

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

South African government
aid to Inkatha exposed

PAGE 9

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 55/NO. 47 DECEMBER 27, 1991

New Soviet setup keeps bureaucracy in power

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

The governments of the republics of Russia, Ukraine, and Belorussia signed an agreement proclaiming a "Commonwealth of Independent States" December 8. They announced that the Soviet Union had ceased to exist.

The new setup, fashioned by Russian president Boris Yeltsin, maintains bureaucratic rule over working people. It is another attempt to hold the Soviet republics into some form of union as the centralized federal structures have continued to disintegrate.

The regimes in the republics that initiated the commonwealth agreement hope to gain a measure of stability, expand control over the country's resources to their advantage, and take further steps to block any attempts to expand the rights and political space of working people.

The action essentially stripped Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev, who initially opposed the accord, of his powers. Gorbachev said December 12 he was ready to resign if most republics announced readiness to join the newly proclaimed commonwealth.

The five Central Asian republics of Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenia, and Uzbekistan agreed to join the commonwealth December 13. Officials of the remaining four republics have expressed an interest in joining.

Under the new association control of power and resources shifts more to the republics. Former republics would be in-



Women rummaging through garbage piles in Moscow. Economic crisis continues to deepen throughout the former Soviet Union. Newly proclaimed "Commonwealth of Independent States" is aimed at maintaining bureaucratic rule over working people.

dependent states bound together by common economic activity and joint control over armies and nuclear weapons. The accord called for maintaining the ruble as the currency of common commerce and for mutual agreement before any new

currency is introduced.

Central authorities of the commonwealth are to be set up in Minsk, the capital of Belorussia. They will coordinate joint activities on foreign policy, the military, commerce, transportation and other economic matters, and actions by the police.

"It was a bad union, it was an ineffective union, but it was our union," said Ruslan Khasbulatov, the speaker of the Russian Parliament, referring to the old Soviet Union. Khasbulatov was addressing the Parliament in a session that overwhelmingly ratified the commonwealth accord December 12. "This agreement is an adequate reflection of an alternative that may in the current situation halt the disintegration of this union," he added.

Both the makeup of the proposed commonwealth and the desire of the republic officials to join it demonstrate how the ruling stratum has changed the form, but not the content, of its bureaucratic stranglehold on political power.

This petty-bourgeois layer maintains an existence separate and apart from that of the region's working people. While not owning the factories, plants, and other industry, this layer lives off the wealth created by the working class and peasantry.

In their standard of living; access to goods, health care, schooling, and housing; and privileged position of power, they have separate interests from those of the working class.

'Slavic' vs. 'Asian' republics

In a statement announcing the creation of the commonwealth the presidents of Russia, Ukraine, and Belorussia said that talks on forming a new union treaty, led by Gorbachev, had reached an impasse, while more republics had withdrawn from the Soviet Union.

Ukraine declared itself a separate state after a 90 percent vote for independence in a December 1 referendum. Like independence declarations by other republics this was part of the maneuvering by the local bureaucratic rulers to secure for themselves

Continued on Page 14

Pan Am shuts down operations eliminating 7,500 jobs

BY NANCY ROSENSTOCK

NEW YORK — "It stinks, I'm mad as hell." That is how a maintenance worker with 29 years at Pan American World Airways described the loss of his job as he just finished cashing his last paycheck outside the giant facilities of Pan Am at John F. Kennedy International Airport.

On December 4, 7,500 workers lost their jobs when Pan Am went out of business. The closing of Pan Am came almost one year after the airline filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection. In July Pan Am sold its European routes and planes, its Frankfurt operations, and its Northeast Shuttle to Delta Airlines for \$460 million.

Pan Am had hoped to continue as a smaller airline serving the Caribbean and Latin America. It had begun developing Miami as a domestic hub. Under a reorganization plan that was to be considered by the bankruptcy judge, Delta would have owned 45 percent of the airline and unsecured creditors 55 percent. But the deal never came to fruition because Delta pulled out.

Founded in 1927, Pan Am was a major worldwide carrier. It became the third major U.S. airline to stop flying in the last year alone, going the way of Eastern and Midway airlines. Eastern ceased operations in January after a long strike. Midway never made it out of bankruptcy and stopped operating in November. The cutthroat competition in the airline industry, combined with decreasing passenger loads, has led to more and more airlines filing for bankruptcy and looking for other carriers to bail them out.

The huge loss of jobs at Pan Am and the stranding of thousands of passengers,

Continued on Page 5

Rally protests Haiti coup, demands political asylum

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Chanting, "No Aristide, no Peace" and "Haiti must be free," 5,000 overwhelmingly Haitian protesters took to the streets of this city December 13.

The marchers condemned the September 30 military coup that overthrew Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and demanded that the U.S. government grant asylum to thousands of Haitians fleeing repression in their homeland. They also called for enforcement of the economic embargo against Haiti and declared their opposition to military intervention.

A steady rainfall did little to dampen demonstrators' enthusiasm as they marched past the White House to a rally across from the Organization of American States building. Participants came from as far away as Miami and Montreal. Busloads arrived from New York and New Jersey.

Among the endorsers of the action were the Alliance of Haitian Emigrés, Confederation of Haitian Students in New York, and Haiti Solidarity Network.

Many marchers carried handmade signs such as "Land of the free — free the refugees" and "Cedras must go to jail or exile," referring to Haitian army commander General Raoul Cedras who ousted Aristide.

Many of the Haitians on the march had been at previous anticoup demonstrations in Washington, D.C. They strongly opposed U.S. policy barring Haitian refugees from entering the United States and condemned the failure of Washington to firmly enforce



Militant/Marc Lichtman

Despite pouring rain, thousands protested December 13 in Washington, D.C., in opposition to military coup in Haiti.

the economic embargo.

"People are suffering but they'll hold on," stated Eddie Jerome from Montreal. "It's guys from the army — Cedras and company

Continued on Page 12

Celebrate the first phase of the Pathfinder Building Reconstruction Project

For several months, a team of volunteers has been rebuilding the national offices of the Socialist Workers Party, The Militant newspaper, and Perspectiva Mundial magazine on the 5th and 6th floors of the Pathfinder Building at 410 West Street, New York City. Join in celebrating the completion of this first phase of the reconstruction project!

**Saturday, December 21
191 Seventh Ave.
(at 21st St.)
2nd floor
New York City**

6:30 p.m. dinner, 8:00 p.m. program
Party to follow program
Donation: \$10

Hosted by the New York and Newark Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (212) 727-8421 or (201) 643-3341.

London memorial meeting for Dumile Feni

BY PETE EVANS

LONDON — Thirty people gathered in the Pathfinder Bookshop in London November 23 to attend a celebration of the life and work of South African artist Dumile Feni, who died recently in New York.

On exhibit were six of Dumile's lithographs, photographs of his sculptures, and a display showing the Pathfinder Mural in New York. Dumile painted a portrait of Nelson Mandela and a crowd scene depicting the Soweto uprising of 1976 on the mural.

Denny Fitzpatrick opened the celebration on behalf of the Friends of the Pathfinder Mural. She explained that supporters of the mural had organized the celebration because of the major role Dumile had played in the artwork's defense and promotion. The six-story-high mural portrays revolutionary figures from around the world and was painted by more than 80 artists from 20 countries. "The mural shows our class, our ideas," Fitzpatrick explained. "Dumile was inspired by this."

Dumile played an important role in promoting the mural, visiting many cities in the United States to raise funds for the project. Fitzpatrick said that Dumile was confident that the struggles depicted in the mural had a future. "We hope that the new generations will be inspired by the ideas that inspired Dumile," she concluded.

Eddie Tatane, a friend of Dumile, was introduced. Tatane gave a brief description of Dumile's life in South Africa. He described how Dumile had taken part in the struggle for a free South Africa and had been arrested several times. When forced into exile he had already made his name as a renowned artist.

In the late 60s Dumile came to London and during the 10 years he spent in Britain he used his art on behalf of many organizations in the liberation struggle, including the African National Congress, Black Consciousness, and the International Defence and Aid Fund. In 1978 he was invited to the United States to take up a teaching post. He wanted to travel there as a way of reaching a wider audience and to pursue another angle of his artistry. However, he found New York a difficult place and was in bad health. Dumile died in a record shop, looking for the record he had played while painting a canvas depicting the 1976 uprising.

"There is a lot more that one could say about Dumile," Tatane concluded. "How he was inspired by music, his poetry, his internationalism. He taught us a lot."

Tatane played a tape recording of Dumile singing. Dumile's inspiration from music was attested to by the lithographs on display, one of which was dedicated to the jazz musician

John Coltrane, and by the presence at the meeting of a number of South African musicians, including Abdullah Ibrahim and Lucky Ranku.

Dumile was not easy to understand, said Lionel Mgakane, also a friend of Dumile. He was a complex character, dedicated to his art. Dumile's work was the work of agony, of people trying to find something, trying to understand what the world was about.

"It is sad that at the moment in our South African history when it looks that in the next two or three years our own people will be able to support our artists, Dumile and others have died," Mgakane said. "But Dumile has left us with a legacy. When you go to South Africa and see artists' work you say: that was inspired by Dumile."

Greetings were given to the meeting by Mandla Langa, the deputy chief representative in Britain of the African National



Friends of South African artist Dumile Feni attended London meeting. Left to right, Lionel Mgakane; Denny Fitzpatrick, representing Friends of the Pathfinder Mural; and Tommy Mohajane.

G.M. Cookson

'New International' editor speaks in New Zealand on Cuban revolution

BY FELICITY WILLIAMS

WELLINGTON, New Zealand — The Cuban people are fighting to defend and deepen their revolution, despite facing one of the most difficult periods in their history.

This was the theme of talks presented by Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *New Internationalist* magazine, to Militant Labour Forums in Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch in November.

Waters was in Cuba at the time of the July visit to that country by African National Congress president Nelson Mandela. The

Congress.

Fitzpatrick concluded by explaining that the Friends of the Pathfinder Mural had launched an international appeal to raise \$14,000 to open the Pathfinder Mural-Du-

Cuban revolution and the revolutionary struggle against apartheid in South Africa are closely intertwined, she explained. Together they point the way forward for humanity.

In Christchurch, Waters was interviewed on the news program of the local television channel and by the morning newspaper, the *Press*. There is a "commitment by the leadership and people of Cuba to the principles of the Cuban revolution and a determination not to return to being under the thumb of Washington," the *Press* reported her as saying.

Seventeen people attended the Militant Labour Forum in Christchurch, including unionists, students, and a soldier from a nearby army base.

The 32 participants at the forum in Auckland included several workers from Latin America, for whom translation to Spanish was provided — the first time this has been done at an Auckland Militant Labour Forum.

Questions were asked on the role of agricultural brigades in meeting Cuba's food shortages and the significance of the recent congress of the Communist Party of Cuba.

At the Wellington forum, attended by 20 people, Waters fielded questions on the recent decision of the Communist Party to admit religious believers, Cuba's fight to break through the U.S. government blockade, and the place of voluntary labor in building socialism.

mile Feni Memorial Center, adjacent to the mural. Supporters in Britain of the Pathfinder Mural pledged to help raise these funds.



New poster from Friends of the Pathfinder Mural

The Friends of the Pathfinder Mural have announced the publication of a new full-color poster to celebrate and raise funds for the opening of the Pathfinder Mural Center — Dumile Feni Memorial in the new year. Measuring 20" by 30", the poster features a magnificent portrait of the entire mural by photographer Andrea Brizzi.

A single poster costs \$10 plus \$2.50 handling. Ten or more cost \$6 each; 30 or more \$4 each. Add \$3.50 for shipping and handling in the United States and \$5 for international orders. Posters of Malcolm X and Nelson Mandela are still available at \$8 each plus handling.

Available at the beginning of January, orders with checks should be sent to friends of the Pathfinder Mural, 191 7th Ave., New York, NY 10011. Tel. (212) 727-8421.

Subscribe to the Militant

You don't want to miss a single issue!



☐ Special introductory offer: \$10 for 12 weeks

☐ \$15 for 12 week renewal ☐ \$27 for 6 months ☐ \$45 for 1 year

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Union/School/Organization _____

Clip and mail to The Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014
12 weeks of the *Militant* outside the U.S.: Australia and the Pacific, \$A10 • Britain, £6 • Canada, Can\$12 • Caribbean and Latin America, \$10 • Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, £10 • France, FF80 • Iceland, Kr800 • New Zealand, NZ\$10 • Sweden, Kr60

The Militant

Closing news date: December 16, 1991

Editor: GREG McCARTAN

Managing Editor: George Buchanan

Business Manager: Brian Williams

Editorial Staff: Derek Bracey, Estelle DeBates, Seth Galinsky, Martin Koppel, Argiris Malapanis, Janet Post, Brian Williams.

Published weekly except for next to last week in December and biweekly from mid-June to mid-August by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Fax (212) 727-0150; Telex, 497-4278.

Pacific edition printed in Wanganui, New Zealand, by Wanganui Newspapers, Limited.

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. POST-

MASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Subscriptions: U.S., Latin America: for one-year subscription send \$45, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (air-mail), send \$80. Canada: send Canadian \$75 for one-year subscription to Société d'Éditions AGPP, C.P. 340, succ. R, Montréal, Québec H2S 3M2. Britain, Ireland, Africa: £35 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Continental Europe: £50 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution at above address. New Zealand: Send New Zealand \$75 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand. Australia: Send Australian \$75 to P.O. Box 79, Railway Square Post Office, Railway Square, Sydney 2000, Australia. Philippines, Pacific Islands: Send Australian \$75 or New Zealand \$100 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

British cops conduct immigration raid

BY LARS ERICSON

LONDON — In what is believed to be their largest ever joint operation, more than 200 police supported 38 Home Office officials raiding Smith's Meters, a South London factory, in a crackdown on immigrant workers. The raid, described by one worker as like the storming of the Bastille, occurred on November 27 as the night shift arrived for work.

The entire shift of 240 workers was taken to the company cafeteria where, surrounded by police, they were addressed by Home Office officials. Following three hours of intensive questioning, 35, including 29 from Ghana, were arrested for allegedly breaking immigration laws. One woman was arrested later. Sixteen have since been released. Several of those arrested had previously applied for political asylum.

A Home Office spokesperson said they had "the full cooperation of the company" in

the operation, code-named "Iris," which followed two months of investigation by the Home Office. Smiths, which has a predominantly Black immigrant work force, was last raided 10 years ago.

Reaction at the plant has been mixed. Some workers agreed with the raid, saying those arrested were "taking jobs" from other legal immigrants. Other workers were angry and worried by the raid. The following day a number of workers did not turn up for work. The raid comes on the heels of the Asylum Bill, recently introduced in Parliament, which is aimed at intimidating immigrant workers.

The bill includes clauses that would prevent asylum seekers from speaking out, either on their treatment in Britain or about the country they come from. Jenny Watson, from the Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture, said this would deny asylum seekers the right to free speech. She said the

bill is part of a concerted effort by European Community governments to standardize asylum laws.

A blow to the British government came November 29 when Home Secretary Kenneth Baker was found guilty of contempt of court for unlawfully deporting a Zairean asylum-seeker whose life was at risk in Zaire. The Court of Appeal rejected arguments that Crown immunity protected Baker from punishment for defying the judge's orders.

Brian Grogan, Communist League candidate for Southwark and Bermondsey, called for the labor movement and fighters for democratic rights to "condemn, in the strongest possible terms, the 27 November assault on immigrant workers at Smiths Meters."

"With these raids the bosses seek to intimidate immigrant workers, who are exploited as cheap labour, from fighting for decent wages and working conditions," said Grogan's statement. The intention is to di-

vide working people in the face of unemployment and the other effects of the economic crisis. As that crisis deepens the rulers look for scapegoats to offload the blame. The current increase in violent racist attacks is one result of this.

"It is not immigrant workers who are to blame for unemployment but the likes of Lord Hanson, [owner of Smith Meters] and the tiny minority of ruling rich around the world," Grogan said.

"The targets of the Home Office goon squad were not 'bogus workers' to quote the *Evening Standard*, but fellow workers. An immediate solution to unemployment would be to cut the working week without loss of pay and share the available work," he continued.

"The lesson of the operation at Smiths is that we are all working people whatever it says on our passports. They — Lord Hanson, John Major and the like — try to divide us. We have a real interest in sticking together to defend ourselves against their police and immigration officials. We need to unite to fight against the effects of the deepening crisis and for a better more humane world, without borders," the communist candidate concluded.

Iowans rally against cross-burnings

BY SHIRLEY PEÑA

DES MOINES, Iowa — Nearly 1,000 antiracist demonstrators marched recently in a series of protests in Iowa against racist actions in cities across the state.

In Dubuque, at least 10 cross-burnings have been reported since May, when the city government announced plans to attract 100 minority families to Dubuque over the next five years.

Despite a record snowstorm, nearly 200 gathered November 23 to protest the cross-burnings in Dubuque at a rally organized by Active Students Against Prejudice (ASAP). One rally participant from a nearby college said the racism he experienced in Dubuque had surprised him, "but I want to stay here and fight for what I believe in."

Three hundred protested in 20-degree weather at a local park November 31 to denounce the Dubuque appearance of Ku Klux Klan "grand wizard" Thomas Robb. The anti-Klan rally was sponsored by the Dubuque chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Several rally participants said that the cross-burnings could have been stopped earlier had local police prosecuted those involved in the racist terror to the fullest extent of the law.

Rally speakers and participants said that the cross-burnings and other racist crimes did not reflect majority sentiment in Dubuque. They pointed to opinion polls indicating that

88 percent of local residents are in favor of an integration plan there.

Meanwhile, 10 blocks away 300 gathered to hear Klan leader Robb. With signs reading, "Welcome KKK," the crowd cheered Robb when he said, "It is not hatred that brings us here. It is love for our heritage." Robb accused Dubuque mayor James Brady and the local NAACP of racism. Dubuque's integration plan, he claimed, is helpful only to Blacks.

Almost 500 antiracist demonstrators gathered in Waterloo, Iowa, November 24 to protest cross-burnings and other racist attacks — four of which occurred the week prior to the three-and-a-half mile march.

The march, which began in the city's Black community, was later addressed by Rev. Robert Johnson, president of the Black Hawk Area Religious Organization. Johnson said that the city's Jewish and Islamic residents should be remembered in their struggle for equality. A statement released by the Black Hawk organization said, "Take this opportunity to say 'NO!' to cross-burnings and hate crimes. Let us demonstrate that nothing... can prevent us from demonstrating our concern. This is not the time to be silent."

The incidents of cross-burnings and other racial attacks throughout Iowa come in the context of a continuing economic crisis in the region that is pushing up unemployment, driving larger numbers

into poverty, and threatening the life-styles of the middle class.

A *Des Moines Register* article entitled, "More low-paying jobs in Iowa's future," described the future for workers in Iowa as "jobs which require few skills and pay wages that can't keep up with inflation." A study by the Rural Data Project showed that employee earnings for all occupations in rural areas in 1989 averaged 64 percent of the level of those in urban areas.

