

# THE MILITANT

INSIDE

October 1962 'missile' crisis:  
The U.S. war to crush Cuba

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## Somalia invasion aims to assert 'right to intervene'

BY PAUL MAILHOT

Under the "humanitarian" cover of a United Nations mission to feed starving people, the Bush administration is about to launch an invasion of Somalia.

The action, whose goal is to safeguard strategic U.S. interests in eastern Africa and set a precedent for future military intervention in other parts of the world, has received full bipartisan backing. President-elect Bill Clinton called it a "historic and welcome step."

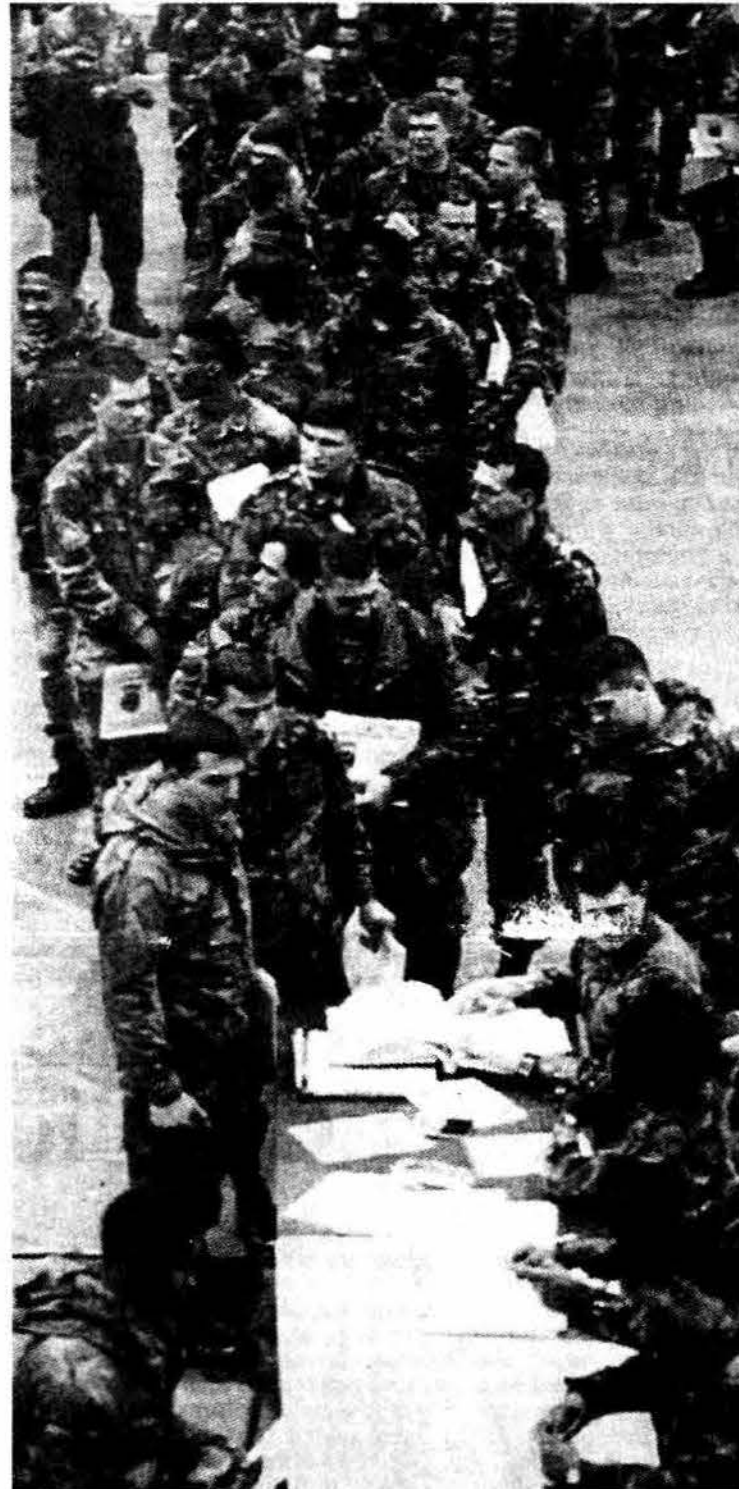
Pentagon officials, cynically dubbing the mission "Operation Restore Hope," plan to pour at least 28,000 troops into Somalia. The U.S. force includes four warships, tanks,

live. We must give them hope. America must act."

Humanitarian-aid workers have been pleading since the beginning of the year for massive relief supplies to the country. It is estimated that tens of thousands of people have died of starvation since January 1991. In some towns more than half of the children under five years old have perished.

**Famine was made in U.S.A.**

It was not until September that Washington began to send food to Somalia. Bush reported that the United States has sent 17,000 tons of food aid so far, but that does not even meet one month's needs in Mogadishu,



U.S. infantry in New York get ready for deployment to Somalia. Invasion force will include 28,000 soldiers with warships, tanks, and attack helicopters.

### Food, not troops, to Somalia! — Editorial, page 18

155-millimeter howitzers, and Cobra attack helicopters. According to press reports, France is sending 2,000 men, along with 10 Mirage fighter planes and 20 helicopters. Britain, Belgium, Canada, Pakistan, and Jordan have all vowed to contribute troops or supplies.

"This is the Desert Storm way of handling Somalia," said a senior White House official, describing the scale of forces being marshaled for the intervention.

Washington is taking advantage of the desperate situation facing the people of Somalia in order to bolster its ability to use military might abroad. "There is no government in Somalia. Law and order have broken down. Anarchy prevails," President George Bush said in a December 4 address announcing his decision to send U.S. troops. "The people of Somalia, especially the children of Somalia, need our help. We're able to ease their suffering. We must help them

the capital city. And most of the hunger is in the rural areas.

Despite Bush's arguments that "our mission is humanitarian" and that there are no military, economic, or political interests at stake, Washington bears much of the blame for the crisis that grips Somalia. Widespread famine today is the product of 15 years of war imposed on the Somali people by successive U.S. administrations.

Large-scale U.S. intervention in the Horn of Africa began in the late 1970s in an effort to counter the revolution in Ethiopia, Somalia's neighbor. A revolutionary upsurge in 1974-75 toppled Emperor Haile Selassie and led to the destruction of the feudal system that dominated much of Ethiopia. One of the main factors that drove workers and peasants to revolt there was a massive famine in 1973-74 that killed between 100,000 and

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## U.S. closer to Yugoslavia intervention

BY NAOMI CRAINE

The rulers of the United States are moving closer toward direct military intervention in Yugoslavia. U.S. officials said December 3 that Washington is seriously considering proposing a United Nations resolution authorizing military enforcement of a ban on Serbian planes flying over Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The ban on Serbian flights was imposed by the United Nations Security Council in October. Washington had wanted to include armed enforcement in the resolution at that time, but retreated because of opposition by the British and French governments. Both London and Paris have ground troops in Bosnia, under the banner of the United Nations, and are hesitant about being further drawn into the military conflict.

U.S. officials say they have now confirmed more than 200 unauthorized flights by Serbian aircraft, and are pushing for the

go-ahead to shoot at these planes. Just two weeks ago, the U.S.-dominated North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Western European Union, a military alliance of several European powers, began stopping and searching merchant ships bound for the Yugoslav republics of Serbia and Montenegro.

**"Operation Balkan Storm"**

For some months there has been an ongoing debate in the U.S. government and media on whether direct military involvement in the former Yugoslavia is worth the risk of becoming bogged down in a long war. Many such articles lately have reflected growing support in ruling-class circles for such intervention.

A column appeared in the November 29 issue of the *New York Times* titled, "Operation Balkan Storm: Here's a Plan." The article was written by former U.S. Air Force

chief of staff Michael Dugan and George Kenney, a consultant to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Dugan and Kenney lay out a detailed plan for how U.S. military forces could carry out "active belligerency, in two phases: first, destroying Serbian forces in Bosnia and, second, using concentrated force against Serbia itself." They offer detailed advice on what weapons and aircraft to use, and outline how they think U.S. rulers should go about seeking political, military, and economic support from other governments for an air war against Serbia.

The column also spells out what the intended goal of jumping into the war would be. "A win in the Balkans would establish U.S. leadership in the post-cold war world in a way that Operation Desert Storm [against Iraq] never could."

The fact that such a concrete proposal is

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## International effort pushes Novack Fund over the top!

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

With a large international effort over the last few weeks, the George Novack Reconstruction Fund surpassed its goal December 1. A total of \$180,423 was collected, more than \$30,000 over the original goal of \$150,000!

This victory was made possible by financial contributions from hundreds of working-class fighters around the world. Supporters in almost every area were successful in meeting their quota.

The fund was launched last summer at the International Socialist Conference in Oberlin, Ohio. The fund, part of the International Expansion Fund that was started in 1990, was necessary to help pay for the reconstruction of the Pathfinder printshop in New York City.

It was named after George Novack, a long-time leader of the Socialist Workers Party, who died July 30 in New York at the age of 86. Novack was a civil liberties fighter, a fundraiser, and a Marxist author of several books published by Pathfinder.

In the final weeks of the effort, financial contributions came in from industrial workers, prisoners, farmers, students, and numerous other backers. Donations came in the form of dollars, pound sterling, francs, kronas and deutsche marks.

Funds arriving in New York were used to pay for outstanding printshop construction

Continued on Page 4

## Sales drive at 94 percent as supporters fight for goals

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

With subscriptions pouring into the *Militant* business office each day leading up to the December 13 deadline for preparation of the final scoreboard of the international circulation drive, supporters around the world are meeting and surpassing their adopted goals.

The scoreboard printed on page 7 shows the *Militant* drive is at 94 percent! Already Los Angeles, Twin Cities, Greensboro, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, London, Belgium, and Sweden have met or surpassed their *Militant* goals, according to subscriptions received in the business office and phone reports. Every other area is closing in on meeting its goals in the remaining few days of the drive.

Washington's military intervention in Somalia, and the renewed calls for U.S. military intervention in Yugoslavia, are spurring increased interest among working people and youth in subscribing to the *Militant* and picking up copies of *New Internationalist* no. 7 with the article, *The Opening Guns of World War III*.

Fabulous subscription results from cities throughout the United States continue to be phoned into the business office. Supporters in Detroit sold 27 *Militant* subscriptions and 8 to *Perspectiva Mundial* this week. Boston supporters sold 36 *Militant* subscriptions in the last 11 days.

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## Embargo put on Khmer Rouge

On November 30, the United Nations Security Council moved to impose sanctions against the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. The measures ban oil deliveries to parts of the country controlled by the Khmer Rouge, and order Thailand to end trade with Khmer Rouge forces across the Thai border. The Khmer Rouge, which ruled Cambodia with a reign of terror from 1975-79, is refusing to go along with a UN-brokered cease-fire and elections.

The Thai government responded to the sanctions by canceling an arrangement for UN planes to fly to and from Cambodia through Bangkok. Trade with the Khmer Rouge, in gems and timber, is very lucrative for many Thai businessmen. One logging tycoon said bluntly, "I don't think sanctions should be imposed until I have more of a chance to make a profit."

## Angolan rightists capture city

After two days of fighting, right-wing guerrillas of the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) captured the strategic city of Uige in northern Angola November 30. UNITA waged a 16-year war against the Angolan government with U.S. and South African backing. It has renewed its military attacks since the group's leader, Jonas Savimbi, lost presidential elections in September.

## FMLN begins to destroy weapons

Fighters with the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), began on December 2 to destroy their weapons under UN supervision. The weapons destruction is part of a cease-fire agreement reached January 16 between the government and the FMLN. This accord ended a 12-year guerrilla war against the U.S.-backed Salvadoran regime.

The Salvadoran government, which has been slow to fulfill its side of the accord, agreed December 1 to purge the worst human rights offenders from the army officer corps. FMLN leader Leonel González warned that "the FMLN will suspend this [weapons] destruction if the government does not fully comply."



More than 40,000 farmers from around Europe, and some from as far as Japan and Korea, demonstrated in Strasbourg, France December 1. The farmers were protesting a recent agreement between the European Community and the United States to cut subsidies for farmers and take land out of production.

## Grand jury calls for further action in nuclear pollution case

In a stinging rebuke of federal prosecutors, 12 members of the grand jury that heard the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant case sent a letter to President-elect Bill Clinton November 18, calling for an investigation of the U.S. Justice Department's handling of the case. The government has acknowledged that the plant, which made plutonium triggers for thermonuclear bombs 15 miles from downtown Denver, polluted the air, water, and soil with highly toxic plutonium and carcinogenic chemicals.

The case ended this spring with a plea agreement in which Rockwell International Corp., the operator of the government-owned plant, pleaded guilty to a handful of charges and paid a \$18.5 million fine. The 23-member grand jury, which heard evidence on the environmental disaster for two and a half years, had asked for much broader indictments. Grand jurors are bound by an

oath of secrecy not to publicly discuss the case.

## Washington imposes steel tariffs

The Commerce Department imposed tariffs on steel imports from a dozen countries accused by U.S. steelmakers of unfairly subsidizing their steel industries. The tariffs include a 26 percent tax on French steel and as much as a 53 percent tax on Brazilian steel. The companies that had asked for the measures said in a statement that this will allow the U.S. steel industry "to move toward profitability."

## Abortion rights victory in Guam

On November 30, the U.S. Supreme Court allowed to stand a lower-court ruling that struck down the criminal prohibition of abortion in Guam, a colony of the United States. The Guam law had banned all abortions, except in cases where continuing a pregnancy would endanger a woman's life or health.

## Communist Party ban remains

Russia's highest court ruled to uphold a ban on the Communist Party imposed by President Boris Yeltsin. Yeltsin had issued decrees banning the Soviet and Russian Communist Parties in the wake of a failed coup attempt in August, 1991. The court ruled November 30 that these bans were legitimate, but said low-level party units were allowed, and left the question of what will happen to property held by the former Communist Parties to the civil courts.

## Algeria government sets curfew

The Algerian government imposed an all-night curfew in the capital of Algiers and several provinces December 5, while 30,000 army and police troops began sweeps through neighborhoods to arrest anyone suspected of being an Islamic fundamentalist.

Earlier this year, the government canceled elections and banned the Islamic Salvation Front, when it appeared that group would win in the voting.

The latest crackdown was preceded by an order to disband almost every public, charity, business, or private organization with connections to the Islamic Salvation Front, including as many as 200 municipal councils where fundamentalists have won seats.

## NATO to command Eurocorps

Paris and Bonn announced that a planned European army of 35,000 French and German troops, known as Eurocorps, would be placed under the "operational command" of NATO in the case of a crisis in western Europe. French officials explained that the statement was intended to reassure Washington and London that the force is not a threat to the U.S.-dominated NATO.

At the same time, Paris and Bonn sent a memorandum to members of the Western European Union, a military wing of the European Community that is taking part in the naval blockade of Yugoslavia, suggesting how Eurocorps could come under its command in operations outside NATO's traditional European theater.

## U.S. economic growth increases

The United States economy grew 3.9 percent in the third quarter of 1992, the highest growth rate for any three month period in the last four years.

"These numbers show an improving economy, but hardly a booming one," said Michael Boskin, chairman of the White House Council of Economic Advisers. Most economists predict growth will slow in the fourth quarter.

## More to lose jobs at GM

General Motors Corp. (GM) announced plans to close nine more plants, at a loss of 18,000 jobs. This brings the total number of job cuts projected at the auto giant to 76,000. Twenty-three plants are slated for closing. GM president John Smith stated that the layoffs are "absolutely essential" if the company, which has lost more than \$12 billion since 1990, is to become profitable. "These were strictly business decisions," he said.

— NAOMI CRAINE

## THE MILITANT INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO WIN NEW READERS

### Food, not troops, to Somalia!

Over the coming weeks the 'Militant' will cover the consequences of Washington's intervention in Somalia, including questions such as: why the goals of this intervention are not 'humanitarian,' and why working people and youth should oppose Washington's war moves in the region. Don't miss an issue!



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## The Militant

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# Protests seek return of deported youths

## INS snatches two Omaha teenagers from school, hauls them across border

BY HÉCTOR MARROQUÍN  
AND KELLY GILSON

OMAHA, Nebraska — Protests continue to mount against the November 9 deportation to Mexico of two students following a raid of their school three days earlier by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

Ambrosio López, 17, was playing a vocabulary game in English class and Agustín Antúnez, 15, was in art class, when immigration cops summoned them to the Omaha South High School office, flashed arrest warrants and walked them out the front door.

The two students were handcuffed and taken to the Douglas County Youth Detention Center where they spent the weekend before being flown to southern Arizona and deported across the Mexican border.

"My God, this takes the cake," said Lucy Cullers, a former commissioner of the Nebraska Mexican-American Commission. "I have never been so disgusted. I think the INS is really acting like the Gestapo."

"I thought [my son] had been kidnapped, or that the police had him," said María López, Ambrosio's mother. "It never crossed my mind that the immigration went into the school to get him." López works as a meatpacker at Omaha Meat Processors.

María López, and Agustín's parents Petra and Genaro Antúnez, are living in the United States under the amnesty provisions of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act. These laws apply only to individuals, not to families. Immigration officials claim that children are not automatically granted the right to live with parents who have obtained residency status in the United States, and that they must qualify for legal status in their own right.

James Cole, district director of the INS office that covers Nebraska and Iowa, said both youths had exhausted their deportation appeal process and arrest warrants had been issued. "It's legally appropriate. It's ethical," Cole said in defending the INS action.

"We join in the strong desire that the law be changed and not ever allow the removal of a student from school," said Joyce Christensen, principal at South High.

Jim Ramirez, human relations specialist for the Omaha School District and a leader in the community, said the outrage over the treatment of López and Antúnez would not die easily.

### Unprecedented action

According to several national civil rights and immigration law experts, it is unprecedented for a teenager to be picked up in school by immigration cops and deported while his or her parents remain in the United States legally.

Barbara Hines, spokeswoman for the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights in Austin, Texas, and Roberto Martínez, director of the U.S.-Mexico Border Project in San Diego, California, said they had never heard of a case like this.

Juana Espejo, a community outreach director for the Juan Diego Catholic Hispanic Ministry in Omaha, said the arrests were an extension of the inhumane treatment of Latino workers during the immigration raid September 22 at the Monfort meatpacking plant in Grand Island, Nebraska. In that instance, 307 immigrant workers were rounded up and swiftly deported in a military-style operation involving more than 200 local, state, and federal cops.

### Protest meeting

A November 24 protest meeting, called by the Latino Forum of Nebraska, drew 75 people. Among those attending were Nebraska Governor Nelson and the families of the deported youths.

"My heart goes out to you, it really does," the governor told the families. "I'm a parent too."

"When I see this as governor of Nebraska, I feel bad, real bad. Human beings need to be treated with a certain amount of fairness, regardless of what a law says."

According to all accounts, Nelson said,

### Left Alone in Mexico



ANGRY PARENTS: María López and Genaro Antúnez discuss their sons' plight.

### Augustin Antúnez, 15

- Moved to Omaha at age 11.
- Lost appeal of deportation hearing in August 1990 and was ordered to leave the country. Arrest warrant issued.
- Immigration officers made attempts to contact him at home Oct. 16.
- Arrested at South High Nov. 6.
- Deported Nov. 9.



### Ambrosio Lopez, 17

- Moved to Omaha at age 8.
- Lost appeal of deportation hearing in October 1989 and was ordered to leave the country. Arrest warrant issued.
- Ordered to report to the INS office Oct. 19, 1992.
- He was in school and did not report.
- Arrested at South High Nov. 6.
- Deported Nov. 9.



News coverage reflects support for deported high school students. Above is from Omaha World-Herald.

the INS was apparently following the law. "The law ought to be changed," he added.

Two days later, when Rep. Peter Hoagland visited Roncalli High School for a Thanksgiving observance, he was given a 12-by-3-foot banner denouncing the deportation of Antúnez and López. "Return López and Antúnez," the banner read. It had hung since Monday in a hallway and was signed by students who never even knew the young men.

In addition to the banner, letters to the INS and elected officials had been signed by many students at Roncalli High School. "While we do not deny the legality of these

actions, we are appalled at the barbaric and inhumane treatment of these South High School students," the letters said. "We demand the immediate return of these young men to their Omaha families and a thorough review of the laws that made such an outrage possible."

### Media condemns deportation

An editorial in the November 25 *Des Moines Register* condemned the INS. "These boys are not criminals — just innocent youths who had the misfortune of being poor, and whose families hoped to make a better life in America," said the *Register*. "What possible gain can the INS derive from breaking up families this way? The officials in this case acted like heartless bureaucrats. Even more disgraceful are the laws that allow children to be seized from their legally resident parents. The law must be changed, and the children must be returned to their parents."

María López is becoming widely known throughout Nebraska and Iowa as a fighter against injustice. "I never saw the United States as a different country from Mexico, or that crossing the river with both my children on my arms back in 1980 would get rid of my rights and human dignity," she said. "I came here because I couldn't find any jobs in Mexico, and that does not make me and my kids criminals."

Outrage among her coworkers and support for the families' fight has been everyday talk since the INS action became public. "People at work tell me that perhaps I should tell the TV, radio, and newspaper reporters to come to the meat-packing plant also to see how we are exploited," said López.

## Pathfinder challenges Grenada book ban

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

For the past three-and-a-half years the government of Grenada, an island nation in the Caribbean, has banned the importation of many of the books published by Pathfinder Press.

The banned authors include Karl Marx, Fidel Castro, Leon Trotsky, and Malcolm X. Among the more than 80 titles on the government's proscribed list are: *The Communist Manifesto*, *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*, and *New Internationalist*, a Marxist magazine of politics and theory.

Pathfinder is also the publisher of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, a collection of speeches by the central leader of Grenada's revolutionary government that ruled from March 1979 to its overthrow in 1983, when Bishop was assassinated.

"Many of these same books were at one time also banned in South Africa," said Steve Clark, editorial director of Pathfinder. "But the struggle waged by the African National Congress to bring down the apartheid regime is advancing, and one result is that the people of South Africa have won the right to read the books they had been denied access to in the past. In Grenada this right remains to be won."

The censorship order is based on a 1951 law enacted under British colonial rule.

In response to a recent request from the Organization of American States for more information on the continuing censorship, Terrence Marryshow, a leader of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement in Grenada, explained, "The fight against censorship in Grenada will continue until the government withdraws the decree prohibiting the entry of 'banned' books."

Marryshow is a plaintiff in a lawsuit seeking to overturn the government's book ban. The case has not yet been heard before the courts.

The battle against censorship began in October 1988 when Grenada customs officials of the Herbert Blaize government



Ban on books was imposed by government put in place following the assassination of Maurice Bishop (above), Grenada's prime minister from 1979 to 1983.

seized a shipment of books from a Pathfinder representative. At that time, Grenada's police commissioner said the books were being checked against "a list of banned books."

In March 1989 another shipment of books was confiscated and Pathfinder director Clark, who was in Grenada to attend a conference, was asked to leave the country. In April 1989 the government issued a decree banning by name 86 Pathfinder titles.

Many Grenadians had an opportunity to read about the current status of this case in an article that appeared in the November 27 *Grenada Informer*, the most widely circulated paper in that country.

Pathfinder supporter David Denny reports that an article about the ongoing Grenada book ban appeared in the December 2 edition of the *Daily Nation* in Barbados.

Feeling the pressure from having to justify such an unpopular position, Grenada's Min-

ister of Legal Affairs, Frances Alexis, stated in a December 3 phone interview, "This government has never banned any books from entering the country. In so far as another government has made such an order we are not in the business of enforcing it."

Elections in 1990 resulted in the National Democratic Congress (NDC) led by Nicholas Braithwaite forming a new government, which replaced the New National Party (NNP) regime headed by Herbert Blaize.

"Let me add," continued Alexis, "as far as I know the matter of enforcement of the order would be a matter for the Ministry of National Security, but my understanding is this government has not taken any steps to enforce this order."

The minister suggested that the *Militant* call back in 15 minutes so that he could check further with the Ministry of National Security about this question. But further calls drew only the reply that Mr. Alexis was not available.

