. The report describes nine cases of police brutality in cities from New York to San Francisco which illustrate "an endemic problem that did not begin and will not end with the Rodney King case in Los Angeles," Glasser told reporters. He said the ACLU gets "tens of thousands" of complaints about police brutality across the country each year.

The article in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* on Glasser's news conference was accompanied by a March 29 AP photo showing three Charleston, South Carolina, cops pinning Howard Sims, a Black man, against a wall and kneeling him in the groin. The caption reports that Sims was released later and police said he was mistaken for another man.

Far from revealing the unique character of police brutality in Los Angeles, the beating of King has sparked victims and families and friends of victims in communities across the country to speak up about hundreds of other incidents of police abuse and to press for justice in their cases.

The debate over the police has generated increased demands for stiffer penalties, review boards, more Black and female cops, and so on.

Working people have a big stake in fighting for and defending curbs on police harassment and abuse. At the same time it is necessary to have a clear understanding of what cops are and their role in capitalist society.

The image projected of cops — at least of "honest" cops — in our society is that they stand above special interests and uphold justice. But there is no such thing as "justice" in the abstract. Our society is divided into classes — between a handful of exploiters who live off the wealth produced by an exploited majority.

The capitalist rulers dominate the entire legal system and codes of conduct, and the cops are hired to serve and defend their interests.

The rulers fear any threat of revolt or refusal to accept authority, and the duty of their cops is not "justice," but pacification. Intimidation, harassment, brutal beatings, shootings, and torture are a necessary part of what cops are expected to do. Their main job is not even apprehending suspected wrong-doers and turning them over to the courts, but to administer as much punishment themselves as they can get away with. That's what they did to Rodney King in Los Angeles and Howard Sims in Charleston. It's what they do thousands of times every day in every city and town throughout the country.

Women rail workers win antidiscrimination suit

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

Working people around the world are involved in skirmishes over speedup, forced overtime, layoffs, or attacks on health and safety benefits. Unionists faced with steep takeback demands,

policy forcing women to stop work after the 26th week of pregnancy regardless of their physician's recommendations.

The suit, filed by the American Civil Liberties Union, also provided financial damages for Lori Austin, Jo Askew, and Janet Gryczan, who worked on trains out of BN's Seattle terminal. Austin is a member of the Brotherhood of

would see that women "are to be reckoned with." She described the blatantly sexist attitude of BN officials during her pregnancy, including an incident when a manpower supervisor yelled that she had to decide "whether to be a mommie or a railroader."

The company's pretense to protecting unborn children, Gryczan argued, "is really based more on keeping women down."

Burlington Northern employs 33,000 people. Only 2,380 are women. Of the 24,800 that work "on-line jobs" as engineers, trainmen, repair people, or heavy equipment operators, only 403 are women.

Gryczan hopes that the victory won against BN, along with the recent Supreme Court decision, will encourage women to apply for jobs that have traditionally been for men only.

Twenty-five thousand, including workers, members of community organizations, and students, protested in Albany, New York, March 19 against deep budget cuts proposed by Gov. Mario Cuomo's administration.

In a move not seen in Albany in decades, city police closed off all streets surrounding the capitol complex where spirited marchers assembled. Hundreds of buses

brought them to Albany.

The demonstration was called by the Black and Puerto Rican Caucus of the New York State Legislature which said the proposed state budget cuts will devastate the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

Some of the state's largest unions turned out big contingents of marchers. A sea of union jackets, hats, banners, and placards circled the capitol. Workers demanded the state government tax the rich and not cut the benefits of working people and the poor.

In a separate action that later merged with the larger labor-led march, hundreds of students from the City University of New York and the State University of New York rallied against the cuts in the education budget proposed by the Cuomo administration. The cuts will increase the size of many classes and phase out the Regents Scholarship Program, which aided students in paying tuition and room and board.

A small group of students entered the capitol and sought a meeting with Governor Cuomo which did not take place. After waiting for about an hour and a half, a brief scuffle broke out which resulted in the arrest of eight students — an event sensationalized by the media.

Some 500 state employees repre-

sented several different unions rallied March 25 in Annapolis, Maryland, to protest attacks against state workers.

Gov. William Schaefer and the state legislature are proposing the elimination of annual step wage increases, cost-of-living raises, and overtime pay benefits. The Schaefer administration also wants to extend the current 35 and a half hour workweek to 40 hours with no increase in pay. Protests last fall forced the latter proposal to be shelved. But now the Governor insists it will go into effect July 1 as an alternative to layoffs of state workers.