Sara Lobman, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance and former Des Moines mayoral candidate for the Socialist Workers Party, explained what lay behind the recent developments in Dubuque and throughout Iowa. "Attempts to deepen divisions within the working class go hand in hand with the government's and bosses' attempts to drive down our standard of living, assault democratic rights, and weaken the labor movement," she said.

"Employers know that backward attitudes such as racism keep workers from uniting in struggle against our common enemy.

"Gains won in struggle — affirmative action, abortion rights, social welfare programs — all help limit the competition between workers that is inherent under capitalism," Lobman said. "Because they strengthen the unity of the class, these advances benefit all workers and are the only road toward waging effective struggle."



Militant/Marc Lichtman
Communist League candidate Brian Grogan: 'Bosses seek to intimidate and divide workers with raids.'

March against racism draws 8,000 in Sweden

BY LARS JOHANSSON
AND CATHARINA TIRSEN

STOCKHOLM, Sweden—Eight thousand people demonstrated here November 30 against racism.

In Kungsträdgården 3,000 gathered for two hours, listening to speeches, stand-up comedians, and rap music.

"We must unite to show our anger against racist intolerance and stupidity," Hans-Göran Franck, a social-democratic member of parliament, told the crowd.

Other speakers included Kristina Rhodell from Stop Racism and Jon Voss from the *Reporter*, a magazine for gay men and women.

Most of those present marched to Skanstull, where there were more discussions about the roots of racism.

Later in the afternoon, 5,000 assembled at Sergels Torg with torches, candles, and banners. It was a youthful demonstration, including many groups of high school students. "Everybody has been talking about this demonstration," said a young woman in the crowd.

Many participants said that racism had been promoted by emergency anti-immigrant laws passed by the social-democratic government in 1989.

The march ended at the statue of Charles XII in Kungsträdgården. Charles XII was the king of Sweden in the 18th century. He drew Swedish peasants into long devastating wars in an attempt at conquering parts of Europe. Right-wing and racist groups planned to place a wreath by his statue, commemorating the day he was killed.

For several weeks the police mounted a

campaign against holding any demonstrations on November 30.

"We will have an impossible task when the extreme right and the extreme left meet," claimed police commissar Anders Wetterlind.

"This year will be worse than ever," warned Wetterlind the day before the demonstrations. "The risk of riots is imminent."

But this did not stop thousands from marching against racism. The antiracist demonstrations were many times larger than similar actions in previous years.

While most participants left at the end

of the official program, hundreds of antiracist protesters stayed at the statue to prevent the rightist forces from entering the area.

Fighting broke out after right-wing marchers slipped through police lines and confronted the antiracist activists. The police intervened, arresting 94 people.

The minister of justice and the police are trying to use the incident to push for repressive measures. The cops intend to undertake "a big effort to find the extremists and criminals who took part in the riots," said Chief of Police Björn Eriksson.

Cops in Stockholm murder youth

BY BIRGITTA ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — A 23-year-old man was killed by the police here November 29. In the same incident, one man was shot in the leg, another was wounded by a ricochet, and a bullet went through a window where a retired couple lives. Police have admitted that the victims were unarmed.

Six days after the incident the official version had not been released by the police, who say they are still looking for witnesses.

The plainclothes cops were patrolling in Malmö, a town in southern Sweden. Shortly after midnight they stopped at a sausage kiosk. A group of five or six skinheads arrived after the two police officers, who drew their guns.

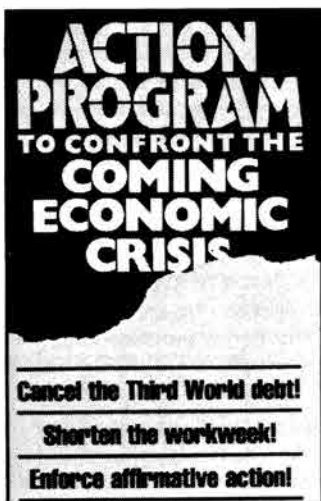
According to witnesses, the armed men did not say that they were police officers. The group tried to take the guns away from the cops.

The two cops retreated as some of the skinheads followed them. About 20 yards from the kiosk, the first used cartridges were found. Forty-five yards away one of the policemen shot the 23-year-old man from behind, hitting him in the head.

This happened as tensions were running high the night before a planned rightist demonstration at the King Charles XII statue in Lund, a town very close to Malmö.

As in Stockholm, antiracist demonstrations had been planned to prevent the right-wingers from demonstrating at the site to commemorate the November 30 anniversary of the King's death. Following the shooting, the police prohibited the rightists' demonstration. The police chief in Lund has asked for armored vehicles to patrol at next year's demonstrations at the statue.

**The deepening
international
economic crisis —
What's in store for
working people?**



Available for \$2.50 at Pathfinder Bookstores listed on page 12 or order from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Add \$3 shipping charge and \$.50 for each additional pamphlet.

Youth League relaunched in South Africa

1,500 delegates urged to 'mobilize for the final onslaught against apartheid'

BY GREG McCARTAN
AND MARY ZINS

KWAMHLANGA, South Africa — Delegates to the African National Congress Youth League conference here gave their honorary president Oliver Tambo a tumultuous welcome at the start of the four-day meeting.

Some 1,500 delegates from across the country packed the auditorium at the College of Education of the KwaNdebele Bantustan, located in the northern Transvaal. This, their 17th National Congress, is the first inside the country in three decades.

"This day at last has come!" Tambo told the delegates in his address. An ANC stalwart, Tambo is the national chairperson of the African National Congress. "We must leave this hall a much stronger organization. This is not a time to lower our guard. If anything we must be more bold and have more vision" than at any time in the liberation struggle.

"The forces of the past are still intent on arresting our march to freedom," he said. "Our call for the installation of an interim government of national unity should grow louder by the day. Indeed there would be no greater manifestation of a new and broader form of unity by all South Africans other than the formation of such a government.

"In this context, the election of a constituent assembly would further consolidate our unity as we move closer to a new and democratic order," Tambo said.

Since the ANC was unbanned by the apartheid regime in February 1990, youth organizations in the country have been working toward relaunching the Youth League. In recent months launchings have been held in each of the country's 14 regions. During the past year efforts have been made to reach out to student groups, young workers and rural youth, and organizations of white youth to establish the Youth League on as broad a basis as possible.

The accomplishments of recruiting some 500,000 members, establishing the league as a political force in the liberation struggle, and

the gains made in the political character of the organization were clearly evident in the spirit and enthusiasm of the delegates during the opening session.

Recognition of the world importance of the struggle for a democratic South African republic was registered in the attendance at the conference by representatives of youth organizations from two dozen countries.

Delegates were slated to discuss reports available prior to the congress. These included sessions on the Youth League's political tasks, organizational structure, finances, and constitution. Points on the negotiations that will begin in late December, the "transfer of power," and the question of violence and the peace accords, were also on the agenda. An election of a new leadership will wrap up the meeting.

Also addressing the opening session were the chief minister of the KwaNdebele Bantustan and Walter Sisulu, deputy-president of the ANC.

In a keynote address, Sisulu said that for the first time talks have begun that will lead to the winning of a constitution that embodies the goals of the revolutionary-democratic struggle. "This would have been impossible to think of several years ago," he said, saluting the fight waged by youth.

'Mobilize the majority'

He emphasized the need to "mobilize the majority of South Africans for the final onslaught against apartheid. The situation demands that we command and marshal much broader forces which don't immediately fall within our domain."

As did Tambo, Sisulu emphasized the goal of fostering "the type of unity that cuts across old ideological divides. Our task is to win the masses of our people over, so they can embrace our position as their own."

If the ANC and the youth do not take this approach, he warned, "the regime can hold advances and arrest the impending victory."

The Youth League "is the point of contact between the ANC and the masses," he said. "Your conduct, discipline, and courage will

in no small way influence our people." He urged them to "continue exhibiting the discipline that has earned you the respect of your people."

Several times the youth have disagreed with political positions of the ANC, he said. The fact that the Youth League, which is politically subordinate to the parent body, kept these differences inside the movement and advanced the positions of the ANC, showed "signs of political maturity of the highest order."

"The Youth League must insure that all your members hear the positions of the ANC. You should attract millions of youth to your ranks," he said. "This entails the spending of sleepless nights by all members."

"In the course of your work you will find those youth who are not yet ready to join the ANC Youth League," he said, "and others who disagree." The ANC leader urged the delegates to not "disregard those who have differences but to unite all young people in action against the apartheid regime."

He noted that building the ANC and mobilizing people in rural areas, such as where the conference was being held, were "far from satisfactory" and remained a top priority.

Noting the gains made in the struggle and progress in establishing the ANC in the short time since it was unbanned, Sisulu said, "We are no longer just leaders of the opposition but the leaders of South Africa."

Youth league leaders explained that the reason for having the conference in the Bantustan was to help point in the direction of winning more youth in these areas to the struggle. They hope to capitalize on the significant steps forward made in breaking down the repressive structures in most of the Bantustans, allowing the democratic movement to openly function. Established by the regime as "homelands" for Africans, the Bantustans are the poorest areas in the country, providing a massive cheap labor reserve for mining and other industries.

KwaNdebele chief minister James Mahlangu told the delegates that the conference should mark the "dawn of a united, democratic, and nonracial South Africa. One of our most serious challenges is unity among all the oppressed masses."

The South African government is "a gigantic and experienced opponent whose power should not be underestimated," he said. The minister encouraged the youth to become familiar with the mechanisms of voting and the electoral process.

Concluding the opening session, Youth League leader Peter Mokaba presented a report that sketched the history of the participation of youth in the struggle against apartheid and the various organizations that grew up as a result. He outlined the political situation in the country and introduced the tasks and challenges in building the Youth League.



Militant/Greg McCartan

South Africa festival, 1990. ANC is reaching out to students, workers, and rural youth.

ANC says: release prisoners

BY MARY ZINS

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Fourteen human rights, church, and political organizations joined together in a spirited 350-person picket here December 10 to demand the unconditional release of all political prisoners before Christmas.

The hour-long protest on Human Rights Day was held at the Rand Supreme Court. A public forum at the Central Methodist Church followed the demonstration.

Participants, including one dressed as Santa Claus, led the action holding a banner reading, "Some fathers won't be home for Christmas." Others carried signs with names of prisoners and, "Less talk, more action: release political prisoners now." Former prisoners Golden Miles Bhodu, 28 years old, and 23-year-old Oupa Arnold joined the action dressed in prison garb and chains.

A delegation from the Coordinating Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners led by Ronnie Kasrils, a leader of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, delivered a declaration to Supreme Court registrar M. J. Lourens. The declaration called on the South African government to "not place any further obstacles... in the way of immediate and unconditional release of political prisoners and the safe return of exiles." The statement was signed by ANC president Nelson Mandela and endorsed by 14 other organizations.

The African National Congress and the South African Communist Party have announced their decision to place the release of remaining political prisoners on the agenda at the first session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, the multiparty negotiations slated to begin December 20.

The South African government has refused to release an estimated 523 political prisoners, alleging that they committed violent acts against civilians. Brian Currin, director of Lawyers for Human rights, spoke at the press conference the day before the action. He pointed to the government's dou-

ble standard, noting that others convicted of similar crimes had been released from prison. He also explained that police who killed civilians have not been prosecuted.

On December 11, 120 refugees, of an estimated 30,000 remaining South African exiles, arrived here from Tanzania. They are the first to return under a United Nations program to repatriate those who fled the repression of the apartheid regime. About 7,000 exiles have returned to South Africa so far this year.

Cuban economist winds up successful U.S. tour

BY LOUISE ANDERSON

NEW HAVEN — Nearly 200 people heard Cuban economist Carlos Tablada speak at two campuses in Connecticut December 2. Author of the book *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*, Tablada is completing a one-month tour of U.S. colleges and universities.

Seventy-five attended the meeting at Yale University in New Haven. Tablada was introduced by Valeriano Ramos, assistant dean of Yale. The event was sponsored by the Center for International and Area Studies, Council on Latin American Studies, Department of Afro-American Studies, Philosophy Colloquium, Black Graduate Network, New Haven Peace Council, Yale Club of the Communist Party, New Haven Young Socialist Alliance, and Despierta Boricua.

One hostile questioner at the Yale meeting accused Cuba of "supporting terrorists" and claimed Cuba was an "economic and social disaster." This was greeted by scattered applause.

Tablada pointed out that the U.S. government had not been able to show one example of Cuban terrorism. "No Cuban army has ever invaded Latin America," he noted. "The U.S. army has invaded in 118 instances."

A Cuban participant questioned when he and other Cuban-Americans would be able to go to Cuba. Tablada noted that the responsibility for blocking travel lay with Washington. He added that dozens of Cuban groups in the United States disagree with the socialist course taken by their country but want to normalize relations between the two countries. "The blockade affects not only us, but you too," he said.

The meeting of 100 for Tablada at Trinity College in Hartford was sponsored by the Trinity College Area and Latin American Studies programs and the departments of economics, history, and political science.

Tablada defended Cuba's socialist course and commented on the prospects for capitalism. He contrasted what he had seen on his visits to the United States with what exists in Cuba. "In Cuba," he said, "there are no beggars, no homeless." The U.S. reporters who visited Cuba during the Pan-American games "couldn't find one beggar, not one person sleeping under a bridge," he added.

Despite the grave crisis confronting Cuba, Tablada said, basic human needs are taken care of. "It's true," he said, "In Cuba, we have no access to luxuries." But, Tablada noted, in spite of difficulties, Cuba has not

raised the price of food and other key necessities.

'Capitalism not the answer'

A return to capitalism would not improve the situation in Cuba, Tablada said. "After the American invasion of Panama, the standard of living has not increased, it has decreased. In Nicaragua, Violeta Chamorro has not received what Bush promised.

"What is capitalism going to give us?" Tablada asked.

At Trinity he pointed out how it was working people in Cuba who hold political power.

Tablada recalled his first visit to the United States. At a meeting with congressmen, he asked to speak with legislators who were workers. "I was told no, there weren't any," Tablada said. "Then I asked to speak with the congressmen who were peasants. I was told there weren't any. Students? Journalists? Academics? No, there weren't any."

After the Trinity meeting, many participants crowded around Tablada to ask further questions. Among them were three workers from the Polo garment factory in Lawrence, Massachusetts, who made the two-hour trip to hear the presentation.

Auto workers strike against Freightliner

BY ROBERT DEES

MT. HOLLY, North Carolina — "Contract, contract, contract," roared 700 union supporters outside the big Freightliner Corp. truck assembly plant here December 9. The before-sunrise rally marked day six of a strike by members of newly organized United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 5285.

Bargaining committee chairman Dean Eason explains that ever since the union was voted in, in April 1990, "we've tried everything to get a contract," without success. "So the membership decided it was time to exercise our rights and strike."

Shortly after the walkout began, the company sent a letter to all employees threatening that strikers who did not report to work by December 9 risked losing their jobs. "This was a test for our membership," Eason said. The union had been voted in by a narrow margin of 652-606. So the turnout at the plant-gate rally was a big boost for the union. "We have more people on the picket line than we ever had inside," Eason claims. He estimates that less than 300 out of 1,200 members of the bargaining unit have crossed the picket line.

The company made a big show of driving several completed trucks out of the plant after the strike began. Strikers explain, however, that these trucks had been built before the walkout.

On the first day picket lines went up, a company supervisor rammed two strikers with her Mercedes-Benz.

Freightliner, based in Portland, Oregon, began production in this plant in 1979.

"We had gotten no pay raise for four years, until the union activity began," Donald McKnight explains. In fact, "they were talking about cutting our pay. That's why we brought in the union. They were bringing in contractors for cheaper labor, doing jobs we used to do, and laying people off." The company had also cut health-care benefits.

Issues in strike

Eason explains that the local struck over Freightliner's unfair labor practices. In the last 18 months, the company has excluded workers in the bargaining unit from two rounds of pay raises granted other employees. The company also fired prominent union supporter Stanley Roseboro on trumped-up charges.

Basic dignity and health and safety concerns are other important issues on the minds of many strikers on the picket line. "When the union started up, it wasn't over money,



Auto workers picketing Freightliner plant in Mt. Holly, North Carolina, following December 9 plant-gate rally. 'Your body can only take so much, then you have to stand up for your rights,' said striker Rita Anderson.

but how employees were being treated," Wayne Morrison says. "They'd say they wanted equality, but then they'd take shortcuts and put that much more work on us. They were really just after numbers, not quality."

"If it were just money, I'd be inside," Wade Good states. "But it's how they treat people."

"We were burned out," adds Rita Anderson, who worked in the paint department. "Push, push, push. Your body can only take so much, then you have to stand up for your rights."

"I've seen two ladies lose their babies," truck assembler Johnny Galloway notes. "Their doctor told them not to work. But personnel made them work, which they did because they needed their jobs. One lady was nearly nine-months pregnant."

"It's about people like me who have been poisoned in there," Clark Riddle says. "My test showed 4.4 times higher than the highest OSHA standard for phenol. When I asked

them, they couldn't tell me what it does or what the long-term effects are. They just said, 'Don't worry, it won't cause cancer. But it might cause liver failure.' Great!"

"They were putting pressure on people's doctors to make them come back to work early," McKnight states. "Then they'd put them on a hard job that they couldn't do, and fire them." David Williams points out that the union had determined that this plant has the "highest rate of on-the-job injuries in North Carolina." Injuries from carpal tunnel syndrome are also a big problem, several workers say.

'We've gotten support'

"They use the *Gaston Gazette*, the Chamber of Commerce, everything to put pressure on the workers," McKnight explains. "But the United Auto Workers broke all that up. When we get a contract, we'll go around and support everybody because we've gotten support. The United Rubber Workers, the

Teamsters, they won't cross the picket line. The UAW brothers from Mack — Local 5841 — gave us a lot of support."

With the exception of occasional outbursts of chanting, the massive picket line December 9 was kept relatively quiet by picket captains, who asked the crowd to leave shortly after 7 a.m. The local maintains pickets 24-hours-a-day, 7-days-a-week. "The first couple of days the picket line was real loud and rowdy," Eason says. "Now we want to cut the picket line to 15 people and keep it quiet to show that we're serious about negotiating."

Those interested in extending support should contact UAW Local 5285 at 132 E. Central Ave., Mt. Holly, NC 28120, or call (704) 822-1841 or 822-0746.

MT. HOLLY — Hundreds of union members and supporters of UAW Local 5285 rallied at Mt. Holly Junior High here December 14. Representatives of area UAW locals at Mack truck and GM Volvo factories gave greetings and financial donations totaling more than \$4,000. Strike leader Larry Tate said, "I'm not going back to Freightliner until we get a contract." He received a standing ovation.

—R.D.

Mandela addresses thousands in Houston

BY JERRY FREIWIRTH

HOUSTON — "Apartheid in South Africa means a system where black people are treated worse than the animals in the field," explained Nelson Mandela during a two-day tour of Houston, Texas, December 7 and 8.