The Grenada censorship decree has been widely condemned around the world.

Among those that have sent statements of protest are: the Congressional Committee to Support Writers and Journalists, which is a bipartisan committee of 15 U.S. senators and 74 members of the House of Representatives; U.S. Congressional Representatives Charles Hayes, Ronald Dellums, Sidney Yates, and George Crockett, Jr.; Rev. Allan Kirton, general secretary of the Caribbean Conference of Churches; members of the British, Canadian, and Australian parliaments; the Oil Fields Workers Trade Union of Trinidad; and the Grenada Trades Union Council.

Clark said that Pathfinder would not be satisfied until the book-banning decree was lifted. "In the meantime, we will work with supporters of democratic rights in Grenada to extend the circulation of Pathfinder books in that country including sending further shipments there," he added.

### Maurice Bishop Speaks The Grenada Revolution and its Overthrow

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# International effort pushes fund over top

Continued from front page  
bills for building materials, a new heating and air-conditioning system, skylights, a new electrical grid, and the professional services of architects and engineers. The final work on the new heating system will be completed by December 19.

A team of volunteer electricians, plumbers, brick masons, carpenters, and others — from around the world — has worked on the reconstruction project.

The newly constructed printshop, where the *Militant* newspaper and Pathfinder pamphlets and

books are produced, has been expanded by 4,000 square feet. The new factory, with its new floor and bright lights, came none too soon. Just moments after the grand opening of the plant on November 9, a deluge of Pathfinder books entered the new plant, ready for binding and shipment to distribution points across the United States, Canada, and other parts of the world.

In all, some 46,000 Pathfinder books were printed, bound, and shipped in November. The lion's share of these were Pathfinder titles by revolutionary leader Malcolm X

—February 1965: *The Final Speeches*; *By Any Means Necessary*; and *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*. Orders for another 77,000 books by Malcolm X are in the pipeline. These include reprinting *The Last Year of Malcolm X*; *Malcolm X on Afro-American History*; *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*; and *The Assassination of Malcolm X*.

The backlog also includes going back to press on *The Final Speeches* and *By Any Means Necessary*. Both titles are on the verge of selling out the initial printings. The Pathfinder business office has also received more than 1,100 orders for the soon-to-be-released Spanish-language book *Habla Malcolm X* (Malcolm X speaks).

Pathfinder will be releasing a new edition of *The Notebook of an Agitator*, by James P. Cannon, early next year. This book of speeches and writings by the founder of the Socialist Workers Party carries material from the frame-up trials of Sacco and Vanzetti through the government witch-hunt of the 1950s. The printshop is preparing four *Education for Socialists* bulletins on fascism that sold out a few months ago.

Without the new factory, making deadlines on these books used by fighters around the world would have been a physical impossibility. As a result of the reconstruction project, Pathfinder is in a better position to meet the long-term needs of future publishing efforts.



Pathfinder Building printshop is busy with new books and other printing jobs. Reconstruction work is also being completed.

	PLEGDED	PAID	% PAID
<b>UNITED STATES</b>			
New Haven	500	1,100	220
San Francisco	12,530	17,453	139
Cleveland	4,200	5,570	133
Philadelphia	4,000	4,818	120
Atlanta	5,500	6,365	116
New York	15,000	16,796	112
Miami	3,250	3,497	108
Salt Lake City	6,500	7,008	108
Seattle	6,000	6,380	106
Boston	6,000	6,302	105
Newark	11,000	11,536	105
Chicago	6,500	6,742	104
Twin Cities	9,865	10,054	102
Birmingham	3,000	3,022	101
Greensboro	3,000	3,035	101
Houston	6,000	6,055	101
Morgantown	3,000	3,036	101
St. Louis	6,500	6,560	101
Baltimore	4,500	4,500	100
Cincinnati	1,000	1,000	100
Des Moines	3,500	3,505	100
Detroit	7,000	7,000	100
Los Angeles	15,000	15,027	100
Pittsburgh	4,500	4,500	100
Washington, D.C.	4,950	4,950	100
Portland	750	305	41
<b>U.S. TOTAL</b>	<b>153,545</b>	<b>166,116</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>AUSTRALIA</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>669</b>	<b>103</b>
<b>CANADA</b>	<b>2,805</b>	<b>2,840</b>	<b>101</b>
<b>SWEDEN</b>	<b>2,250</b>	<b>2,273</b>	<b>101</b>
<b>BELGIUM</b>	<b>1,100</b>	<b>1,100</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>BRITAIN</b>	<b>1,860</b>	<b>1,860</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>FRANCE</b>	<b>1,030</b>	<b>1,030</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>GERMANY</b>	<b>1,429</b>	<b>1,429</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>NEW ZEALAND</b>	<b>3,006</b>	<b>3,006</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>PUERTO RICO</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>TOTAL OTHER</b>	<b>14,230</b>	<b>14,307</b>	<b>101</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>167,775</b>	<b>180,423</b>	<b>108</b>

## Trinity steelworkers make gains, win wider support

BY EVAN ROBERTS

BESSEMER, Alabama — After two and a half months on strike, steelworkers at Trinity Industries remain firm in their determination to win a decent contract. Of the 800 members of United Steelworkers of America Local 9226, nearly 500 do weekly eight-hour picket shifts at the plant gates here. A lighted billboard across from the main gate expresses the attitude of the strikers — "One day longer, too proud, too strong," it reads.

On November 30, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ruled that Trinity committed an unfair labor practice when its guards threw tear gas at workers peacefully

picketing the plant. The board also ruled that Trinity cannot permanently replace the strikers.

The NLRB is scheduled to decide at a February hearing whether the company must pay workers for their time on strike.

"This is a union victory," said Grady King, a welder at the plant. "They gave justice where justice was due. It was the only way they could rule because we've beat the company at every game they've wanted to play." Juanita Lee, a striker and activist in the union's outreach committee, agreed: "Anyone could see the tear gas attack was wrong," she said. "They can't cover that up."

The company has tried, and so far failed, to replace the strikers by running large "help wanted" ads in area newspapers. Fewer than 50 scabs are crossing the picket line, and not one rail car has been produced since the strike began. Almost nobody shows up to apply for work anymore, and most of the few who do are turned away at the gate by pickets. The company has stopped running ads in the *Birmingham News* and *Post Herald*, the local daily newspapers.

On November 24, a dozen strikers attended a meeting of the Bessemer City Council to present petitions signed by hundreds of people protesting the conduct of the Bessemer police. Until recently, cops had been escorting the caravan of scabs and supervisors into the plant each day. Public pressure from unionists and other Bessemer residents convinced the mayor and city council to call a halt to the direct scab herding by the police.

Several strikers spoke to the city council explaining that the Bessemer cops are still helping the company. Mayor Quitman Mitchell responded, "We have talked to company people, and I have talked to union representatives, but the city is trying to remain neutral." A union member explained

that Bessemer police "have stopped escorting the scab caravan into the plant, and we appreciate that. But they're still arresting our people on false charges and they still have not arrested the company people who threw the tear gas at us."

The strike remains strong and is gaining public support. A steady stream of contributions from local unions continues to come in. Twenty-three students at the University of Pittsburgh in Pennsylvania sent in a letter expressing support for the strike. It states in part, "We offer our spiritual and moral support to you as you fight for a just and fair agreement with your owners, Trinity Industries. As human beings we understand that your struggle is our struggle, since a worker's setback is a step back to the days when political powers submitted to the unilateral demands of business and ignored the needs of the people."

Strikers have also been invited to speak with two classes at the University of Alabama in Birmingham.

Evan Roberts is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 9226 on strike against Trinity Industries in Bessemer.

## German government bans rightists after firebomb kills Turkish family

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Violence against immigrants in Germany, including a firebombing that killed three people, has intensified discussions in the country over how to combat racism. The German government, pointing to the firebombing and other attacks, has banned a rightist organization and several rock groups.

The main opposition party, the Social Democratic Party (SPD), has decided to support moves by the ruling Christian Democratic Union (CDU) to make Germany's asylum law for refugees much more restrictive.

On November 23, a 51-year old Turkish woman who had lived in Germany for almost 30 years, her German-born granddaughter, and a 14-year-old niece were killed when their home in Mölln, in western Germany, was firebombed. Nine others were injured, and 45 left homeless by the fire. So far this year, 16 people have been killed in right-wing attacks.

The same weekend, four anti-fascist activists were attacked in Berlin, one fatally.

Pointing to these attacks, the German government announced November 27 that it was officially banning the Nationalist Front, a neo-Nazi and anti-Semitic organization. The police have raided the apart-

ments and offices of people suspected of being members of the group, although they have not charged the group or any of its members with specific acts of violence. A special police force is being set up with the stated aim of monitoring, infiltrating, and combating right-wing organizations. The government is also considering the use of constitutional powers that allow it to revoke the basic civil liberties of individuals deemed hostile to the "constitutional order or the concept of international understanding." Those individuals could be forbidden to make public speeches, vote, or be elected to public office.

In addition, on December 2, the German government banned the songs of several rock groups that have anti-immigrant lyrics.

There have been ongoing demonstrations against racism and in defense of immigrant rights across Germany. During the week of November 7-14, more than 500,000 participated in numerous protests against anti-immigrant violence and government attacks on the right to asylum.

There have been more protests since the Mölln attack. In Hanover, Turks occupied the local offices of the CDU, in protest of the government's attacks on immigration. A huge antiracist march of 300,000 took place in Munich December 7.

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# Iowa prison program amounts to cruel and unusual punishment

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

DES MOINES, Iowa — Mark Curtis, a union and political activist who has been in jail in Iowa for four years on frame-up charges, was denied parole at a hearing in Ft. Madison November 17 (see December 4 issue of the *Militant*). The main justification for not paroling him, given by the Iowa State Board of Parole, is that he has not undertaken a prison counseling regime called the Sexual Offenders Treatment Program (SOTP).

Curtis meets most requirements demanded of the parole board — he has widespread community support, has served the average sentence for someone convicted of similar charges, and has received favorable evaluations for his conduct and job performance while in prison.

Parole board member Robert Jackson told the *Des Moines Register* that the state panel turned down Curtis for parole because he would not enter the SOTP program. "If you don't do the programs we ask you to, you have to do the time," Jackson said.

Curtis was framed up on charges of sexual abuse and burglary in 1988. He has always maintained that he is innocent and is appealing to federal court to seek to overturn his conviction, on the grounds that he was denied his constitutional rights in his 1988 trial.

The SOTP program requires prisoners to admit guilt to the sex crimes for which they have been convicted. Rather than help them build up a sense of self-worth, it is designed to do the opposite. It is set up to break inmates' self-esteem by forcing them to debase themselves as they go through the "course."

In an October 27 letter to Curtis's attorney, William Kutmus, the character of the program is made clear. Dudley Allison, correctional treatment manager for Iowa's SOTP, writes that "we have repeatedly found individuals who deny any problem in the area of sexual aggressiveness to be virtually impossible to treat if they insist on

maintaining that stance."

"SOTP, like similar drug, alcohol, or sexual counseling programs that prisoners are forced to go through as a condition of release, is nothing more than a cruel and unusual punishment," said Priscilla Schenk, an activist in the Mark Curtis Defense Committee in Des Moines. "These programs trample on a prisoner's right to maintain his or her innocence and to legally appeal a conviction through the court system."

Iowa's SOTP program was set up about eight years ago. In many states, such programs are either a condition of parole or are an alternative to a prison sentence.

However, in 1991 the Montana Supreme Court ruled that those convicted of a sex crime cannot be required to undergo therapy as a condition of staying out of prison if an essential part of the therapy is an acknowledgment of guilt. The Montana court based its decision on the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, which prohibits increasing a defendant's sentence as a penalty for refusing to confess to a crime.

The Iowa SOTP is described in a manual distributed to inmates who enroll in it. The manual states that inmates must sign a statement before entering the program, agreeing that they will abide by its requirements. The first requirement listed is "admit guilt; take responsibility for own crime."

The SOTP is described as "an open-ended program with no set length for successful completion." There are also no guarantees that completing the program will mean release from prison. "In some cases," the SOTP guidelines explain, "inmates who cannot be moved toward reduced custody after positive performance in the SOTP may be transferred from [the prison] to other institutions for vocational training or other treatment programming."

In the October 1992 issue of "Bars and Stripes," an Iowa newsletter about prison



Militant/Samad Irvani

New York Curtis supporters. SOTP program is used to justify keeping Curtis in jail.

conditions, an inmate enrolled in the SOTP program describes it as having "little rehabilitative guidance or encouragement." He said the "open-ended" program length is a "minimum of eleven months." He said his own desires to "use my confinement as an opportunity to make changes necessary in my life" had "dwindled with the realization" of what the SOTP program was.

"The SOTP is geared to breaking prisoners," Schenk said. "It forces them to blame themselves, and even requires them to berate their fellow inmates for the crimes for which they have been convicted."

The SOTP "Goals and Objectives" explain that inmates must "Confess your crime before the group in some detail and content." They must "develop and express a level of remorse."

An inmate enrolled in SOTP is "required to write a detailed autobiography beginning with his earliest point of memory and progressing through the various stages of his life... and the inmate's assessment of why he committed his specific offense or offenses."

This autobiography must be written after going through a "group counseling" pro-

gram. The inmate must then also write an essay called "Through my Victim's Eyes," an account detailing "happenings of the offense as the victim experienced it, written in first person."

The "group counseling" program advises inmates to "become a leader in the group regarding confrontation, feedback, ice breaking, etc." This "feedback" method is based on the idea that berating and humiliating remarks made by your fellow inmates help you "own your crime."

"The person receiving feedback will listen and not speak until all feedback is given," say the SOTP rules. "Eye contact will be kept at all times. . . . Retaliation for negative feedback will not be tolerated. Negative and positive feedback are the foundations of behavior change."

Any inmate who denies he has committed a crime or shows "no remorse" is deemed to be "at high risk for reoffending."

Curtis and his attorney are now considering a lawsuit to challenge the SOTP obstacle maintained by the parole board.

Maurice Williams is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1149 in Marshalltown, Iowa.

## Convincing answers on frame-up of unionist

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

A new pamphlet published by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, *Why Working People Should Join the Fight to Free Mark Curtis*, answers a campaign of slanders designed to justify the frame-up of this union and political activist.

The 24-page pamphlet was written by Harvey McArthur, a switchman on the Burlington Northern Railroad in Seattle and a member of the United Transportation Union (UTU) Local 845 and the Socialist Workers Party. It is in response to a lengthy document by Greg McNaghten attacking Curtis. McNaghten is the local chairman of UTU Local 1024 in Seattle. He has distributed his letter to UTU officials around the country in an effort to convince supporters of Curtis's defense committee to withdraw their backing. McArthur's article first appeared in the pages of the *Militant*.

"There are big stakes in this fight," writes McArthur, "in trying to break Mark Curtis, on

the one hand, and in the struggle to win the unionist's freedom on parole, on the other."

The pamphlet provides a clear and convincing answer to those like McNaghten who have joined with the cops and Iowa state prosecutor's office in promoting the frame-up of Curtis. It reviews the political background and specific circumstances that led to Curtis's arrest and imprisonment in 1988.

"The events leading to the frame-up of Mark Curtis began long before he was arrested," writes McArthur. "They grew out of the sharp resistance workers began to put up to the decade-long offensive by the employers, who aimed to drive down wages and impose a brutal speedup on workers in the nation's packinghouses."

Curtis was one among a broader layer of vanguard workers who sought in a variety of ways to turn back this relentless employer assault. Curtis found himself fighting with others to defend his union, the United Food and Commercial Workers.

On March 1, 1988, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) cops raided the Swift/Monfort meat-packing plant in Des Moines, seizing 17 workers — 16 Mexicans and one Salvadoran — threatening them with prison and deportation. Curtis, who worked at the plant, responded together with other workers who launched a public campaign in defense of those arrested.

The series of events that occurred on March 4 — the day that Curtis was arrested and framed-up on false charges of sexual abuse — are detailed in this pamphlet. This chronology, based on eyewitness evidence presented at Curtis's trial, helps expose the cops' frame-up case.

### Presumption of innocence

An important issue involved in Curtis's case is the right to be presumed innocent until facts can prove otherwise. "This right, along with the right to protection from arbitrary search and seizure, cruel and unusual punishment, and protection against self-incrimination, was fought for and enshrined in the Bill of Rights," explains McArthur.

"McNaghten turns the question of the presumption of innocence on its head," continues McArthur, "and demands that Curtis prove he is innocent, instead of placing the burden on the prosecution to prove his guilt."

"Conviction in a capitalist court is no proof of guilt," explains McArthur. "For working people there is always an element of a frame-up in a trial. Although the wealthy can receive a 'fair' trial, workers never do in the capitalist courts. When upholding the presumption of innocence, defenders of democratic rights cannot start with 'innocent until proven guilty' but the fact that working people are innocent victims of a rigged court system and a vicious police force."

This pamphlet is available for \$1 from the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa, 50311. Tel: (515) 246-1695.

## Facts to know about Mark Curtis case

Mark Curtis is a union and political activist who was framed up by the Des Moines police in March 1988. At the time, he was active in a fight to defend 17 immigrant coworkers, who were facing prison and deportation after being seized at work by immigration police.

Curtis was originally charged with the sexual abuse of a 15-year-old Black high school student and with assaulting the cops who beat him. Later the charge of burglary was added and that of assaulting the cops was dropped. In September 1988, he was convicted and sentenced to 25 years in prison.

No direct evidence that Curtis committed any crime was presented at the trial. A prosecution forensic expert testified that he found no physical evidence of any contact between Curtis and the alleged victim. Debris and dog hairs, which covered the porch where the attack supposedly took place, were on the young woman's clothes. None were on Curtis's clothes.

Crucial to the prosecution's case was the testimony of arresting officer Joseph Gonzalez. The judge barred from the trial the evidence that Gonzalez had been suspended from the police force and placed on probation for a year after lying on a police report and brutalizing a suspect. The jury was also not allowed to hear about Curtis's beating at the hands of the cops.

The alleged victim described an attacker who was more than six inches shorter than Curtis, wore a belt and had smoke's breath. Curtis does not smoke and police testified he had no belt.

### Literature available from the Mark Curtis Defense Committee

**The Frame-up of Mark Curtis** by Margaret Jayko. This pamphlet tells the story of Mark Curtis, a unionist and fighter for immigrant rights, who is serving a 25-year sentence in an Iowa prison on trumped-up rape charges. 71 pp., \$5. Order from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. (Please include \$3 for postage and handling.)

**Why Working People Should Join the Fight to Free Mark Curtis** by Harvey McArthur. Presents clear and convincing answers to the campaign of slanders that aim to justify the frame up of Mark Curtis. 24 pp. \$1.

**State of Iowa v. Mark Stanton Curtis**. Transcript of September 1988 trial that found Curtis guilty of sexual assault and burglary. 446 pp. \$30.

**The Stakes in the Worldwide Political Campaign to Defend Mark Curtis** by John Gaige. A pamphlet that explains the political background to Curtis's case, the frame-up, and unfair trial. 25 pp. \$1.

**The Frame-up of Mark Curtis**, a VHS video produced by Hollywood director Nick Castle. This effective 49-minute documentary has clips from TV news broadcasts on Curtis's fight for justice; scenes from the trial; and interviews with Curtis, his wife Kate Kaku, and others. This video is available for the cost of reproduction and shipping. \$15.

For these and other materials (including in Spanish) write or call the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, IA 50311. Phone (515) 246-1695. Bulk quantities are available. Payments should accompany orders and checks can be made out to Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Please allow 2 weeks for delivery.



# British workers discuss, act on pit closures

BY RICH PALSER

SHEFFIELD, England — As the British government moves to shut down 31 coal pits and throw 30,000 miners out of work, widespread discussions among working people and actions against the closures continue to take place.

After two major demonstrations in London and signs of broad support for the miners among working people, agreement was reached for a 90-day period of consultation between the union and British Coal over the 10 pits slated to be closed immediately. The government also announced that a Parliamentary Select Committee would review the closure of the other 21 pits.

With the Select Committee due to report in mid-January, many miners and their supporters are seeking to use the time to mount an effective defense of jobs.

The General Council of Trades Union Congress (TUC) met November 25 and rejected an appeal made by National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) president Arthur Scargill for a national day of action involving all unions. Some 200 miners lobbied the meeting to call for stepped up action to stop the pit closures.

"We have already shown that we have public support, but it isn't visible now. We need to be working for a day of action or there is a danger that the public support will fade," explained Carol Pass, secretary of the Doncaster Trade Union Council, which had asked affiliated organizations to send delegations to pressure the TUC General Council.

TUC general secretary Norman Willis focused on the government plan to import more coal while laying off miners. "British coal can compete, but it is a rigged market," he said. Rather than calling actions to reverse the government pit closures, the TUC leaders hope to convince the governing parties that closing the coal mines would be against the "national interest."

## 'Not going far enough'

"The campaign is not going far enough," two young miners from Silverwood colliery said. "Action has got to come from everyone, not just the miners."

Alan Bailey, who quit mining following a leg injury last June said of the TUC's inaction, "They are going after respectability, but you can't wage a 'respectable' fight."

The lack of continuing mass action against the government's plans is being exploited by British Coal, which announced on the day of the TUC General Council meeting that 5,000 miners had volunteered for redundancy (permanent layoff) since the pit closures announcement. British Coal, with special government funding, is offering significant redundancy payments for those who volunteer to leave their jobs.

Most miners are skeptical that the Coal Board is telling the truth on the numbers volunteering for redundancy. Alan Walton from the Westow pit explained, "Since the

union forced them to withdraw the threat of cutting redundancy payments for those that don't volunteer straightaway, the numbers volunteering have been fewer.

"The Coal Board wants everyone to think the miners are split," Walton added. "They hope other workers will say 'why ask us for support when your own people are leaving voluntarily.'"

## Discussion on imports

The national trade union leadership has made the call for an end to coal imports the center of their fight against pit closures. Many miners and their supporters have been discussing this at meetings to fight the shut-downs.

At a recent meeting in Doncaster, John Buckley, a member of the train drivers' union, explained that miners "are not going to get a fair hearing" from the Select Committee or the government. He argued that unionists should put pressure on the government to stop importing coal. Jo O'Brien, another rail worker from Sheffield, argued another point of view. "When we demand that the government stop coal imports, it's as though workers producing coal in other countries are the problem," she said. "We have to reach out for support from them and defend our whole class. We are fighting for the right to work — not about whether there are profitable markets."

Despite the TUC decision not to call national action against pit closures, local protest activities, and the discussion on how to



Militant/Robert Higley

Thousands marched on Parliament after plan to close 31 pits was announced. Many workers argue more action is needed "or the public support will fade."

move forward, continue. More than 2,000 miners, their families, and other unionists marched through the streets of Wakefield November 28. Another eight marches and rallies are planned in different coal towns in

the coming weeks. A demonstration of coal miners and their supporters is also marching from Scotland to London. Along the way trade unionists in several towns are organizing rallies to greet the demonstrators.

# Assaulted union miner wins support

BY TONY HUNT

SHEFFIELD, England — Supporters of political activist Paul Galloway are stepping up their efforts in his defense. Galloway, a National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) member for more than 15 years in Nottinghamshire was assaulted while leaving work August 6. In an interview he explained that, "this defense effort is more important than ever following the government's announcement of 31 pit closures and 30,000 redundancies (permanent layoffs) last month."

Galloway supporters are today finding more opportunities to discuss the stakes in defending him. These openings have been helped by the resistance among miners to the pit closure program and by working people generally to the rulers' attacks on living standards.

Galloway was assaulted by a group of workers who were members of the NUM and the Union of Democratic Miners (UDM). The day after the attack, the leader of these thugs went around the mine openly boasting that he had "finger-fucked Paul Galloway." In another incident, he roughed up Galloway calling him a "little NUM bastard." Galloway is a well-known union fighter in the Nottinghamshire coal field.