Two members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) are filing a complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. A statement released by Bill Bolander, executive director of AFSCME Council 92, said "the proposed change in the state employees workweek from 35 and a half hours to 40 hours is not only unfair, but is especially discriminatory against women." Women workers will have to shoulder additional child care and other costs without corresponding increases in pay.

Robbie Scherr from Seattle; Larry Lane from Albany, New York; and Edwin Fruit from Baltimore contributed to this article.

ON THE PICKET LINE

lockouts, and union-busting moves by the employers have gone on strike to force the bosses to back down.

We invite you to contribute short items to this column so fighting workers around the world can read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines to let *Militant* readers know about what is happening at your workplace or in your union. If there is an interesting political discussion going on at work, we would like to hear about that too.

Pregnant railroad workers will be treated like employees with any other type of physical disability under terms of a court victory won by three women workers against the Burlington Northern railroad (BN). The court also struck down BN's

Locomotive Engineers; Askew and Gryczan belong to the United Transportation Union.

The three sued BN because they were denied the opportunity to work light-duty assignments during their pregnancies even though the railroad routinely allows employees to do so if injured or disabled outside of work.

The case attracted a lot of media coverage because BN is one of the largest employers in Washington State and is one of the country's largest railroads. The victory came the same week the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously ruled that companies cannot restrict women from dangerous areas of a plant in a differentiated way from the male employees.

Janet Gryczan, now a conductor, on Amtrak, said in an interview that the three filed suit so the corporation

LETTERS

Québec and NDP

As a former resident of Montréal, I have been reading your articles on the growth of support for sovereignty within Québec with a great deal of interest. It is commendable that the *Militant* has attempted to bring this issue to the attention of socialists and other progressives here in America. However, it is unfortunate that the article in the March 22nd *Militant* is faulty on several points.

To continue to maintain that the Québécois still suffer systematic discrimination on the basis of their language 13 years after the passage of the Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language, is an untenable position. Bill 101 has clearly established the primacy of French within Québec.

It is true that the Canadian Supreme Court has ruled important clauses of Bill 101 unconstitutional, but these rulings are a de facto dead letter. No Québec government will ever enforce them.

To state the New Democratic Party (NDP) has "sided with the Canadian ruling class in its anti-sovereignty campaign" is a gross distortion of the NDP position. The NDP as a social democratic and Canadian nationalist party is committed to maintaining a Canadian identity and society with a modicum of independence vis-à-vis the United States.

The NDP does not wish to see Canada geographically split in two, by a sovereign Québec, because the party holds that Canada is a more egalitarian society than the United States.

Lucas Wheeler
Honolulu, Hawaii

Firing backfires

A victory was scored for the right of oil refinery workers to hold and express antiwar views when I was reinstated as a process operator on the Catalytic Cracking Unit at Amoco's Whiting, Indiana, refinery.

On January 30 I had received a demotion for being a "poor" operator and was returned to the Lube Plant (barrel house) at substantially lower wages and at the bottom of the seniority list.

The fact that I had been an operator for almost a year with no prob-

lems led coworkers to believe that the demotion was politically motivated. Especially as I was outspoken in opposition to Big Oil's war against Iraq in numerous discussions, encouraging coworkers to attend antiwar activities, and sporting antiwar buttons on my work clothes.

With the launching of the war and the support given to "our troops" by most coworkers, the company obviously felt the time was ripe. However, management seriously underestimated the democratic sentiments of my coworkers and the impact my other pronoun and anti-apartheid political work had achieved.

Several coworkers spoke out in my defense — including one who had converted signs stating "Support our troops" and "Free Kuwait" into "Support Bob Robertson" and "Free Bob Robertson."

Union officers acted steadfastly in my defense, resulting in a favorable outcome February 24, including my receiving back pay, reinstatement with full rights, etc. The victory will help block any further attempts by management to victimize workers for political or any other reasons.

Bob Robertson
Chicago, Illinois

Plowshares 8

We never see articles about the Plowshares 8 or others imprisoned because of offering sanctuary to the refugees from Central America, such as the Christic Institute.

The coverage of the demonstrations against the war in the Persian Gulf was terrific!