Mandela, president of the African National Congress (ANC), was speaking to an overflow crowd of 2,000 who attended the "Rothko Chapel Awards for Commitment to Truth and Freedom." He gave the keynote address and accepted an award totaling \$100,000 on behalf of the ANC. Also appearing on the platform were former president James Carter and Texas governor Ann Richards.

Later that afternoon, Mandela spoke before nearly 7,000 people at a public meet-

ing held at Texas Southern University (TSU), the major Black campus in town. There, Mandela was awarded an honorary degree.

"Our common struggle to end apartheid is nearing its victorious conclusion," the South African leader said to thunderous applause from a crowd that was overwhelmingly young and Black. "Not because those who have oppressed the people had a change of heart. . . . It is because of the struggle waged in our country and around the world."

Unlike Mandela's tour of the United States shortly after he was released from more than 27 years in South African jails, his trip to Houston was given scant advance coverage by local newspapers and television. Most

working people in Houston did not know about Mandela's visit until after it occurred, and even fewer knew they could hear him speak in person. Nevertheless, thousands did come, and the line to gain admittance to the TSU meeting snaked around the block.

Mandela described the upcoming national convention in South Africa that will be attended by the government, the ANC, and other parties as the beginning of "the process of adopting a new constitution for a democratic South Africa." He called for the establishment of an interim government, "since the major obstacle to change is the white minority government."

Financial and diplomatic sanctions should only be lifted, he said, when an interim government is in place. Such a government could then prepare for the election of a constituent assembly — that is, a body to write a new constitution — on the basis of universal suffrage.

Mandela also outlined the views of the African National Congress on the current tasks of the solidarity movement around the world. Opponents of apartheid must continue to press for the maintenance of sanctions, he said, including the continuation of the embargo against arms and oil. They must speak out, not just against apartheid, but in support of a new constitution based on the principal of "one person, one vote," and for a new social order, established to meet the needs of millions of dispossessed South Africans.

"The new democracy in South Africa will need support to succeed. It will strike a blow against racism everywhere in the world. It will show all of Africa the road to development," Mandela explained. "And it will enable all black people to hold their heads high."

Nancy Rosenstock is a member of the International Association of Machinists and works at JFK International Airport at Trans World Airlines.

Pan Am airline closes doors, throwing 7,500 out of work

Continued from front page

many of whom were traveling the day Pan Am collapsed, stunned workers, especially airline workers. At Trans World Airlines, for example, the company has threatened to take the airline into bankruptcy in January. TWA workers looking at what happened at Pan Am and Midway feel insecure about their jobs.

Part of the bankruptcy plan that was to be considered by the judge was an agreement by the five major unions at Pan Am to grant further concessions worth \$48 million.

Vincent Sinnott, a mechanic with 24 years at Pan Am, in an interview outside an infor-

mation center set up by the Transport Workers Union, described it this way: "In 1980, we gave them a 10 percent giveback in our wages. Again, in 1985 we gave more concessions, agreeing to pay for part of our medical. Now we just gave a 43 percent cut in our pension. For 20 years they have been raiding this company and now we have no job. I am very disappointed, but I saw it coming."

from Pathfinder. . .
**Books on
labor history**

Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay

by Leon Trotsky, Karl Marx. Two outstanding revolutionary leaders discuss the tasks of trade unions under capitalism. 156 pp. \$13.95

The Eastern Airlines Strike

by Ernie Mailhot, Judy Stranahan, and Jack Barnes. The story of the 22-month strike that blocked the building of a profitable nonunion Eastern Airlines and brought down notorious union-buster Frank Lorenzo. 91 pp. \$8.95

Teamster Rebellion

by Farrell Dobbs. The story of the strikes and organizing drives in the 1930s that transformed the Teamsters union in Minneapolis and the Midwest into a fighting industrial union movement. 195 pp. \$14.95

Visit the Pathfinder bookstore listed on page 12 or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Include \$3 shipping and handling for first book, \$.50 each additional title.

Canada rulers resist Quebec sovereignty

Referendum to be held next year on future status of French-speaking province

BY MICHEL DUGRÉ

MONTREAL — There has been an escalation of the campaign by Canada's capitalists against the establishment of a sovereign Quebec. In response, independence supporters have organized two rallies in Montreal in support of sovereignty and the province's right to self-determination. These actions take place as part of the battle to determine the outcome of a Quebec referendum on the province's future.

The Quebec National Assembly voted to hold the referendum no later than October 26, 1992. Quebec voters will be asked to vote either on a proposal by the federal government for a major revision of the Canadian constitution — if it comes up with one acceptable to the Quebec assembly — or on a proposal to establish a politically sovereign Quebec.

A quarter of Canada's 26 million people live in Quebec. Eighty percent of Quebec's population is French-speaking. The Quebecois, who are nationally oppressed, face systematic discrimination as a French-speaking minority in Canada. They are denied their right to political self-determination and continue to face language and job discrimination, lower wages, inferior social services and a school system segregated by both language and religion.

In a series of speeches over the last few weeks, Canadian prime minister Brian Mulroney denounced Quebec sovereignty as the proposal of "dream merchants." He rejected the proposal for a sovereign Quebec, which would maintain close economic ties with the rest of the country.

In September, Ottawa proposed a series of constitutional amendments. The govern-

ment's aim was to get Quebec's support for the Canadian constitution in exchange for a clause recognizing Quebec as "a distinct society within Canada," a symbolic gesture with vague legal content.

Quebec is the only province that has not signed the 1982 constitution. The document denied Quebec some of the limited powers it had held since the founding of Canada in 1867, including the establishment of language laws and the right to veto constitutional changes directly affecting Quebec. An early December poll showed that 78 percent of Quebecois who expressed an opinion said Ottawa's offers were "not advantageous for Quebec." Almost half of those polled abstained.

A similar proposal, the Meech Lake accord, was defeated in 1990. The governments in two English-speaking provinces opposed the proposal claiming it gave too much to Quebec. Canada's 1 million Native people overwhelmingly opposed it for different reasons; they saw it as a denial of Native rights. A substantial number of Quebecois were also opposed.

Ottawa is threatening to call a cross-Canada referendum prior to the one planned in Quebec. This has sparked a sharp reaction. Several members of the federal parliament from Quebec have pointed out that the last cross-Canada referendum was held during World War II to impose conscription, despite the opposition of 80 percent of those who voted in Quebec.

On November 19, 2,500 persons packed the Montreal Convention Center to call on the Quebec government to hold the referendum on sovereignty as soon as possible.

"We want sovereignty and nothing else," declared Serge Demers, a spokesperson for the Quebec Movement, in opening the meeting. The Quebec Movement, a broad coalition, sponsored the meeting. All three major trade union federations have called on their members to join the coalition.

"We are the only ones who should decide on our future," Demers insisted, while the

audience, a cross-section of people of different ages and social classes, chanted "independence!" in French.

Among those who spoke were leaders of the two major pro-independence parties, the Quebecois Party and the Quebecois Bloc; Jean Campeau, a prominent Quebec capitalist; and the presidents of the Quebec Federation of Labour, the Confederation of National Trade Unions and the Quebec federations of nurses and teachers.

A second rally of 800 was organized two weeks later by the St. Jean-Baptiste Society, the oldest Quebec nationalist organization.

Ovide Mercredi, leader of the Assembly of First Nations, the main Native organization in Canada, has also denounced the federal referendum as a denial of the Natives' right to determine their future themselves.

The New Democratic Party — a social-democratic party linked to unions outside Quebec, which has long campaigned for Canadian "national unity" — has moved into the forefront of the attacks against Quebec. On November 28, when Ottawa announced a \$160-million subsidy to help Quebec industry, NDP members of parliament attacked the federal government for showing favoritism to Quebec over other provinces.

"Workers across Canada must oppose the reactionary attacks on Quebecois and Native peoples, including the holding of a cross-Canada referendum," explained Michel Prairie. He is the Communist League candidate in the January 20, 1992, by-election for the Quebec National Assembly in the Anjou district of Montreal.

"This proposal would violate the right to self-determination of both Quebecois and Native peoples," Prairie said. "It is the oppressed themselves who should have the right to decide on their own future freely and without threats or intimidation. All working people should support the just struggles of Quebecois and Native peoples for political sovereignty."

Pathfinder AROUND THE WORLD

PAT SMITH

Pathfinder Press, located in New York with distributors in Australia, Britain, and Canada, publishes the works of working-class and communist leaders who have made central contributions to the forward march of humanity against exploitation and oppression. Pathfinder bookstores are listed in the directory on page 12.

Les premières salves de la troisième guerre mondiale: la guerre contre l'Irak, issue number four in the French-language Marxist magazine *Nouvelle Internationale*, is now available. This book features the principal article contained in the English-language *New Internationalist* no. 7, *The Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq*.

The publication of *Nouvelle Internationale* no. 4 brings the number of titles Pathfinder publishes in French to 6. In addition, Pathfinder distributes 42 books and pamphlets in French from other publishers. These books and pamphlets range from *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party* by James P. Cannon and *History Will Absolve Me* by Fidel Castro to Marxist classics such as V.I. Lenin's *Alliance of the Working Class and the Peasantry*, *The Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, and Leon Trotsky's *The History of the Russian Revolution*.

Included in these French titles are 9 new ones not yet listed on Pathfinder order forms. These are: *Anti-Dühring* (\$14.95), *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* (\$2.95), and *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (\$7.95) by Engels; *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (\$4.00), *Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy* (\$10.95), and *Wage, Labor, and Capital* (\$4.00) by Marx; *Selected Correspondence* (\$15.95) by Marx and Engels; and *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination* (\$3.95) and *Socialism and War* (\$3.95) by V.I. Lenin.

Pathfinder exhibited and sold its books at the recent annual conference of the African Studies Association, an organization of academics who study and teach African history and culture. The four-day event was held in St. Louis with 1,500 attending.

Pathfinder featured its 2 new titles on Africa: *How Far We Slaves Have Come!*, the speeches given this year in Cuba by African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and Cuban President Fidel Castro, and *Oser inventer l'avenir* (Dare to Invent the Future), speeches in French by West African revolutionary Thomas Sankara.

Fourteen copies of the Mandela-Castro book were sold, as were 4 copies of the speeches of Sankara in French. Sankara's *Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle* was purchased by 7 confer-

ence participants. Sankara, president of Burkina Faso, was assassinated in a counterrevolutionary coup in 1987. The interest in his books shows the continuing impact of his ideas and example on Africans and others in their search for overcoming colonialism's legacy and capitalist exploitation.

Pathfinder's latest Malcolm X book, *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, was the second-most sought after title, picked up by 8 participants. In all, 63 books and booklets were sold from the Pathfinder display.

Several professors of African history teaching at U.S. universities indicated they require their students to obtain Nelson Mandela and Malcolm X readings published by Pathfinder. Two said they were going to show the Pathfinder-distributed video *Cuba and Angola: Response to the South African Invasion*. This TV documentary by Cuban film makers records the 1988 battle of Cuito Cuanavale in Angola, where Cuban, Angolan, and Namibian troops turned back an invasion by the South African army. The significance of this defeat for apartheid is the theme of the speeches found in *How Far We Slaves Have Come!*

A reader of Pathfinder books from Little Rock, Arkansas, wrote to inform us that his "local Waldenbooks store has a good selection of Afro-American, labor, and radical literature, including a goodly number of your publications." He bought a copy of *New Internationalist* there and noticed in it an ad for the Pathfinder Readers Club. He asks if the Readers Club discount of 15 percent off to members "is available to mail-order customers." The answer is yes. For readers not able to get to the Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12, send your \$10 membership fee directly to Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

The Pathfinder bookstore in San Francisco has recently been renovated. It has new movable bookshelves, a revolving stand for periodicals, and a sandwich board sign to attract passersby.

The bookstore has been distributing a half-page sized promotional leaflet and business cards that include the days and hours it is open — from 3:00 p.m.-7:00 p.m. weekdays and from 10:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m. on Saturdays. Each month Readers Club members in the area are sent a leaflet promoting a "book of the month" at a special 25 percent discount to Club members. The November books of the month was *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*.

Arthur Hughes and Markie Wilson contributed to this column.



June 1990 celebration in support of Quebec sovereignty. Recent rallies in Montreal have continued to demand right to self-determination.

Nouvelle Internationale no. 4

In French. 333 pp.

Opening Guns of World War III

The War Against Iraq

By Jack Barnes

Also includes:

- Washington's Third Militarization Drive
- Communism, the Working Class, and Anti-Imperialist Struggle: Lessons from the Iran-Iraq War

\$17 Can / \$13 US / 165 FF

Available from bookstores listed on page 12 or from Pathfinder
410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Add \$3 shipping, \$.50 each additional title.



New York faces financial crisis

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

Over the last several months, city and state politicians have been debating the New York budget crisis. Governor Mario Cuomo announced that the state faces shortfalls of \$875 million in this year's \$30 billion budget and no less than \$4 billion next year.

Out of nearly 18 million New Yorkers, more than 7 million live in New York City, which is also facing a financial crisis. The city's deficit for this fiscal year is \$210 million and an estimated \$1.2 billion for the following year.

State budget director Patrick Bulgaro attributed the problem to growing demands for welfare and other forms of public assistance that have accompanied the economic recession. The state reported spending \$327 million more than anticipated, of which \$232 million was spent on Medicaid. It also reported receiving \$349 million less revenue than it had expected.

The sharp cuts in expenditure made by both the city and state earlier this year, which resulted in thousands losing their jobs and cuts in social services, have not provided the state or city with a balanced budget. Instead, working people in New York face another round of attacks in an assault led by Governor Cuomo and Mayor David Dinkins.

The capitalist economic crisis has become a virtual war against working people throughout New York. Since June 6,000 New York City workers were laid off. Currently more than half of the city's employees are working without a contract.

On October 1 the Dinkins administration announced that it would pare down proposed property-tax increases that had been previously budgeted to cover wage increases for municipal workers.

Dinkins wants to freeze wages through June 1992. One city official said that wage increases could be met if the unions agreed on concessions, suggesting a 3 percent wage increase in exchange for 4 percent in concessions. Deputy Mayor Milton Mollen complained, "What we get so far from the city unions, city labor, is rhetoric. But we don't get responsible action." One high-ranking city official said that the city will continue layoffs even if it wins concessions.

State officials point out that because so many people are out of work, the demand for assistance programs has risen. For example, more people are receiving tuition assistance to go to school. The demand for home relief, available to people whose six-month unemployment insurance has run out, has risen by 49 percent over the past year. A

report released this fall said that 1 million New York City residents will be on welfare by early next year.

State officials are now discussing a plan to close the budget gaps over the next two years. Cuomo proposes a \$256 million cut in aid to schools. This comes on top of previous cuts of \$660 million over the past 11 months, out of an \$8.32 billion budget. New York City would lose \$95 million in this cut alone.

Cuomo also proposed cutting Medicaid and other social service programs by \$214 million, through such measures as limiting hours that Medicaid recipients can receive care, forcing an increase in insurance costs paid by patients, and eliminating Medicaid dental services for adults. Cuomo's plan also proposes the elimination of 1,500 state jobs by April and 6,000 over the next fiscal year. Even with these cuts, Cuomo said the state will have to borrow an additional \$95 million.

Cuomo, who is considering running for the Democratic Party nomination for president, and many state legislators up for reelection, support this two-year plan, to avoid making more drastic cuts prior to next year's elections that they believe would harm their candidacies.

Employers' drive to shore up profits raises job injuries to record levels

BY SETH GALINSKY

On-the-job injuries and work-related illness reached nearly 6.8 million cases last year, according to a U.S. government survey of private industry. This is the highest level on record.

The dry statistics confirm what many workers already know: the continuing drive by the employers to shore up their profits is taking a heavy toll on working people.

"Workplace illnesses associated with repeated trauma (e.g., conditions due to repeated pressure, vibration, or motion such as carpal tunnel syndrome) made up nearly 60 percent of the illness cases in 1990," stated the Bureau of Labor Statistics report, which was released November 19.

Injuries increased in 1990 for most categories including mining, agriculture, transportation, public utilities, and services. Occupational injuries and illnesses reported in manufacturing and construction, however, decreased slightly.

Lost workdays related to these hazards increased from 56.7 million in 1989 to 60.4 million in 1990.

The figures are based on a sample survey of more than 250,000 businesses.

No breakdown on injuries that result in death were provided in the report.

"Work-related fatalities cannot be measured accurately through a sample survey of this size," the Bureau of Labor Statistics said.

"Although 2,900 work-related fatalities were reported in private industry establishments with 11 employees or more," the report noted, "the Bureau believes that this count significantly understates work-related fatalities for the year."

The AFL-CIO estimates that 10,000 workers die on the job each year.

In an attempt to cover up for the increase of about 200,000 cases compared to 1989, Assistant Secretary of Labor Gerard Scannell claimed in a press statement that "these statistics are a positive sign."

Downplaying the overall increase in injuries and in lost workdays, Scannell said, "We are gratified that the data for 1990 show a decline in the number of injuries and illness among employees in manufacturing."

The assistant secretary of labor contradicted the report's warning that fatalities—and by implication non-fatal injuries—are underreported. Instead he claimed that "some of the increases" are due to a "continuing emphasis" by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) on "accurate recordkeeping."



UPI Telephoto

West Virginia mine disaster in 1968. On-the-job injuries and work-related illness reached nearly 6.8 million cases in 1990. U.S. report says fatalities are underreported.

Striking coal miners found innocent in frame-ups; plan national rally

BY DAVID SALNER

CRAIG, Colorado — Three coal miners on strike against Cyprus Minerals Co. have been cleared of charges filed against them.

Cyprus Minerals has been using the courts to harass members of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 1799 at the Empire Mine in Craig, Colorado, who have been on strike since May 13. UMWA member Dean Carey was acquitted November 7 of charges that he punctured the tires of non-union employees entering the mine. Mine worker Lewis Knez was acquitted of similar charges the next day by a second jury.

After deliberating for a matter of minutes the second jury announced its verdict to cheers from the 20 striking union members in the courtroom. Knez, Carey, and their supporters wasted no time in letting Cyprus' supervisory personnel know about the verdict. As the bosses left the struck mine at shift change that afternoon they were greeted by large signs held up by Carey and Knez standing on either side of the road saying, "NOT GUILTY."

Misdemeanor charges against striker Delbert Archuleta were also dropped December 9. The charges were based on a June 16

incident in which a Vance security agent employed by Cyprus tried to run over a group of picketing miners with a motorcycle. UMWA member Robert Goss received a knife wound in the hand during the course of the incident. Although no charges were ever filed against the security agent, Goss faces a frame-up felony charge.

The UMWA points out that Cyprus is attempting to establish convictions so that they can fire union activists for "strike misconduct." Cyprus succeeded in winning a restraining order against Empire State strikers who have picketed at the nonunion Twenty Mile Mine, which Cyprus also owns. The court order restricts pickets to four, based on an incident in which a stalled car allegedly delayed the start of work by 45 minutes.