The August 6 sexual assault was calcu-

lated to break his spirit and drive him out of the pit, as the British Coal bosses prepared to launch their massive job-cutting drive. It was also designed to weaken any moves toward unity among the miners who have been divided into two unions since 1985.

At a meeting in the Pathfinder bookshop in Manchester November 22, Galloway explained the importance of the defense campaign. "It is because of the *Militant's* coverage and the response of working people that I am physically safer at work today and able to express my views," Galloway said. "Those who attacked me have been isolated and pushed back. But it still remains for the unions to publicly express their condemnation of the actions of their members."

Galloway noted that by pushing back his attackers he had not only defended his freedom to talk politics at work, "but the rights of every other miner who wants to discuss how to fight the massive job losses and pit closures."

Galloway was one of a minority of miners in Nottinghamshire who participated in the historic 1984-85 miners strike. After it ended, a pro-company union was established, the UDM, which the majority of miners in the area joined. Since 1985, NUM fighters in Nottinghamshire like Galloway, have been the target of attacks by the coal bosses, who seek to reinforce the harmful division among the miners.

## Time for joint action

"Today all miners in Nottinghamshire are in the firing line," Galloway pointed out. "UDM members want to fight pit closures as well. Now's the time for joint action by both unions, irrespective of the strike-breaking record of the officials who organized the UDM. That's the road to a single union for mine workers."

On October 21 Galloway participated with other NUM and UDM members in a massive demonstration in London against the government's pit closure plans. Members of both unions from, Thoresby and other Notts pits, had traveled down to London on the same buses.

The Thoresby NUM branch discussed the attack, but deferred a decision to its next meeting. Several NUM officials at the meeting urged Galloway to request an investigation by British Coal management. They also criticized him for campaigning publicly against the attack through the pages of the *Militant*.

A letter signed by Thoresby branch secretary Keith Stanley has been sent to unionists and others in Britain who have sent protest messages to the NUM. The letter explains that the branch "unanimously condemned" the assault, but rejects the view

that it was politically motivated. Stanley also calls on Galloway to pursue an investigation by management and criticized the *Militant* for causing "acute embarrassment" to the union branch because it made the attack public before "the branch had time to deal with it."

Dozens of messages have been sent by working people in six countries requesting that the unions publicly condemn the attack and call to order their members who were responsible. The majority of messages are from trade unionists.

Engineering, rail, and airline workers were among those who responded in Britain. Messages also came from auto workers in the United States and Canada, along with airline, garment, rail, and steelworkers. Auto and food workers in Sweden, and meat workers in New Zealand, have expressed their solidarity.

Many of those who responded backed Galloway's decision to fight the assault through the union. "The unions themselves have to answer violence like this or we will be much weaker in the fight against pit closures," Galloway said. "The aim of the attack was not just to silence me, but to intimidate all miners who want to stand up and fight."

He also noted, "The kind of violence that was used — sexual assault — was designed to make it as hard as possible to talk about what happened. But by campaigning I have won the support of many Thoresby miners, from both the NUM and UDM. The fact that I haven't gone to the bosses is something many of them respect."

Galloway stressed that he was singled out for attack because of his political views. "The fact that I am a communist and open about my views doesn't make me popular with British Coal or with those miners — NUM as well as UDM — who see their interests as tied to the bosses. One of the pit supervisors made this pretty clear to me a few weeks after the assault when he said, 'You do know it's political, Gall.' I told him that it had crossed my mind. I have been an active member of the Socialist League, and then its successor the Communist League, since 1984."

Fellow miner and supporter Jim Spaul, who works at Kellingley in Yorkshire, highlighted the need to continue the campaign. "The harassment of Paul hasn't finished — two weeks ago he found his clothes deliberately thrown all over the floor in the bath house after work."

Spaul said, "Despite significant protests, the government is driving ahead on its plans for pit closures. As it does so miners like Paul who point a way forward will continue to come under pressure."

# Rightist thugs attack demonstration against racist violence in Britain

BY MARTIN MARRIOTT

LONDON — A protest march against racist murders here was harassed and violently attacked by fascist-minded thugs November 7. The march of 350 people was called by the Rohit Duggal Memorial Committee. Duggal, an Asian youth, was stabbed to death on a London street by a racist gang earlier this year.

As the march passed down Eltham High Street, it was confronted by 200 racists who had taken over the street.

As the march approached Sutcliffe Park, site of the closing rally, 100 of these racists charged into the park, unopposed by police. March stewards were forced to withdraw, as were supporters of the Communist League who were selling Pathfinder books at a table. The thugs smashed the table and threw the books into the mud. Copies of *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*, *Thomas Sankara Speaks*, and a book about the 1984-85 British miners' strike were ripped up.

Assaults continued into the evening. A gang of 20 thugs attacked the Earl of Chat-ham, a local pub. Black patrons were at-

tacked by members of the gang, who broke tables, chairs, and windows. Police arrested only 15 thugs throughout the day. All have been released on bail with no specific charges against them.

Ramesh Sharma, uncle of murdered Rohit Duggal and a central organizer of the march, told a conference organized by the Anti-Racist Alliance the following week, "There must be no street that a Black person cannot walk down, no place where a Black person cannot live. We will keep campaigning for justice, and we will not be stopped."

A statement by the Communist League was widely distributed at the conference. It highlighted the recent mass actions against racism in Germany and the big public protests against mine closures in Britain. "The way to isolate the fascists — and to defeat the complicity of the cops — is for working people to mobilize our strength in the streets in rallies, pickets, and demonstrations," the Communist League statement explained.

Martin Marriott is a member of the Rail, Maritime and Transport Union.



# 'Militant' drive at 94 percent as supporters mobilize to meet goals

Continued from front page

In the past week, the *Militant* business office has received a total of 448 *Militant* and 93 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions, as well as reports on sales of 259 copies of *New Internationalist*!

With 317 copies to go, the *New Internationalist* goal will be the most challenging to meet. Tremendous progress has been made, however, showing that even this goal is within reach. Supporters in many areas are calling subscribers to offer them single copies, or all eight issues of the Marxist magazine at discount prices in some cases. Visits to local bookstores can net more sales.

## London over the top

London supporters also made it over the top this week by selling 15 subscriptions. Robert Higley reports, "Many of these were through systematically working through our callbacks from the miners' demonstrations and interested students."

"Renewing his introductory subscription, a transport worker in London grabbed a copy of *The Opening Guns of World War III*," continued Higley. "After looking it through he said, 'I'm not letting go of this' and found the cash to get this too. A friend visiting him from West Virginia saw the *Militant* for the first time and jumped on the issue containing the introduction to Pathfinder's new book of Malcolm X speeches, *By Any Means Necessary*. 'I must read this' she said, and took out a subscription to commence when she gets home."

## Big progress in New York

Supporters in New York City and Newark report big progress in

meeting their goals as well. Newark is only a hairbreadth away from their goals, having sent in 24 *Militant* and 10 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions this week. In New York, which has the largest single goal of any area, supporters this past week made big strides forward, selling 44 *Militant* subscriptions!

## Guadalajara, Mexico team

At a student conference on the North American Free Trade Agreement held in Guadalajara, Mexico, November 27-30, supporters sold 18 subscriptions — 8 to the *Militant* and 10 to *Perspectiva Mundial* — to the 150 participants from Mexico, Canada, and the United States. In addition, this team sold more than \$400 worth of Pathfinder books and won eight new endorsers to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. One student from the University of Colorado in Boulder bought nearly \$100 worth of Pathfinder books, along with a subscription and four different issues of *New Internationalist*.

## Team to Virginia coalfields

Robert Dees reports that a team to the coalfields of southwest Virginia during the Thanksgiving weekend sold 2 *Militant* subscriptions and 42 single copies, which includes 11 sold at two mine portals. A former Pittston striker asked team members, "How's this guy Curtis doing," pointing to the front page of the *Militant*. The miner remarked that Curtis's wife, Kate Kaku, had visited that area during the 1989-90 Pittston strike and talked about Curtis's fight for justice. "It's real important that

this stuff get around," he said.

Michael Italie reports that 18 workers, members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) at the Trinity plant in Greenville, Pennsylvania, bought the *Militant* from a sales team during one afternoon shift change. Eight hundred United Steel Workers of America (USWA) union members are currently on strike at the Trinity plant in Bessemer, Alabama. Workers in Greenville have been reading about the strike through *Militant* clippings on the union bulletin board in the plant.

"One UAW member coming into work took the paper right away because he liked the name," reports Italie, "and said that after hearing the news about General Motors laying off thousands more workers he 'realized it's time we started doing something because these companies are tearing us down.'"

Ned Dmytryshyn reports that a team at the British Columbia Federation of Labor convention held in Vancouver, Canada, November 30-December 4 sold 7 *Militant* subscriptions and 45 single copies of the paper. He writes: "A delegate from the Hospital Employees Union decided to resubscribe because 'you get timely weekly information without which you quickly fall behind.'" A USWA local president also purchased an introductory subscription because he likes the *Militant*'s coverage of political developments and union fights.

The final scoreboard will be printed in next week's issue. All subscriptions and reports on *New Internationalist* sold must be into the business office by Sunday, December 13, at 3:00 p.m. EST.

## FROM THE PATHFINDER MURAL — Louis Riel led Métis struggle in Canada

BY SARA LOBMAN

This monthly column features the working-class leaders and fighters for social justice from around the world who are depicted on the Pathfinder Mural.

The six-story mural was painted by an international team of 80 artists from 20 countries. Included in the mural are portraits of revolutionary leaders such as Malcolm X, Che Guevara, Nelson Mandela, Fidel Castro, and Karl Marx, whose speeches and writings are published by Pathfinder Press.

Louis Riel, born in 1844, helped lead the struggle of the Métis people against the consolidation and extension of the Canadian Dominion. The Métis are persons of combined European and Native American descent. Many are French-speaking. Riel's portrait was painted on the Pathfinder Mural by Armand Vaillancourt of Quebec.

In 1869 the Canadian government bought the territorial rights for the Northwest Territories from the Hudson Bay Company. The negotiations leading up to the deal ignored the existence of the 12,000 Métis settlers. Outraged, the people of the Northwest took up arms, seized Fort Garry, and set up a provisional government, composed of 12 English- and 12 French-speaking Métis, with Riel at its head.

In May 1870 the Canadian government passed the Manitoba Act, establishing the province of Manitoba in the Northwest Territories. It agreed to set up a provisional admin-

istration, grant amnesty to the Métis fighters, and provide for the official recognition of the French language on an equal footing with English.

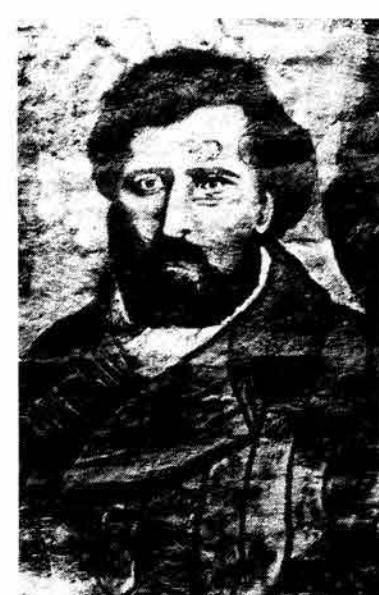
But when the Métis government court-martialed and executed a surveyor for the Dominion, the Canadian government was quick to renege on the amnesty provisions and sent troops against the provisional government. In February 1875 Riel, who had just been elected to the Canadian House of Commons, was sentenced to five years' exile by a Winnipeg court.

In 1884 Riel returned to participate in an uprising of the Métis of Saskatchewan. These Métis had not been included in the 1870 agreement, and were demanding the establishment of provisional governments, legislatures, and courts.

Against a few hundred Métis and Indians, the Canadian government sent 6,000 soldiers. Riel surrendered in May 1885. The Canadian government granted the demands of the Saskatchewan Métis, but charged Riel with treason.

In the months leading up to his execution, tens of thousands of French-speaking, and many English-speaking Canadians, in eastern Canada took up the fight to defend Riel. Mass meetings of thousands were held in Montreal, Quebec City, and as far south as Massachusetts. Twenty thousand attended a rally on the Champ de Mars in Montreal.

At the insistence of the Canadian government, Riel was tried in English-speaking Regina. The jury included no francophones and the case was heard not before an inde-



Louis Riel

pendent superior court judge, but before a magistrate whose job depended on the government's whims. Louis Riel was executed for treason on November 16, 1885.

The Pathfinder Mural and the Pathfinder Mural Bookstore are located at the corner of West and Charles streets in New York City. The bookstore offers a complete selection of Pathfinder books and pamphlets as well as postcards, posters, and T-shirts depicting the mural. Contributions for the promotion, development, and preservation of the mural can be sent to: Friends of the Pathfinder Mural, 191 Seventh Ave., New York, New York 10011. Telephone: (212) 727-8421.

## SUBSCRIPTION SCOREBOARD

### AROUND THE WORLD

	The Militant			Perspectiva Mundial		New International Single Issues	
	SOLD	GOAL	%SOLD	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL
<b>UNITED STATES</b>							
Philadelphia	84	75	112%	14	13	22	35
Twin Cities, MN *	111	100	111%	16	13	19	30
Los Angeles	127	125	102%	65	75	78	70
Seattle	74	75	99%	15	23	16	35
Newark, NJ	122	125	98%	33	35	47	65
Greensboro, NC	63	65	97%	1	5	20	30
Pittsburgh	67	70	96%	0	3	6	35
St. Louis	76	80	95%	1	3	25	35
Chicago *	80	85	94%	13	19	21	35
Birmingham, AL	60	65	92%	0	3	4	35
Houston *	68	75	91%	11	13	16	30
Cleveland	54	60	90%	3	6	32	40
Miami *	84	95	89%	24	30	58	60
Washington DC	62	70	89%	11	20	8	35
Atlanta	57	65	88%	5	5	9	30
Detroit	65	75	87%	8	6	10	35
Des Moines, IA *	69	80	86%	19	25	28	40
San Francisco	80	95	84%	16	35	43	60
Salt Lake City *	58	75	77%	8	13	13	20
New York	135	175	77%	42	50	79	90
Boston *	66	90	73%	26	30	41	45
Morgantown, WV	35	50	70%	3	2	21	30
Cincinnati	17	25	68%	2	5	9	5
Portland	8	12	67%	0	1	5	10
Baltimore	46	75	61%	3	6	12	25
Ft. Madison, Iowa	1	2	50%	0	0	0	0
New Haven, CT	4	15	27%	1	1	1	6
<b>U.S. TOTAL</b>	<b>1,773</b>	<b>1,999</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>340</b>	<b>440</b>	<b>643</b>	<b>966</b>
<b>AUSTRALIA *</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>88%</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>BARBADOS</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>BELGIUM</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>BRITAIN</b>							
London	47	45	104%	1	5	22	40
Manchester	24	35	69%	0	2	15	30
Sheffield	23	35	66%	2	3	5	20
<b>BRITAIN TOTAL</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>82%</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>CANADA</b>							
Quebec City	3	3	100%	0	0	0	2
Montreal *	47	55	85%	7	20	53	50
Toronto *	55	65	85%	11	15	34	40
Vancouver	48	60	82%	8	10	26	20
<b>CANADA TOTAL</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>84%</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>112</b>
<b>FRANCE *</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>ICELAND</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>73%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>MEXICO</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>NEW ZEALAND</b>							
Auckland *	44	45	98%	0	3	5	8
Wellington	30	35	86%	1	1	8	10
Christchurch	16	25	64%	0	1	10	8
<b>N.Z. TOTAL</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>86%</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>PUERTO RICO</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>SWEDEN *</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>124%</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2,209</b>	<b>2,497</b>	<b>94%</b>	<b>403</b>	<b>543</b>	<b>883</b>	<b>1,266</b>
<b>DRIVE GOALS</b>		<b>2,350</b>			<b>450</b>		<b>1,200</b>

## IN THE UNIONS

Union	Militant/PM			NEW INTERNATIONAL	
	SOLD	GOAL	%SOLD	SOLD	GOAL
<b>UNITED STATES</b>					
UFCW *	60	50	120%	9	15
UTU *	58	50	116%	9	15
UMWA	19	18	106%	5	6
OCAW	51	50	102%	5	20
IAM	96	110	87%	4	42
ILGWU	24	32	75%	6	9
UAW	60	80	75%	9	35
USWA	67	90	74%	9	30
ACTWU	34	48	71%	6	26
<b>U.S. TOTAL</b>	<b>469</b>	<b>528</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>198</b>
<b>CANADA</b>					
USWA	5	12	42%	2	5
ACTWU	4	10	40%	0	4
CAW	4	15	27%	2	8
IAM	2	10	20%	1	4
<b>CANADA TOTAL</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>NEW ZEALAND</b>					
MWU	3	2	150%	0	1
UFCW	4	5	80%	0	1
EU	4	5	80%	0	1
<b>N.Z. TOTAL</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>92%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>SWEDEN</b>					
Metal Workers	8	7	114%	3	2
Food Workers *	3	4	75%	1	1
<b>SWEDEN TOTAL</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>

ACTWU — Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; CAW — Canadian Auto Workers; EU — Engineers Union; IAM — International Association of Machinists; ILGWU — International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; MWU — Meat Workers Union; OCAW — Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; UAW — United Auto Workers; UFCW (U.S.) — United Food and Commercial Workers; UFCW (New Zealand) — United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA — United Mine Workers of America; USWA — United Steelworkers of America; UTU — United Transportation Union

\* Raised goal



# The rescue of Marxist books from Moscow

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Four volunteers worked for several months in Moscow earlier this year to retrieve tens of thousands of volumes of the works of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, and V.I. Lenin that had been slated to be pulped. In an interview November 19, Doug Hord described how he, Jim White, Valerie Johnson, and Sonja Franeta set about rescuing these valuable books.

"The project from beginning to end was marked by difficulties and challenges rooted in the reality that the former Soviet Union has entered into a major social crisis," Hord emphasized.

"It started on a visit in November 1991, when I asked a 20-year-old book vendor on the street, one of thousands in Moscow, if he could get me books by Marx and Engels in English. About 10 days later he came back with a set of them." It turned out that over a million volumes of the collected works of Marx and Engels, and of Lenin, were sitting in warehouses around Moscow. Hord began working with Pathfinder, a publisher based in New York that publishes and distributes the works of revolutionary leaders from around the world, to obtain some of the books before they were sold as scrap.

## The books disappear

To their dismay, when the Pathfinder team went back in April of this year to the big distribution warehouse where the books had been, "almost the entire stock of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, in English, French, Spanish, Arabic, Hindi, and other languages, had just disappeared. Workers at the warehouse told us that they only knew that the books had been taken for 'reworking,' that is, to be pulped. They had been removed by the truck load, ten or so loads a day, every day, for two weeks, an amount totaling more than one million volumes."

Hord explained why this had happened. "With the breakdown of the economic connections between enterprises, between different branches of production, and between

different regions of the former Soviet Union, the paper industry, like all other industries, has entered into a deep crisis. The price of paper has shot way up, well beyond the cover price of the volumes we were looking for.

"It turned out that a cooperative of Russian entrepreneurs had contracted with a Dutch firm to deliver 3,000 tons of paper for reworking in Holland and subsequent re-export to Russia," Hord said. "I'm sure the Dutch and their Russian partners were realizing enormous profits by paying nearly nothing for the raw materials, while selling the finished paper at world market prices."

The team was finally able to track down the books in an abandoned steel fabrication plant. They had been dumped in huge piles on the floor, along with several million volumes of books by Gorbachev, Brezhnev, and other Stalinist officials. The Russian owners agreed to sell whatever books could be salvaged from the mess.

## Conditions facing Russian workers

"We spent three weeks working with a team of six Russian workers, excavating the books we wanted," said Hord. This by itself was a lesson in what the collapse of the economy has meant for working people. The warehouse workers, Hord reported, "had not received a paycheck in four months." Because this warehouse was a newly started cooperative, it had none of the amenities commonly offered to workers at many state enterprises, such as food and housing. When asked how these workers survived for months with no pay, Hord replied, "I really don't know."

"The conditions generated some ironic discussion," he said. "The workers would ask us 'Why do you want to buy these books?' One said, 'Look at us — we're dressed in rags. This is what Marxism has meant.' We answered that what had existed in the Soviet Union for decades was not at all what Marx and Lenin had fought for. Many other workers nodded in agreement,

but still said, in so many words, that they thought Marx, Engels, and Lenin were utopian. It's an ongoing discussion," Hord said.

Just paying for the books was a challenge. There is no functional banking system in Russia, so all transactions are in cash. The value of the ruble has fallen so low that carrying the paper bills around is an arduous task. "Have you ever tried to carry 100 pounds of money across town?" asked Hord.

"We managed to hustle 15,000 books out of there by working very discreetly, but when the Dutch partners found out that we were buying books on the side, they raised Cain with the Russians for letting us have the books. After they ran us out of there, they installed machinery for tearing the covers off the books and compacting the paper," Hord explained.

"All evidence indicates that this was the main stock in the world, although a few smaller ones exist. This is just one more price the international workers movement has had to pay for Stalinism," said Hord.

Hord reported that altogether, Pathfinder has been able to purchase more than 20,000 volumes, including several thousand salvaged earlier.

"One bright spot," Hord said, "was that the Cubans made a similar haul of these



Militant/Doug Hord  
Valerie Johnson and a Russian worker mailing volumes of books by Marx, Engels, and Lenin from a Moscow post office.

books in Spanish. I found out about this while hunting for Spanish editions of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. I was told that the Cubans put their books in a container on the deck of one of their last boats out of Odessa in December, 1991."

Hord added that because of the bureaucratic obstacles to organizing a container load of books, the Pathfinder team found it cheaper and simpler to package the tens of thousands of books in lots of three, individually weigh them, and mail them separately through the Moscow post office.

## Hope people start reading the books

When asked if there was anything else to add to the story, Hord said, "I hope people start reading these books now, and using them. I would urge people to take advantage of Pathfinder's special offer before the end of the year."

Members of the Pathfinder Readers Club can purchase the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels, 41 volumes in all, for \$11 a volume, or \$450 for the set. After February 1, the price will be \$25 a volume. The *Collected Works* of Lenin, 45 volumes plus a two-volume index, is now \$350. After February 1 the price will go up to \$500.

"It is especially important to get these books into the hands of fighters soon," Hord added. "There are about 20,000 more volumes we still know of in Moscow. If the interest is there and the funds are available, I'd love to go back and save them."

# Hundreds visit Pathfinder booth in Miami

BY JILL FEIN

MIAMI — Despite heavy rain throughout the weekend, more than 1,000 people visited the Pathfinder booth at the Miami Book Fair held November 20-22.

The theme of this year's fair was "Explore New Worlds." Pathfinder was one of more than 300 exhibitors.

The Pathfinder booth was located only a few dozen yards away from the booth of the right-wing Cuban American National Foundation.

Lively discussions and debates on Cuba took place at the Pathfinder exhibit. Most fairgoers were supportive of Pathfinder's right to display books by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. One Cuban in his late 20s said, "I think Fidel is undemocratic but I owe a lot to the government of Cuba. I'm glad to see people telling the other side of the story."

At one point a woman came by the booth and started yelling to another woman who was buying a subscription to the *Militant*. "Those people are communists. They support Fidel and come to FIU (Florida International University) to try to corrupt us." A bystander responded, saying to the Pathfinder representative, "Don't worry about her — just keep talking." Throughout the three days of the fair, a number of others also spoke in defense of the Cuban revolution.

Those interested in Pathfinder books included people from Venezuela, Peru, the Bahamas, Cuba, Jamaica, and the United States. One man from Bogotá, Colombia, purchased a subscription to the *Militant*.

One young man said to the Pathfinder representative, "I've been looking all over for books like this. What would you recommend I start with?" He bought *Teamster Rebellion* by Farrell Dobbs, a pamphlet on the fight against the frame-up of Mark Curtis, and a subscription to the *Militant*. He promised to come by the Pathfinder bookstore in Miami to purchase the other three volumes by Dobbs on the Teamsters union battles of the 1930s.