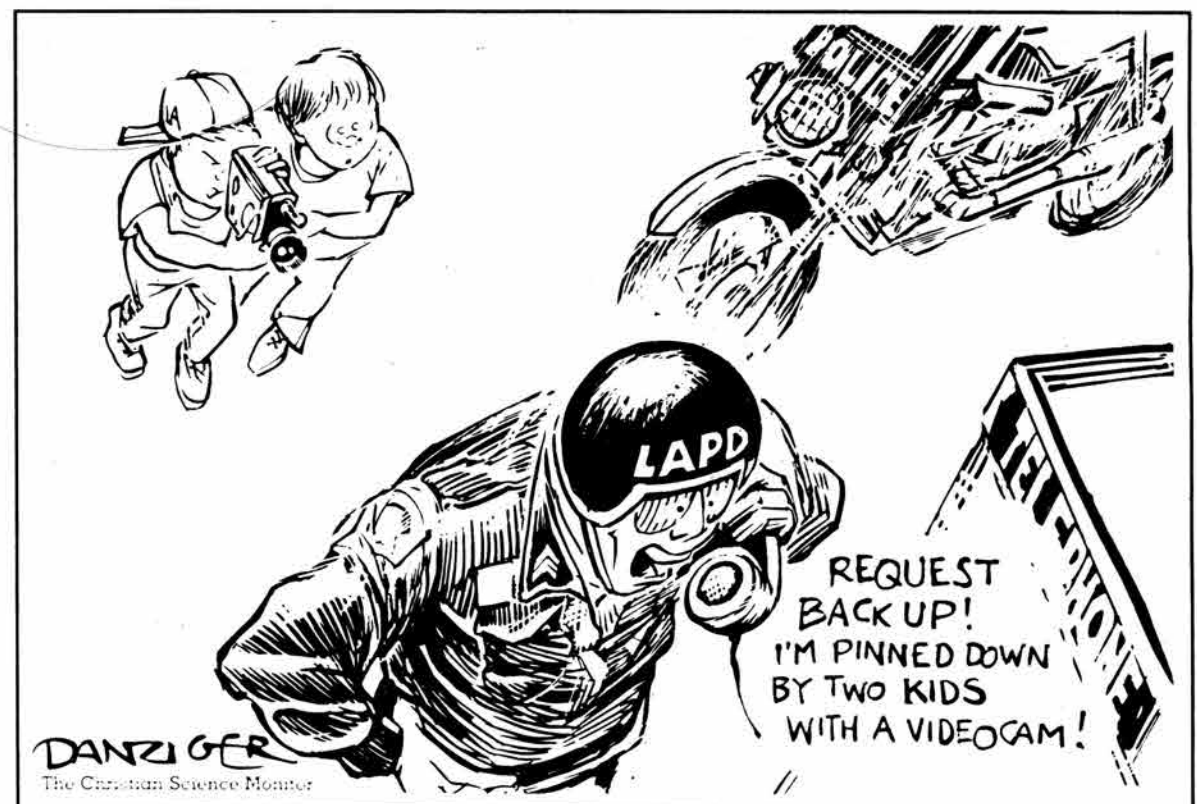
I have not listened to the news on TV or radio about the Persian Gulf since Bush felt compelled to prove he was not a "wimp."

N.D.
Chicago, Illinois

Cuban diplomat speaks

José Antonio Arbesú, head of the Cuban Interests Section in the United States, drew 100 people when he spoke at the World Trade Center in Portland, Oregon, March 12.

He answered questions about Cuba's recent campaign in the UN Security Council against the U.S.-led war on Iraq, Cuba's rectification campaign, steps to conserve energy



in Cuba, and how Cuba is maintaining its commitment to education, health care, and public services.

Commenting on the many governments around the world that are relying on capitalist market mechanisms to solve their growing economic problems, he said, "They look at the developed capitalist world, at Japan, at the United States, and think that is their future. They are wrong. The capitalism they will get will be the capitalism of the Third World, the capitalism of underdevelopment and poverty for the masses."

Floyd Fowler
Portland, Oregon

Used to be brainwashed

I am a Latino socialist who is concerned about all the Latinos living in Central America and South America.

I used to be brainwashed by all the U.S. system's political propaganda on their so-called "American way." I used to accept the government's aggression against the poor.

But through my own experiences and research into capitalism and socialism I've discovered all the censorship, lies, and suppression of the

truth this system practices.

I'm totally disgusted, pissed off with the U.S. attack on the innocent Arabian peoples of Iraq. And what about all the people here in the U.S.A. — the poor, the laborers? Will we always suffer under the lash of their corrupt system?

A prisoner
Crescent City, California

Truth can't be hidden

I hope you will find time in coming issues to teach other prisoners about political awareness of the working-class people and the racist attacks and brutality being committed by the soldier-cops of Imperialism, like that which was dealt to Mr.