Local 1799 plans a national "Christmas Rally" in Craig at noon December 21. UMWA international president Richard Trumka is scheduled to speak. For more information contact UMWA Local 1799, 30 Victory Way, Craig, Colorado 81625.

David Salner is a member of United Steel Workers of America Local 8319.

WORLD NEWS BRIEFS



Japanese gov't fails to pass law permitting use of troops abroad

Japanese government officials announced December 10 that their effort to pass a bill permitting Japanese armed forces to participate in United Nations "peacekeeping" missions failed.

This would have been the first time since World War II that Japanese troops would have been allowed to function abroad—with the exception of a few minesweepers sent to the Arab-Persian Gulf after the war against Iraq.

The measure, approved earlier in the lower house of Parliament, died in the opposition-controlled upper house. Recent polls showed that the majority of Japanese opposed sending troops abroad.

Burkina Faso police attack protesters amidst election boycott

Police in Burkina Faso, a country in West Africa, attacked demonstrators opposing the rule of President Blaise Compaore. The protests took place during the December 1 presidential elections. A boycott call by a coalition of main opposition parties was widely heeded, and reports said that less than half of the 3.5 million voters turned out.

Compaore was the only candidate on the ballot. His regime came to power in 1987 with a military coup that overthrew the revolutionary government of Thomas Sankara.

Sankara led a popular uprising in 1983 that ushered in one of the deepest revolutions in African history. The Burkina revolution carried out an ambitious program that included land reform, fighting corruption, reforestation to halt the creeping desert and avert famine, and giving priority to education and health care. In order to carry out these measures, Sankara's government encouraged the organization, mobilization, and political education of the country's peasants, women, and youth.

Peru's gov't grants army broad powers, attacks democratic rights

Peru's government of Alberto Fujimori has issued emergency decrees granting the military sweeping powers. The measures are to go into effect by December 15.

The decrees will allow soldiers to requisition property and draft individuals into the armed forces. Military units will also have freedom to enter prisons and universities.

Civilians, including journalists, who reveal alleged "secret activities" or refuse to cooperate with government security agents will face jail sentences of up to 10 years for treason.

The decrees were announced in November as a deep economic crisis and an armed rebellion led by the Shining Path movement have intensified.

By some estimates the number of Peruvians living in extreme poverty has doubled in three years to 13 million, out of a population of 22 million. So far this year 2,540 people have died as the result of a cholera epidemic.

Shining Path is a reactionary group that has carried out widespread terrorist attacks against government officials as well as against peasants, union leaders, and left-wing political opponents. According to recent reports its influence among Peru's poor peasants and worst-off sections of the working class is on the rise.

Headline stories in the news

Yugoslavia: The government of Germany has promised to recognize Croatia as an independent state by Christmas. Austria is expected to follow suit. Croatian government officials hope the step will be followed by arms shipments. The Serbian regime has stepped up arming of militias in the republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Venezuela: Massive protests by workers and students are sweeping the country. In response the government shut down schools, while police attacked protesters, killing as many as 18, mostly students. Ten thousand teachers and others marched against government repression December 4. The protests began in August when the government instituted price increases and other austerity measures demanded by the International Monetary Fund.

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.

Call toll free 1-800-521-3044. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

'Class tensions are sharpest they've been since World War II'

Socialist Workers Party National Committee discusses U.S. politics

BY GREG McCARTAN

NEW YORK — A meeting of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee here November 19-21 centered its discussions on the growing class tensions and political polarization in the United States.

Opening the meeting National Secretary Jack Barnes pointed out that in the imperialist world "class tensions are the sharpest they have been since World War II. These tensions — between classes and within classes — grow out of the cumulative effects of the economic crisis of world capitalism."

They grow out of the need of the employers to drive down the standard of living of working people in order to bolster sagging profit rates and gain a competitive edge over imperialist rivals in the world market. Along with this come the government-organized assaults on democratic rights and individual liberties, as a means to weaken the ability of the labor movement to actively defend itself and broader layers of society.

The billionaire ruling families, however, have not broken the resistance within the working class, Barnes said. They cannot simply press forward with concession contracts, attacks on abortion rights, the whittling away of affirmative action, and other measures without meeting resistance and unexpected fights or social explosions. Nor can they avoid increasing room for popular discussion on these questions, if for no other reason than the growing political debates and rightist currents being bred in their own parties.

Along with these class tensions comes "a political polarization: sharp political fights and conflicts over how to resolve these perceived and real tensions," the SWP leader said.

Politically explaining the conflicts that arise presents a challenge to communists because, "all, without exception, take place within the framework of bourgeois politics." There is no working-class answer presented by the labor movement, or a broad and sustained political and economic fightback by any union that can show a different course than those presented by the various wings of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Widely debated issues

Barnes pointed to a number of examples of how communist workers can present a working-class answer to widely debated issues in politics today. "Increasing class tensions strain the relations between the Bill of

Rights and the original Constitution," he said. "The Constitution of the United States was crafted to make sure that in the colonies that had been freed from the British monarchy, the propertied classes would prevent any one of their factions from becoming dominant enough to lord it over the others."

Rights in the Constitution were not viewed the same way as individual rights are seen today by working people. Rather than individual rights, the Constitution guarantees the rights of property; it outlines democratic relations among property owners. It took a second battle by working people to win the Bill of Rights, the foundation of individual democratic and political rights.

"Today the rulers battle over their tactical differences," Barnes said, "and over the inevitable problems that arise from the growing use of executive power. When the relationship among bourgeois factions is thrown out of balance, there is a reaction. What is important to working people is not necessarily the struggle between factions of the ruling class."

"What is important to us is their impact on the only thing working people have within this framework: individual rights," he said. "Working people have only their organization and political consciousness as their source of power. They seek above all to use and defend the rights guaranteed by the amendments to the Constitution in order to have political space in which to function."

Class-conscious workers argue and fight to expand these rights, such as the right to privacy, and to use them to increase political and social equality.

This focus is important, Barnes said, because "the deepening class battles that will bring the questions posed by rightists to the fore do not take place on the plane of constitutional conflicts within bourgeois politics. Where we as working people make our stand is on the plane of attempts to cut off our individual rights." This makes fights around affirmative action and racism take on growing importance, he said.

White Student Union

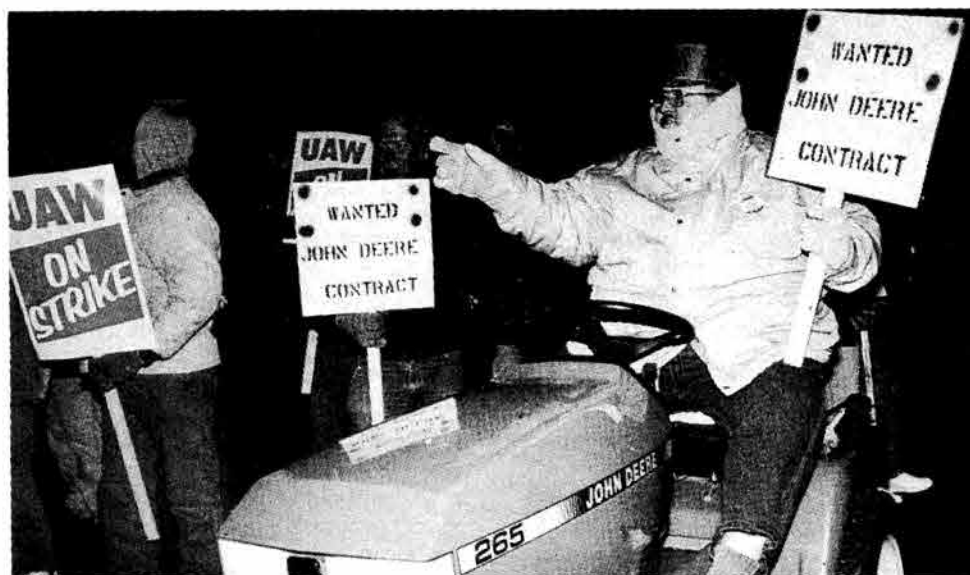
Barnes pointed to the political questions raised by the emergence of the White Student Union, a right-wing organization that began functioning on the University of Minnesota campus in the Twin Cities. The response of the Young Socialist Alliance to this organization is an example of how communists effectively join in discussion, debate, and protests while presenting working-class answers to rightist ideological assaults.

White Student Union leader Tom David says that immigrant workers "come here to suck the blood of hard-working white people." The organization's literature states the group's purpose is to "protest affirmative action and quotas, and to promote white culture" and welcomes people who are "pro-white." In October thugs associated with the White Student Union attacked and beat participants in an antiracist protest at the University of Minnesota. The Young Socialist Alliance has played an important role in mobilizing forces against the White Student Union and has demanded that the group not receive recognition as a student organization or obtain any university resources.

"At the heart of the matter is unambiguously rejecting the idea that there is some sort of parallel between the White Student Union and a Black student union," Barnes said. "Any all-white, or any all-male organization is reactionary." This is different from Black or women's organizations which are essentially a defensive reaction to the oppression dealt out to these groups by capitalism.

The concept of a white race, or the concept of being white, is a reactionary social construct that attempts to push back the march of history, he said.

Oppressed nationalities are what many people call "races," said Barnes. "But they are not races. Race is a social identification imposed by the exploiters with the rise of capitalism. It is absorbed and perpetuated in



Auto workers on strike against Caterpillar. Socialist Workers Party leader Jack Barnes pointed to this lockout and strike as a big test for the employers and the union. Barnes said the company's reaction to this limited strike could indicate a new wave of attempts to turn the retreat of the labor movement into a rout.

the reproduction of the exploitation of labor. In order to confront and abolish this social oppression working people must identify with the fight against it. The racism perpetuated by the exploiters must be done away with, and part of that fight is explaining why 'the white race' is a reactionary social concept, not a scientific fact."

Barnes pointed to the demand by many who supported Republican candidate for governor of Louisiana David Duke as another example of how the concept of a "white race" is promoted. They said that if "African-American" is allowed to appear on a census form then "European-American" must appear as well. "We say 'no' to that demand," he said.

'Family, faith and country'

Duke, who was defeated in the Louisiana elections, has announced his candidacy for the Republican Party nomination for U.S. president. Another right-wing Republican, Patrick Buchanan, is running against George Bush as well. Both, Barnes said, are capitalist politicians who, as Buchanan explicitly states, concentrate on the trilogy of "family, faith, and country" as the cornerstone and foundation of their rightist ideological assault.

There is less confusion about Buchanan, who was a White House speech writer in the Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Ronald Reagan administrations. He does not have a past association with the Ku Klux Klan or other fascist outfits as does Duke. It is the similarities between the two that should be stressed, Barnes noted, pointing to the statement repeatedly made by Buchanan on television talk shows that he agreed with everything Duke had said on an earlier program. The main problem Duke faces in gaining wider support at the polls, Buchanan said, was his background. Like other members of the Republican right, including the vice president, he accuses Duke, and accurately so, of having stolen all their main themes.

"Ultrarightism is something that comes from within bourgeois politics," Barnes said. "At the same time it recruits from the streets to the politics of resentment. It uses demagoguery, which always has a nationalist side to it as opposed to an internationalist side."

What is important about Duke is not where he comes from but his stated program, which is not centered on racism or blaming the working class for the problems of society. Instead, Duke poses as a champion of the "little man" against corrupt, inefficient, and big government.

His demagoguery — making promises to middle-class layers and sections of the working class based on their fears, insecurity, and backward sentiments — "ultimately comes down on scapegoat sections of the working class, especially immigrant workers from the colonial and semicolonial world," he said. "It is built on resentment against the rich, against the banks, against Washington, against the 'Jewish bankers,' against the 'profiteering Japanese,' and others." This is the framework for the racist conclusions and the attacks on immigrants that are the logical consequence of such rightist campaigns.

Barnes also pointed to a book by Buchanan entitled, *Right from the Beginning*, first published in 1988. In the most important chapter "As We Remember Joe," Buchanan explains his identification with his father's political views: why, as a Catholic, he supported the fascist movement headed by Gen. Francisco Franco in Spain in the 1930s, his backing of Gen. Douglas MacArthur against limitations on the political power of the officer corps, and as an anticommunist why he supported

the witch-hunt led by Sen. Joseph McCarthy.

The big-business media's focus on Duke's past membership and leadership of Nazi organizations and the Ku Klux Klan, Barnes said, diverts attention from the fact that "the entire history of incipient fascist movements in the U.S. shows how they're all rooted in bourgeois politics. Until there is a total breakdown of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, that will remain true in the United States."

Affirmative action

An ongoing flash point of the political polarization is around affirmative action. Rightists campaign against it; Bush attacked the recently approved civil rights legislation as a "quotas bill" while liberal Congressmen said it was not. Divisions have arisen within the Republican Party over how to restrict affirmative-action programs.

"The bill just passed in Congress is a quotas bill," Barnes said. "It will result in employers hiring by quotas to a greater degree than if the bill wasn't passed."

This is the result of the "natural" workings of capitalism, which in its drive to maximize profits takes advantage of, perpetuates, and deepens differentiations within the working class based on national origin, sex, age, skill level, and other differences. Left to themselves capitalists would hire or promote fewer women or members of oppressed nationalities. With the bill, they will be obliged to implement some form of hiring quotas, simply in order to avoid costly lawsuits.

"We campaign for affirmative action to overcome the social divisions imposed upon working people by the employers," said Barnes. "We should remember that affirmative action includes unemployment insurance, a rise in the minimum wage, and other such measures."

One of the employer assaults Barnes pointed to was a lockout that led to a strike by members of the United Auto Workers Union against some plants of the heavy-equipment maker, Caterpillar. The company subsequently locked out some 8,000 workers at other factories. About 2,400 are on strike.

This is a big test for the employers and the union, he said. It comes after years of Caterpillar pressing the union for concessions to bring wages and productivity in line with other farm-equipment manufacturers and foreign competitors. The company said unless concessions were granted there was no way they could compete and keep workers employed. The union finally agreed.

The current strike and lockout, from the point of view of the UAW officialdom, "breaks a decade-long agreement they thought they had. They thought that since they led the workers to accept concessions, then the company was supposed to stop demanding more. But of course that will never happen."

Barnes said that the company's reaction to the limited strike should be watched carefully, because it could indicate a new wave of attempts to turn the retreat of the labor movement into a rout.

The other questions discussed and adopted at the National Committee meeting included: a report by Mary-Alice Waters on party finances and the challenges of reconstructing and refurbishing the Pathfinder building in New York, and a report by Ernie Mailhot on preparing national meetings of the SWP's industrial union fractions. The fraction meetings were held between November 30 and December 15. An article about them appears on page 12.

Just back in print

Education for Socialists series on:

What is American fascism and lessons of the fight against it.

Countermobilization: A Strategy to Fight Racist and Fascist Attacks, by Farrell Dobbs. \$6

What is American Fascism? Writings on Father Coughlin, Mayor Frank Hague, and Sen. Joseph McCarthy, by James P. Cannon and Joseph Hansen. \$8.

The Fight Against Fascism in the U.S.A.: Forty Years of Struggle Described by Participants, by James P. Cannon et al. \$9.

Available from bookstores listed on page 12 or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Please add \$3 for postage and handling for first title; \$.50 each additional title.

Rightist Buchanan enters presidential race

BY GEORGE BUCHANAN

Immigrants and those on welfare are among the central targets of Patrick Buchanan, who has launched the most serious rightist challenge so far for the Republican presidential nomination. He announced his campaign December 10.

Buchanan is a well known newspaper columnist, a former speech writer for U.S. president Richard Nixon, and was also a White House assistant to Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan.

His announcement followed by less than a week that of David Duke, the loser in

NEWS ANALYSIS

Louisiana's November election for governor. Many of Buchanan's themes parallel those of Duke.

In his opening campaign statement, Buchanan calls for a "new patriotism, where Americans begin to put the needs of Americans first." He calls for aggressively confronting the economic competition from Japan and Europe; recapturing "our capital city from an occupying army of lobbyists and registered agents of foreign powers"; and phasing out "foreign aid, and . . . looking out for the needs of the forgotten Americans right here in the United States."

Buchanan rails against President George Bush for raising taxes, and for being a "globalist" — more concerned with events abroad than at home. The political establishment in Congress, he says "is as ossified and out-of-touch with America as the establishment that resides in the White House." He accuses the "professional political class" in Washington of giving themselves "secret pay raises" and "double-cross[ing] the American people."

For 'working people and middle class'

Buchanan describes his campaign as being "for the working people and middle class of both parties, and of no party."

Thus Buchanan's campaign is complete with the demagogic stock-in-trade of incipient American fascist forces in past decades: an appeal to the "little people," the victims of capitalism in crisis; aggressive nationalism; and attacks with both direct and coded terms on scapegoats, from those on welfare to "illegal" immigrants. Strands of anti-Semitism also run through Buchanan's writings.

A *Wall Street Journal* report on a Buchanan campaign meeting captured some of the sentiment he appeals to. It described one attendee, Joe Guyotte, who drove 45 miles with his son to hear Buchanan: "Lifelong Republicans with their own realty business, they both say they'll vote for 'anyone but George Bush,' even a Democrat. 'I'm mad, because I'm going broke,' said Mr. Guyotte; it's hard to find anyone in the crowd who disagrees."

Buchanan's autobiography, *Right From the Beginning*, clearly lays out his political beliefs. He admiringly explains why his father and others in his generation supported Gen. Francisco Franco of Spain, the fascist dictator who overthrew the republican government there in the 1930s; witch-hunting



Right-wing Republican presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan.

Sen. Joseph McCarthy; and Gen. Douglas MacArthur, who declared his intention to carry the war against Korea on into China. These were "fighters, men who waged war relentlessly against the true enemy," he says.

Opposes abortion rights

Buchanan is a strong opponent of women's right to abortion. He compares abortions being performed today to the Nazi holocaust.

The right-wing candidate argues against the war in the Gulf, because "that worthless Emir . . . was not worth a single American Marine," as he said on the David Brinkley show December 8. But "as soon as the first shot was fired I backed the Commander-in-Chief and the Americans for victory."

Buchanan uses the slogan "America first," echoing a rightist movement of the 1930s that was sympathetic to Germany and opposed on that basis to the entry of the United States into World War II. He calls for "phasing out troops in NATO" to "make some of them border guards in the Southwest," on the U.S.-Mexico border.

He defends those like Adm. John Poindexter and Col. Oliver North for their secret war against Nicaragua, despite its illegality, declaring that they were true to what he calls "the higher law," a moral principle "to which

man-made law must correspond to be legitimate." The higher principle involved in this and other cases, in Buchanan's view, is "to save American lives." He believes this same principle justified President Richard Nixon's secret bombing of Cambodia, for example.