One woman's face lit up when she saw books by Che Guevara in Spanish. She went

through all her pockets but couldn't come up with enough money for the one she wanted. She said she would come by the bookstore to buy it.

Several people have already visited the Pathfinder bookstore here as a result of the 1,500 leaflets distributed at the fair. The flyer offered fairgoers as 15 percent discount on their first purchase from the bookstore.

Special T-shirts were made for the book fair with a picture of the Pathfinder Mural in New York City and the address of the Miami Pathfinder bookstore on it.

Malcolm X books attracted the most in-

terest. Best-sellers were *February 1965: The Final Speeches*, with seven copies sold, and the pamphlet *Two Speeches by Malcolm X*, with eight copies sold.

Four copies of the Marxist magazine *New International* were sold along with eight subscriptions to the *Militant* and six to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Sales overall were lower than usual this year because of the rain. Despite this the Pathfinder booksellers sold \$600 worth of books and registered the political space that was demonstrated by the overwhelming acceptance by book fair participants of the communist literature being displayed.

# Pathfinder books attract crowds in Trinidad

BY JOHN MUNORU

PORT-OF-SPAIN, Trinidad and Tobago — "This money is for my Christmas, but I will spend it on these books," said a 16-year-old high school student as she selected books on a Pathfinder table at the Third Caribbean Peoples International Book Fair and Bookfair Festival here. She bought *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, Nelson Mandela's *The Struggle is My Life*, *Thomas Sankara Speaks*, *Abortion is a Woman's Right*, and *Cuba Will Never Adopt Capitalist Methods*. She spent almost all her \$90.

Pathfinder salespeople received a similar response from many young people and workers who came to the fair. Hundreds attended the book fair, which took place in many cities and towns in Trinidad November 2-19. Pathfinder participated in the Port-of-Spain and San Fernando legs of the fair. The Pathfinder stand was staffed by an international team of trade unionists from the United States and Canada. Other publishers attending included New Beacon, Longman, and Vanguard Press. Several bookstores had stands as well.

The main organizers of the fair were the Oilfield Workers' Trade Union, which hosted similar fairs in 1987 and 1988. The response to Pathfinder publications reflects the desire to understand politics in this period of economic, political, and social crisis.

The capitalist economic crisis has devastated Trinidad and other Caribbean countries. Unemployment and underemployment are high. In Trinidad this is reflected in the spread of homelessness and slums around major towns such as Port-of Spain and San Fernando. The government is cutting spending on social services such as education, health and basic infrastructure, including the maintenance and construction of roads.

Workers are protesting such cuts, which are in line with the demands of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Some of the people attending the fair blamed the Trinidadian politicians and government, and the IMF, for the crisis. One young woman said, "In Trinidad and Tobago we do not have major natural calamities. The only calamity we have is the government and the politicians who implement the hated policies of the IMF." There is fear that the government will devalue the dollar soon and there are accusations of the government awarding contracts to foreign companies through corrupt means. The government's response to the crisis has included cutting the number of public employees, reintroducing the death penalty, which was abolished 15 years ago, and increasing the police force.

Many young people wanted to discuss the struggle in South Africa as they bought

books by Nelson Mandela and copies of the *New International* magazine on the coming revolution in South Africa. Some said that the South African people's struggle was inspiring and that people in Trinidad should also struggle against oppression.

There was also widespread interest in Malcolm X. A young man wearing a Malcolm X T-shirt said that he "wanted to understand what Malcolm stood for."

The Pathfinder team sold 80 books and 20 pamphlets of Malcolm X's speeches.

Books on women's studies received a good response from many young women. One held a copy of the pamphlet *Abortion is a Woman's Right* and said, "This is a good one, we argue about this all the time in school."

Others were very interested in the Cuban revolution, buying many books by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. Some wondered whether U.S. policies would change with a new president. Many wanted to discuss U.S. hostilities toward Cuba.

"How can we get these books in Trinidad after the fair," was the question most often put to volunteers staffing the Pathfinder stand. Many people said they were going to order more books. A total of \$1,400 worth of books was sold, including 32 copies of *New International*. Five subscriptions to the *Militant* were sold, as well as many single copies.



## October 1962 'missile' crisis: The U.S. war to crush Cuba

### Lessons to fight Washington's aggression today

BY STEVE CLARK  
AND ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Millions of people earlier this year watched hours of television documentaries marking the 30th anniversary of what is referred to in the United States as the "Cuban missile crisis" of October 1962. Special programs were aired by NBC, ABC, PBS, the Disney channel, and the Arts and Entertainment network.

All of these programs were produced and broadcast by major big-business networks hostile to the Cuban revolution. Nonetheless, viewers were able to see, hear, and judge for themselves how the plans of the Democratic administration of John F. Kennedy to invade Cuba and crush the revolutionary government brought the world the closest it has ever been, before or since, to the brink of nuclear war.

The big majority of people who watched these documentaries were not yet old enough to have been politically conscious 30 years ago, when the events being recounted were unfolding. Those somewhat older were not only reminded of circumstances they had long forgotten, but also learned new facts about the crisis and the roots of it that further confirm Washington's aggressive course.

Whatever the shortcomings of these documentaries, they painted a generally accurate picture of the U.S. build-up for an invasion of Cuba throughout the spring, summer, and fall of 1962. They provided a sampling of the views — both from the time, and looking back three decades later — of top U.S. ruling-class figures, leaders of the Cuban revolution, and officials of the Soviet government and armed forces. The broadcasts offered at least a glimpse of the principled, thought-out, and courageous conduct of Cuban communists throughout the crisis.

One important aspect of the October 1962 events, however, was universally left out of the recent television documentaries. No footage was rolled, nor even mention made, of the many protests against Washington's war moves against Cuba that were organized across the United States during the crisis. The impression was given that youth and working people in the United States either backed the U.S. government's course, were immobilized by fear of nuclear war, or both.

We will correct this faulty image at the conclusion of this article. The truth is, as we will see, that there were many defenders of Cuba's sovereign rights in the United States who spoke out, organized, and acted to educate others about why Washington was seeking to destroy the Cuban revolution and why the course of the bipartisan war-makers should be opposed.

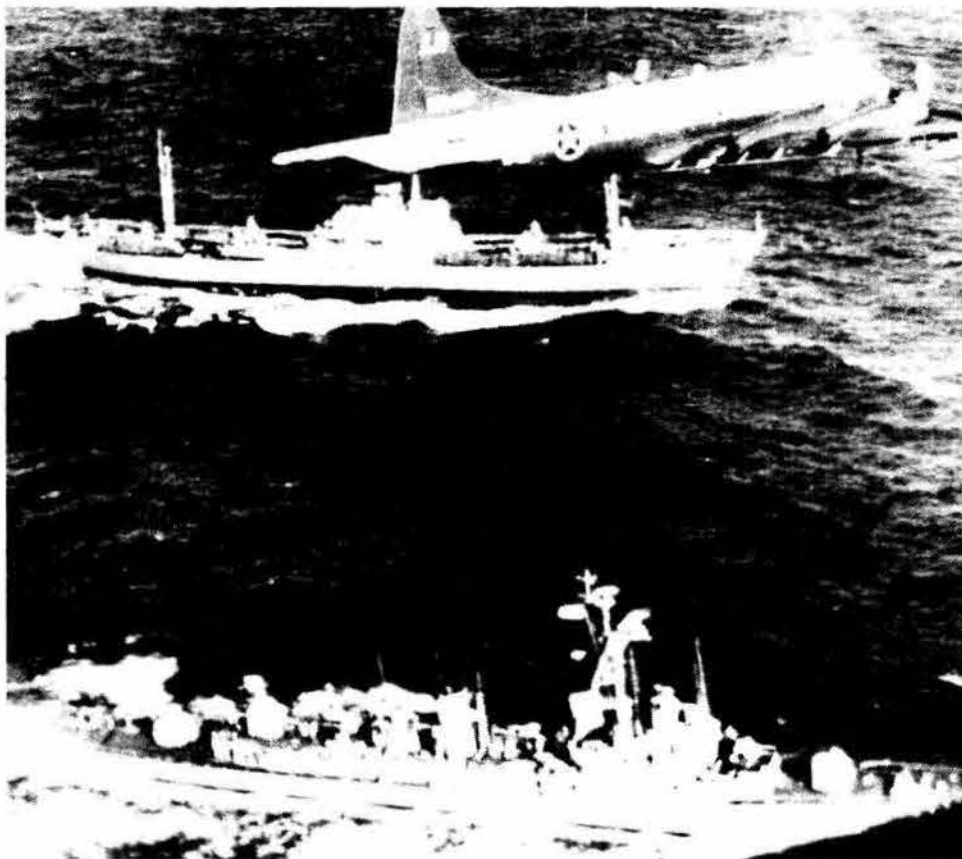
#### U.S. prepares to invade Cuba

In the weeks leading up to the October crisis, the U.S. rulers were carrying out preparations for a full-scale invasion of Cuba.

On October 6, 1962 — nine days before Washington photographically confirmed the existence of the Cuban missile sites — Kennedy's defense secretary, Robert McNamara, sent a memorandum to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The memo contained instructions to begin readying a massive force of planes, ships, and troops, putting them into position for the rapid execution of contingency plans 314 and 316, which called for an invasion of Cuba and the overthrow of the revolutionary government headed by Fidel Castro. Five days earlier, McNamara and the Joint Chief of Staff had ordered preparations to ensure that plan 312, the air strike option, was at "maximum readiness" by October 20.

Later that month, U.S. armed forces conducted highly visible military exercises practicing an assault on Cuba. This mock invasion, carried out on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques, had the stated aim of toppling a leader named "Ortsac" — Castro spelled backward.

"We had been living in times of great danger . . . and in the midst of a very powerful, dirty war against Cuba," Castro said in a recent interview with Maria Shriver broadcast as part of the NBC documentary. He pointed to the



U.S. warship and plane track Soviet vessel sailing toward Cuba in an attempt to stop it, during October 1962 "missile" crisis. Washington used nearly 300 ships to enforce full naval blockade on Cuba.

U.S.-organized "economic blockade, subversive activities, . . . [and] constant pirate attacks on our country."

On October 22, Kennedy ordered a naval blockade of Cuba — an act of war he publicly defended on the pretext that Soviet missiles were being installed in Cuba. Hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops were amassed in Florida and neighboring states ready to invade. Virtually the entire air force on U.S. soil was put on full alert in preparation for massive air strikes. Air and ground forces were armed with nuclear weapons. Meanwhile, unknown to Washington, Soviet troops in Cuba were armed with tactical nuclear weapons, and the top Soviet officer in command of these units was authorized by Moscow to use the weapons in the event of a military assault by Washington on Cuba.

It was the closest that U.S. military aggression has ever brought humanity to a nuclear war.

#### Turning the victim into the criminal

Despite all the evidence of U.S. plans for an armed assault on Cuba, various opinion columns and articles in the big-business media have perpetuated the effort by Washington and its apologists to pin responsibility on the Cuban government for bringing the world to the brink of nuclear catastrophe.

Kennedy's defense secretary McNamara still publicly insists to this day that "there was no intent on the part of the president to invade Cuba prior to the time that the . . . missiles were deployed." But he himself, as we've seen, ordered the Pentagon to begin readying several alternative invasion plans in early October. Evidently hoping to give this bald-faced lie some credibility, McNamara writes in his foreword to a recent anthology on the October crisis that, "If I had been a Cuban leader at that time, I might have concluded that there was a great risk of U.S. invasion."

There are big political stakes for the U.S. rulers in maintaining the myth that they had no intention of invading Cuba. Because if the truth is told, then U.S. imperialism stands condemned not just as the only government ever to use nuclear weapons (against the civilian population of Japan), but as being responsible for pressing its hostile course toward the Cuban revolution to the verge of the world's first all-out nuclear war.

The accompanying feature in this issue of the *Militant*

is a letter to the editor of the *New York Times* by Mary-Alice Waters. The letter was written in response to a column by Fedor Burlatsky that appeared on the op-ed page of the October 23 issue of the *Times* attempting to paint Castro as a nuclear terrorist; the *Times* rejected it for publication. Burlatsky was an adviser to Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev. Waters, editor of *New Internationalist* magazine and president of Pathfinder Press, edited the new Pathfinder book, *To Speak the Truth: Why Washington's 'Cold War' against Cuba Doesn't End*, a collection of speeches before United Nations bodies by Cuban revolutionary leaders Ernesto Che Guevara and Fidel Castro.

As Waters explains, Khrushchev's May 1962 proposal to the Cuban government that Soviet nuclear-armed missiles be installed on the island came at a time of mounting economic sabotage and preparations for U.S. military aggression against Cuba. These were not the acts of a rogue Pentagon and CIA operating beyond the bounds of the "peace-seeking" White House — a legend peddled over the years by former Kennedy administration officials such as McNamara and parroted in the liberal bourgeois press. (This fairy tale was inflicted on millions of movie-goers and others in early 1992 with the release of Oliver Stone's film *JFK*, which portrayed a wholly fictional Kennedy administration allegedly trying to disengage U.S. troops from Vietnam and avoid war with Cuba.)

The facts prove the opposite, however. The CIA and the Pentagon were implementing Kennedy administration policy toward Cuba, often carrying out direct White House orders.

#### A deep-going social revolution

Following the January 1, 1959, overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictator Fulgencio Batista, the Cuban revolution rapidly became a central target of Washington. The new government in Cuba organized the peasants and urban and rural workers to carry out an agrarian reform, dismantle the reactionary armed forces of the old Batista regime, and arm the people through militias and the revolutionary armed forces.

With broad popular involvement and support, the new government enacted sweeping measures to slash rents and cut the monopoly rates charged by U.S.-owned electricity and telephone companies. The prerogatives of capital were



undercut, as projects were launched to meet the needs of working people in employment, health, housing, education, recreation, and culture.

In July 1960 Washington punitively cancelled the annual quota of Cuban sugar imports, wiping out in a single blow the major market for Cuba's main export product. Cuban workers and farmers mobilized by the millions to defend their national sovereignty and their class interests against the landlords and capitalists both at home and ninety miles to their north. In the summer and fall of that year, most U.S. and Cuban capitalist holdings on the island were nationalized.

The character of this social revolution and the example it provided to millions of impoverished toilers throughout Latin America and the world was the source of Wall Street's determination to overthrow the revolutionary government in Cuba. That was the root of the events that exploded into the world's headlines during the last two weeks of October 1962. It also explains why Cuban revolutionaries are so insistent in referring to these events as the "October crisis" — and refuse to call them the "Cuban missile crisis," the term coined by the Kennedy administration and most commonly used to this day in the United States.

The issue was not the Soviet missiles, as the White House and bipartisan Congress claimed; that was Kennedy's pretext. At stake in the fall of 1962 was the success or failure of Washington's escalating drive to invade Cuba and destroy the revolution.

That's what the October crisis was all about.

## Assassination plots, Bay of Pigs

Organized plots by Washington to assassinate Fidel Castro had begun more than two years earlier. In August 1960 a CIA official was given a box of Castro's favorite cigars and told to poison them. This plan, revealed during U.S. Senate hearings in 1975, became one of at least eight assassination attempts against the Cuban president devised by the U.S. government between 1960 and 1965.

Judith Exner, mistress to both John F. Kennedy and mafia leader Sam Giancana, explained in a recent interview for CNN's *Larry King Live* that when she was subpoenaed to appear before those Senate hearings, she

had not told all she knew about the administration's recruitment of mafia hit men to organize the murder of Castro.

"Jack [Kennedy] did know about the assassination plots against Castro," Exner told Larry King, "because I carried the intelligence between Jack and Sam and I have to state that it was always at Jack's request. . . . [Kennedy] never used the word 'assassination,'" Exner said. "He used the word 'elimination.'"

On April 17, 1961 — just three months after he was inaugurated president — Kennedy organized over 1,400 Cuban counterrevolutionary exiles who had left Cuba to launch an abortive invasion of the island at the Bay of Pigs with U.S. direction, training, and air cover. Two days prior to the invasion a group of U.S. B-26 bombers, piloted by Cuban emigres, attacked air bases in Cuba. The raid was coordinated by the CIA.

The invasion was crushed within 72 hours by the mobilization of tens of thousands of Cuban volunteers. Of the invading force, 114 were killed and 1,189 captured.

The day after the conclusion of the Bay of Pigs fiasco, U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy sent a memo to his brother, the president, urging him to draft a plan of action against Cuba. The attorney general identified three alternative courses of action: sending U.S. troops to Cuba, placing a tight blockade around the island, or calling on the Organization of American States (OAS) to prohibit the shipment to Cuba of arms from any outside source.

"Something forceful and determined must be done," said Robert Kennedy. "The time has come for a showdown."

## Operation Mongoose

On November 30, 1961, President Kennedy authorized a major new program — coordinating actions by the CIA, State Department, Pentagon, and United States Information Agency — aimed at overthrowing the Cuban government. It was code-named Operation Mongoose after a ferret-like animal known for its ability to kill cobras.

The previously top-secret "Guidelines for Operation Mongoose," partially declassified and released to the public in 1989, state:

"1. Operation Mongoose will be developed on the following assumptions:

"a. In undertaking to cause the overthrow of the target government, the U.S. will make maximum use of indigenous resources, internal and external, but recognizes that final success will require decisive U.S. military intervention."

"b. Such indigenous [Cuban] resources as are developed will be used to prepare for and justify this intervention, and thereafter to facilitate and support it."

Many former Kennedy administration officials and their liberal apologists have sought to dismiss Operation Mongoose as a CIA program run amok. But the facts demonstrate otherwise — that it was initiated and organized straight out of the White House. As acknowledged by an October 24 article in the *New York Times*, the CIA agent who reportedly gave Operation Mongoose its name "took exception [during a CIA-sponsored anniversary symposium on the 1962 crisis] to a *Times* editorial describing Mongoose as a 'repugnant CIA effort.'" The *Times* article continued: "Repugnant, yes, he said, but a Kennedy effort, imposed on the agency by the President and his brother the Attorney General."

The president handpicked the Special Group Augmented (SGA) to direct Mongoose, sidestepping existing government structures, including the CIA. The chief of operations was Brig. Gen. Edward Lansdale. And Mongoose was directly supervised by Robert Kennedy.

By early 1962 the SGA employed 400 U.S. operatives out of CIA headquarters and its Miami station, as well as 2,000 Cuban counterrevolutionaries. The operation also possessed its own armada of speedboats and had an annual budget of \$50 million.

CIA official George McManus took notes of a January 1962 SGA meeting held in the attorney general's office. The notes record the following comments: "Conclusion overthrow of Castro is possible . . . a solution to the Cuban problem today carried" — McManus attributes the following words to Robert Kennedy — "top priority in U.S. government. No time, money, effort — or manpower is to be spared."

McManus's notes continue, "Yesterday . . . the president indicated [to Robert Kennedy] that the final chapter had not been written — it's got to be done and will be done."

At the end of January 1962, in a parallel effort to isolate

# 'Times' falsifies Cuban positions on 1962 crisis

The following letter to the editor was submitted to the *New York Times* by Mary-Alice Waters and rejected for publication. It was written in response to a column by Fedor Burlatsky, an adviser to former Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, that appeared on the Op-Ed page of the October 23 issue of the *Times*. Waters is the editor of *New Internationalist* magazine and president of Pathfinder Press. She is the editor of *To Speak the Truth*, a collection of the speeches by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara to the United Nations, published this fall.

October 28, 1992

Editor  
*New York Times*

Fedor Burlatsky quotes Fidel Castro as writing in a cable to Nikita Khrushchev during the October 1962 missile crisis that "I propose the immediate launching of a nuclear strike on the United States." But neither the supposed quotation nor the *Times*'s rather eye-catching headline — "Castro Wanted a Nuclear Strike" — squares with well-documented facts. The Cuban government itself published the relevant correspondence between Castro and Khrushchev almost two years ago. No document contains the sentences Burlatsky "quotes," nor any even resembling them.

Castro sent a cable to Khrushchev on October 26, at the time U.S. military action against Cuba was imminent. It is this message that Burlatsky (following in the tracks of Khrushchev's late memoirs) is presumably referring to in presenting the story of Castro's supposed proposal.

That cable, however, includes no proposal for "the immediate launching of a nuclear strike." To the contrary, Castro wrote, "If the second variant is implemented and the imperialists invade Cuba with the goal of occupying it" — the first variant was an air attack, which he considered more likely — "the danger that that aggressive policy poses for humanity is so great that following that event the Soviet Union must never allow the circumstances in which the imperialists could launch the first nuclear strike against it" (emphasis added).

Castro further clarified his position in a letter on October 31 to Khrushchev, whose reply had suggested that Castro was proposing an immediate nuclear strike. Castro wrote, "I did not suggest to you, Comrade Khrushchev, that the USSR should be the aggressor, because that would be more than incorrect. It would be immoral and contemptible on my part." Castro reiterated the position of his earlier letter.



Militant/Margrethe Siem  
Mary-Alice Waters

The correspondence released by the Cuban government has been widely and publicly available in the original Spanish and official translations, and their authenticity has not been challenged. They were published in the December 2, 1990, English-, French-, and Spanish-language international editions of Cuba's *Granma Weekly Review* and in *Le Monde* earlier that fall (more recently, the *Granma* translation of the October 26 and October 31 cables and Khrushchev's replies were reproduced in a collection of documents on the missile crisis published by the National Security Archive this fall). The letters have also been reprinted elsewhere or quoted — accurately — a number of times (in Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s article in the *New York Review of Books* last March, for example); they are well known among students of the missile crisis.

Burlatsky's attempt to paint Castro as a nuclear terrorist contradicts the fuller context of the events as well.

The proposal to place the missiles there in the first place was not Cuba's, but the Soviet government's, as Burlatsky himself acknowledges. In agreeing to accept the missiles in face of the U.S. nuclear bases in Turkey and elsewhere ringing the Soviet Union — what Castro called "an unavoidable duty," in a recent NBC interview with Maria Shriver — Castro argued with the Soviet leadership that any such installation be preceded by public treaty. Castro opposed the secrecy that Khrushchev insisted on and that helped fuel the crisis.

Khrushchev's proposal came at a time when economic sabotage against Cuba, the implementation of Operation Mongoose, and large-scale preparations for an air and U.S. assault had already been demonstrably set in motion by the Kennedy administration — as we were reminded once again by the testimony of defense department, CIA, and White House officials of the time shown on the recent television specials as part of the 30th anniversary of the events.

Despite even these circumstances, Castro had fundamental political objections to accepting the missiles

under Khrushchev's conditions, as he explained to a recent Soviet-U.S.-Cuban conference on the missile crisis held in Havana this year. A PBS documentary broadcast the evening before Burlatsky's column appeared quoted from Castro's presentation to that January conference: "We were not too pleased with the missiles actually. If it had been a matter only of our own defense, we would not have accepted the emplacement of the missiles here." This was not because of the dangers involved, Castro said, "but rather because this would damage the image of the revolution . . . . The presence of the missiles would in fact turn us into a Soviet military base and that had a high political cost."

When asked by Shriver in the NBC interview if he would accept the missiles if he had it to do over again, Castro responded that knowing what he knows now of the Soviet handling of events, he would not.

The documentary record is clear: (1) the correspondence between Castro and Khrushchev contains no passage resembling Burlatsky's quotation; (2) no other, unreleased message has ever been referred to that might contain the passage; and (3) no other version of the October 26 cable different from the one released by Cuba has been offered that supports Burlatsky's story. Nevertheless, articles such as Burlatsky's and personal "recollections" by Khrushchev and others have perpetuated the usually self-serving myth. (Earlier conjecture that Castro's initial telegram was mistranslated at the time by the Soviet embassy in Havana is now moot, even if true, and no excuse for spreading the story 30 years later. Khrushchev, Burlatsky, and others chose to stick to their tale despite the unambiguous clarification by Castro on October 31, 1962, and the availability to anyone — including Burlatsky — of the texts of Castro's and Khrushchev's letters for, at a minimum, almost two years).