King of Los Angeles. The truth can't be hidden in the *Militant*.

I would like to hear more on the struggle of our Cuban comrades and their views; on the aftermath of Bush's war in the Mideast; and the land occupation of the new Saudi America.

A prisoner
Crescent City, California

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Militant Prisoner Fund

Enclosed is my contribution \$_____ to help defray the costs of providing *Militant* subscriptions to prisoners.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____ Zip _____

Clip and mail to the *Militant*, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

German government discusses steps toward use of military force abroad

BY GEORGE BUCHANAN

Immediately following the cease-fire declaration by U.S.-led forces in the Gulf war, Germany's rulers began setting the stage to send German military forces abroad in the future.

Proposals by Chancellor Helmut Kohl to amend the constitution to make this possible have sparked sharp divisions in German ruling circles over how broadly to project such involvement right now.

During the war, Germany's imperialist rulers had to stand by and watch their major rival, Washington, increase its leverage in a region on whose oil resources Germany heavily depends. They were also pressured to contribute \$6.6 billion to Washington for the war.

Germany's rulers see they must be in a position to deploy their own fighting forces to avoid being crippled in their ability to act as a world imperialist power. Its armed forces are modern and substantial. They include almost 5,000 tanks, 666 fighter planes, and more than 700 helicopters. Germany is also at the forefront of developing some areas of military technology, including, for example, sophisticated gas-sniffing vehicles supplied to allied forces in the Gulf war.

In recent years Germany has spent more than 50 billion DM (DM=US\$60) on its military annually, some 19 percent of national expenditures. Germany has 480,000 people in its armed forces, with a further 750,000 reservists. In October 1990, just prior to reunification of the country, West German leaders pledged that over the next four years they would slightly reduce the total active military personnel to 370,000.

Fighter planes in Turkey

Germany's military commitment to the Gulf war was limited to a squadron of 18 fighter planes stationed in Turkey. Kohl took pains at the time to stress that these planes were not carrying sufficient fuel to reach Iraq. German leaders explained this stance as being necessary to keep the commitment strictly within the terms of Germany's membership in NATO. Kohl insisted that the constitution of Germany required this, although his own aides explained that the real reason was fear of the



German troops departing for Turkey during Mideast war. Germany's rulers have taken steps to prepare use of their military power abroad.

political cost of going beyond the boundaries of NATO. As one aide said: "We had to hide behind the constitution, because after all the fears the world had last year about rising German power, it would have looked terrible to use the first opportunity to send German troops abroad."

With that phase over, the debate now is over how best to amend the constitution to more easily be able to do just that. Rupert Scholz, a former defense minister under Kohl, told the *Christian Science Monitor* that the chancellor thinks it necessary to change the constitution "not only to clarify it, but to forge a new, political consensus."

In order to make such a constitutional change more acceptable, the debate is being couched in terms of using troops within the

framework of United Nations-sponsored military actions.

The main parliamentary opposition party, the Social Democrats, proposed that German troops be involved in United Nations "peacekeeping missions," but only under UN command and control.

The Free Democrats, junior partners in Kohl's Christian Democratic Union government, go further and advocate involvement in UN-sanctioned missions, whether or not these are under strict UN command. Washington's war on Iraq had this character, with U.S.-commanded forces carrying out the onslaught under cover of UN resolutions.

'European-sanctioned' military action

Kohl went one step beyond the Free Democrats in his constitutional amendment, call-

ing for German participation in "European-sanctioned" military interventions as well as U.N.-sponsored ones.

In a March 18 parliamentary vote, Free Democrats voted with Social Democrats to oppose Kohl's amendment. This vote means that his proposal could well fail.

As a leader of the Free Democrats, long-standing Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has thus placed relations between himself and Kohl under some strain.

The backdrop to this new effort by Germany's rulers to prepare for the use of military force in the world is the deepening world capitalist economic crisis and the resulting sharpening economic and political rivalry between the leading imperialist powers.

Without using their own military power abroad, German imperialism will be at the mercy of the U.S. rulers. The war against Iraq shows Washington will use its military might to attempt to compensate for U.S. imperialism's relative decline in economic power.

In recent years, German capitalism has advanced in the world at the expense of the U.S. economy.

In 1970, for example, West Germany's gross national product stood at 18.5 percent of that of the United States, but rose to 23 percent by 1988.

World's leading exporting nation

Figures recently released by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) show that Germany overtook the United States as the world's leading export country in 1990. Germany's exports for the year totalled \$421 billion, in comparison with \$394 billion for the United States and \$286 billion for Japan, which holds third place. By contrast, Germany's population of 78.4 million is less than a third the size of the United States.