Denounces 'multi-culturalism'

Buchanan also denounces the threat to "our Western heritage" coming from "some landfill called multi-culturalism." Discussing the sort of immigration he would prefer, he says, "If we had to take a million immigrants in, say, Zulus, next year or Englishmen, and put them in Virginia, what group would be easier to assimilate and would cause less problems for the people of Virginia? . . . We are a European country."

"Should the United States be a Christian or pagan country?" he asks, complaining that "we have let this country be driven to where the Ten Commandments cannot be posted in a public school"

Defending "family, faith, and country" is how he sums up his beliefs.

Buchanan, with one foot in the more traditional Republican right wing and the other in the political milieu of the ultraright, shows the pattern of serious ultraright political movements that can be expected to emerge

in the United States in the next period.

The demagoguery of figures such as Buchanan and Duke, while not yet being tied to organized movements in the streets, opens the door to street actions against targets such as Black rights activists, union picket lines, and progressive social protests.

What is significant about these politicians is not the gulf between them and the mainstream Republican and Democratic leaders, but the similarity of their basic politics. The ultrarightists simply add a demagogic edge.

The lack of any answer to the deepening crisis of capitalism in defense of workers' and farmers' interests, from either the union officialdom or the Democratic politicians they support, plays into the hands of demagogues like Duke and Buchanan, who address real and deep-going problems. But Duke's and Buchanan's solutions will lead nowhere except to more blows against the labor movement.

Only an anticapitalist movement with a fighting program based on the unity, solidarity, and mobilization of working people — citizens and immigrants, both in this country and abroad — can provide an answer to the advancing ultrarightist currents in U.S. politics.

Revelations expose South African gov't funding of Inkatha disrupton

BY DEREK BRACEY AND GREG MCCARTAN

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — The government and the Inkatha Freedom Party have been rocked by new revelations of Pretoria's funding of IFP events and providing military training to some party members.

The exposure of police infiltration into Inkatha and the party leadership's collaboration with the regime is a result of an ongoing investigative report by the anti-apartheid newspaper, the *Weekly Mail*.

Two weeks after a report in the paper, the South African Police (SAP) admitted it had provided funds to bus Inkatha supporters to a rally in January, 1990, nine months later than the time President F.W. de Klerk had said all secret funding of the organization had ended.

The police issued a statement claiming that the gathering was not a political rally, but a meeting to "motivate youth to encounter crime and violence in the area." It added, "In order to draw as many youths as possible to the rally the police used a sum of money for the hiring of buses. During the rally those present were addressed by various speakers including chiefs, church leaders, and the Chief Minister of KwaZulu," Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Collaboration with regime

KwaZulu is one of the ten Bantustans set up under apartheid. Buthelezi controls both the Bantustan administration and Inkatha. The IFP has opposed apartheid; its leadership, though, has a bourgeois nationalist outlook. As the *Mail* reports have documented, the organization is infiltrated with police and has collaborated with the regime in a number of ways over the years.

Before the SAP confirmed the newspaper report, Inkatha leaders had denounced the allegations as a "vicious propaganda campaign" against the party. But neither the police nor Inkatha denied the rally was sponsored by the party. Musa Zondi told the *Mail* that the meeting was sponsored by the IFP Youth Brigade, which Zondi heads.

Money for the rally was put into an account of the Inkatha Institute. Gavin Woods, director of the institute, signed checks for the buses. According to a police memorandum drawn up by Maj. Louis Botha, Woods was an informer for the Durban security police. Botha was the police official who directed the financing of other aspects of Inkatha's work. The government operation was uncovered by the *Mail* last August and has become known as "Inkathagate."

The more serious revelations concern the training of hit squads by several front organizations for the South African Defense Force's Military Intelligence.

Military Intelligence spent 7 million rand (U.S. \$2.5 million) to recruit, train, and sup-



Inkatha rally in Natal, South Africa, 1990.

Militant/Margrethe Siem

ply 200 hit squad members at a secret camp it provided.

According to the *Mail*, a top Inkatha leader provided massive documentation dating back to 1987 on the military training activities. These facts were backed up by two individuals who were part of the force that was trained first in Namibia in 1987, and then at a camp in northern Natal, South Africa. The trainees were later incorporated into the KwaZulu police. The two said the squad directed their attacks against activists in the anti-apartheid movement and political opponents of the IFP.

According to the *Mail*'s sources, members of Inkatha's Central Committee were aware of the existence of the camp, but not of its true purpose.

Codesa talks

The revelations, which come on the eve of a multiparty conference called the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), have caused a stir among those who back the government. They give further credence to the position of the revolutionary democratic movement — led by the African National Congress (ANC) — that government forces direct or participate in violent attacks across the country. Assaults on leaders of democratic organizations and random violence in Black townships continue unabated. Assaultants use machine guns, pistols, knives, and ri-

fles and are rarely apprehended by the police.

An editorial in the *Star*, entitled "That stench is back," said that "President de Klerk's dilemma now is that he must look a dupe if he is to avoid being called a knave." Encouraging de Klerk to "come clean" and reveal "indefensible undercover operations," the editorial concluded: "Nothing could wreck political negotiations faster than to allow a belief to grow that Government agencies, out of control, are still practicing the more horrendous of their traditional dirty tricks."

The ANC said in a statement that it "should be a matter of grave concern to every South African that on the eve of the first meeting of Codesa we learn that two of the parties to these talks, who pose as political antagonists, are in fact political allies bound together by a host of clandestine connections to destabilize the peace process."

The ANC demanded a "full-blown" independent inquiry into the government's covert activities and appealed to members of the security force who know about them to "expose those who bear responsibility for these killings."

This is the final Militant for 1991. The next issue, dated January 10, will have a closing news date of December 30.

Bolsheviks: 'Win unions to revolutionary course'

(Eighth in a series)

Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!, recently published by Pathfinder, contains the full record of the Second Congress of the Communist International, or Comintern, held in Soviet Russia in 1920.

The *Militant* is serializing the introduction to the book by its editor, John Riddell. These excerpts are copyright © 1991 by the Anchor Foundation and reprinted by permission of Pathfinder Press.

Last week's installment covered the debate over the character of parties wishing to affiliate to the Communist International.

Delegates at the Second Congress also debated what policies would be most effective in promoting united action by the labor movement to defend workers' interests in a situation where class-collaborationist leaderships held sway over most unions. The reformist-led International Federation of Trade Unions, generally called the Amsterdam International, after the location of its headquarters, had been buoyed by the influx of masses of workers into unions and by reforms wrested from the employers through the postwar strike upsurge. Founded in July 1919, the Amsterdam International soon suffered the defection of the American Federation of Labor. Nonetheless, by November 1920 its membership had grown to almost twenty-five million workers, concentrated in Europe.

The Bolshevik leadership proposed that revolutionary workers should remain in the reformist-led unions and not seek to split from them. Instead, they should strive to win these unions to a revolutionary course. There was no guarantee that this goal would be achieved. But without the struggle to transform the unions into instruments of revolutionary action, Communists would isolate themselves from workers' struggles and would have no way of building mass proletarian parties that were part of the experiences of the rest of their class.

At the same time, the Comintern leaders opposed efforts by the class-collaborationist leaders to yoke unions together in a pro-imperialist international association. The Comintern fought to rally revolutionary forces in the union movement and to unify them in a new international trade union body. That meant simultaneously waging war on the Amsterdam International, pressing its national affiliates to exercise union power on behalf of the ranks, and working to transform these unions into class-struggle instruments. To many inexperienced or leftist delegates, this combination of tasks seemed contradictory and impractical.

The Comintern leadership based its proposal to launch a revolutionary union International on its assessment of the specific conditions in the labor movement at that time. Despite the Amsterdam International's growth, the authority of its reformist leaders had been severely damaged by their traitorous conduct during the war. The union ranks were attracted to the example of the October revolution in Russia. In several countries, the Amsterdam federation's hegemony was challenged by



Congress devoted a major portion of its time to a debate on the trade union question

sizable militant union organizations that could be won to an alternative revolutionary union International. Communists expected to see renewed social explosions and working-class breakthroughs in the coming few years in Europe and elsewhere. In this context, a new, Red trade union International could hope to mount an effective challenge to the reformist-led Amsterdam grouping.

The Comintern's founding congress had adopted no resolution on trade union work. Differing viewpoints were expressed there on the correctness of working in reformist-led trade unions, but no decision was taken. A few months after the 1919 congress, in the November-December issue of the Comintern magazine, Grigory Tsyperovich, head of the council of Petrograd unions, called for the building of a revolutionary union International, separate from the Comintern but allied with it. At the Russian trade union congress in April 1920, however, Zinoviev proposed that revolutionary unions join the Comintern directly and that the Russian unions lead the way. By this route the Red union International would be constituted as a trade union section within the Comintern.

The easing of the imperialist blockade early in 1920 permitted the first trade union delegation from abroad, made up of leaders of British unions, to visit the Soviet republic. The union delegates arrived in Moscow on May 18. A similar delegation from Italy reached Moscow June 15 and met the following day with union representatives from Britain and Russia. Zinoviev proposed at this meeting that a revolutionary union body be organized, structured as part of the Communist International. His suggestion was rejected, however, by the delegates from both Italy and Britain. The meeting then adopted the proposal of Robert Williams, a delegate from Britain, to invite unions supporting the Comintern program to attend a broader conference. This gathering would then decide how to structure and launch the new trade union International.

The unionists from Britain then set out for home. During the next few weeks unionists from Russia, Italy, Spain, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and France took part in a series of meetings in Moscow called by the Comintern leadership as steps toward establishing an organization of revolutionary trade unions.

Discussions focused on three contentious issues. The first was the Bolshevik leaders' proposal that the benchmark in recognizing a revolutionary union be its commitment to the goal of a proletarian dictatorship. This met with objections from both the syndicalists and the delegates from Italy. The declaration drafted by S.A. Lozovsky therefore had to be abandoned and replaced with a statement by Serrati that referred to such a dictatorship as a "transitional instrument" in terms vague enough to be acceptable to most participants. "The compromise text is not very good," Lenin told Lozovsky, "but we can sign it. . . . In the future you will write better texts, but right now the key thing is to establish a foundation—if only for an international nucleus of revolutionary unions."

A second disagreement concerned the proposal that the new international union council affiliate to the Comintern. This was opposed by all participants except those from Russia and Bulgaria. The statement therefore proposed only to work "in accord with" the Comintern Executive Committee, with the form of this collaboration to be defined by a future congress.

Ultraleft objections

Third, many delegates did not wish to endorse working within the reformist-led unions to transform them and hesitated to condemn a boycott of these unions. In the weeks before the congress, a number of these delegates were won to support the views of Communists from Russia. Other delegates however, including the Shop Stewards, the syndicalists of Germany, Fraina, and Reed, maintained many of their ultraleft objections.

Serrati's compromise text was adopted July 15, four days before the congress began. Despite its inadequacies, the statement registered considerable progress on all three major areas of disagreement. The appeal, which launched the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, gained authority from the signatures of delegates of the major union federations of Italy and Spain alongside those of forces already linked to the Comintern.

Another meeting of union leaders present in Moscow, held during the congress, adopted statutes for the new international union council and elected a provisional leadership of Murphy, Rosmer, and Tomsy. The meeting adopted a statement, dated August 1, which was published in *Pravda* but was not widely circulated at the time. A motion by Zinoviev at the end of session 15 instructed the Executive Committee to write a statement of its own on this topic. During the year that followed, the new union council prepared the ground for the founding congress of the Red International of Labor Unions (the Profintern), which was held simultaneously with the Comintern's Third Congress.

From these meetings of union leaders, the debate moved to the Comintern congress and its commissions. Sessions of the trade union commission lasted no less than thirty hours, and the Bolsheviks' proposals met what Zinoviev later called "a most vexatious resistance." Heated charges were made, and in session 12 of the congress Jack Tanner of the Shop Stewards announced that the delegates from Britain were walking out of the commission in protest. When the trade union theses were voted in session 15, eight of the sixty-six voting delegates registered their opposition.

Common framework

During and after the congress, however, enough agreement was achieved to permit almost all the unionists who took part in the debate to work together in a common framework. Fraina, for example, had written the ultraleft trade union theses adopted by the February conference of the Amsterdam bureau of the Comintern. But his counterreport in session 11 of the Second Congress showed that his disagreements with the majority view, while substantial, had narrowed considerably since February.

As for John Reed, among the most stubborn of the minority, his subsequent report for his party newspaper called the trade union theses "far from satisfactory" and advocated their alteration at the next congress. Nonetheless, the theses had been amended sufficiently, in Reed's view, to enable U.S. Communists to "work for revolutionary industrial unionism, and for the destruction of the reactionary American Federation of Labor."

Nothing was said in the theses on the relationship between the newly launched international union council and the Comintern. Article 14 of the Statutes of the Communist International, however, addressed this question, providing that "trade unions that uphold communism . . . constitute a trade union section" of the Comintern.

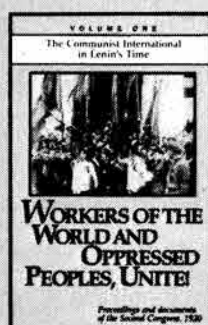
The question arose again a year later at the trade union congress that formed the Profintern. Once again, the concept of structuring the union International as part of the Comintern ran into substantial opposition. Leaders of the Communist Party and the trade unions of Russia thereupon withdrew the proposal, concluding that it was an unnecessary obstacle to relations with the revolutionary syndicalists. The new trade union International was structured as a separate organization, linked to the Comintern by fundamental political agreement. Provision was made for an exchange of representatives of the Profintern and Comintern on the leadership level, but this too was rescinded in 1922 at the insistence of the revolutionary syndicalist forces in France.

In session 15, congress delegates debated the conditions necessary for formation of workers' councils (soviets). The theses, which were unanimously adopted, warned against attempts by reformists and centrists in Germany to gut workers' councils by writing into the constitution advisory functions for them as part of the capitalist state. They also cautioned against attempts by Communists to initiate and organize such councils where the necessary prerevolutionary political conditions did not exist.

How Communists could win a broader hearing among the proletarian masses was also taken up under other agenda items. The theses on revolutionary utilization of bourgeois parliaments aimed to counter not only the reformist practice of the USPD and the French and Italian Socialist parliamentary fractions but also the insistence of Bordiga's current and other ultraleft Communists that abstention from parliamentary elections was a matter of principle.

The disagreements among revolutionaries in Britain on participation in the Labour Party surfaced in the congress commission on Comintern tasks and in a debate on this topic in session 16. Considerable progress was made toward agreement. William Gallacher, who spoke at the congress for the minority opposed to working in the Labour Party, told Lenin afterward that he had been convinced by the majority's arguments. Pankhurst, the other minority speaker, was subsequently instrumental in winning her organization to full support of the Second Congress decisions. She led it into the fusion of all significant communist groups in Britain that took place in January 1921.

The Communist International in Lenin's Time



Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!

PROCEEDINGS AND DOCUMENTS OF THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, 1920
This two-volume set tells how delegates met in Moscow to build an international organization dedicated to the world struggle for socialist revolution.
Special offer to Pathfinder Readers Club members until Dec. 31: \$45 (regular price: \$60) 1,147 pp.



Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International

DOCUMENTS 1907-1916: THE PREPARATORY YEARS
604 pp. \$31.95

The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power

DOCUMENTS, 1918-1919: PREPARING THE FOUNDING CONGRESS
540 pp. \$30.95

Founding the Communist International

PROCEEDINGS AND DOCUMENTS OF THE FIRST CONGRESS: MARCH 1919
424 pp. \$26.95

Offer available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12. Or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Please add \$3 shipping and handling for first title, \$.50 each additional title.



Was justice done in Kennedy Smith rape trial?

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

On December 11, a jury in West Palm Beach, Florida, acquitted William Kennedy Smith of charges of rape. This was one of the most highly publicized rape trials in U.S. history because the accused is a member of a wealthy capitalist family that is prominent in bourgeois politics.

Millions of people in the United States and many in other countries watched the trial on television. Having the

AS I SEE IT

trial televised was an advance. The court proceedings were taken out of the shroud of secrecy, allowing millions to have access to and full knowledge of the evidence presented.

The case raised several important points that class-conscious workers can use in the widespread discussion that it has sparked.

Smith was accused of raping a woman while out on a date with her last Easter weekend. Since then, different forces, speaking in the name of women's rights, have campaigned for his conviction. Many of these figures appeared on television shows and used other media to speak out against date rape, pointing to the Smith case as a good example.

This approach is dangerous and does nothing to advance the fight to end violence against women. Such a position implies that every woman who accuses a man of rape must

be believed. It assumes the guilt of the accused. But the opposite stance must be taken.

The presumption of innocence until a person is proven guilty is a conquest that working people must defend. The state must prove to a jury the guilt of the accused individual, beyond any reasonable doubt. This right must be applied to everyone accused of a crime — rich or poor.

Rape is a brutal crime against women. This does not exclude those accused of rape from the presumption of innocence.

All women who come forward with accusations of rape should receive immediate and professional treatment. This should be afforded to all, no questions asked.

Every woman coming forward with rape charges is entitled to have her charges heard without having her character and past experiences put up for judgment. This, unfortunately, is not the experience of most women who press rape charges.

The accused has an equal right to a fair trial. This right was challenged by the prosecution during the Smith trial. Prosecutor Moira Lasch attempted to bring on the stand three women who claimed that Smith had either assaulted them or attempted to do so in the past. The judge barred their testimony. None of these women had ever brought charges against Smith. He had never been indicted on such charges, much less convicted.

Allowing such testimony would have set a dangerous precedent that would have been used against working people

in the courts. Imagine being accused of a crime and it being admissible for the prosecution to simply line up, as evidence to be weighed, stories from people who simply allege that you committed similar crimes in the past!

I believe Smith's trial was not typical of what working people go through day in and day out in the bourgeois courts. Smith did get a fair trial, one where his innocence was presumed. The burden of proof was kept squarely on the state and the evidence it could supply concerning the charges.

The trial in West Palm Beach was nothing like a trial I attended in 1988 in Des Moines, Iowa. At that time Mark Curtis, a union and political activist and member of the Socialist Workers Party, was convicted on frame-up charges of attempted rape. Curtis was never presumed innocent. Evidence in Curtis's trial placed him elsewhere at the time his accuser said she was assaulted. There was no physical evidence linking him to the alleged crime. He was convicted on the word of the cop who arrested him.

Following the Smith trial, I couldn't help but think: if only those standards afforded to Smith had been applied in Curtis's case and, for that matter, in every case, Curtis and many other workers would have never gone unjustly to prison.

The court system is not a place where all citizens are treated equally. Working people's rights are abused and denied. But rather than asking that the rich be treated the way we are, shouldn't we demand the opposite?

Puerto Rico unions denounce U.S. hit squad, FBI

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

The revelation that U.S. officials set up a death squad, along with new facts on federal government complicity in the 1978 murder of two pro-independence activists in Puerto Rico, has sparked public outrage on the island. The facts came out at hearings of the Puerto Rican Senate Judiciary Committee that began in late October.