The same day Burlatsky's column and accompanying headline appeared, the *Times* ran a review of the NBC special on the missile crisis airing that evening. The reviewer wrote that "it seems a misallocation of resources" that two so similar network news specials appeared within a week of each other. Has too much really been devoted to getting out the accurate documentary history of the October 1962 crisis itself and the character of Washington's military buildup against Cuba that preceded and prepared it? With the persistence of unsupported tales like that in Burlatsky's column, apparently not.

Mary-Alice Waters  
President, Pathfinder Press



and weaken the Cuban revolution, the Organization of American States expelled Cuba from membership at the urging of Washington.

"We are singled out, we are condemned in meetings of the Ministry of Colonies," replied Cuban leader Ernesto Che Guevara, in a biting reference to the OAS and its subservience to U.S. imperialism. "But the name of Cuba is on the lips of revolutionaries throughout the world."

Later, when the U.S. government imposed the naval blockade of Cuba on October 22, it used OAS cover once again. Having made the decision two days earlier, but wanting a "legal" pretext, Kennedy dredged up the OAS charter's provision granting it the right to collective measures to protect the security of the Western Hemisphere. The OAS then rubber-stamped Washington's unilateral decision.

#### Mongoose operations

Operation Mongoose "Task 33" aimed to "incapacitate" Cuban sugar workers during the harvest through the use of chemical weapons. The plan was subsequently determined not feasible and canceled.

During the NBC documentary "One Minute to Midnight," aired October 23, Carl Kaysen, one of Kennedy's National Security Council advisers, described how Washington in August 1962 contaminated a load of Cuban sugar en route to the USSR when the Soviet-flagged ship was forced to dock in Puerto Rico for emergency repairs. "The CIA folks had decided that it was a great idea to put some stuff into the cargo and spoil it," Kaysen said. They used a "nauseating chemical of some sort, that would make people vomit when they took the sugar." The notion was that this "would make the Russian folks think ill of the Cubans and cause tension between them." When Kennedy learned of this operation, however, said Kaysen, he considered it a blunder that could be easily traced to Washington and ordered it canceled. The U.S. government bought the shipment and sank it.

During the first phase of Mongoose, at least 11 CIA squads infiltrated Cuba to set up counterrevolutionary guerrilla forces.

But this covert program made little headway toward Washington's objective of overthrowing the Cuban government. In early October 1962, Robert Kennedy told the SGA that the president was "concerned about progress on the Mongoose program" and urged that "massive activity" be initiated to topple the Cuban government.

The military prerequisites were being put into place for a large-scale U.S. invasion of Cuba.

#### Khrushchev proposes missile deployment

As Mary-Alice Waters explains in the unpublished letter to the *New York Times*, "The proposal to place the missiles [in Cuba] in the first place was not Cuba's, but the Soviet government's, as Burlatsky himself acknowledges [in the op-ed article to which Waters was responding]."

In making this proposal in May 1962, Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev was not primarily motivated by defense of Cuban sovereignty against mounting U.S. invasion threats. Instead, the Soviet regime sought to use Cuba as a bargaining chip in its efforts to achieve enough military leverage to advance the chances for a diplomatic deal with U.S. imperialism. This was the main foreign policy goal of the counterrevolutionary privileged caste that had wielded state power in the Soviet Union since the opening of the 1930s, when social forces led by Joseph Stalin triumphed over the working class and its communist leadership.

The Soviet government's aim in proposing the missiles was stated rather baldly in a letter by Khrushchev to Castro following the October 1962 crisis. Burlatsky cites this letter, which he claims to have edited for Khrushchev, in the Op-Ed article in the *New York Times*. "[Defense Minister Rodion] Malinovsky and I happened to be walking along the Black Sea one day," Khrushchev wrote Castro. "Malinovsky said, pointing toward the sea: 'Over on the other shore, in Turkey, there is an American nuclear missile base. In a few minutes, rockets launched from that base can destroy Kiev, Odessa, Kharkov and could even reach Moscow.'"

"So I said to Malinovsky: 'Why is it that the Americans are allowed to have a base right under our noses? What if we set up a base on Cuba, right in America's back pocket. Let them see how they like it. What do you think? Will Fidel agree to it?'"

Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders, however, sought to convince the Cuban government to accept the missiles by arguing that the goal was to defend the revolution from invasion. Most Soviet officials subsequently stuck to this expedient story, although Khrushchev in his memoirs (after being removed in disgrace as premier and Communist Party chief in 1964), wrote: "In addition to protecting Cuba, our missiles would have equalized what the West likes to call 'the balance of power.'"

#### Castro's initial opposition

The Soviet government expected Cuban resistance to its proposal, and, as Waters quotes Castro, the Cuban government would not have accepted the missiles "if it had been



Cuban National Institute of Agrarian Reform/Raúl Corrales  
**Cuban peasants receive land title in 1960. Workers and peasants in Cuba carried out agrarian reform, dismantled reactionary forces of old Batista regime, and armed themselves, earning Washington's hatred.**

a matter only of our own defense."

At a Soviet-U.S.-Cuban conference on the missile crisis held in Havana January 9-12 of this year, Castro explained that, following the U.S.-instigated Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961, Khrushchev "insinuated more than once that an invasion of Cuba could be responded to with the use of missiles." That was more than a year before the Soviet government's formal proposal. Khrushchev's hints found an echo inside the top leadership of the Cuban government and party at the time, according to Castro. "Many comrades talked about the missiles in their speeches," he said.

But the strength and preparedness of the Cuban people was the most important factor in Cuba's defense, Castro emphasized. "I refrained from saying a single word about missiles," he explained at the January 1992 conference, "because it did not seem right to me that our people, our populace, should place their hopes for defense in support from abroad."

"Our populace," Castro said, "should be totally prepared — as it is today, and today more than ever — to develop their confidence in themselves and their ability to struggle and resist without any foreign support."

That was not to say, Castro explained, that the Soviet government could not have made an important, even if subordinate, contribution to the defense of Cuba's sovereignty in the face of U.S. military pressure.

"The USSR could have declared that an attack on Cuba would be equivalent to an attack on the USSR," Castro said. The Cuban government was interested in a military pact with the Soviet government along these lines.

"We could have had a military agreement," he explained. "We could have been able to achieve the aim of the defense of Cuba without the presence of the missiles. I am absolutely convinced of this."

But the Soviet government pressed the issue of the missiles for the military and diplomatic advantage of the Soviet caste.

As Waters explains, "Castro had fundamental political objections to accepting the missiles under Khrushchev's conditions." Castro outlined those objections at the January 1992 conference.

"[T]he concerns we had [were] with respect to Cuba's image . . . primarily about its image in Latin America; also in the rest of the world, but it was Latin America that interested us most," Castro said. "For us it was very clear that turning ourselves into a military base — and I said it this way — was going to have a very high political cost. Therefore, if . . . the issue had been Cuba's defense, we

would have preferred not to have the missiles."

#### Why Cuban government agreed

Why then did Cuba agree to Khrushchev's proposal?

When the leadership of the Cuban revolutionary government and party met to discuss the question, Castro said, "we all interpreted it exactly the same way: it was a strategic issue, it was necessary for the socialist bloc, . . . and if we wanted the socialist countries to fight for us, we could not refuse to provide this cooperation — as we could call it — to the socialist bloc, because of the matter of image alone, selfishly. That was the argument we used in our meeting, where we unanimously agreed on the issue of the missiles in spite of all the disadvantages we thought it would entail."

"[W]e saw this matter from the angle of our moral, political, and internationalist duties," Castro said, and rejected the attempts by Khrushchev to justify the Soviet proposal by "insinuat[ing] more than once that an invasion of Cuba could be responded to with the use of missiles."

This is not a new or expedient explanation, devised by the Cuban leadership to meet current political needs. As early as 1963, Castro had explained in an interview with the Paris daily *Le Monde* that "since we were already receiving a large amount of assistance from the socialist camp, we decided that we could not refuse. That is why we accepted them. It was not in order to ensure our own defense, but primarily to strengthen socialism on an international scale." And in a March 1965 speech at the University of Havana, he said the Cuban government had done so despite the "risk."

When the time came to formalize the agreement in August 1962, Castro found the Soviet draft "politically . . . erratic" and with "no clear foundation," he said at the January 1992 conference.

Castro rewrote the preamble to explain that the purpose of the agreement was "to provide mutual military assistance," instead of "to save the Cuban revolution," as the Soviet draft had stated. And Castro's wording emphasized the legality of the deployment of Soviet troops and weaponry in Cuba. (The agreement made no mention of strategic nuclear missiles.)

The draft, Castro insisted, "could have been published, and no one could have challenged the legality and morality of this agreement. Of course, it was not essential to bring the missiles here to defend Cuba . . . [W]e could have made a military pact with the USSR saying that an attack on Cuba would be equivalent to an attack on the USSR."

#### Cuba opposes secret agreement

The military pact as redrafted by Castro was delivered to Moscow by Che Guevara and Emilio Aragonés at the end of August. Aragonés, a member of the Cuban delegation to a 1989 Moscow conference on the October crisis, explains that he and Guevara argued strongly with Soviet officials that the agreement be made public *before* the deployment of the missiles, warning that secrecy and suspicions would provide a pretext for U.S. military action.

Given Washington's mounting invasion threats in the summer of 1962, Castro said at the January 1992 conference, "we thought that we should come out with the law on our side, and simply publish this military agreement. The secrecy put us at a disadvantage. It put us at a political and practical disadvantage."

"Our draft was accepted, just as it was, without adding or deleting one comma," Castro said. (But the Soviet government never formally signed it, underlining their opposition to making it public.)

With humor and candor, Castro recounted the practical impossibility of attempting to "secretly" deploy 43,000 Soviet troops and 42 medium-range nuclear missiles on a relatively small island 90 miles off the tip of Florida.

"Of course," Castro said, "there were large troop movements, and there began to be talk relatively early that there might be offensive weapons." And the missiles themselves were enormous. "I think the current ones must be more modern and smaller," Castro said. "Maybe they can be carried in a suitcase." These, however, "could occupy an entire block. When such big devices were unloaded, no matter how hard one tried to hide and move through the streets, everyone knew about it."

"That was the best kept secret in history, I would say, because several million Cubans knew it," Castro said. "It was something that really could not be hidden . . . It was a truly intense process, truly intense work. We had to see to an infinite number of details and solve an infinite number of issues to keep it a secret."

#### Cuba's sovereign right to defense

Given the enormity of this operation, it became obvious to Washington in late summer 1962, well before the missiles themselves were confirmed, that Soviet weapons and troops in large numbers were landing in Cuba. Kennedy administration officials began to float public warnings about the deployment in Cuba of any Soviet "offensive weapons." (Washington labeled any arms capable of striking another country as "offensive weapons," even if intended as a defensive deterrent against attack.) The Soviet government's political handling of this development compounded the counterpro-



ductive results of the attempted secrecy.

The Cuban leadership, Castro said, never agreed "with denying the strategic nature of the weapons . . . In public statements the government made and in the statements at the United Nations, we always said that Cuba considered that it had a sovereign right to have whatever kind of weapons it thought appropriate, and no one had any right to establish what kind of weapons our country could or could not have . . . [that] we thought appropriate for our defense."

"In contrast, to tell the truth," Castro said, "Khrushchev went along with the game of categorizing the weapons." The Soviet head of state repeatedly denied the deployment of "offensive weapons," since "he did not have any intention of using the weapons in an offensive operation," Castro said. "But it was very clear that Kennedy did not understand it that way."

This was not "shrewdness," Castro said, but "deception." "I think the two things — the secrecy about the military agreement and the deception . . . did us a lot of harm."

Castro says that Khrushchev wanted to avoid any damage to Kennedy's image during the November 1962 congressional elections. "Khrushchev did not want to affect those elections. That is very clear. Perhaps this was one of the factors he used in deciding not to publish the agreement."

When knowledge of the nuclear missiles in Cuba became known through surveillance photographs, Castro said, "in the eyes of world public opinion, Kennedy gained moral force, not legal force." Kennedy was able to say that he had been assured no missiles had been sent to Cuba but had been lied to. This heightened public suspicions and fears about the aims of the deployment, which Washington played on as a pretext for military action.

"That was one of the advantages [Kennedy] was given," Castro said, "not by the secrecy itself but by the secrecy plus the deception."

## Soviet course increased war danger

Castro reaffirmed this account of the events of the summer and fall of 1962 in an October 29, 1992, speech to Cuba's elected National Assembly.

"We explained [to the Soviet leadership] that they were creating an unfavorable atmosphere, that we were hiding something legal, moral, and absolutely just," Castro said, "and that we were in favor of publishing the military agreement between the Soviet Union and ourselves."

The course of the Soviet government leading up to and during the missile crisis politically strengthened the hand of the warmakers in Washington in October 1962. "There

was a very real danger of war," Castro explained in his speech to the National Assembly. "I think the errors committed by our allies really heightened those dangers," he said.

In her letter to the *New York Times*, Waters cites the question posed to Fidel Castro recently by NBC television interviewer Maria Shriver. "As you look back at the Cuban Missile Crisis," Shriver said, "was it a wise decision for you to accept the missiles?"

"I believe that it was an unavoidable duty," Castro replied. "And when you feel that you have to do your duty, you cannot analyze things from the point of view of more

meeting. "We're simply doing what we said we would do if they took certain action. Or we're going to decide that this is the time to eliminate the Cuban problem by actually eliminating the island."

During that same ExComm meeting, Robert Kennedy floated the idea that, as a pretext to invade Cuba, Washington could itself stage an assault on the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay in Cuba (occupied by the U.S. government to this day), or perhaps sink a U.S. ship. What if "we . . . sink the *Maine* again or something," Robert Kennedy suggested, recalling Washington's sensationalistic exploitation of the sinking of the U.S. battleship *Maine* in the Havana harbor in 1898. The sinking was used by the U.S. rulers to fan pro-imperialist sentiment to go to war against Spain to establish U.S. domination over the Spanish colonies in Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines.

Washington finally decided to impose a full U.S. naval blockade on Cuba as the first step, while preparing for U.S. bombing assaults and a possible invasion of the island. U.S. ships would stop — with force and fire power if needed — any vessel the U.S. authorities chose within 500 miles of Cuban shores, board it, inspect it, and, if it contained any weapons, turn it away. Washington left open the possibility of forbidding other cargo as well.

## Massive military build-up

President Kennedy announced the naval blockade of Cuba in a nationally televised speech on October 22. That same day, the U.S. Strategic Air Command (SAC) put its B-52 nuclear bombers on alert, keeping one-eighth of the force air borne at all times. SAC began

dispersing B-47 medium-range bombers to 33 civilian and military airfields around the country. Two days later, SAC was put on the highest alert in its history — DEFCON (Defense Condition) 2. All Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) launchers were put on full military alert, and Polaris ballistic missile-launching submarines in port were ordered to sea.

On October 23, the Soviet government placed the Warsaw Pact armies on special alert. The Cuban government placed its armed forces on highest alert earlier that day.

The U.S. government mobilized a massive military force in preparation for an invasion of Cuba. At its peak, it included at least 100,000 army soldiers, 40,000 marines, and 14,500 paratroopers, with 550 combat aircraft and more than 180 ships ready to support an invasion. Some 300 U.S. warships were used to enforce the naval blockade. In addition, a quarter million troops were moved to U.S. bases in Florida and Georgia, and airlifted to the naval station at Guantánamo Bay in Cuba.

The Pentagon, at Kennedy's orders, also prepared plans for a massive air assault on Cuba. The plans called for hundreds of U.S. planes, most armed with nuclear as well as conventional weapons, to launch 1,190 bombing sorties on the first day of operations.

Washington did not know at the time that Soviet commanders in Cuba not only had tactical nuclear weapons but also the authority to use them to defend Cuba and the Soviet troops there in the event of an all-out assault by U.S. invasion forces. This fact underlines the potential dangers of a nuclear war as a result of the aggressive U.S. actions.

The Kennedy administration began crash preparations to install a new government in Cuba following an invasion and occupation. "We need . . . to have a government for Cuba, because we're going to need one," McNamara said to Robert Kennedy according to the transcript of a November 27 ExComm meeting. "Suppose we make Bobby mayor of Havana?" another participant in the meeting "joked."

## Defending Cuban air space

During the height of the crisis, U.S. reconnaissance aircraft, flying as low as 100 yards above ground, carried out arrogant and provocative harassment and surveillance missions as frequently as every two hours.

On October 26 Fidel Castro ordered Cuban anti-aircraft units to fire on the low-flying intruders. The following day a high-flying U-2 spy plane was shot down by a surface-to-air missile. (It has only recently become known that the U.S. plane was fired on at the order of a Soviet officer, not Cuban defense forces.)

"On the morning of October 27, in the midst of the crisis, our anti-aircraft guns opened fire all across Cuba," Castro said in his recent National Assembly speech, "so that for us war had started." The Cuban government insisted that the only way to slow down Washington's war drive was to respond rapidly and decisively to this escalation of U.S. aggression. If the U.S. rulers could carry out brazen and repeated violations of Cuban air space with impunity, then they would soon take the next step toward an all-out



U.S. attorney general Robert Kennedy (left) and President John Kennedy. The Kennedy brothers engineered and directed U.S. war drive in attempt to crush Cuban revolution, bringing humanity to brink of nuclear war in October 1962.

advantages or less advantages."

Shriver followed up: "So if you had to do it over again, you wouldn't accept the missiles?"

Castro: "With the information I have now?"

Shriver: "Yeah."

Castro: "No. I would not have accepted the missiles."

## 'Eliminate the island'

After U.S. intelligence overflights photographically verified the deployment of Soviet missiles in mid-October 1962, top government officials in the Kennedy administration considered various options for several days.

The recent ABC television documentary, "The Missiles of October: What the World Did Not Know," played excerpts from the tape recordings of meetings of the Executive Committee (ExComm) of the National Security Council, which was specially handpicked by Kennedy on October 16 to decide U.S. policy during the crisis.

"We ourselves are not moved to general war," Secretary of State Dean Rusk is heard saying at the first ExComm

"interests of national security," and Reston agreed.

The following day President John Kennedy himself called the editors of the *Times* and the *Washington Post*, telling them not to go into print with what they knew, and asked Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara to call the editor of the *New York Herald-Tribune*. All three agreed to sit on the story.

So much for the "free press" and its vaunted "independence" and "impartiality."

One final point: It is not just revolutionists such as Mary-Alice Waters whose efforts to answer a few of the many lies in the *Times* end up being gagged by the editors. It happens every day — to unionists trying to set the record straight about safety conditions on the job or the issues in a strike . . . to the families of cop brutality victims who want to tell their side of the story . . . to frame-up victims whose voices are almost never heard . . . to farmers trying to expose how the food monopolies, banks, and big suppliers drive them to bankruptcy . . . and to many others.

"A popular method always used by the bourgeois press in every country with unerring effect," wrote Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin in 1917, "is to lie, scream, raise a hullabaloo, and keep on reiterating lies on the off-chance that 'something may stick.'"

That hasn't changed in 75 years.

When it comes to important class interests of the U.S. capitalist families at home or abroad, the *New York Times's* front-page motto should be altered from "All the News That's Fit to Print" to "All the News That Fits Wall Street and Washington."

— STEVE CLARK

# All the news that fits?

As explained elsewhere in this special feature on the "Cuban missile crisis" of October 1962, the editors of the *New York Times* refused to print the letter by Mary-Alice Waters published here.

No matter that Waters shows from authenticated documents that a column accepted by the editors for publication on the *Times's* op-ed page puts words in the mouth of Cuban president Fidel Castro that are the opposite of anything he ever said.

No matter that those cooked-up words have Castro proposing an immediate Soviet nuclear strike on the United States — not a piddling question, we assume the editors of the *Times* would agree.

No matter that the *Times's* editors lend credence to this lie by themselves giving the guest column the sensationalist headline, "Castro Wanted a Nuclear Strike."

The *New York Times's* suppression of the truth about the October 1962 crisis hardly started with Waters's letter to the editor. It goes back 30 years to the events themselves.

The Kennedy administration photographically confirmed the installation of Soviet missiles in Cuba on October 15 and 16, 1962. Over the following week, the National Security Council met long hours in secret to discuss what course the U.S. government would take in this new situation to advance its goal of crushing the Cuban revolution.

By October 20, however, news of the White House discussions had been leaked to James Reston, chief Washington correspondent for the *New York Times*. Kennedy administration officials George Ball and McGeorge Bundy asked Reston to hold the story in the



invasion, and then the next, until it was too late to block the assault.

Khrushchev chastised the Cuban government for shooting down the U-2 and for its decision to fire on low-flying U.S. planes, which it had refrained from doing prior to the beginning of the crisis. In an October 28, 1962, letter, Castro replied to Khrushchev that "earlier isolated violations were committed without a determined military purpose," while in late October "there was the danger of a surprise attack on certain military installations."

Nonetheless, Castro agreed "that we must avoid an incident at this precise moment that could seriously harm the negotiations, so we will instruct the Cuban batteries not to open fire, but only for as long as the negotiations last and without revoking the declaration published yesterday about the decision to defend our airspace."

Referring to the U.S.-Soviet talks that were under way, Castro also took advantage of his October 28 letter to Khrushchev to add: "I also wish to inform you that we are in principle opposed to an inspection of our territory."

#### Distortion of Castro-Khrushchev letters

It was in the context of these intensifying U.S. military provocations in late October 1962 that Castro exchanged the letters with Khrushchev that Burlatsky cites and then proceeds to falsify in his op-ed column to the *New York Times*. Waters sets the record straight, quoting what Castro actually wrote in his October 26 and October 31 letters to the Soviet head of state.

At the January 1992 Havana conference Castro explained the point he was trying to make to the Soviet government in those letters, whose meaning Burlatsky was not the first — either in the Soviet Union or the United States — to twist into their very opposite.

"I wanted to be sure that the Soviet forces were ready for anything," Castro said. "I was convinced that an invasion of Cuba would lead on to nuclear war against the Soviet Union. My recommendation for a preventive strike was not in case of an American air attack but in case of invasion and occupation."

"Actually," Castro continued, "my [October 26] letter had no effect. By the time it arrived Khrushchev and Kennedy were already moving toward a solution."

#### Cuba not consulted

Khrushchev ordered the missiles withdrawn October 28. Without consulting the Cuban leadership about the terms of the agreement, and with no notice prior to the worldwide public broadcast, the Soviet government succumbed to the Kennedy administration's proposals lock, stock, and barrel. This included agreement that Washington could conduct inspections on Cuban soil, as if Moscow had any right even to negotiate such a question of Cuba's sovereignty!

"Nikita could have sent us copies of his letters to Kennedy," Castro said at the Havana conference earlier this year. "But we were told nothing."

"When the news arrived [of the withdrawal], we realized that Cuba was, in the end, only a bargaining chip. It was a humiliating time. The reaction of our nation was not relief but profound indignation."

For its part, Washington had refused to have any discussion with the Cuban government. Having broken off diplomatic relations a year and a half earlier, the U.S. government excluded Cuba from the negotiations.

Castro's opposition to the deal struck between Moscow and Washington is sometimes cited as further evidence that he recklessly pushed the crisis toward war. This is the opposite of the truth, however. Cuba wanted to reach an agreement, but one that included some real guarantees against further U.S. aggression.

"Had we known that Khrushchev was preparing to withdraw the missiles, we would not have been opposed," said Castro. "There had to be a solution. But U.S. verbal guarantees were not enough. Nikita should have traded the missiles for guarantees satisfactory to Cuba."

"Naturally, we did not want war," Castro told Maria Shriver in the recent NBC interview. "We wanted a solution, but an honorable solution." Castro said that the Cuban leadership considered the way Moscow settled with Washington "as something unjustifiable. And, actually, it affected relations between Cuba and the Soviet Union for many years — for very long years."

#### Secret deal on U.S. missiles in Turkey

In line with its primary aim in deploying the missiles in the first place, Khrushchev sought Washington's agreement to pull out U.S. nuclear-armed Jupiter missiles from Turkey. The U.S. government, for its own reasons, had already slated removal of these largely obsolete missiles and had begun talks with the Turkish government on this question a year and a half earlier.