The same GATT report indicated that growth in world trade and output is likely to slow in 1991 for the third straight year, indicating a steadily sharpening level of competition.

Meanwhile, spokespeople for U.S. imperialist interests have begun noting growing rifts between the United States and Germany, which has long been considered a faithful friend of Washington.

Such anxieties were expressed in an article in the March 29 *Wall Street Journal* by Jeffrey Garten, who worked in the Nixon, Ford, and Carter administrations. The author cited four events indicating growing economic and political divergences between the United States, Germany, and Japan.

Garten noted the behavior of German and Japanese leaders at the summit meeting of the Group of Seven leading capitalist countries, held in Houston, in July 1990. He quoted U.S. government official Robert Hormats. "Both [Japan and Germany] came to Houston, told the U.S. what they planned to do, and told us to take it or leave it," Hormats said. "This is the new architecture of the economic world."

Breakdown of GATT talks

Garten's second example was the December 1990 GATT talks held in Geneva, where the U.S. sought a commercial pact lifting trade barriers, particularly for agricultural products. "But it was not to be," he complained. "Germany joined France to create a European blocking action on trade in agriculture. Japan didn't offer an iota of concession. And so the talks collapsed."

Garten then cited the outcome of talks held in New York in January, at which top officials from imperialist countries agreed "to maintain stability in international markets." Within a matter of days, German and U.S. banking officials took contradictory steps, "uncoordinated and unexpected," he said.

Continued on Page 12

Monfort workers get surprise layoffs

BY NAN BAILEY
AND SARA LOBMAN

DES MOINES — On March 22 Monfort, Inc., announced a temporary shut-down of all its beef-slaughter operations nationwide. "I can't believe this! They treat us worse than the cattle we're in here slaughtering," said one worker. The comment was a reaction not only to the layoff but to the callous manner in which it was announced by the company.

Fabrication department workers saw the notice announcing the layoff only when leaving work that Friday. Slaughter department workers, having worked overtime four out of five days the previous week, saw the notice on their final break that day. There was confusion in the hallways as many Laotian and Mexican workers had to ask other co-workers who spoke their languages what the notice, posted only in English, said.

In addition to the Des Moines plant, Monfort shut down its beef plants in Garden City, Kansas, and Dumas, Texas, bringing to 4,500 the total number of workers laid off. Reduced hours were imposed at Monfort plants in Greeley, Colorado, and Grand Island, Nebraska. The company cited "poor market conditions" as the reason for the layoffs. But many workers are suspicious of the explanation.

Meatpacking bosses have been complaining that tight supplies of cattle are causing record cattle prices, squeezing packers' profit margins. As a result, other meatpackers, such as IBP and Excell Corp., have also recently announced temporary shutdowns and layoffs.

Yet, on the same day as the Monfort layoffs began, the *Des Moines Register* reported that Con Agra, Monfort's parent company, posted a 48 percent increase in profit in its fiscal third quarter, which ended February 24.

This has left farmers suspicious of the motives of the big meatpackers as well. Larry Ginter, a hog farmer in Rhodes, Iowa, and secretary of the Iowa American Agriculture Movement, Inc., said of the shutdowns: "I figure the companies want to create a backlog and in that way drive prices down. The effect is that the farmer will take less. They'll say farmers are charging them too much and try to divide the worker and farmer like they've been doing for years."

The company called workers back to the Des Moines plant March 27. The "layoff" lasted two days.

On March 28, the second day of work after recall, Monfort made the news again. This time it was because the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) cited Monfort's Grand Island, Nebraska, plant for

197 workplace safety rules and proposed a \$1 million penalty.

Many workers at the plant here believe the layoff was a scam engineered by the company to avoid guaranteeing workers at least 36 hours minimum pay as required by the union contract. United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431 has filed a grievance to protest the layoff and denial of the minimum hours clause.

The local, which represents Monfort workers in the slaughter and fabrication departments, has called a special union meeting April 4 to discuss these developments and the union's response.

In a statement released to the press, Socialist Workers Party city council candidate Héctor Marroquín said, "What Monfort is doing to workers and cattle ranchers is an example of the brutal war that the employers are carrying out around the world. The bosses and their government hold workers and farmers here in the United States in just as much contempt as they do the Iraqi workers and farmers. We must stand up and resist these attacks both at home and abroad."

Nan Bailey and Sara Lobman are members of the United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431 and work at the Swift/Monfort plant in Des Moines.