The hearings have focused on the Cerro Maravilla case, named after the mountaintop where Carlos Soto Arrivi and Arnaldo Darío Rosado were entrapped and murdered by police.

Two initial U.S. Justice Department investigations cleared the cops, as did two investigations by the Puerto Rican government. In 1983, the Puerto Rican Senate held televised hearings where the police cover-up shattered. Ten cops were convicted for perjury. However, public suspicions of deeper involvement by the U.S. and colonial governments in the incident and its cover-up persisted.

The current hearings have revealed, among other things, that the FBI knew beforehand of plans for the Cerro Maravilla operation.

In addition, testimony at the Senate hearings exposed the existence of a death squad, organized by the top U.S. marshal on the island, that targeted independence supporters, socialists, and unionists. In addition to U.S. marshal José López, the group included U.S. Navy Lt. Alex de la Zerda, and several Puerto Rican cops and Cuban exiles.

Testimony at the hearings implicated the death squad in the 1980 bombing of the Puerto Rican Bar Association, a machine-

gun attack that killed two people outside the Sabana Seca Navy base, and other violent crimes. Evidence has also tied it to the 1979 assassination of Carlos Muñoz Varela, a leader of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, a group which opposes the U.S. embargo against Cuba.

Opening people's eyes

Luis Carrión, president of the Teamsters union in Puerto Rico, said in a phone interview, "We think it is very positive that all this information is coming to light. It is opening the eyes of some people here who believed blindly in the impartiality of federal and Puerto Rican government agencies."

Teamsters union members have had plenty of experience with repression and victimization by the government. Carrión stated, "We had been denouncing the existence of a death squad since 1977, when one of our shop stewards, Juan Rafael Caballero, was murdered. He was a steward for the dockworkers." A trial last year led to the murder convictions of "police officers who were precisely among those who were linked to that death squad. They were given life sentences," he added.

Carrión said the government of Puerto Rico, together with the U.S. government, has been on an offensive against the unions on the island. He mentioned the case of Miguel Cabrera, a Teamster organizer who was framed on a murder charge in 1977. After an international campaign in his defense, he was acquitted.

In 1987 the FBI and the Puerto Rican government launched a campaign to blame the Teamsters union for a fire at the Dupont Plaza hotel in San Juan. Even though "the union had no connection with the fire, which was caused by a few individual workers at the hotel, charges were brought against two union representatives and a member of our executive board," Carrión said. The union was involved in contract negotiations with hotel management at the time. The unionists were tried and acquitted.

The Teamsters president also pointed out that the government has compiled a list of so-called subversives. The list has the names of more than 100,000 residents of Puerto Rico, including unionists, independence supporters, socialists, and many others. "The FBI played an active role in creating that list," said Carrión. "It contains the names of many members of our union, including mine. And the Teamsters union itself — with its 5,000 or 7,000 members — also appears on that list!"

The electrical workers' union, UTIER, has also been the target of police and FBI harassment. José Rivera, secretary-treasurer of UTIER, told the *Militant* that the recent revelations in the Senate hearings demonstrate "the complicity of the Puerto Rican and federal governments in a range of criminal activities that have been carried out to discredit organizations and individuals that do not go along with the [major] parties." Many



Militant/Steve Halpern

May 1990 union rally in San Juan protesting privatization of phone company. FBI, cops, and death squad have targeted Puerto Rican labor and independence movements.

union activists favor independence for Puerto Rico, he said.

FBI smear campaigns

In the past, "FBI agents have broken into our union headquarters," Rivera explained. "They have launched smear campaigns against union leaders."

During the 1978 electrical workers strike, police agent Alejandro González Malavé conducted acts of sabotage against the electrical company that were blamed on the union. Malavé is the same undercover cop who led the two youths to the police ambush and execution at Cerro Maravilla.

Right now UTIER is involved in a contract fight with the state-owned electrical company. The government has refused to negotiate in good faith and workers have been without a contract for two-and-a-half years.

"By a strange 'coincidence,' last month there were acts of sabotage that cut electrical lines and caused a major blackout," Rivera said, which the government has blamed on the union. Four top union officials had to put up bail and are being dragged into court next week.

The reason for this harassment, Rivera said, is the union leadership's opposition to the government's policies, particularly "our opposition to the referendum that was just held here, which was a fraud." UTIER organized a prominent campaign calling for a boycott of the December 8 status-related referendum. The ruling People's Democratic Party (PPD), which favors the island's current status as a Free Associated State, together with the Puerto Rican Independence Party and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, campaigned aggressively for a "yes" vote.

The pro-statehood New Progressive Party advocated a "no" vote. The nonbinding referendum was to define certain conditions to lay the basis for a future referendum on the island's political status.

The UTIER leader pointed out that the union also appeared on the government's "subversives list." That list "is proof of the persecution that the independence movement and the workers' organizations have suffered in our country. It shows the coercion the U.S. government has used to maintain its colonial rule in Puerto Rico."

Doris Pizarro, organizational secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, said in a phone interview that the hearings "have proven what the Puerto Rican Socialist Party has been saying for years. We hope they will expose the involvement of the leadership of the New Progressive Party and the former governor [Carlos Romero Barceló of the PNP], as well as the federal government that covered up these events for so many years." The PSP's newspaper *Claridad* is putting out a special issue on the Cerro Maravilla case and "the long campaign of repression, cover-ups, and blackmail against the independence movement."

Rafael Anglada López, a defense attorney for the Hartford 15, political activists who were arrested by the FBI in 1985 and put on trial because of their pro-independence views, told the *Militant* that many of the facts that have surfaced in the Senate hearings had been alleged by many people for the last decade. "The important thing," Anglada stressed, "is that this is now confirmed."

Now, he added, "people are realizing that the real terrorists are those rightists and the government of the United States."

Books on the fight against FBI harassment



FBI on trial
Edited by Margaret Jayko.
The victory in the Socialist Workers Party suit against government spying and disruption. 260 pp. \$16.95

Washington's 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation
by Larry Seigle.
In *New Internationalist* No. 6. 272 pp. \$16.95

COINTELPRO: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom
by Nelson Blackstock.
190 pp. \$14.95

Available from bookstores listed on p. 12 or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Add \$3 shipping, \$.50 each additional title.

Marchers condemn Haiti coup

Continued from front page

— they're the ones who are opposed to the embargo.

Jak Trepa from Queens, New York, pointed out that many goods are coming into Haiti across the border with the Dominican Republic. "In Iraq, they're not even permitted to get pharmaceutical goods" as a result of the ongoing U.S.-backed embargo, he explained. "In Haiti, the people are asking for the embargo against a bunch of crooks. The U.S. is preventing the embargo from being as firm as we want."

Other Haitians said that ships sailing under the Liberian flag continue to get through with basic supplies that the government needs to keep functioning.

Jean Charlier, a student at the Borough of Manhattan Community College, condemned U.S. policy toward the Haitian refugees. The thousands sent to camps at Guantánamo Bay are "under house arrest," he said. "Under international law the U.S. has no right to pick up Haitians who have not entered U.S. waters."

Among the speakers at the rally was Jesse Jackson, who compared U.S. government policy toward Aristide with its policy in Kuwait. "If we can stand up for the emir in Kuwait, then we can stand up for Aristide and the Haitians," stated Jackson.

Other speakers included Rolande Dorancy, executive director of the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami, and Philippe Wilson Désir, New York consul general of Haiti. Most spoke in Creole, some in English.

The day before the rally, a federal appeals court in Atlanta heard government arguments demanding an end to the November 19 court injunction barring Washington from forcibly returning refugees to Haiti. The government argued that this ban amounted to "extraordinary" court interference in the right of Congress and the White House to conduct foreign policy. They also claim that most Haitians are not really political refugees.

Over the past month more than 6,300 Haitians fleeing repression in their homeland have been taken into U.S. government custody. The U.S. government has been enlarging its military operation at the U.S. naval base in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, as part of plans for placing up to 12,500 Haitian refugees on the base.

Refugees demand asylum

"My mother was killed by the soldiers," stated Michelin Jean-Noël, who is currently housed at Guantánamo, in an interview with the *New York Times*. "She was shot on the front steps of our house in Martissant. Isn't that a political reason to leave?"

"If the police know you support Aristide or if you have a picture of him in your home, they come and beat you up," explained Joseph Etienne, a member of the Alliance of Haitian Emigrés, who was at the demonstration. The army is "shooting and harassing people. They have to leave. They have no choice."

Meanwhile 73 Haitians who decided to voluntarily return to Haiti from Venezuela were arrested and harassed by cops upon their arrival. Throughout the 1980s, Haitians forcibly returned by Washington have been turned over to the Haitian Red Cross, which is currently led by a doctor who has been employed at one of the country's most notorious prisons.

A report recently issued by the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights says that since the September 30 military coup, "the extent and frequency of gross human rights violations in Haiti have reached levels not seen since the darkest days under the Duvaliers. Extrajudicial executions, torture, arbitrary arrests, 'disappearances,' prohibition of meetings and demonstrations, and crackdowns on freedoms of opinion and the press have become virtually daily occurrences since the inception of the coup."

"The military's behavior," the report concludes, "has succeeded in intimidating large sectors of the population and because of severe restrictions on press freedoms, information about abuses has been increasingly hard to obtain, yet human rights violations have shown no signs of subsiding."

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Crisis in Health Care and the Fight Against AIDS. Speaker: Kevin Jones, executive board member AIDS Health Care Foundation, member Young Socialist Alliance, others. Sat., Dec. 21, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

San Francisco

Political Polarization and Rising Class Tensions. Speaker: Jim Gotesky, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers Local 1440. Sat., Dec. 21, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

FLORIDA

Miami

Nelson Mandela in Cuba. Video. Speakers on struggle against apartheid in South Africa. Sat.,

Dec. 21, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Political Polarization and Rising Class Tensions in North America. Speaker: Kate Kaku, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers Local 5488. Sat., Dec. 21, 7 p.m. 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Challenges Facing Cuban Youth Today: An Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Chris Nisan, Young Socialist Alliance, participated in recent YSA delegation that met with leaders of Union of Young Communists (UJC) in Cuba. Sat., Dec.

21, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

The Road to Peace in the Middle East. Sat., Dec. 21, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

CANADA

Toronto

Verdict in Havana. A Cuban-produced documentary on the 1989 trial of Arnaldo Ochoa and his collaborators. Sat., Dec. 21, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400. Donation: \$4. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

Socialist unionists map out political activities

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

Over the last three weeks, nine meetings of the Socialist Workers Party's industrial union fractions were held.

These involve members of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance who belong to nine unions: the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU); International Association of Machinists (IAM); International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU); Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW); United Auto Workers (UAW); United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW); United Mine Workers of America (UMWA); United Steelworkers of America (USWA); and the United Transportation Union (UTU).

At the heart of the discussion at every meeting was the need for communist workers to become more deeply involved in politics, to participate in activities resisting the bosses' offensive, and to invite coworkers to do the same. Such politics includes actions and meetings defending abortion rights, protests against the military coup in Haiti, conferences on the legacy of Malcolm X or of young feminists, and strikes such as the UAW fight against Caterpillar.

The first day of the meetings was spent discussing a report on the major developments in world and U.S. politics, from the election campaigns of rightists like David Duke and Patrick Buchanan to the recent events in South Africa. The discussion continued at evening Militant Labor Forums featuring talks by SWP leaders.

The socialist workers also discussed the importance of the union fractions as party units in helping to lead the campaigns and work of the SWP — from circulating the *Militant*, to party finances and building the weekly Militant Labor Forums.

At each meeting, national goals were adopted for weekly single-issue sales of the *Militant* until next year's spring circulation drive. Goals were also projected for selling

subscription renewals to fellow workers. Getting the *Militant* out more broadly, it was noted, is also an effective tool in the fractions' goal of winning more coworkers to join the active defense of framed-up meat-packer, Mark Curtis.

Worker correspondence, that is, writing articles for the *Militant* on political struggles and discussions among working people, helps all readers of the paper to make more accurate assessments on the stage of the class struggle in the United States and elsewhere. Organizing through the party's fraction to send in more such contributions, and involving coworkers in helping write them, was a topic of discussion.

Each fraction also adopted financial goals, emphasizing raises in weekly contributions and increasing the number of fraction members giving over \$50 a week to the SWP.

The decisions of the rail workers of the UTU fraction captured the spirit and the confidence that members have in the working class and the prospects for building the Socialist Workers Party. After a collective discussion the railworkers' fraction decided to recommend that members eligible for company buyouts take them and donate the money to the SWP's \$1.6 million expansion fund. All seven of those eligible members have agreed to do so. Six additional members eligible for signing bonuses also donated them to the fund. After taxes, this means that a total of \$228,000 will go toward reconstructing the building in New York that houses the national office of the SWP, Pathfinder Press, and the editorial offices of the *Militant*.

The rail bosses are using these buyout bonuses to cut down the workforce as part of their efforts to impose a concession contract on the workers. While the union officialdom has refused to wage any fight against these concessions, socialist rail workers have spoken out about the need to organize such a fight. Since the contract's passage seems certain at

this point, fraction members decided to take advantage of the offered bonuses.

In addition to the much needed financial boost, this helped to accomplish another task. Members of the UTU fraction will be freed up to join and strengthen other union fractions, such as that in the ILGWU, join the reconstruction crew in the Pathfinder building, or take other assignments in the party.

Political Polarization and Rising Class Tensions in North America

Regional Educational Weekend

• Chicago • Des Moines •
Omaha • St. Louis • Twin Cities

Sat., Dec. 28

11:00 a.m. **Origins of Anti-Black Prejudice and the Myth of Race.** Speaker: Doug Jenness, Twin Cities Socialist Workers Party.

3:30 p.m. **Defense of Immigrant Workers: A Necessity for All Working People.** Speaker: Priscilla Schenk, Des Moines Socialist Workers Party.

7:30 p.m. **Keynote Address.** James Mac Warren, SWP National Committee

Sun., Dec. 29

10:00 a.m. **Origin of Women's Oppression.** Speaker: Kate Kaku, Chicago Socialist Workers Party.

All events held at 508 N Snelling Ave. St. Paul, Minn. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Donation: \$10 entire conference; \$5 keynote address only. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find Pathfinder books and distributors of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International*, *Nouvelle Internationale*, *Nueva Internacional*, and *L'internationaliste*.

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA: Birmingham: 111 21st St. South. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079, 328-3314.

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

CONNECTICUT: New Haven: Mailing address: P.O. Box 16751, Baybrook Station, West Haven. Zip: 06516.

FLORIDA: Miami: 137 NE 54th St. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. **Tallahassee:** P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 877-9338.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: 172 Trinity Ave. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Zip: 60607. Tel: (312) 829-6815, 829-7018.

IOWA: Des Moines: 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

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.

MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: 1622 S. Broadway. Zip: 63104. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: 140 S. 40th St. Zip: 68131. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK: Albany: P.O. Box 6185. Zip: 12206. **New York:** 191 7th Ave. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 727-8421.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene St. Zip: 27406. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cleveland: 1863 W. 25th St. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: 1906 South St. Zip: 19146. Tel: (215) 546-8196. **Pittsburgh:** 4905 Penn Ave. Zip: 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Houston: 4806 Almeda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH: 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: Morgantown: 242 Walnut St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 19 Terry St., Surry Hills, Sydney NSW 2010. Tel: 02-281-3297.

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: 1 Gower St., Spital Hill, Postal code: S47HA. Tel: 0742-765070.

CANADA

Montreal: 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: La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Postal Address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 793-075.

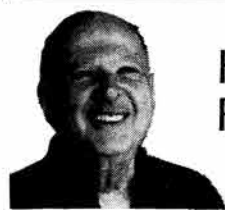
Christchurch: 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 656-055.

Wellington: 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Postal address: P.O. Box 9092. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

SWEDEN

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

Maybe it's the big wages they pay — A Senate committee said that in the past decade, increases in prescription drug prices were at a rate nearly triple the rate of inflation.



Harry Ring

About two thirds of U.S. drug makers have some of their operations in Puerto Rico.

Wrong offense — Three Los

Angeles County sheriff's deputies pleaded guilty to stealing credit cards from elderly motorists and running up \$75,000 worth of purchases on them. They face jail terms of six years max. Obviously they weren't thinking carefully. If they had also beaten or shot those elderly drivers they might have gotten promotions.

Another turkey shoot? — Responding to charges of cop victimization of the Black community, the police chief of Greensboro, North Carolina, said there was an increase in the number of lawbreakers with guns. "We are experiencing a domestic arms buildup," he declared. "We need a response

no less than that of Desert Storm."

Capitalism, the education system — In 1960, the wage gap between a public school teacher and a corporate chief executive was 38-to-1. Today, it's 73-to-1.

Who says there's no Santa Claus? — In Toronto, you can take your pet down to the Humane Society and have it photographed with Santa. In fact, to cut the waiting time, there are two Santas. The news item we saw was too genteel to indicate the suggested contribution, or if there's a discount for the jobless.

Just work hard and you'll make

it — Among U.S. families living below the official poverty line, 63 percent have at least one employed member.

Likes the odds — A company coins and trademarks names for use with products or services. Their latest is RecessionProofing, — a title for corporate antirecession strategies. A spokesman says the phrase has a bright future. "This recession," he confidently predicts, "is going to be around a long time."

Something new? — Corporate execs might be tempted to check out if RecessionProofing offers something beyond wage cuts, speedups and layoffs.

Sounds wise — Dial 1-800-EAT FISH and the American Seafood Institute, a trade group, will answer queries about buying, preparing, and storing seafood. It will not, however, answer questions regarding the safety of fish caught in specific waters.

No petty larceny — Businessfolk don't really have a free hand when it comes to wining-and-dining tax deductions. A taxman explains: "A \$300 bottle of wine can be a problem if the purpose was to sell \$1,000 worth of computer equipment. But if it was to land a multimillion-dollar advertising account, it may not be."

'Temporary' auto layoffs stretch to second year

BY JOHN SARGE

DETROIT — The recession in the North American auto industry is fueling uneasiness among auto workers here.

As "temporary" layoffs stretch into a second year, and with the announcement of further long-term layoffs as plants are shut down, there is growing fear that income security funds negotiated in the 1990 contract between the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the "Big Three" automakers — General Motors (GM), Ford, and Chrysler — will run out before the end of the contracts in 1993. The contracts, covering 500,000 auto workers in the United States, were trumpeted by the leadership of the UAW as guaranteeing income over the three-year life of the agreements.

Under these contracts, no worker with two years or more seniority would be laid off for more than 36 weeks due to sales downturns. Workers on layoff would draw up to 95 percent of their base wages. If layoffs exceeded 36 weeks, workers would draw full pay and benefits.

The corporations set limits on the amount of money earmarked for these plans. GM set aside \$4.3 billion, but has already told the union it expects the fund to dry up by the

summer of 1992, a full year before the contract expires. With the continued layoffs the fund may run out even sooner.