Washington agreed to Khrushchev's proposed exchange, but insisted that it not be made public. Washington withdrew the missiles from Turkey in April 1963, but not before deploying more modern, submarine-carried Polaris missiles in the Mediterranean.

In an October 29, 1992, speech to the Cuban National Assembly, Castro recalled with "enormous bitterness" the "practically unconditional concessions to withdraw

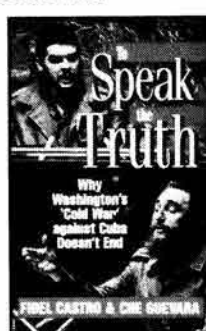
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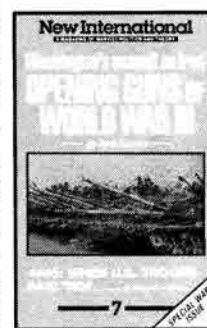
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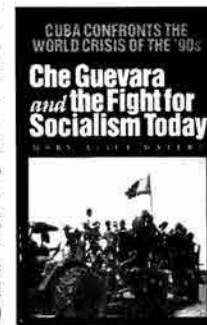
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Available from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY, 10014 or from the bookstores on page 16. Please add \$3 for shipping and handling one copy, \$.50 for each additional copy.

the strategic missiles from Cuba. "We, who were in the greatest danger, who were in the front line of fire," Castro said, "would never have proposed such solutions, strange, rash solutions, like the idea of linking the strategic missiles here with those in Turkey. What did the reasons for having missiles in Cuba have to do with the missiles in Turkey?"

"And there was the strange thing about withdrawing the missiles in exchange for a promise not to invade Cuba and, over and above that, under United Nations inspection."

#### Cuba's 'five points'

Confronted with this fact the Cuban government categorically rejected any inspection whatsoever on Cuban soil — and has stuck by that position to this day.

Excluded from the ongoing negotiations between Washington and Moscow, the Cuban government on October 28 publicly advanced its own proposals for a just solution that addressed the true cause of the crisis: U.S. imperialism's unceasing efforts to use its economic and military might to destroy the Cuban revolution.

The Cuban government put forward five points:

"1. Cessation of the economic blockade and all the measures of commercial and economic pressure being carried out by the United States against our country throughout the world.

"2. Cessation of all subversive activities, of the dropping and landing of weapons and explosives by air and sea, of the organization of invasions by mercenaries, and of the infiltration of spies and saboteurs — all of which activities are being carried on from the territory of the United States and certain accomplice countries.

"3. Cessation of the piratical attacks being carried out from bases in the United States and Puerto Rico.

"4. Cessation of all violations of our air space and territorial waters by United States aircraft and warships.

"5. Withdrawal of the naval base of Guantánamo and return of the Cuban territory occupied by the United States."

#### Washington's war moves continue

Once Khrushchev decided to withdraw the missiles, Washington did not end its aggressive plans.

The U.S. naval blockade lasted until November 20, with U.S. forces still on the highest levels of alert until then. Washington kept up the pressure to deny Cuba's right to weapons to defend its sovereignty. Taking advantage of Khrushchev's offer "to dismantle the arms which you [Kennedy] described as offensive," the administration demanded removal of the 12-year-old IL-28 light bombers, which were so obsolete that they had been almost entirely withdrawn from the Soviet air force in 1960.

The largest amphibious landing since World War II began as part of a military exercise at Onslow Beach, North Carolina, on November 16, 1962. The two-day military exercise, a full-scale rehearsal for an invasion of Cuba, included six marine battalion landing teams, four by assault boats and two by helicopter assault carriers.

Operation Mongoose was simply phased out, while other U.S. government-organized and -supported operations against Cuba replaced it. In addition to continued

attempts on Castro's life in 1963, CIA teams carried out at least six major sabotage operations in Cuba that year alone.

Perhaps the biggest myth of all about the October 1962 crisis is what Fidel Castro refers to as "the strange thing about withdrawing the missiles in exchange for a [U.S. government] promise not to invade Cuba."

The Soviet government and its apologists in Stalinist organizations around the world have peddled this tale of a "secret deal" between Kennedy and Khrushchev as a rationalization for Moscow's settlement with Washington behind the backs of the Cuban government. Most liberals and many middle-class "friends of Cuba" have sought comfort in this story as well.

First, this account of the outcome of the October 1962 missile crisis has recently been shown to be false even from the standpoint of the alleged scraps of paper exchanged between Kennedy and Khrushchev. As explained by the editors of the book *The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962*, published this year by the National Security Archive with a foreword by Robert McNamara, "[T]he recent declassification of the remaining correspondence between Kennedy and Khrushchev, and of internal State Department memoranda, reveal that no such deal was ever made and why it was not."

The most Khrushchev ever got Kennedy to put down on paper was a vague statement that Washington would consider pledging not to invade Cuba if: (1) all Soviet offensive weapons (by Washington's definition), not just the missiles, were withdrawn from Cuban soil; and (2) the Cuban government ceased all "aggressive" acts (once again, by Washington's definition) against other governments in Latin America and the Caribbean.

More important, however, even if such a pact had been signed by the Kennedy administration, it would not have been any guarantee of Cuban sovereignty. The capitalist rulers in Washington (like the wealthy owners of banks, factories, and land whose class interests the U.S. government represents) honor all agreements in the breach when they have the need and the power to do so.

The fact that the U.S. government has not launched a large-scale invasion of Cuba since 1962 has nothing to do with agreements between Washington and Moscow. As we've seen, it was the U.S. rulers' escalating drive to launch a military assault on Cuba that resulted in the October 1962 crisis. And Washington came out of that crisis no less determined than beforehand to crush the Cuban revolution.

#### 'Defense in our own hands'

But one thing had changed over those few weeks: the U.S. government's estimate of how hard Cubans would fight to defend the revolution, refusing to flinch even in the face of U.S. nuclear blackmail. Kennedy administration officials were taken aback at how rapidly 270,000 Cubans mobilized and took up arms to repel U.S. aggression — well over twice the number Washington had anticipated. The Pentagon informed the White House of its estimate that more than 18,000 U.S. casualties might be sustained in the first ten days of a U.S. invasion.

As Castro explained to a rally of half a million people in Havana on Cuba's Armed Forces Day in December



1988, "our defense never depended on short-, intermediate-, or long-range missiles." The Cuban people, he said, "defended themselves heroically during the October crisis; and when the intermediate-range missiles were withdrawn, our people continued to defend themselves. They continued to apply the principle that the defense of our country is in the hands of our own people."

Washington's hand has been stayed by the revolutionary political consciousness and military preparedness of millions of Cuban workers, farmers, and youth. The U.S. government is acutely aware that an invasion would result in a protracted war — with enormous U.S. casualties and their destabilizing political consequences in the United States. This is a powerful deterrent.

Washington's hand has also been stayed by the political costs the U.S. rulers would pay for an assault on Cuba throughout the Americas, where Cuba's assertion of its national sovereignty against Yankee imperialism, its selfless internationalism, and its economic and social accomplishments have won it the respect of tens of millions of toilers.

It is these class-struggle realities that account for Washington's failure to organize the defeat of the Cuban revolution for more than 30 years. Given the current worsening of the world capitalist crisis, Washington's deepening rivalry and conflicts with its imperialist competitors in Europe and Japan, and its failure to achieve any of its major political goals during the 1990-91 Gulf War — in face of all this, the U.S. rulers are in a weaker position than ever to launch an invasion against a people anywhere in the world who are organized, revolutionary-minded, and prepared to fight.

## Proletarian internationalist course

On the surface, the unyielding determination of millions of workers and youth in Cuba to defend their revolution might seem at odds with Fidel Castro's insistence that the Cuban leadership in 1962 accepted the Soviet missiles "not in order to ensure our own defense, but primarily to strengthen socialism on an international scale."

But there is no contradiction. Because, as Castro explained in the December 1988 Armed Forces Day speech, "whoever is incapable of fighting for others will never be capable of fighting for himself."

From the earliest days of the revolution, Cuban communists have recognized the scientific political truth that the advance and defense of their own revolution is inextricably bound up with the progress of revolutionary struggles around the world. "The starting point of Cuba's foreign policy," Castro said at the Cuban Communist Party's first congress in 1975, "is the subordination of Cuban positions to the international needs of the struggle for socialism and for the national liberation of the peoples."

That's why revolutionists must always strive to hold the moral and political high ground in class battles with the capitalist exploiters — as the Cuban leadership kept stressing in talks with Soviet officials in mid-1962 over the deployment of missiles in Cuba. But the socially privileged bureaucrats in Moscow had a different class perspective. Their aim was to defend their own power and perquisites by upping their bargaining leverage with Washington, whatever the consequences for revolutionary Cuba and the broader world class struggle.

In a widely circulated interview earlier this year, Castro pointed to another example from this century where Moscow sacrificed the interests of working people to advance its immediate diplomatic needs — not only setting back the world revolution in the process, but also striking a near-fatal blow to the defense of the Soviet Union.

In August 1939 a "nonaggression pact" was signed between the Soviet government and the fascist regime of imperialist Germany — the so-called Stalin-Hitler pact. Over the next month, Berlin and Moscow invaded Poland and carved it up between them. Following the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, Stalin sought to justify the previous agreement by arguing it had been necessary to buy time to prepare to resist the onslaught of German imperialism.

Stalin's fear of the power of Hitler's armies, Castro said in the interview, led the Soviet government "to do something I will criticize all my life, because I believe that it was a flagrant violation of principles: seek peace with Hitler at any cost, stalling for time. During our revolutionary life, during the relatively long history of the Cuban revolution," Castro said, "we have never negotiated a single principle to gain time, or to obtain any practical advantage . . . Far from gaining time, the nonaggression pact reduced time, because the war broke out anyway."

The time Stalin claimed to have bought in August 1939 could never have been used to prepare the defense of the Soviet Union. Because Moscow's treachery had struck too great a blow to the international revolutionary movement, and to the moral and political esteem of the Soviet Union



Fidel Castro's presence was decisive in maintaining high level of morale among Cuban soldiers during October crisis. "Our defense never depended on short-, intermediate-, or long-range missiles," Castro said. The Cuban people "defended themselves."

in the eyes of working people throughout Europe and the rest of the world.

In the summer of 1962, the Cuban leadership judged that their agreement to the Soviet government's proposal to place strategic nuclear missiles in Cuba was in the best interests of the world struggle for socialism, despite the political costs for Cuba. Since then, however, Cuban revolutionists have experienced both the course of the Soviet government during the October crisis itself, and the crumbling of the Stalinist regimes in the USSR and Eastern Europe since 1989.

It is in the light of these developments that Fidel Castro told the NBC television interviewer this fall that "with the information I have now . . . I would not have accepted the missiles."

## Some took to the streets, not the shelters

To one degree or another, the various television documentaries marking the 30th anniversary of the "October missile crisis" are eye-openers on many of the issues dealt with in this article — especially Washington's build-up toward an invasion of Cuba in 1962. It's well worth getting hold of one or another of them on video cassette and sitting down with some interested co-workers and young people to watch them (see the listing elsewhere on this page). A lively political discussion is sure to ensue.

As we said at the opening of the article, however, all these documentaries are lacking in one and the same respect. They give a false and one-sided picture of what was happening politically inside the United States during the October crisis.

The impression is created that everyone was paralyzed by fear of nuclear war. There is footage of panicky shop-

pers stocking up on canned goods, preparing their fallout shelters, and taking other "civil defense" measures in hopes of surviving the anticipated holocaust.

Of course, such measures were beyond the means of the vast majority of working people, even if they had wanted them. As Socialist Workers Party leader Farrell Dobbs said at the time, "Fallout shelters? Evacuation of cities? Everybody knows it's a fake and a fraud." Even for top U.S. ruling-class officials there was only limited room in the bomb shelter built in a Virginia mountainside as the "alternate seat of Government" in the event of nuclear war. The story goes that Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren handed back his pass for the shelter when told that none was being issued for his wife!

Contrary to this caricature of the times, however, young people, workers, and others organized protest meetings, picket lines, and demonstrations in October 1962. While these actions were sometimes met by hostile, patriotic counterdemonstrations, those opposed to the Kennedy administration's attacks on Cuba courageously stood their ground.

In New York City the ad hoc Committee to Halt World War III and the Fair Play for Cuba Committee organized more than 2,000 people on October 27, and some 10,000 people the following day, around slogans such as "Hands Off Cuba!" and "No Blockade — Don't Invade!" Some 2,000 students and others

marched in Washington, D.C. on October 27, and 3,500 in San Francisco that same day. There were protests of anywhere from a few dozen to several hundred people in Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Seattle, and elsewhere.

At the University of Indiana in Bloomington, a picket line of 17 students was attacked by thugs organized by several campus fraternities while cops stood by and watched. In January 1963 a local prosecutor threatened to seek indictments of three members of the Young Socialist Alliance for their role in helping to organize the protest. Later that year the prosecutor instead latched onto a YSA-sponsored campus meeting on "The Black Revolt in America" as the pretext to indict the three YSA members on frame-up charges of advocating the violent overthrow of the government of the State of Indiana! After a hard-fought national and international civil liberties defense campaign, the Bloomington students were victorious; the state circuit court threw out the case on the opening day of the trial, ruling Indiana's witch-hunting law unconstitutional.

The working-class battles in the 1930s that built the industrial unions in the United States, and the mass civil rights movement against Jim Crow segregation in the late 1950s and early 1960s, were among the key factors that kept the political space open for organized opposition to the U.S. rulers' efforts to assault revolutionary Cuba and bring humanity to the brink of nuclear war. What's more, the courage and the experience of the fighters who stood up to Washington's war moves against Cuba set an example for those who began over the next few years to mount

Continued on Page 15

## What to watch . . .

Among the recent television documentaries marking the 30th anniversary of the October 1962 crisis, a 60-minute video of the PBS program "At the Brink" is commercially available. Write: Intellimation, P.O. Box 1922, Santa Barbara, CA 93116-1922. Or call: 1-800-LEARNER. The video costs \$30.

A video of the NBC program "One Minute to Midnight" is available for noncommercial use for \$300. Write: NBC News Archives, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, Suite 902, New York, NY 10112.

The ABC broadcast "The Missiles of October: What the World Did Not Know" is not currently available on video.

## . . . and what to read

Transcripts of two of the documentaries are also available: NBC — Burrelle's Information Services, call 1-800-777-TEXT; ABC — Journal Graphics, 1-303-831-9000.

In addition, many of the most important U.S., Cuban, and Soviet documents — many of them only recently released — are published in full in the new book: *The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962: A National Security Archive Documents Reader*, edited by Laurence Chang and Peter Kornbluh. The book contains a very useful 52-page chronology, the transcript of Fidel Castro's remarks at a January 1992 conference on the crisis held in Havana, and a listing of other books and articles. The reader is publish-

ed by The New Press and sells for \$25.

The 1990 book *On the Brink: Americans and Soviets Reexamine the Cuban Missile Crisis* is a record of the initial three of five conferences on the 1962 crisis held since 1987. Only former top Kennedy administration officials and U.S. academics were invited to the first, held in Hawk's Cay, Florida, in March 1987. The second, at Harvard University in October 1987, drew in several former Soviet officials. At the third, held in Moscow, in January 1989, Cuba was finally invited to send a delegation after it objected to its exclusion from the previous discussions. The book, edited by James Blight and David Welch, is published by The Noonday Press and sells for \$13.95.

Proceedings of the January 1992 Havana conference will be released in early 1993. Entitled *Cuba On the Brink: Fidel Castro, the Missile Crisis, and Collapse of Communism*, it is edited by Blight and Welch, along with Bruce Allyn and David Lewis and published by Pantheon Books.

Also of interest are: *Reflections on the Cuban Missile Crisis* by Raymond Garthoff published by The Brookings Institution; and *War and Peace in the Nuclear Age* by John Newhouse (Vintage Books), a companion volume to the PBS series of which the program on the October crisis was part.

Books and pamphlets related to the Cuban revolution, the October 1962 crisis, and communist views on world politics are also available from Pathfinder Press and are advertised elsewhere in this special section.

—S. C.



# 'Final Speeches': Malcolm X in his words

BY DEREK BRACEY

February 1965: *The Final Speeches*, by Malcolm X. Pathfinder, 1992. 293 pp., \$17.95.

An extensive discussion is currently taking place concerning the revolutionary leader Malcolm X. It is the result of a dramatic resurgence of interest in the fighter for Black rights who was killed in 1965.

The movie *Malcolm X* is currently one of the top earning films, and the *Autobiography of Malcolm X* is number one on the *New York Times* Book Review's Paperback Best Sellers list.

As this interest develops, many commentators, so-called experts, and self-described radical activists are among those who are stepping forward to "explain" Malcolm X.

## IN REVIEW

The debate is far-ranging, involving figures from Louis Farrakhan, head of the Nation of Islam, to *Wall Street Journal* editorial writer Kevin Pritchett. Pritchett wrote an article titled, "Malcolm X, Conservative Hero," in the November 10 issue of that paper, in which he encouraged people to "look behind the popularizers' muddles to see the real Dr. [Martin Luther] King and the real Malcolm X, because we need them both."

Numerous new books and reprints have hit the shelves of bookstores and libraries lately, each claiming to provide insights and understanding on Malcolm X's contributions. Among them are *The Political Legacy of Malcolm X*, by Oba T'Shaka; *Malcolm X: In Our Own Image*, a collection of essays, edited by Joe Wood; and the projected forthcoming book by Abdul Alkalimat, *How to Read Malcolm X*. "Who Speaks for Malcolm X? The Writings of Just About Everybody," was the title of a review of some of these books in the November 29 *New York Times Book Review*.

Fortunately, many of Malcolm X's speeches are available in print, a fact that allows people to make their own judgments on Malcolm X's contributions.

The new Pathfinder book *February 1965: The Final Speeches* is an important addition to his available speeches. This book is the first volume of a Pathfinder Press project to assemble a chronological collection of Malcolm X's speeches.

*February 1965: The Final Speeches* is valuable for understanding Malcolm's fight to advance a political or-

ganization. Many of the items it contains have long been out of print; four have never been printed previously.

Malcolm made several trips in this, the final month of his life. He went to Alabama early in the month, going to Tuskegee to address 3,000 students, then visiting Selma on the invitation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. A fight for voting rights was taking place there and many, including Martin Luther King Jr., were in the town's jail.

He also traveled to England and attempted to visit France, where he was barred at the airport. Malcolm made a trip to Detroit several hours after his house was fire-bombed. In the course of this month he made eight speeches. Five of these are contained in the book, which also has accounts of the other three. He gave numerous interviews to newspapers, the radio, and television, 15 of which are in the book.

Malcolm X in February 1965 was leading a fight to build a political organization that could participate in the civil rights movement and link up with fighters for social justice throughout the world. He launched the Organization of Afro-American Unity in 1964 shortly after he left the Nation of Islam.

A program for the organization had been written up and approved by Malcolm X. It was called the Basic Unity Program and was scheduled to be presented the day he was killed. It appears as an appendix to *The Final Speeches*.

In this book Malcolm X explains his plans for involvement in the massive struggle that was being conducted in the southern United States. "Our internal aim is to become immediately involved in a mass voter registration drive. But we don't believe in voter registration without voter education," he said to a Detroit audience.

"We believe that our people should be educated into the science of politics," continued Malcolm "so that they will know what a vote is for, and what a vote is supposed to produce, and also how to utilize this united voting power so that you can control the politics of your own community, and the politicians that represent that community. We're for that. And in that line we will work with all others, even civil rights groups, who are dedicated to increase the number of Black registered voters in the South."

Malcolm X looked for fighters as he traveled, not victims. This is how he approached people he talked with. In an article Marlene Nadle wrote for New York's *Village Voice* newspaper, also printed in this book, she described an interview she had with him. "The greatest mistake of the movement," he said, "has been trying to organize a

sleeping people around specific goals. You have to wake the people up first, then you'll get action."

"Wake them up to their exploitation?" asked Nadle. "No, to their humanity," replied Malcolm, "to their own worth, and to their heritage."

In many of his speeches, Malcolm X made an effort to try to explain the Nation of Islam, of which he had been a member for 12 years. He was forced out of that organization for attempting to lead it in a political direction. As part of his fight to turn the Nation of Islam into an organization that would fight for justice in the United States, he campaigned against the corruption, violence, and degradation of women that became common features of the leaders of that organization.

"Although we were labeled political," Malcolm X said, talking about the few in the organization, such as himself, who wanted to join the fights that were taking place, "because we were never permitted to take part in politics we were in a vacuum politically . . . . We were actually alienated, cut off from all type of activity with even the world that we were fighting against."

"We became sort of a religious-political hybrid, all to ourselves. Not involved in anything but just standing on the sidelines condemning everything but in no position to correct anything because we couldn't take action."

For everyone who wants to go to Malcolm X's original words to understand his political views, *The Final Speeches* is an excellent buy.

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## October 1962 crisis and U.S. war to crush Cuba

Continued from Page 14

larger and larger street demonstrations against U.S. imperialism's murderous assault on the freedom and national self-determination of the workers and peasants of Vietnam.

Washington's drive toward a shooting war to crush the Cuban revolution was dealt a setback in 1962. But the U.S. rulers' aggressive hostility toward Cuba has continued unabated ever since. "Precisely 30 years later, the Guantánamo naval base is still there," Castro pointed out in his October 29 speech to Cuba's National Assembly, "The economic embargo is still there. . . . Pirate attacks are still being organized from the U.S. coast against our country."

### Washington's 'Cold War' against Cuba

The question — as posed in the subtitle to the recent book *To Speak the Truth*, a collection of speeches by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara — is: Why Washington's "Cold War" against Cuba doesn't end. Mary-Alice Waters explains why in the introduction to that book.

"Washington's implacable hatred" of the Cuban revolution, Waters says, "is rooted in the example set by the Cuban people in daring to defy the prerogatives of capital and instead lead laboring millions to carry out a genuine social revolution and selflessly aid those under attack — from Vietnam to Panama, from southern Africa to Nicaragua. The Cuban people have successfully stood up to unrelenting U.S. aggression in all its varied forms."

"For that reason," Waters says, "the working people of Cuba continue to be punished; and in defense of that revolution they continue to defy, and withstand, Washington's pressures today."

The October 1962 story — with many of its previously unknown details coming to light 30 years later — cannot be approached in today's world as just a historical anniversary. It is more a harbinger of things to come.

Washington will keep driving toward new wars and military adventures as the U.S. capitalist class seeks to defend its profits and power in a world marked by growing economic, social, and political instability.

The U.S. rulers launched a murderous war against the Iraqi people two years ago and are the chief proponents of



Picket at United Nations during October 1962 crisis protesting U.S. war moves against Cuba

maintaining an inhuman economic embargo of Iraq to this day. In the former Yugoslavia, Washington is still testing the waters for stepped-up military intervention in order to get in on the division of the spoils in the bloody dismemberment of that country.

And, as this article is being written, Washington is sending a nearly 30,000-strong invasion force into Somalia. Cynically cloaking its true goals as humanitarian famine relief, the U.S. rulers aim to impose a pliant regime in that strategically important East African country and set a precedent for U.S. military aggression elsewhere in the world.

Cuba will not escape these U.S. economic and military

pressures. This is particularly true since the U.S. rulers have a unique and deep-going class antagonism to the Cuban socialist revolution and to the revolutionary political course of its communist leadership. President-elect Clinton has pledged to take a more aggressive stance against Cuba than his predecessor George Bush. President Kennedy made similar warmongering pledges during his 1960 election campaign.

There is every reason for supporters of the Cuban revolution to act on the basis that Clinton is telling the truth in this regard, just as there proved to be well-founded grounds to keep a watchful eye on Kennedy's every move 30 years ago.



# Elections in Ireland reflect crisis

Continued from Page 20

exports and 40 percent of its imports are traded directly with Britain. Since many long-term contracts are drawn up on the basis of specific exchange rates, many Irish businesses have been hard hit by the fall in the value of the pound.

At the same time, the Irish government is desperate to hold off devaluation in order to maintain its current rate of exchange against the German mark. German corporations operate a number of plants in Ireland, and German banks have substantial investments in Irish government bonds.

## German banks dump Irish currency

In October German banks, fearing an imminent devaluation of the punt, sold a large amount of their Irish currency holdings. This move forced the Irish prime minister, Fianna Fail leader Albert Reynolds, to spend 50 percent of the country's national reserves in an effort to shore up the punt.

German-based manufacturing companies, however, continue to make big profits from their operations in Ireland. Ulrich Ruetz, chairman of the Irish-German business association, and whose Beru motor components factory employs 150 workers in Tralee, told the *Irish Times*, "We are not too concerned about the exchange rate. We factor everything in D-Marks [German marks], what we supply to our subsidiary, and what we buy from it."

More important to businessmen like Ruetz are the low wages paid in Ireland. "The personnel costs in Tralee are 45 percent of Stuttgart [Germany] costs," he said, while corporate tax remains at the low rate of 10 percent.

Leaders of farm organizations in Ireland have strongly condemned the recent agreement between the United States and the European Community (EC) on agriculture production and export cutbacks by European nations.

Alan Gillis of the Irish Farmers Association called it "a black day for Irish farmers." He predicted that the agreement would result in a cut of nearly 40 percent in beef exports to the EC on top of the 60 percent cut stipulated in the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) agreement reached earlier this year by EC countries.

Tom O'Dwyer, president of the Irish Creamery Milk Suppliers Association, said cuts in dairy and cereal production would be "devastating" since they would drive Ireland's farmers deeper into debt slavery and off the land.

## Stalemate over Northern Ireland

Constitutional talks on the future of Northern Ireland have made no progress. These talks, whose purpose is to find a new constitutional arrangement for capitalist rule in Ireland, involve the British and Irish government's, Unionist (pro-British) parties, and the Social Democratic Labour Party of the North. The nationalist party, Sinn Fein, is excluded.

The British government spends £2 billion (\$3 billion) a year to maintain its troops in Ireland; this has become an increasing burden as the power of British imperialism declines. Without ratification of the Maastricht agreement, which projects greater integration among the European nations, the Irish government is in a weaker position to press for any constitutional change that would reduce the British role in Ireland.

The conflict between the British army and the republican forces in the North — which are fighting to end British rule and reunify Ireland — has reached a stalemate. While the republicans cannot force the British out, the British army cannot decisively defeat them.

"Apart from the Tory far right, few in Britain retain any positive attachment to the union [with the North of Ireland]," writes David McKittrick in the London *Independent*. "On the contrary, opinion polls show most favour a withdrawal. Internationally, Britain wins no plaudits for remaining in Northern Ireland. Rather, there is a constant drip of bad publicity and criticism of its human rights record."

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**Workers Fight Against Layoffs and Union Busting.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., Dec. 12, 4 p.m. Dwight Hall, 67 High St., Yale Old Campus. Donation: \$3. Tel: (203) 934-3804

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**Eyewitness reports: British Miners Fight Mine Closings; Striking Alabama Steelworkers Face Arrests, Strikebreakers.** Speakers: Clay Dennison, laid-off member of United Mine Workers of America, participated in this year's protests against mine closures in Britain; Evan Roberts, member of United Steelworkers of America Local 9226 on strike at Trinity Industries, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 12, reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

**Food, Not Troops, to Somalia.** A panel discussion. Sat., Dec. 19, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

## ILLINOIS

### Chicago

**Send Food, Not Troops! U.S. Troops Out of Somalia.** Speaker: Kate Kaku, member of United Steelworkers of America Local 5488 and National Committee of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Dec. 13, 3 p.m. 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (312) 752-5589. Translation to Spanish.

## IOWA

### Des Moines

**Why Trade Unionists Should Oppose Anti-immigrant Violence in Germany and in the United States.** Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### Boston

**Food, Not Troops, to Somalia!** Speakers: Jason Coughlin, Socialist Workers Party, former serviceman in U.S. Air Force; Henry Ofori-Atta, president of Pan-African Alliance, Tufts University. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

## MINNESOTA

### St. Paul

**A Panel Discussion on U.S.-Led Military Intervention in Somalia.** Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

## MISSOURI

### St. Louis

**Say No to U.S. Invasion of Somalia! Food, Not Troops!** Speaker: Ellen Haywood, member, United Steelworkers of America and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. 1622 S. Broadway. Donation: \$3. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

**Malcolm X — His Revolutionary Legacy and Relevance for Today.** Speaker: Pat Hunt, member, United Transportation Union Local 1405 and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 19, 7:30 p.m.

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## NEW YORK

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**No Troops to Somalia! Food Aid, Not Military Aid!** Speaker: Fred Feldman, Socialist Workers Party, member, United Auto Workers. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 727-8421.

**The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution: Report from Nicaragua Today.** Speaker: Aaron Ruby, recently attended Sandinista youth conference in Managua, member, United Food and Commercial Workers and National Committee of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 19, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 727-8421.

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**Somalia: Send Food, Not Troops.** Speakers: Susan Skinner, member, United Transportation Union and Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene Street. Donation: \$3. Tel: (919) 272-5996. (Translation to Spanish).

## OHIO

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**The Struggle in South Africa Moves Forward.** Speakers: Brian Taylor, Socialist Workers Party; Moeketsi Mosola, South African student at Oberlin college. Both attended November 13-15 conference in support of the African National Congress in New York City. Sun., Dec. 13, 4 p.m. 1863 W. 25th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

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**Food, Not Troops, to Africa! The U.S. Military Intervention in Somalia.** Speaker: Nelson González, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 12, 7 p.m. 147 E. 900 S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**Justice for Leonard Peltier!** Speaker: Judy Hagerman, member, Utah Leonard Peltier Support Group. Sat., Dec. 19, 7 p.m. 147 E. 900 S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

## WASHINGTON

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**Eyewitness Report: The Caribbean and the Crisis of World Capitalism.** Speaker: John Morton, Communist League of Canada, participated in 1992 Caribbean Trade Union Bookfair and Conference of the Caribbean Peoples Assembly in Trinidad and Tobago. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. 1405 E. Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755. Translation to Spanish.

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**Malcolm X: Internationalist Working Class Fighter.** Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. 242 Walnut St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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day — **Why the U.S. Government's Cold War Against Cuba Doesn't End.** Sat., Dec. 19, 7:30 p.m. 242 Walnut St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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**The Bougainville Conflict: Made in Australia?** Speakers: Moses Havini, Bougainville Support Group; Lee Walkington, Communist League; others. Sat., Dec. 12, 6 p.m. 66 Albion St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$3. Tel: 02-281 3297.

## BRITAIN

### London

**Somalia: Food Aid, Not Troops!** Speaker: Pamela Holmes, member, Transport and General Workers Union and member, Communist League. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £2. Tel: 71-928-7993.

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**Bosses Demand Concessions: Garment Workers Under Attack.** Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Donation: \$4. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

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**Food, Not Troops, to Somalia.** Speaker: John Steele, Communist League candidate for upcoming by-election in St. David-St. George, Toronto. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. 827 Bloor St. West. Donation: \$4. Tel: (416) 533-4324.

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**How the U.S. Elections Hid the Real Political Issues and Prepared New Aggression by Washington.** Speaker: Mike Tucker, Communist League. Sat., Dec. 12, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Rd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

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**Celebrate Achievements of Communist League Campaign for Wellington By-election.** Speaker: Felicity Coggan, Communist League candidate. Sat., Dec. 12, 7 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Donation \$5, includes supper. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

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**How Do the Cubans Face the Crisis?** Speakers: Victoria Andersson, member of Swedish Cuban Association, reporting on trip to Cuba; Catharina Tirsén, represented Pathfinder Press at Havana bookfair. Sat., Dec. 12. Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

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**Old vinegar in new bottle?** — Eduard Shevardnadze, former Soviet foreign minister and current Georgia politico, told the state radio he was now a Christian. He said he



Harry Ring

once had a portrait of Stalin hanging in his office, but now has one of the Virgin Mary.

**Sorry about that** — The Canadian government will compensate some 80 people used in brain-

washing experiments a generation ago. (The project had been partially financed by the CIA.) The Canadian government declared it did not acknowledge responsibility for damage done and was settling on purely humanitarian grounds. There was no indication that Washington was chipping in on the settlement.

**Friendly fire** — A team of New York subway cops came upon a white man rifling a woman's purse while a Black man held a gun on her. They promptly fired 21 shots at the Black man, with one cop even stopping to reload. They then discovered the two men were undercover cops making a bust. Due to a bulletproof vest, the Black cop may survive.

**Law 'n order** — The woman being held at gunpoint by the two undercover cops was suspected of entering the subway without paying her fare.

**Even cops should stay away from cops** — In Puerto Rico, a cop saw a friend, also a cop, making a call at a street phone. Walking up behind him, he said, "Don't move. This is a holdup." The cop whirled around firing three shots, leaving his joke-prone friend dead.

**Confederate law?** — Upholding the dismissal of a woman disk jockey admittedly fired for being female, the Alabama Supreme Court said that state law permits such firings. In fact, under Alabama

law, a worker can be fired without cause. The sole exceptions are laws that bar firings of workers for filing worker compensation claims and doing jury duty.

**Despite the media she's getting?** — Half the stadium tickets for a celebration of the 40th anniversary of the reign of Britain's Queen Elizabeth had to be given to charity because they remained unsold. An aide complained ticket prices were too high. Some were \$2,500, "and even when they were slashed to a mere [?] \$1,000 they still didn't move."

**They're flexible** — The Vatican's new catechism flatly rejects mercy killings as morally unacceptable. It advises against the death

penalty, but doesn't rule it out.

**The tail will wag the dog?** — Recent federal guidelines for sentencing companies guilty of fraud provide that fines can be reduced if the company detects the crime before the feds do, and makes it known. According to the apparently worried London *Financial Times*, lawyers fear this will prove "a mechanism for controlling and shaping corporate conduct."

**Be grateful** — "It may not appear so at the time, but an underperforming employee can benefit from dismissal from an unsuitable job just as much as management, executives say." — The San Juan, Puerto Rico, *Star* on the challenge of firing people.

## Somalia invasion aims to assert 'right to intervene'

Continued from front page  
250,000 peasants.

The new regime that came to power, responding to popular pressure, nationalized all banks, insurance companies, and credit institutions. Imperialist interests, especially U.S., British, and Italian, were heavily involved in some of these ventures. The government also took over gold and silver mines, as well as major utilities and transport.

The most radical measure taken by the Ethiopian regime, known as the Dergue, was a land reform that went beyond anything like it in Africa. All rural land was nationalized and all debts and obligations of tenant farmers and sharecroppers were canceled. Large capitalist farms were brought under state control. Mass demonstrations of support greeted the announcement of the land reform in cities and towns across the country.

U.S. president Jimmy Carter turned to dictator Mohammed Siad Barre in Somalia to launch a military attack on Ethiopia in 1977 and turn back the revolution. Under the guise of fighting for the rights of Somalis in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia, Siad Barre's army began an invasion of the country. With U.S., British, French, and German backing the Somali army made rapid gains and overran a significant amount of Ethiopian territory.

Ethiopia turned for help to revolutionary Cuba to help expel the Somali invaders in December 1977. A counteroffensive of Ethiopian and Cuban troops managed to rout Siad Barre's forces within a matter of weeks.

### 'Do with Somalia what you will'

After the defeat of Siad Barre's forces in Ethiopia, the Carter Administration began a massive effort to arm and maintain the Somali ruler. Over the next decade Somalia received almost \$900 million in U.S. assistance, much of which was simply stolen by Siad Barre or used to buy weapons to fight off an internal revolt.

In all of Africa only Sudan, Kenya, and Zaire received more of Washington's aid. Frank Crigler, U.S. ambassador in Mogadishu between 1987 and 1990, recalls Siad Barre coming to Washington for an official visit and boasting that he had told

President Reagan, "I bring you Somalia. Do with it what you will."

Washington built one of the largest and most opulent U.S. embassies in the world in Somalia, costing \$35 million. A Soviet-built air and sea port in Berbera, in northern Somalia, was given over to the U.S. military and made into a staging area for President Carter's Rapid Deployment Force. This was the mobile military division set up in 1979 after the fall of the Shah of Iran to intervene in crisis situations throughout the Middle East.

Siad used the newly acquired military weaponry to fight a catastrophic decade-long war against domestic forces that sought to overthrow his abusive regime. Scars of that war are everywhere and are directly responsible for the crisis of the country today.

For example, in the northern part of Somalia, where there was strong opposition to Siad Barre led by the Somali National Movement, his army, beginning in May 1988, led an assault against the city of Hargeisa that left more than 50,000 civilians dead — one sixth of the city's population. The barrage of mortar fire and aerial bombing destroyed 85 percent of the buildings. Fighting around Hargeisa and other northern towns pushed 350,000 refugees into Ethiopia.

In January 1991, as Washington carried out its war against Iraq, opposition forces organized by the United Somali Congress (USC) managed to overthrow the Siad Barre government and named Ali Mahdi Mohammed president. A separate independent republic was declared in the north by the Somali National Movement.

### Competing business interests

Different factions in the new government, each of which commands substantial military forces, began fighting soon after their triumph over the Siad regime. In November 1991 Gen. Mohammed Farrah Aidid, also a leader of the USC, unsuccessfully tried to overthrow Mahdi.

Aidid and Mahdi represent competing business interests in Somalia. Aidid, a Soviet-trained military chief, receives his main backing from Osman Ato, a wealthy arms merchant and fuel importer. Mahdi is himself a rich hotel owner who commands the support of many wealthy merchants.

As a result of the long war against Siad Barre, and the current fighting among forces that now rule most of the country, Somalia has been devastated. Millions of Somalis have been pushed off the land, preventing many farmers from planting. This combined with a drought that has affected much of Africa has brought on famine conditions.

### The right to intervene

The invasion of Somalia has much to do with Washington's drive to establish its prerogative to militarily intervene abroad to protect its political and economic interests. Government officials believe that the horror of children dying of starvation, for which working people around the world have sympathy, offers a perfect opportunity for imperialist powers to reestablish that "right." This perspective is being openly discussed by politicians and influential columnists for major newspapers.

"Legalistic scruples make no sense in Somalia, which has no government and is

in a state of anarchy," wrote columnist Leslie Gelb in the *New York Times*. His article entitled "Shoot to Feed Somalia," written before Washington's announced intervention, argued against the "too slow and too cautious" approach of the Bush administration.

"Anarchy offers the obvious invitation to intervene, as is the case in Somalia," explained columnist William Safire in his article, pointedly headlined "Right to Intervene." "Nobody could rationally object to our riding massive shotgun on the humanitarian relief coach," he wrote.

Anthony Lewis, a liberal columnist, argues in his piece "Changing the Rules" that in a supposed world without superpower rivalries a new doctrine for military intervention can be established in Somalia. That precedent could then be used in Yugoslavia. "The case that cries out for application of the new doctrine of intervention is Bosnia," he writes.

Elaine Sciolino, in an article in the December 6 *New York Times*, suggests that Washington can go further than a humanitarian mission in Somalia. "No longer is there an automatic rejection of intervention," she writes. "Talk about self-determination and non-interference loses its meaning when a country is about to self-destruct." Sciolino reports that CIA director Robert Gates, and Brent Scowcroft, Bush's national security adviser, have been urging the president that Somalia may have to be taken over as a "protectorate." A Bush administration official traveling with the president explained this perspective to reporters, saying, "Somalia has no government, none. It needs some kind of structure. You may need... a UN protectorate, which the UN would manage and [then] try to turn back into a state."

### 'Dominate the entire country'

President Bush and Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, have made it clear that strong military force will be used to accomplish Washington's goals in Somalia. General Powell explained to the press that U.S. soldiers would shoot first. "We are just not going to ride shotgun, waiting for people to shoot at us and then shoot back," he said.

The U.S. military strategy is to put overwhelming forces on the scene. Powell explained that he planned "to put in a large enough force that we could dominate the entire country."

Powell has placed Marine Lt. Gen. Robert Johnston in charge of U.S. forces in Somalia. Johnston came to prominence as chief of staff to Norman Schwarzkopf during the Gulf War. In his recently published autobiography, Schwarzkopf describes Johnston as a "future commandant of the Marine Corps" who argued for aggres-



Machine gunner, riding on back of jeep, passes demonstrators on street in Mogadishu. Demonstrators' sign reads 'Somalia Needs Peace and Bread.'

sively destroying retreating Iraqi forces in the final days of the war.

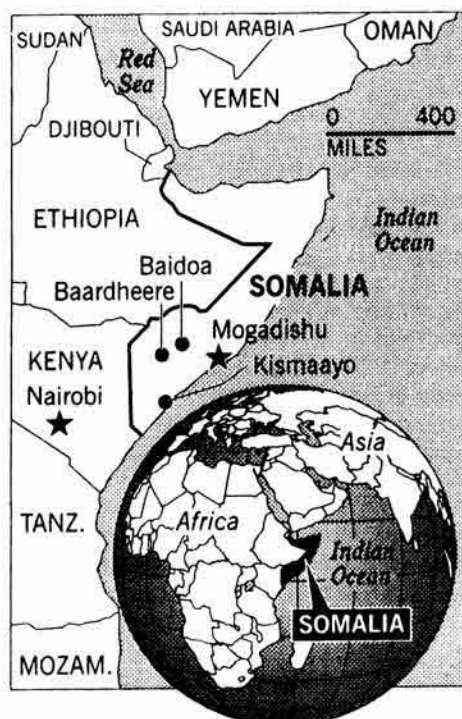
### Worst starvation is already over

While relief workers in Somalia interviewed by the press have generally welcomed the U.S. announcement of intervention, most of them point out that the worst of the deaths toll is over. This is because so many children in famine-stricken areas have already died.

Peter Stocker, head of the Somali operation for the International Committee of the Red Cross, disputes as exaggerated the U.S. Agency for International Development figures of deaths and the amount of food that has been looted. The Red Cross feeds 1.5 million Somalis every day at 900 kitchens throughout the country.

Africa Watch, a human rights organization, fired Rakiya Omaar, one of the best-known Somali activists in the United States for opposing U.S. intervention in her country. Omaar, an attorney who helped found the group, warned on CNN that the violence ensuing from the arrival of 30,000 U.S. troops "will force any responsible relief organization to withdraw its people."

Alex de Waal, associate director of Africa Watch, resigned shortly after Omaar's firing. He explained in an interview with the *Washington Post* that he shared Omaar's view that the military operation risked ruining Somalia's recovery from the famine. He also stated that the media had exaggerated the extent of anarchy and famine and ignored successes in negotiating truces and getting food supplies to starving Somalis.





# 'Warlords' are in Washington

"No oil. No 'modern-day Hitler.' No Cold War intrigues. Tiny Somalia, helpless and starving, has none of the usual triggers that normally impel U.S. troops into battle. It is that rarest of cases — a mission of pure conscience." That's how *Miami Herald* editorial writers portray the decision to send 28,000 U.S. troops with warships, tanks, cannons, and attack helicopters under United Nations cover into Somalia.

President Bush, with the help of Democrats and Republicans alike and most of the major media, has been working overtime to convince working people that sending troops to Somalia is a "humanitarian mission" and not an imperialist invasion.

The United States rulers have two goals in Somalia; neither one of them has anything to do with feeding the hungry. First, Washington wants to protect its vast economic and political interests in the Middle East and northern Africa by establishing a stable regime in Somalia, beholden to the United States. Second, by using military might abroad in a supposed mission of mercy the rulers hope to gain acceptance for many more interventions in a world that is wracked by political crisis and increasing capitalist competition.

"The people of Somalia, especially the children of Somalia, need our help," says President Bush. But the U.S. government's long involvement in Somalia is precisely the reason that country is in its present crisis.

Throughout the 1980s Washington financed the dictatorial Siad Barre regime to the tune of \$900 million. With the help of the Carter, Reagan, and Bush administrations, Barre was able to hold onto power by carrying out a devastating war against the people of his country. Hundreds of thousands were killed and much of the country was destroyed.

The Pentagon maintained a strategic military base in northern Somalia until rebel forces fighting Barre overthrew the regime in 1991. In late 1990 then-Lt. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf went before Congress to urge them to give more aid to the Siad Barre regime and maintain a strong military presence in Somalia. Keeping Siad Barre in power would help "Somalia maintain its political and territorial integrity," he said.

Top U.S. government officials are openly talking about setting up a protectorate in Somalia. To get that type of colonial set up under U.S. control, Washington is prepared to wage war. "Yes, this is a 'humanitarian mission,' as Mr. Bush emphasizes. But it is also a military one, with deadly opposition. The enemy must be not just pacified, but destroyed," emphasized the *Miami Herald*.

And for anyone who might have thought President-elect Bill Clinton less likely to organize U.S. military interventions abroad, his response makes the opposite clear. "I think all of you know I have felt for a long time we should do more on Somalia," said Clinton, when asked about the deployment of U.S. troops. "I've encouraged it and I

applaud the initiative of President Bush and the administration."

## The real 'warlords'

The people of Somalia have been portrayed as either helpless starving people or despotic "warlords" in charge of drug-intoxicated, gun-toting young hoodlums. These are the kind of depictions used against working-class youth in Black and Latino communities in this country to justify and excuse police brutality and murder.

The real warlords are in Washington. The record speaks for itself. In the four years of his administration, Bush has led an invasion of Panama, a devastating slaughter against Iraq, and now intervention in Somalia — all with bipartisan backing. And he would like to get a military strike into Yugoslavia before leaving office — and is being encouraged to do so.

By attaching benign intentions to the Somalia invasion Bush hopes to pave the way for this. "The American interest is far greater in Bosnia than in Somalia for there are strategic as well as humanitarian concerns," writes Anthony Lewis in the *New York Times*, egging him on.

Working people the world over feel that something should be done to help the people of Somalia. The first step in that direction is to see through the lies and distortions of the Bush administration that are being used to justify intervention.

There is starvation in Somalia. But those relief workers who have been in the country the longest point out that the dire situation is being exaggerated. Rakiya Omaar, who was the director of Africa Watch until she was fired for opposing U.S. military intervention, explains, "Mogadishu is totally flooded with food" and "anybody can buy rice; it's very cheap."

The people of Somalia rely only partially on food aid to survive; there is also farming taking place. There was "hope in Somalia" explained one aid worker to Jane Perlez of the *New York Times*. "There's corn high in the fields from Baidoa to the lower Shabelle Valley."

Rather than send troops to Somalia, Washington should send massive quantities of food aid and medical supplies to treat the sick. Rather than using ships to ferry U.S. soldiers into a war in Somalia, ships should be used to transport refugees to the United States or other countries of their choosing. Those steps would represent real humanitarian aid.

The decision of the U.S. government to send troops to Somalia is part of Washington's long standing violation of that country's sovereignty and right to determine its own affairs. It should be vigorously protested by working people and students the world over. We should demand:

No U.S. military intervention in Somalia!  
Send food not troops!  
Open the borders to Somali refugees!

# Defend rights of immigrants!

The November 6 raid of an Omaha, Nebraska high school by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), which led to the arrest and deportation of two Mexican-born high school students, once again highlights the inhumanity of U.S. immigration laws.

Ambrosio López, 17, and Agustín Antúnez, 15, are children of Mexican workers. The INS considers their parents legal residents under the amnesty provisions of a 1986 immigration law. However, since children are not automatically granted the residency status of their parents, these two youths have been forcibly separated from their families and sent to Mexico.

The raid has led to a discussion among working people in Nebraska. If deporting children is considered cruel and inhuman treatment, then would it be all right to also deport their parents? If it is considered wrong for the INS to invade a high school, then what about a workplace? Just last September, for example, a military-style immigration raid by 200 local, state, and federal cops rounded up and swiftly deported 307 immigrant workers from the Monfort meat-packing plant in Grand Island, Nebraska.