Ford set aside \$1.2 billion, but has already borrowed \$150 million from a fund administered by the UAW to cover expenses for laid-off workers. This money is from a \$473 million pool left over from the last contract's income guarantees.

Recent earnings and sales reports of the auto giants illustrate the crisis they are facing. Combined losses for the Big Three through the first three quarters of 1991 exceed \$5 billion.

These losses surpass the combined \$4.04 billion losses the Big Three and American Motors chalked up in 1980, the worst year for the auto giants in memory. Both GM and Ford expect to lose money in the fourth quarter with Chrysler hoping to break even. These figures do not show the full extent of the crisis in the industry because both GM and Ford made money in non-auto operations.

Auto sales continue to plummet. Sales of 1991 cars and light trucks fell to 12.7 million, a drop of 11 percent from 1990 levels and the lowest level in eight years. The Big Three's share of the North American market fell to 70.8 percent.

These reports were released as sales of 1992 models got under way. In October auto sales fell 12.7 percent compared to last year's already depressed levels, with Big Three sales off 14.4 percent through November 30.

Rotating plant shutdowns continue. Ford closed half of its U.S. assembly plants the first week in November, including the highly profitable Lincoln assembly plant in Wixom, Michigan, the first shutdown there in almost 10 years. Many assembly plants have announced extended holiday shutdowns, some for an extra 10 days and some for four to six weeks.

Wards Automotive Reports, an industry newsletter that tracks vehicle production, reported in its November 25 edition that speculation in the industry that automakers will make significant cuts in first-quarter production for 1992 models is widespread.

These cuts in production highlight the key problem facing the owners of the auto industry: overcapacity. The Big Three, Japanese-owned plants, and joint ventures have a combined production capacity of 5 million more vehicles a year than can be sold profitably even in what they consider a healthy economy.

Detroit-based automakers continue to lose market share, driving them to cut capacity. GM recently announced plant closings and

production shifts that could cost 6,000 unionized jobs. GM says it will close its Van Nuys, California, plant in August 1992, idling 2,600 workers. At GM's Scarborough, Ontario, plant, 2,700 workers will lose their jobs if it closes in 1993 as planned. GM projects eliminating 700 jobs by moving Cadillac production from the Orion assembly plant to the Detroit-Hamtramck plant. GM took steps in 1990 to close at least four assembly plants.

This downturn in auto is deeply felt among auto parts workers as well. It was recently reported that four plants organized by UAW Local 417 filed bankruptcy this fall.

Auto workers are not taking the crisis lying down. In GM plants across the country workers voted strike authorization over the last few months to win local contracts. Workers at two GM parts plants in Ohio went on strike to win local agreements. In August there were protests at the UAW-organized Mazda plant in Flat Rock, Michigan, when the company tried to change sections of the recently ratified contract dealing with time off.

As the crisis in the auto industry deepens, discussions increase among auto workers on how to use the union to defend themselves.

John Sarge is a member of UAW Local 900 and works at Ford.



GM, Ford, and Chrysler showed loss of \$5 billion in first nine months of 1991.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interests of the Working People
December 26, 1966

Significant new light may have been thrown on the police provocation that led to the imprisonment of three black nationalists in New York in the sensational "Statue of Liberty" case last year. In Montreal, a woman who was charged with being involved in the so-called bomb plot was found not guilty, Dec. 16.

The case began in February of last year with sensational police handouts to the press about the arrest of a group of black "terrorists" and a French Canadian accomplice who had been arrested just in time to prevent them from blowing up the Statue of Liberty, the Washington Monument and the Liberty Bell.

After being tried and convicted in the press and then in court, Robert Collier, Khaleel Sayyed and Walter Bowe received stiff jail sentences. The Canadian woman, Michele Duclos, was given five years on probation.

The court record established that [Raymond] Wood, the police agent, had hatched the "plot," organized it, and paid for it with police funds. In the course of the case it was revealed that Wood had acted as a police plant and provocateur in CORE [Congress of Racial Equality]. He had also wormed his way into the New York Freedom Now Party.

THE MILITANT
Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

December 27, 1941

An eye-witness account of the Pearl Harbor battle, published in the Dec. 22 *New York Times*, tells how "a Negro mess attendant who never before had fired a gun manned a

machine gun on the bridge (of the sinking battleship Arizona) until his ammunition was exhausted."

We cite this story not simply to show that Negroes have heroic fighting qualities. The Negro people have demonstrated such qualities in fullest measure through all the centuries of their struggle against slavery and racial oppression and in every war in which this nation has participated.

Rather we point to this incident of the Negro mess attendant on the U.S.S. Arizona as an example of the discriminatory treatment accorded Negroes in all branches of the American armed forces, particularly the naval division.

This unnamed Negro sailor gave an example of bravery and resourcefulness under fire that would do credit to any member of the Navy. Yet, if he is still alive, he will not be permitted the opportunity even now to train in the use of a gun on an American naval vessel. He must remain what he was, a mess attendant, "privileged" only to clean tables, empty slops and clean the boots of some who might have but half of his intelligence and courage.

The thing that sticks out like a sore thumb in the *Times* account of this Negro mess attendant's action is that he "never before had fired a gun." Why? Only because this Negro and every Negro in the country is barred by the Navy's Jim Crow regulations from any post other than mess attendant.

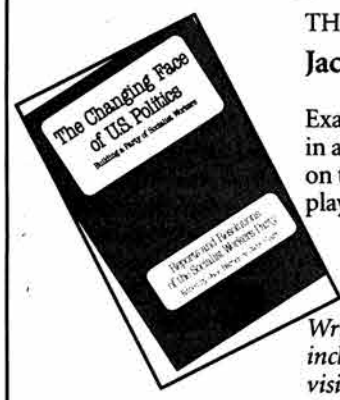
The Negro people for a long time have wondered what kind of war for democracy it is that must be fought by a Jim Crow Navy. They have asked what is the difference between Hitler's treatment of the Jews in Germany and the treatment they receive here in a war that has been officially dedicated to the high principles of the "four freedoms."

The American people must demand an end to the Jim Crow system in the armed forces. They must speak up in a loud voice for equal rights for the Negro people in the armed forces as well as everywhere else.

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

THE PROLETARIAN PARTY AND THE TRADE UNIONS
Jack Barnes

Examines the process of building a party of socialist workers in a world of imperialist wars, economic crises, and assaults on the unions—a world where the battles by organized labor play an increasingly central role. \$18.95



Write Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. Please include \$3 shipping for first copy, \$.50 each additional copy. Or visit the bookstores listed on page 12.

Soviet ruling caste in crisis

The Commonwealth of Independent States, established to replace the Soviet Union, is an attempt to hold together bureaucratic rule in that part of the world. The regimes taking this step stated that they drew the authority to "dissolve" the old union from the fact that they were its original cofounders.

But this parasitic layer, whether from Russia, the Ukraine, or Central Asia, can claim no continuity with the founding of the Soviet Union.

The revolutionary governments of Russia, Ukraine, and Belorussia, along with the republic of Transcaucasia, which later divided into Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, signed the 1922 treaty that created the Soviet Union.

This was the result of the communist policy of guaranteeing the right of national self-determination to all oppressed nations and nationalities, which was the course of the Bolshevik leadership under Lenin's guidance following the October 1917 revolution.

The October 1917 victory of the workers and peasants in Russia gave an impulse to revolutionary uprisings elsewhere throughout the old tsarist empire. The communist leadership began to forge a voluntary federation of the various republics organized on the basis of power by workers' and peasants' councils, the soviets.

Lenin insisted on a *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, not a new "Soviet" nationality with patriotism used as cover for maintenance and expansion of Great Russian chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism; and not a federation limiting itself to formal equality, but one that took affirmative action to develop the oppressed regions in order to close the

historical gap in social and economic conditions between them and the formerly oppressor Russian nation.

The Bolsheviks' policy on national self-determination and voluntary federation began to be reversed in the early 1920s by the political course of the emerging bureaucratic caste, led by Stalin.

Before his death in 1924 Lenin's final political struggle with Stalin centered on his opposition to Stalin's bullying treatment of representatives of the Georgian republic. Stalin's policy of forced "union" upon the non-Russian components of the Soviet Union went hand in hand with the terrorist despotism that under his rule was imposed on all working people.

The bureaucratic layer usurped political power from the workers through force and violence by the late 1920s. The Stalinist counterrevolution gutted the soviets, began reversing many of the revolution's social gains, and drove working people from political life.

However, one of the central conquests of the revolution — nationalized property relations — remains to this day.

The 1917 Russian revolution opened up the epoch of the world socialist revolution, inspiring millions of workers the world over.

When they defeated the August coup, working people in the Soviet Union began taking the initial steps back into political life after decades of Stalinist totalitarian rule. As they enter new struggles they will be posed with the need to find their way back to the mighty revolution begun in October 1917.

How labor can fight budget cuts

The proposed budget cuts by state and city politicians in New York will have devastating effects on working people. Every state and city throughout the United States faces a similar situation as the economic recession worsens. Politicians from the Democratic and Republican parties throughout the country propose the same solutions they have offered since the recession began — make working people pay for the economic crisis.

The effects of the burden working people are already bearing are evident from just a few statistics: In New York state, official unemployment rose from 4.8 percent to 7.2 percent in one year; in New York City, one out of eight people rely on welfare to survive; shelters provide housing to an average of 23,000 homeless people every night; and an estimated 1,200 people live in the city's subway system.

The cuts last June in New York were not the road to the city's "fiscal health," but rather the road toward further devastation of working people.

Today it is clearer than ever before that labor needs to chart its own political course independent of those who claim the working class must trim its demands to what is possible within the crisis-ridden capitalist system. The labor officialdom of New York helped elect Mayor Dinkins and Governor Mario Cuomo who are liberal Democrats. Deputy Mayor Mollen complains that the labor officialdom is not being "responsible" because they are not immediately agreeing to the proposed cuts. The truth is that not a single labor official

offers a perspective that rejects the notion that cuts are necessary nor proposes that the labor movement organize a fight against them.

Workers must chart a course that begins with defending the rights and needs of working people, instead of falling into the trap of what is good for "our state," "our country," or "our company."

The labor movement should champion the needs of all workers, beginning with the worst off sections of the working class, by demanding the workweek be cut to 30 hours with 40 hours pay. A shorter workweek would open up jobs for millions in cities across the country.

Labor should also demand and fight for a massive public works program to improve the living conditions of working people. Schools, hospitals, streets, housing, highways, and bridges should be repaired and rebuilt.

Capitalism breeds competition among working people and reinforces inequalities and divisions that weaken the labor movement's ability to fight back. The labor movement must fight for affirmative action measures to defend those layers of the working class hit hardest by the crisis — Blacks, women, and other targets of discrimination.

Combating the proposed cuts in social services is an affirmative action measure that must be advanced, along with the fight for a national health-care system, a raise in the minimum wage, and an extension of compensation at union wages to all those without jobs.

The CIA's new line of attack

"The most significant disorder in the former U.S.S.R. since the Bolsheviks consolidated power" was predicted by Central Intelligence Agency director Robert Gates in the wake of the Soviet Union's collapse and the appearance of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

What Washington fears in this region is the potential for revolts by working people. But while the CIA is not abandoning its spying directed against the Soviet Union, Washington has decided that "combating the Soviet threat" is no longer convincing as the central justification for the existence of this secret arm of U.S. power. In a December speech Gates called for replacing this with what he described as the need to fight against nuclear proliferation and drug smuggling.

"Drug smuggling" and "nuclear proliferation" are simply code words aimed at justifying continued spying and possible military intervention against countries where working people are standing up to U.S. imperialist dictates.

The U.S.-backed operation, under United Nations cover, against potential nuclear weapons sites in Iraq is an example of imperialist interference in the affairs of other countries. This operation sets the stage for possible renewed military intervention there.

Drawing on its ability to intervene in Iraq, Washington has throughout 1991 escalated its campaign against North Korea, demanding Pyongyang submit to inspection of its nuclear power facilities which "might possibly" be used for making weapons material.

This campaign has been set back by the signing of a nonaggression pact between Seoul and Pyongyang. Prior to the signing, Seoul, protected by Washington, was threatening commando raids against nuclear reactors in the north. Under

mass pressure to take steps toward better relations with the north and ease tensions on the peninsula, the South Korean regime has felt obliged to step back from confrontation.

Washington has also attempted to raise similar charges against Cuba as it has against North Korea, pointing to a still uncompleted nuclear power plant as a possible future producer of nuclear weapons material for Cuba. Similarly outlandish charges against Cuban leaders have been raised through the trial of deposed Panamanian general Manuel Noriega, accusing them of aiding in the smuggling of cocaine into the United States in the mid-1980s.

The U.S. rulers fear the example the Cuban revolution provides working people everywhere of how to defend their rights against imperialist exploitation and oppression. This, not alleged drug operations or possible future nuclear weapons facilities, is the reason for the CIA's targeting of Cuba.

Washington's deafening silence in the face of nuclear weapons development by Israel and South Africa underlines how selective its attention is on the question of nuclear proliferation.

What's more, the U.S. military has just taken steps to beef up its own nuclear weapons production, already the most massive such industry in the world. One of the nation's oldest and most dangerous nuclear weapons reactors, located near Aiken, South Carolina, has just been reopened for producing tritium, a radioactive component vital for powerful nuclear explosions.

The "drugs" and "nuclear proliferation" campaigns are but a shabby cover for the maintenance of the regular operations of U.S. imperialism against its enemies — struggling working people around the world.

New setup for Soviet rulers

Continued from front page

the greatest possible share of access to the social surplus produced by working people.

This was demonstrated as Leonid Kravchuk, the newly elected president of Ukraine and a former Communist Party official, jumped in to sign as founder of the commonwealth only a few days after the independence announcement.

The announcement of the commonwealth accord was initially portrayed as an agreement between the Slavic republics. Gorbachev himself, in an earlier visit to Ukraine, had urged "the unity of the Slavic peoples."

The majority of the people living in Russia, Ukraine, and Belorussia speak languages of Slavic origin. But 18 percent of Russia's population of 27 million people — more than the population of Canada — belong to other nationalities.

The use of the term "Slavic" in this context is an expression of the extreme degree of social and economic differentiation in the Soviet Union between the European republics, especially Russia, and the republics peopled by various oppressed nationalities, especially those in Central Asia — Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan — and the Transcaucasia — Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia.

The commonwealth announcement prompted an angry reaction by Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, who was not invited to the initial meeting. "Shaping interstate relations on the basis of national-ethnic principles is a vestige of the Middle Ages," he pointed out.

Yeltsin rushed to patch things up by proposing to retroactively include Nazarbayev as a "co-founder" of the new association.

This economic and social differentiation is a legacy of the Soviet bureaucracy's failure over many decades to substantially accelerate the development of the more backward regions of the Soviet Union. Such "affirmative action" toward these regions was a central goal of the Bolsheviks under Lenin. The Russian revolution also guaranteed the right to self-determination of all the peoples who had been enslaved as part of the Russian empire under the czars. The new union they forged was entirely voluntary.

Despite their concessions to or even in some cases advocacy of independence demands, the ruling stratum in the ex-Soviet Union is not moving in the direction of reinstating the right to self-determination as proclaimed by the Russian revolution.

Economic crisis deepens

The move to create the new commonwealth came as the economic and social crisis in the Soviet Union has deepened.

Aeroflot, the Soviet airline, announced December 12 that 92 major airports, half of those in the country, had shut down because of lack of jet fuel and that 38 others were on the verge of closing.

Last month at Domodedovo, an airport outside Moscow where 5,000 have been kept waiting for delayed flights, people organized strike committees and tried to seize planes and occupy runways.

"One-third of Soviet hospitals will have absolutely no medical supplies come January," reported Montgomery Elmer, a Wisconsin doctor delivering medical supplies in Moscow. "There are places," he said, "where appendectomies are being performed with razor blades."

Food supplies in Moscow and other major cities are running at an all time low.

On November 30 Yeltsin's regime assumed control of the Soviet Finance Ministry and announced its intention to close most other ministries as the central Soviet government faced imminent bankruptcy. Yeltsin agreed to foot the Soviet payroll as the Central Bank announced it only had enough money to carry on for two or three days. A day earlier the Russian Federation claimed temporary control over the Foreign Ministry and all Soviet embassies abroad.

In his December 12 speech to the Russian Parliament meeting that ratified the commonwealth accord, Yeltsin said the situation had created "a loss of control" from the center, "and increased social instability."

Washington's reaction

Washington and other imperialist powers share the bureaucratic rulers' fears of "instability" arising out of recent events.

Robert Gates, director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), described the situation December 10 as "dangerously unstable." He said it could "produce the most significant disorder in the former USSR since the Bolsheviks consolidated power."

Secretary of State James Baker said that the U.S. government would not immediately recognize the proclaimed commonwealth, or drop its support for the lingering central government of Gorbachev, until there is a decisive conclusion to the power struggle there. Baker, on a trip to the Soviet Union, called for an international conference to deal with a "disoriented and confused" Soviet people.

No wings of the caste that dominates the political life of the country have any program to reverse the economic and social crisis which gets deeper every day. Instead they are responsible for plundering the country's resources.

A dramatic example of this plundering was seen in the announcement that Soviet gold reserves, spirited away over the past nine months stood at only 240 tons at the end of November, hardly enough to cover a month's worth of imports.

It is now predicted that oil production in 1991 will be 12 percent behind that of 1990, its lowest level in 16 years.

New York Amtrak workers: 'We've had enough'

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

Working people around the world are involved in skirmishes over speedup, forced overtime, layoffs, and attacks on health and safety benefits. Some unionists faced with sharp takeback demands, lockouts, and union-bust-

revenues, record passenger miles, and has the highest productivity for maintenance of way workers of any railroad in the country. Amtrak employees make 12 percent to 15 percent less than most other rail workers. The corporation is now demanding more concessions, cutbacks, and givebacks.

The BMW: the United Transportation Union (UTU), which includes conductors and brakemen;

The miners contacted the UMW and began signing union cards. In the face of company harassment and intimidation, the miners voted 39-30 for UMW representatives June 29, 1990.

On August 2, 1990, the company laid off one whole crew of the strongest union activists. At the end of the month they laid off a crew at another mine.

On October 1 the miners went on strike against Colquest. They were immediately supported by workers at Kopper-Glo, Four Leaf Coal, and Marlow Trucking, who joined the UMW and struck for union recognition.

The company obtained an injunction limiting the miners to three pickets at five locations. A retired miner made arrangements for the union to use a church yard next to Colquest as an organizing center. Everyday at least 20 miners picket there. State troopers have been used to escort scabs into the mines.

The strike has received support from unions and others throughout Tennessee.

At the rally, members of a rotary club in New York were cheered for the truckload of food they delivered to the local UMW locals in Virginia, Kentucky, and other areas have supported the strike.

For more information on the strike or to send donations contact the Kentucky and Tennessee Organizing Relief Fund, P.O. Box 449, Caryville, TN 37714, (615) 562-4805.

Montreal flight attendants rally to fight airline lock-out

One hundred flight attendants staged a noisy and determined rally at Mirabel International Airport in Montreal on November 29 to press their fight for a new collective agreement at Nationair, Canada's largest charter airline.

Four hundred and fifty attendants

employed by Nationair in Toronto and Montreal were locked out November 19. They are members of the airline division of the Canadian Union of Public Employees. The company has replaced them with scabs.

The union is picketing the Mirabel terminal each day and has staged several rallies at the entrance to the company's facilities there.

At the November 29 rally, picketers sang songs and chanted slogans at the Nationair hangar entrance as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and Mirabel region cops assured the passage of scab attendants and service companies. The picketers shouted "Get your own job!" to scabs reporting for work.

Kathy Kirkwood, strike coordinator in Montreal, said in an interview that the union is demanding a wage increase, greater union representation of in-flight attendants, compensation for work reassignments that result in a loss of income or in the disruption of scheduled days off, and compensation for workdays composed of short flights. Attendants are paid only for the time during which the aircraft's engines are running.

Kirkwood explained that the average annual salary for Nationair flight attendants is \$14,000, about half of what the major airlines pay.

Members of other unions continue to work at Nationair. Teamsters work as flight service directors, Machinists carry out service and repair work, and Canadian Auto Workers deliver passenger meals to the aircraft.

"Now that we're locked out," flight attendant Sylvia Ricci said, "we're going to fight to the very end for our rights."

New Zealand seafarers win contract after 11-week strike

Members of the New Zealand Seafarers' Union staged a victory

march through the port of Timaru in Christchurch November 18. Led by union president Dave Morgan, crew members of the Golden Bay cement carrier boarded the freighter. Eleven weeks earlier, police and private security guards were used to remove crew members from the ship after the seamen were fired by the ship's master.

The dispute began when Golden Bay Cement Company — a subsidiary of Fletcher Challenge, New Zealand's largest company — demanded that crew members sign individual contracts that reduced crewing levels and ended the traditional control the Seafarers' Union had exercised over the placement of crews.

When the seamen rejected these demands the company locked them out and announced that it would hire a replacement crew. These actions were taken under cover of the anti-union Employment Contracts Act passed earlier this year.

The union responded by immobilizing the Golden Bay at the port of Timaru with round-the-clock picketing. Union members throughout New Zealand traveled to Timaru to participate. Similar action was promised at every port-of-call if the company sailed the ship out of Timaru.

Golden Bay Cement finally signed a contract reinstating all current crew members. Under the terms of the contract the company agreed to fill any future vacancies from a list submitted by the union. The crew also won a small wage increase, bringing them in line with prevailing wage rates in the shipping industry.

Cheri Tremble, a member of UTU Local 1370 in New York; Alyson Kennedy, a member of UMW Local 2368 in Alabama; Roger Annis in Montreal; and Agnes Ryan in Christchurch, New Zealand, contributed to this week's column.

ON THE PICKET LINE

ing 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 as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines to let other *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.

"Amtrak's take-it-or-leave-it attitude may force us to strike," reads a leaflet passed out by members of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees (BMWE). BMWE workers build and maintain the track, bridges, buildings, and overhead catenary system.

An informational picket and rally was held at the street level entrance to New York's Penn Station, November 27, Amtrak's busiest day of the year. One hundred people helped distribute leaflets and talked to people passing by on the street. Picket signs said, "We have had enough."

Unionists explained that Amtrak employees were asked to take deep concessions for the past 10 years to help "fuel a resurgence." Now, they said, Amtrak is enjoying increased

and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE) have been working at Amtrak without a contract since 1988.

Tennessee coal miners strike over harsh conditions

More than three hundred coal miners, their families, and supporters packed into the Wynn school cafeteria in East Tennessee for a turkey and ham dinner November 17.

The dinner was organized to support the 13-month-long strike of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 3009 against Colquest Energy Company, Kopper-Glo-Fuel, and Four Leaf Coal Company.

After dinner everyone gathered in the school gymnasium for a rally.

Miners who work at three underground mines owned by Colquest near Clairfield, Tennessee, decided to fight to get the UMW organized after the company instituted a "30 day policy." This policy was part of a pattern of increasingly harsh working conditions, which the miners found intolerable. For example, a miner who missed more than two unexcused days of work in a twelve month period could be fired. The mine superintendent said that excused absences were "anything I want to accept."

LETTERS

'A few bad apples'

Corrupt. Brutal. Sadistic. Degenerate. When you think about cops, a lot of adjectives come to mind.

Take the recent *Los Angeles Times* report on a wrong-address drug bust.

In the Southern California town of Hemet, eight or ten cops broke into a home looking for evidence against an alleged drug dealer who had moved from there six months previous.

At 5:25 a.m., they smashed in the door of Mario Balcazar, an immigrant from Mexico. Balcazar told the *Times* he was awakened by the sounds of the door being broken, and the screams of his daughters, who were already up.

"I ran out of the bedroom," he said, "and saw several men with handguns they were pointing at my daughters..."

"My oldest daughter asked them in English what was going on and they threw her to the floor and told her to shut up."

He added that his invalid mother-in-law, 67, was taken from her room at gunpoint and shoved to the living room floor.

"We were traumatized and humiliated," Balcazar said.

Police Sgt. Randall Christianson told the *Times* he was surprised by Balcazar's complaint.

"We went out of our way to be nice to these people," he said. "Once we explained why we were there, they seemed to be very happy and understanding of the situation..."

"I don't think they have a complaint," he added. "We did do some damage... but the law allows us to break and enter."

Told that Balcazar said the cops threw his daughter to the floor, the

sergeant responded with a chuckle. "I don't think she was shoved," he said. "She may have been guided to the floor or directed."

Makes you wonder, how many are "a few bad apples"?

Harry Ring
Los Angeles, California

Student protest I

Protesting state budget cuts at the University of Maryland College Park (UMCP), the English department faculty and staff held a two-day strike November 11 and 12. All classes were suspended for the walk-out, and teach-ins throughout the day drew several hundred participants. The same day, a rally called by the Anthropology Students Association drew about 700 participants, and was joined by 200 people from the teach-in.

Since 1990, UMCP has seen severe state funding cuts. By 1993 the university will see an 18 percent reduction in state funds. This has resulted in tuition hikes at double-digit rates which have forced many students to drop classes or leave school altogether.

The current round of cuts that will take effect in January will mean fewer instructors and teaching assistants, fewer courses, and increased class sizes.

Several students at the November 11 rally burned their spring class schedules, saying they were meaningless. Amy Cook, a 23-year-old recreation major, was arrested at the sit-in. Because her department faculty has been cut by half, she said, "I can't get into the classes I need to graduate."

Included in the November 11 demonstration were members of AFSCME, which organizes the

maintenance staff at the University. They held up banners that read, "Keep the Pressure On," and "The University Works Because We Do." Craig Newman, from AFSCME, spoke from the platform about how the workers had been asked to accept wage cutbacks in return for a guarantee of no layoffs.

On November 14, over 400 students drove or rode buses to Annapolis to demand that the state legislature restore funding to the university. Students from other state and community colleges also attended the rally, along with some 50 administrative staff who took the day off work to attend.

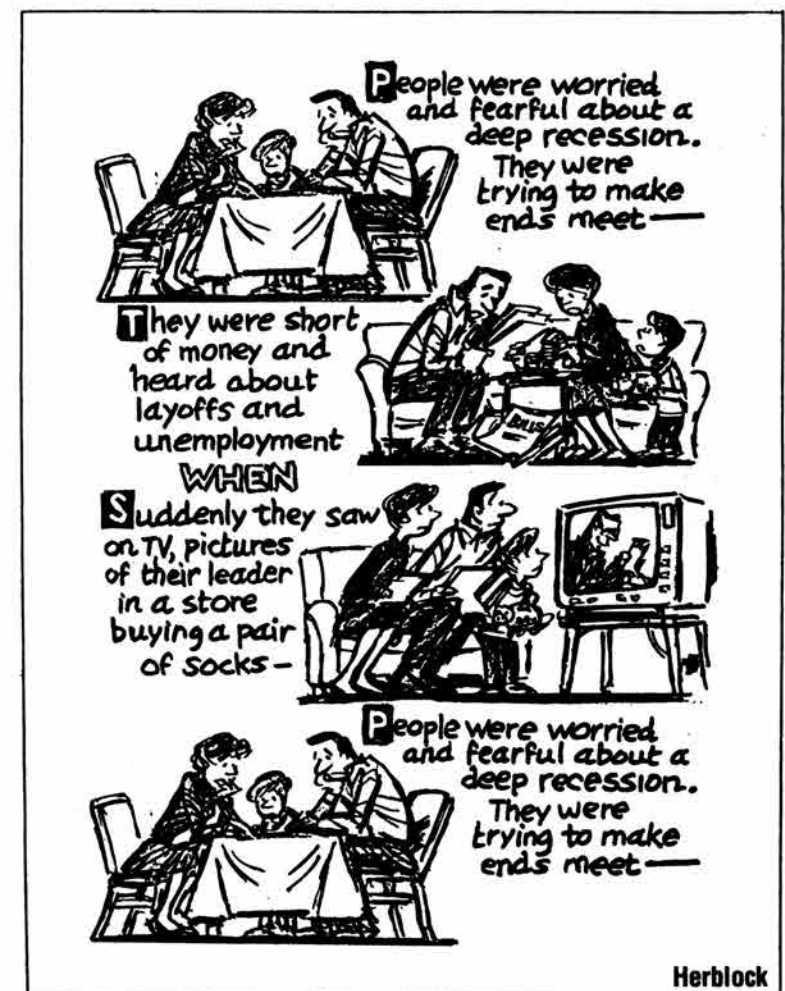
Nell Wheeler
Washington, D.C.

Student protest II

"Education is a right — fight, fight, fight!" was the chant of 100 students on the Rutgers University campus in Newark on November 6. The rally was part of a week of actions called by the Campaign for an Affordable Rutgers Education (CARE) to protest a Board of Governors proposal to raise tuition fees for the 1992-93 school year. Tuition has been raised every year for the last ten years.

Represented at the rally were members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Student Action Union, Justice for Janitors, and others.

Staci Berger of CARE spoke about the discriminatory effects of tuition hikes and the emphasis on corporate research on campus at the expense of education. According to Berger, cuts in student aid implemented by President George Bush's administration, combined with the trend towards more dependency on



corporate research funding, "have adversely affected working-class people and people of color."

Andrew Schroeder of the Student Action Union called Rutgers "a mirror for everything that's wrong with American government," pointing to the money that was spent on the "U.S.-led war that slaughtered over 100,000 Iraqi people."

In the spring of 1990, students occupied the administration building here for two weeks to protest

tuition hikes and denial of tenure to politically active faculty members. Dave Hurst
Newark, New Jersey

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.

Embargo causing starvation in Iraq

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Nine months since the end of the U.S.-led war against Iraq, health and living conditions of the vast majority of Iraqi workers and peasants have severely deteriorated. Ongoing United Nations economic sanctions have led to a scarcity of affordable food and the imminent collapse of Iraq's electrical, water, and sewage services.

A report documenting this devastation was compiled by 87 international academic figures who visited Iraq's 30 largest cities and many rural areas across the country. Their findings were recently published by Harvard University, the London School of Economics, and the University of Oxford. According to the report, deaths among children under five have nearly quadrupled since the end of the war; close to 1 million children are malnourished; and more than 100,000 are starving to death.

According to Magne Raundalen, a professor at the University of Bergen, some children she met were "like living dead. They have eradicated all their feelings and have no joy in their lives." Preventable diseases like polio and measles are on the rise.

"Most of Iraq's 18 million people are directly exposed to water-borne disease in their potable water," states the report. "The situation is bound to get worse as food shortages diminish the population's resistance to disease." The investigators found that out of 158 water samples tested, 100 were "grossly contaminated with fecal material."

Sewage floating in streets

In Basra, which was subjected to particularly heavy bombing by the United States during the war, sewage in the street is so deep that dead animals float in it. In the town of Juneina streets are covered with green and black sludge, and sewage water is used to water lettuce, tomatoes, and other vegetables. The severely contaminated Tigris river remains the main source of drinking water for

hundreds of thousands of people.

The United Nations has estimated that it will cost \$450 million to return Iraq's water and sewage treatment facilities to prewar levels.

Iraq's real wages have dropped to one of the lowest levels in the world, placing basic food necessities out of reach of millions of Iraqi working people.

"The problem has been that there are vulnerable groups inside Iraq that are not getting the food and that's not something that we have done," claims U.S. State Department spokesperson Richard Boucher. However, as one of the leading forces for maintaining UN economic sanctions against Iraq, the U.S. rulers are responsible for the horrendous conditions facing the Iraqi toilers.

Meanwhile, the human rights organiza-

tion Middle East Watch has issued a report concluding that the U.S. bombardment of Iraq violated international law. The report condemns the United States and its allies for dropping unguided bombs, conducting daytime attacks on populated areas, and not warning civilians of imminent attacks.

The report documents the killing of some 1,000 civilians, many of them from the daytime bombing of heavily populated areas. One such raid struck an oil-storage tank, killing or injuring 200 civilians lined up to buy heating and cooking fuel.

"If I had it to do over again, I would do exactly the same thing," stated U.S. secretary of defense Richard Cheney earlier this year in defense of the U.S.-led military assault on Iraq.

New Jersey grand jury lets off killer cops

BY DAVE HURST

NEWARK, New Jersey — Four Newark and Hillside police officers were cleared December 11 of manslaughter charges by the Union County Grand Jury in the shooting deaths of 16-year-old Tasha Mayse, who was pregnant at the time, and 20-year-old Lamont Jones.

One cop, Newark officer Marvin Carpenter, was indicted for official misconduct for not reporting that he fired his gun during the incident.

The two youths were killed and four other passengers wounded June 9 when the cops chased and surrounded an allegedly stolen van. The cops then fired 37 rounds into the van within a 10-second period. This is one in a series of cop killings and beatings of Black and Hispanic youth in New Jersey this year. Families of the victims have banded together in marches and pickets to demand justice be done.

At a press conference at Newark City Hall and in an interview, Sharon Mayse, mother of Tasha, lashed out at the grand jury report.

"This is an outrage. The grand jury worked in favor of the prosecutor's office. In the face of all the evidence, there were no indictments," said Mayse. "They say Carpenter lied from the beginning. The cops did nothing toward a peaceful resolution of the situation before they opened fire."

The grand jury report notes that the incident could have been avoided "if the police officers involved followed established procedures and exercised restraint." Mayse questioned, "How is it that the cops can be found responsible for taking two people's lives, yet not be held accountable for that?"

The grand jury report found numerous inconsistencies in the official police accounts of the shooting. The cops claimed to have seen someone holding a rifle exiting the rear window of the van — a window which had already been shot out at the start of the deadly hail of police bullets. No rifle nor any implement resembling a gun was found in the van.

The attitude of the grand jury toward the victims of the police assault was shown when some of the young people testified they did not know the van in which they were riding was stolen. The grand jury concluded they were lying.

The Mayse family has called for an investigation by the U.S. Attorney's office. Newark City Council president Donald Tucker spoke at the press conference in support of such an investigation. "To say the police panicked and then not to prosecute is wrong.

I am asking for the state attorney general and the U.S. attorney to get involved. The real question is that a resident of Newark was killed, and it's even more troublesome that the grand jury determined the actions of the officers to be beneath the level of criminal conduct," said Tucker.

Also speaking at the press conference were Al Sharpton and Jack Frost, attorney for the Mayse family.

The Mayse family is filing a \$5 million federal lawsuit charging violations of Tasha Mayse's civil rights.

Supporters of the family plan more marches and rallies. They feel that the one indictment and the inconsistencies pointed out in the grand jury report were the result of public protest actions held earlier. A march from Sharon Mayse's apartment building to Newark City Hall will take place December 14. Mayse said, "This is a rotten way to spend Christmas — marching for my daughter — but we're going to keep fighting until we get some justice. It's just not right."



An Iraqi woman takes her starving child to Qadissiya Hospital, Baghdad.

North and South Korea sign nonaggression pact

BY MARTIN KOPPEL

The governments of North and South Korea signed a treaty December 13 agreeing to "reconciliation, nonaggression, and cooperation and exchange between the North and the South." The pact was reached at a meeting between the prime ministers of both governments, the fifth in a series of high-level talks that began 15 months ago.

The accord, which represents the first non-aggression pact between the two sides since the 1950-53 Korean War, declares, "The North and the South shall not use arms against the other side, nor shall they invade the other by force of arms." The governments agreed to negotiate a peace treaty with each other to replace the armistice that ended the war.

As part of the treaty, North and South Korea are to give each other advance warning of troop movements and exercises, set up a hot line between military commanders, and establish a liaison office in the town of Panmunjom, located along the demilitarized zone that divides the country.

The agreement calls for reestablishing some forms of communication between the two parts of the country, including mail, telephone lines, and cultural and economic exchanges. It projects rebuilding and connecting railroads and roads across the border. The two sides also committed themselves to

allow travel and correspondence to help reunite families. Ten million Korean families were separated by the war and division of their country.

The two sides announced that they would meet later this month to discuss the issue of nuclear weapons on the Korean peninsula.

Washington has in recent months waged an intense campaign against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in the north, demanding that it immediately submit to an inspection of its nuclear power facilities and dismantle any reactors that might be able to produce weapons-grade nuclear fuel.

Repeating the claim that North Korea was developing nuclear weapons, U.S. defense secretary Richard Cheney announced November 21 that Washington was postponing indefinitely its planned troop reductions in the South, which were part of worldwide military cutbacks announced by President George Bush in September. Following Bush's initial announcement, South Korean president Roh Tae Woo had stated that all U.S. nuclear weapons would be withdrawn. The U.S. military maintains up to 1,000 nuclear warheads in South Korea.

The foreign ministry of the DPRK, however, explained in a November press statement, "We have neither the intention nor

capacity to develop nuclear weapons and so have no reason to object to nuclear inspection." It reiterated the government's position calling for a simultaneous inspection of U.S. nuclear bases in the south as well as facilities in the north. The North Korean government says that its nuclear facilities are for experimental, peaceful use.

The *New York Times* commented December 13 that the pact tends to undermine Washington's escalation of pressure on North Korea. The article asked "whether the new North-South relationship will undercut the rationale for keeping 40,000 American troops stationed" in South Korea.

Sentiment for reunification of the country is widespread in the south. Until now, the Seoul regime severely punished students and others who traveled to North Korea, but it has come under growing internal pressure. Recently several prominent South Korean businessmen, including a delegation from the Samsung conglomerate, visited the DPRK to discuss the opening of trade.

Following the signing of the nonaggression treaty, officials of both governments called it the first step toward the inevitable reunification of the Korean peninsula. North Korea's premier Yon Hyong Muk said, "It's a historic night. I'm very glad that a new light has been thrown on our national unification."