Restricting immigration and making immigrant workers scapegoats for capitalism's economic difficulties are policies of the governments of all the imperialist countries now suffering the effects of the worldwide economic depression. The government in Germany, for example, with a recently obtained agreement from the opposition Social Democratic Party, is planning to make it easier to exclude hundreds of thousands of asylum seekers.

Such government action emboldens ultrarightists to step up their attacks on immigrants or anyone who looks "foreign." It is the policies and actions of the German govern-

ment and the other capitalist political parties that are responsible for the new rise of anti-immigrant violence and hysteria throughout Germany.

The purpose of the capitalist rulers' scapegoating of immigrant workers is to distract attention from the real causes of the crisis of the profit system. Such scapegoating divides workers against each other and weakens our ability to effectively fight back.

When workers accept the singling out of immigrants for attack, this makes it easier for the rulers to undermine the wages and working conditions of all working people. The only way to resist the bosses' attempts to make us pay for their crisis is for working people to unite — employed and unemployed; foreign born and immigrant — and to join hands with workers of all other countries.

The march in Munich, Germany, of 300,000 people December 6, together with the many other antiracist actions that have recently occurred in cities throughout Germany, help point the way forward in answering rightist violence and government attempts to hold up immigrant workers as the source of problems in society.

Working people and fighters in defense of immigrants need to counter the capitalists' growing attacks by fighting for a world without borders.

The U.S. borders should be opened to Haitians fleeing military repression in their homeland, Bosnian refugees fleeing the war in Yugoslavia, Somalians escaping starvation, and the millions of other victims worldwide of imperialist oppression and exploitation.

Extending human solidarity in this way is essential for building the kind of international, fighting movement capable of ending the scourge of capitalism once and for all.

# Toronto candidate condemns rightist attack

Continued from Page 20

Working people need to rely on our own organized strength. Mobilizing in the streets in rallies and demonstrations will isolate these forces and push back attempts to limit our political space and democratic rights. It is a dangerous illusion to believe that so-called antihate legislation will protect our rights.

Laws against vandalism and threats of physical violence are already on the books; no new laws are required. Thought-control laws such as Canada's so-called antihate laws are a tool in the hands of the capitalist class against us. The rulers use the concern of working people over ultrarightist and racist propaganda to put these laws in place. They then go light on the rightists and end up victimizing fighting workers.

These laws are written in deliberately vague terms, using phrases such as "promoting hatred against any identifiable group." When Malcolm X was alive, the capitalist media referred to him hysterically as an "extremist and purveyor of hate." Canada's present antihate laws could have been used to jail Malcolm X or to keep him out of Canada.

The Metro Toronto Police's new "hate crimes" unit should be viewed with similar suspicion. It can only be a cover for the increasing use of police violence against working people and youth, especially those who are Black, Native or immigrant. The refusal of the cops to carry out a serious investigation of the vandalism of the Pathfinder bookstore and the Native Centre and of the bombing of the Toronto Morgentaler abortion clinic contrasts with the resources poured into the frame-up on criminal charges of Black Action Defense Committee leader Dudley Laws. This shows their real priorities.

A broad campaign of public protest needs to be launched, aimed at forcing the police to carry out a serious investigation of the racist vandalism against the Native Centre and Pathfinder bookstore, leading to the prosecution of those responsible to the fullest extent of the law.

# U.S. moves closer to Yugoslav intervention

Continued from front page

raised in a major daily like the *Times* is an indication of how seriously military action in Yugoslavia is being considered. A collection of opinions by various "conservative foreign-policy specialists" that appeared in the Fall 1992 issue of *Policy Review*, a right-wing journal, shed light on some of the reasons for this.

Of the 11 individuals quoted, all but two favored some form of U.S. military intervention in Yugoslavia. Many cited the potential for the war to spill over into neighboring countries, causing instability throughout Europe, as a primary reason for intervention. Mark Blitz, an official at the Hudson Institute, explained, "War in the Balkans threatens to drag in the Greeks and the Turks. . . . Why wait for the problem to become more difficult?"

## Calls for air strikes against Serbia

Former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick is one of several "specialists" who advocates air strikes against Serbian forces. President-elect Bill Clinton has also been vocal in calling for bombing of Serbian positions.

British prime minister John Major responded to the U.S. government's call for enforcement of the no-fly order by saying London would consider such a move. In speaking to the British Parliament, however, he emphasized that he remained opposed to direct military intervention in Bosnia.

The British secretary of state for defense, Malcolm Rifkind, bluntly explained London's hesitancy in deepening its involvement, saying: "There would be a huge cost to pay in terms of lives lost of our own soldiers. . . . secondly it could last for years, and thirdly I do not think it would bring the fighting to an end."

Speaking at a meeting of foreign ministers of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, Saudi Arabia's King Fahd said, "Bosnia-Herzegovina must be allowed to receive the arms it needs to exercise legitimate defense of its territory," and called for a ban on weapons sales to that republic to be lifted. The conference is pushing for the United Nations to intervene militarily in the fighting.

The imperialist powers have expressed fears that the war in Bosnia might be repeated in the republic of Macedonia and the region of Kosovo, inside Serbia. There were clashes in Macedonia in November between ethnic Albanians and police. U.S. president George Bush proposed to the governments of Britain and France in November that a joint civilian force be sent to Kosovo to "monitor" repression of the Albanian majority in that region by Serbian authorities. The United Nations Security Council has authorized sending a similar force into Macedonia, which declared its independence from Yugoslavia but has not received international recognition because the Greek government is opposed to the country calling itself "Macedonia."



# Why German ban on rightist groups is no answer

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

A 51-year-old Turkish woman and two girls were burned to death in Mölln, Germany, when right-wing thugs threw firebombs into their home November 23. This brought the death toll to 16 as a result of nearly 2,000 attacks this year by fascist gangs against immigrant workers in Germany.

In the wake of these attacks, German authorities have banned the neo-Nazi Nationalist Front, shut down meetings of the Republican Party and other rightist outfits, and banned songs with racist lyrics. The newspaper *Welt am Sonntag* recently reported that Parliament will be asked to pass a new

## AS I SEE IT

law giving police units new powers to jail anyone who refuses to leave what they deem to be a street conflict.

The B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League in the United States, and some antiracist and civil liberties groups in Germany, have been calling on German chancellor Helmut Kohl to ban right-wing organizations and "offensive material."

But calls on the government to ban certain groups and restrict free speech is the not the road to defeating fascist and racist outfits.

The mobilizations of hundreds of thousands of workers and others throughout Germany to protest attacks against immigrants point the way forward toward combating right-wing violence.

The outlawing of fascist groups, shutting down of their public and internal meetings, and banning of racist songs, on the other hand, are measures that will strengthen the ability of the capitalist rulers of Germany to restrict the democratic rights of unionists and other working people, including those who mobilize against the rightists.

Violent attacks against immigrant workers dramatically escalated in 1992 in both the eastern and western parts of the country. Germany is in a deep economic and social crisis accelerated by the attempt at reunification. Bonn's initial response to such attacks has been to announce measures to restrict immigration to Germany. The joint efforts by the

Kohl government and the Social Democratic opposition to curb immigration have given impetus to the murderous activity of the rightist gangs.

The German government and police have dragged their feet in taking any measures to punish the assailants. In some cases cops have taken part in anti-immigrant actions. Faced with inaction by the authorities some immigrant rights groups have organized themselves to defend the hostels. All those who are outraged by racist attacks in Germany and around the world must begin by what is the best way to stop right-wing violence, not from some abstract principle of defending free speech for the racists.

Ultrarightist groups are not trying to promulgate ideas or persuade broader numbers of people through civil discussion and a free exchange of views. They are organizing to commit acts of violence in order to destroy the fundamental rights of working people. Their terrorist actions aim to restrict the ability of working people to defend their class interests against the employer and government assault on their rights and livelihood. They scapegoat immigrants, Jews, gays, and others for the growing unemployment, farm foreclosures, cuts in social services, and other social and economic problems created by the capitalist system itself.

The danger does not arise from fascists speaking and expounding their ideas, but from their violent actions that suppress the democratic rights of others.

Working people should call on the German government to swiftly arrest, try, and jail the right-wing thugs who commit acts of violent terror. The pressure brought to bear by mass mobilizations in Germany is a major reason why Kohl's government moved to arrest two suspects of the murder of the three Turkish women. The police knew that Michael Peters, one of those arrested, had participated in previous attacks as early as September 5 but they had refused to take any steps against him.

Demands should be placed on the state to use its army and police to protect hostels and immigrant workers from assaults. Police officers involved in anti-immigrant actions should be fired and prosecuted to the full extent of the law. In the absence of such a government response, unions, immigrant rights groups, and other working-class organizations have a right and obligation to organize to defend

immigrant workers.

In addition, asserting and exercising the right to counter-demonstrate to confront right-wing mobilizations, without getting diverted to the question of the fascists' right to free speech, puts working people in the most favorable position to protect their rights.

The approach of preventing fascists from speaking in public by supporting a ban on their groups, public meetings, or songs shifts the axis of struggle away from exposing their real nature as violent anti-working-class elements and onto the question whether they should have democratic rights.

When the government takes an occasional action to curb the rightist thugs, the result is that the rulers get new powers and establish new precedents for attacking the working-class movement.

The same constitutional provisions used today to ban right-wing groups were used by the German government in the 1960s and 70s to pass "antiterrorist" laws and other antidemocratic legislation. Through these measures the authorities attacked the rights of unionists, students who protested against the Vietnam war, and others.

The *Berufsverbot*, or job ban, instituted in 1972, barred from public employment anyone who could not be "counted upon to defend the liberal democratic order." Anyone suspected of being a radical was denied a job in the public sector. Signing a petition or attending a meeting or demonstration was sufficient grounds to be refused employment. Unions and civil liberties groups organized protests against these attacks on democratic rights, forcing the government to back down in many cases.

Democratic rights are won through struggle. Using these rights to broaden the space of the working class to function politically creates better conditions for the education and organization of the oppressed against their oppressors.

While opposing government attacks on free speech and assembly, the labor movement and all antiracist forces must vigorously demand swift government action to arrest those guilty of racist attacks. Only under pressure by the working-class movement will any capitalist government take measures to enforce the democratic right of immigrants for equal protection under the law.

## LETTERS

### Protest Haiti repression

On December 5th, Antoine Augustin, a leader of the National Popular Assembly (APN) and staff member of the Information Minister during the Aristide government, was arrested near Rival in Cap-Haitien by members of the armed forces. Antoine Augustin is a founding member of the National Federation of Haitian Students (FENEH). They went to his home and did not find him, they then proceeded to an area beach in Rival where he was caught along with other members of APN. While the others were released, Antoine is still held captive in the Cap-Haitien prison. No charges have been brought against him by the authorities.

The National Popular Assembly protests the military's strong-arm tactics exercised against its member in Cap-Haitien and demands his immediate release. Antoine Augustin has committed no crime. We are outraged that the criminals who are committing atrocities in the cities and in the countryside are free to roam, while citizens fighting in the people's interest are being persecuted.

We ask you to protest against the repressive measures of the Haitian army by sending telegrams to: General Raoul Cedras, Grand Quartier General, Port-au-Prince, Haiti; and

Moïse Sénatus, Justice Minister, Port-au-Prince, Haiti.  
Maude Leblanc  
Committee Against Repression in Haiti  
Brooklyn, New York

### Disagrees with review

I take issue with Selva Nebbia's review of *Backlash* by Susan Faludi in the June 19 *Militant*. I believe that *Backlash* is one of the best and one of the only books which details and takes on the ideological offensive against feminism which has been raging, largely unanswered, on many fronts since the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment. The problem I have with the review is that it concludes that if Faludi fails to explain "whose culture" is behind the offensive or how women can truly achieve full equality given that we live in capitalist society, it does a "diservice" to young fighters by "shortchanging them with the superficial observations in *Backlash*."

A more useful approach is that done in a review of a similar type of book, *Savage Inequalities*, by Jonathan Kozol. This book was rightly praised by the *Militant* for its outraged portrayal of the segregated and grossly unequal public educational system that exists in this country while pointing out that the book doesn't answer the question of how this racist system is a product of capitalist society and why it cannot be abolished without also eradicating capitalism.

*Backlash*, of course, is not a Marxist analysis of women's oppression under capitalism but what it does do, as Selva points out, is to amply illustrate the many-sided character of the ideological offensive and expose the lies for what they are — an offensive designed to rob women of their confidence and try to isolate or trivialize feminist fighters.

My experience on the lines defending Boston's clinics is that *Backlash* is being enthusiastically read and discussed by the young women there; that the book has made a contribution in defining and answering the insidious and poison-

ous ideological offensive and in this way has fueled the fightback. Chapters of the book were xeroxed and distributed for women to read during the long hours on defense. I believe that if the very real and important contributions made in *Backlash* are recognized and approached in the right spirit, it can be an excellent springboard for discussing what kind of fight will be necessary to rout the anti-women's rights thugs at the clinics and take on the capitalist society that gives rise to this scum and their rotten "culture."

Jolee Zola  
Boston, Massachusetts

### Class war intensifies

I'm late in renewing. I've been on vacation and pretty busy running around hunting. The news now is that airlines, steel, heavy industry in general that's been internationally and systematically destroyed by the capitalists, are preparing those of us who thought we had a pension coming, to not count on it. The class war intensifies. I'm a 20 plus year Eastern Airline employee. It looks like civil war is our only way out.

C.H.  
Georgetown, Pennsylvania

### Civil war in Liberia

One of the "hot spots" around the world is the civil war in Liberia.

Currently, a West African "peace force" of several nations spearheaded by Nigeria is intervening militarily against Charles Taylor and his "rebel" forces.

I had discussions with several coworkers at BWI airport in Baltimore on this situation. One woman, originally from Sierra Leone, said she was in favor of the intervention. She said that Taylor was committing genocide against those not in his tribal affiliation and that the military intervention was the only way to stop the killing.

Another coworker, who is from Nigeria, expressed misgivings that the Nigerian government was interfering in Liberia's affairs. He wondered why the Nigerian government, with one of the largest armies



in Africa, had done nothing when South Africa invaded Angola in 1975 or made other transgressions into affairs of African nations considered sympathetic to the African National Congress. Yet Nigeria had no compunctions about going into Liberia.

There is very little in the bourgeois press on Liberia and what there is gives no clarity as to the political forces and the way forward for the Liberian people.

Any news and analysis on the Liberian civil war and the way forward would be a contribution that the *Militant* could make. Is the military intervention in Liberia similar to the Vietnamese intervention in Cambodia to rid the country of Pol Pot? Or is it an attempt by the Nigerians to control the political forces in Liberia? With the current threat by the U.S. to send 30,000 U.S. troops to Somalia including the use of force, the *Militant* needs to step up its coverage of both Somalia and Liberia.

Edwin Fruit  
Baltimore, Maryland

### Trade wars and farmers

A recent article in the *Militant* reported on the deteriorating trade relations between the United States and France. The poor state of relations between these two large agricultural exporting countries has much to do with the French government's interest in maintaining political support from the many small

French farmers.

It appears that the government of France works harder than our U.S. government in safeguarding the economic future of the many small French farms. In the United States, our government seems to be only interested in helping the giant farms expand while the many small independent and family owned farms slowly, but surely, disappear.

A.S.  
Bronx, New York

### Enjoys socialist analysis

My subscription to the *Militant* expired in March, and it's taken me several months to have enough spare income to reorder. I've been unemployed through most of this summer, and while I'm working now it's only a temporary job.

I most enjoy reading Harry Ring's column [Great Society]. I long ago stopped reading mainstream newspapers, and I enjoy Harry's socialist analysis of corporate capitalist "news."

Thank you for all your hard work and dedication.

T.R.  
Seattle, Washington

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.

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## Australian strikers protest cutbacks

BY DAVID ADAMS  
AND BOB AIKEN

SYDNEY, Australia — Hundreds of thousands of workers across the state of Victoria are carrying out one-day strikes, mass union meetings, and protest rallies. These are part of a union campaign against a series of harsh attacks by the newly elected Liberal Party government in that state against the labor movement.

They were joined November 30 when 300,000 workers throughout Australia went on strike during a "national day of action" to protest the policies of the new Victoria government and the national Liberal Party, which is currently the opposition party in the federal parliament.

The unfolding battle in Victoria captured the attention of workers and bosses alike after 150,000 unionists marched through the streets of Melbourne, the state capital, November 10. This took place days before the new premier, Jeffrey Kennett, pushed much of his antilabor "industrial reform" package through parliament. Since then, unions in Victoria have shut down ports, public transport, schools, heavy industries, hospitals, and other work places for a day at a time.

The Kennett government's frontal assault on the unions aims to severely restrict the right to strike, slash the wages of hundreds of thousands of workers, and give employers greater ability to drive down wages and working conditions.

But the assault does not end there. On November 20, the announcement that the state would close 55 schools and cut nearly 7,000 school employees' jobs was met with an enraged outcry from teachers, school



Part of the crowd of 150,000 unionists who marched through the streets of Melbourne, Australia, November 10, to protest government's assault on union rights.

cleaners, parents, and students. Mass meetings were held at several schools slated to be closed. The teachers' union launched a campaign of rolling half-day stoppages that has hit a different area of the state each day.

As the third week of strikes and protests drew to a close and the national day of action

approached, a few prominent union officials and figures in the Labor Party condemned workers and unions who planned to strike in support of the Victorian workers. Robert Carr, leader of the Labor Party in the state of New South Wales, made the front pages around the country when he urged the state's

workers not to join strikes on the national day of action. He said strike action "is only going to hurt this country's prospects of economic recovery and job growth."

When Carr addressed a November 30 rally of 2,000 in Sydney, he was booed and jeered when he told the rain-soaked crowd that "a day of strike action, when 11 percent of the work force is unemployed, is not appropriate and not persuasive."

On the other side of the country, 5,000 rallied in the city of Perth. "Kennett happen here? Court it can," read one sign at the protest. Court is the leader of the Liberal Party in the state of Western Australia. Iron ore miners in the northern region of Western Australia, who struck last year to defend their union, and nickel miners at Kambalda, who face a company offensive on working conditions, were among the 10,000 Australian Workers Union members there who struck November 30.

The fierce resistance to the attacks on unions in Victoria has sharpened the debate in Australia's ruling circles over how to proceed on "industrial relations." Prime Minister Paul Keating, leader of the Australian Labor Party (ALP), one of the two main capitalist parties here, argues that the policies advanced by Kennett and the national Liberal Party go too far and too fast. Keating points to the relative labor calm under the ALP government over the last decade and the fact that employers have made inroads against wages and working conditions through an accord between labor officials, the government, and employers.

But with no end in sight to the downward slide of the recession-plagued Australian economy, the Liberal Party is aggressively advocating a broadside attack on the unions. The Kennett government hopes the initial resistance to its attacks can be broken and the unions dealt a devastating blow. The debate now taking place on the editorial pages of major newspapers and in state and federal parliaments is over whether Kennett's course is necessary or counterproductive for the employer class.

Bob Aiken is a member of the Food Preservers Union in Sydney.

## Ultrarightists vandalize Native Centre and Pathfinder bookstore in Toronto

BY JOHN STEELE

TORONTO — In the early hours of November 28, ultrarightists vandalized the Toronto Native Centre and the Pathfinder bookstore. Three large swastikas were spray-painted on the sidewalk in front of the centre and a flyer for a racist outfit, Equal Rights for Whites, was tacked to a nearby lamppost.

About the same time, several blocks away, the racists spray-painted a large Star of David on the front plate glass window of the Pathfinder bookstore displaying posters of Malcolm X and books by working-class leaders from around the world.

Last September rightist vandals threw rocks through the bookstore window, causing \$800 in damages.

"These cowards are too frightened to carry out their evil work in the light of day," said Rodney Bobiwash, spokesperson for the Native Centre. Bobiwash said he had been the target of hate mail and death threats during the summer when the center began its Klanbusters hotline to combat a hotline started by racist groups.

"We view this vandalism against our store as an attack on the right of free speech and free expression, and also a racist and anti-Semitic threat," said Pathfinder bookstore manager Robert Simms. "The police should launch a full investigation into the vandalism and prosecute those responsible to the full extent of the law."

### Cops refuse to act

Both Bobiwash and Simms reported that while the police took their complaints over the phone, they didn't show up at either place to carry out an investigation.

Bernie Farber, spokesperson for the Canadian Jewish Congress, told the *Toronto Star* that the police inaction was "completely unacceptable." The congress has offered a \$5,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible for both incidents.

ble for both incidents.

The same week, the Toronto police announced their intention to set up a "hate crimes" unit to investigate crimes resulting from bias based on sex, nationality, skin color, religion, or sexual orientation. The unit, to become operational in 1993, would collect statistics on so-called hate crimes, give lectures to cops, and make presentations in elementary schools. Federal criminal "hate" laws in Canada define such crimes as "promoting hatred against any identifiable group."

### Broad response

The ultrarightist vandalism has been covered by all three Toronto daily newspapers, two local TV stations, and the national CBC and CTV newscasts. All reported the incidents while covering the announcement of the police "hate crimes" unit. The coverage used the incidents to bolster the proposal for the new police unit.

Pathfinder bookstore spokespeople were interviewed in all the news reports. The University of Toronto radio station also did a lengthy interview with a bookstore spokesperson.

Simms pointed out that at several public meetings sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum and held at the Pathfinder bookstore, Black rights activists and others speakers have explained that the Toronto cops, who are guilty of numerous murders of Blacks, cannot be relied on to solve so-called hate crimes. "We need the broadest public response possible to demand that the cops investigate and enforce the laws on vandalism, physical threats, and violence," he said.

Interest in the Pathfinder bookstore has increased as a result of the television and newspaper coverage of the incidents. Simms reported that the store's sales in November were the highest since Nelson Mandela's visit to Canada in 1990. In the two weeks prior to the attack hundreds of leaflets ad-

vertising the store had been distributed at movie lineups for the film *Malcolm X*.

One person who came into the store donated \$20 for the cleaning of the window explaining that he was "sickened" by the anti-Semitic act and wanted to do something about it. Another who came because of the coverage bought a subscription to the *Militant*.

## Communist League candidate condemns racist, anti-Semitic act

The following statement was issued by John Steele, the Communist League candidate in the upcoming provincial by-election in the Toronto constituency of St. David-St. George. Steele is a textile worker and member of Local 836 of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

The labor movement, civil liberties organizations, and all defenders of democratic rights should condemn in the strongest terms the racist and anti-Semitic acts of vandalism carried out November 28 against the Toronto Native Centre and the Pathfinder bookstore. These acts of racist vandalism carried out by a small minority of organized ultrarightists are designed to intimidate those fighting for social justice in the context of the worsening depression of the world capitalist market system.

Right-wing groups have felt emboldened by the actions of the federal and provincial governments, which have resisted the demands of Native people for their rights, enacted new legislation attacking the rights of immigrants, and increasingly used the courts and cops to undermine workers' right to strike in defense of their unions.

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## Irish elections reflect political, economic crisis

BY MARCELLA FITZGERALD

DUBLIN, Ireland — The elections held in Ireland November 25 point to the serious economic and political crisis facing the capitalist rulers of this country.

Fianna Fail, the political party that had the majority in the outgoing coalition government, dropped to its lowest level of support since the 1920s, winning only 68 or 69 seats in the new parliament, far short of the 83 seats needed to form a government.

The opposition Fine Gael won 45 seats; the Irish Labour Party doubled its seats to 33; and the Progressive Democrats got 10. The nationalist party, Sinn Fein, also stood candidates across the republic of Ireland.

With Parliament scheduled to reconvene December 14, these parties are attempting to negotiate the formation of yet another coalition government. Labour Party leader Dick Spring has already made clear that his party will only enter a coalition government if he is named prime minister.

Unemployment in Ireland is currently 21 percent and is expected to rise as a result of the ongoing European currency crisis and the September devaluation of the British pound.

The Irish government is under pressure to devalue its currency, the punt, in order to bring it back into line with the value of the British pound. About 31 percent of Ireland's

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