

# THE MILITANT

INSIDE

The truth about  
the Cuban revolution

— PAGE 5

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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## Bosnia war expands as UN 'havens' collapse

### Imperialist powers prepare military intervention

BY GREG ROSENBERG

The warring gangs running the rival regimes in the former Yugoslavia have expanded the Balkans war anew. With the taking of Srebrenica, the misnamed United Nations "safe haven," rightist Serb forces operating in Bosnia unleashed a new wave of so-called ethnic cleansing, expelling tens of thousands of residents of the enclave while carrying out mass murder, imprisonment, and rape.

The chief imperialist powers — Wash-

### NEWS ANALYSIS

ington, Paris, London, and Bonn — are being drawn willy-nilly toward greater military intervention in the Balkans war. The latest developments shattered the pretense that the imperialist troop deployments in Bosnia, under UN cover, have anything to do with protecting civilian populations. The fiasco left the "allies" blaming each other and scrambling for plans enabling each to defend rival interests. A proposal to withdraw the UN troops is now being bandied about more prominently.

The capitalist governments are at pains to avoid the political consequences of their national armies receiving large casualties on the Balkan battlefields. But each of the options they are now frantically debating will impel them deeper into the 39-



German troops disembark July 18 at NATO base in Italy in preparation for imperialist Balkans military operation. Washington and its rivals are divided over Bosnia.

month-old conflict, which has left hundreds of thousands dead and made millions of working people into refugees.

The three main "options" for Washington and other NATO members, as summarized by the *New York Times*, are "exit and arm," "stay and strengthen," or "storm and conquer." The envisioned "exit" option

involves introducing 60,000 new troops — 25,000 of them U.S. GIs — to bail out the UN soldiers.

Srebrenica was one of six so-called safe havens for mostly Muslim civilians within the 70 percent of Bosnia that is controlled by Bosnian Serb rightist Radovan

Continued on Page 3

## White House hesitates on affirmative action attack

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

The Clinton administration released a report July 18 that proposed only minor changes to federal affirmative action programs. White House officials said they were concerned that pushing too far in the government's probes against affirmative action carried political risks they were reluctant to take, given widespread support for such programs.

In a speech the following day, President Bill Clinton summarized his stance toward affirmative action with the slogan, "Mend it but don't end it."

The White House report concluded that "the evidence shows that, on the whole, the Federal programs are fair and do not unduly burden non-beneficiaries." Instead, it proposed cracking down on alleged "fraud" in such programs.

Officials reiterated the Clinton's opposition to the use of quotas to enforce affirmative action. They said the president would issue a directive requiring all federal agencies to eliminate or reform any program that "creates a quota, creates a preference for unqualified individuals, creates reverse discrimination or continues even after its equal opportunity purposes have been achieved."

Major Republican politicians have also backpedaled in their probes to attack affirmative action. Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, persuaded Senate Republican leader Bob Dole to put

Continued on Page 12

## Youth: 'I want to see socialist Cuba firsthand at world solidarity festival'

BY LAURA GARZA

On August 5 thousands of youth will gather in Havana for a rally against the U.S. embargo of Cuba. Among those marching will be students, workers, and other opponents of U.S. policy who traveled from the United States to join with youth from around the world in standing with the people of Cuba to defend their sovereignty. The rally will include all those gathered for the August 1-7 Cuba Lives International Youth Festival. Some 1,400 people from 65 countries had registered to attend by mid-July.

The number of people planning to make the trip has shot up in the last few weeks. The U.S. delegation to the festival will include some 130 people who applied to participate through the Cuba Information Project, about a dozen organized by Global Exchange, more than 80 participants in the Venceremos Brigade, and a group of 22 traveling from Boston, including many high school students. Across Canada about 30 people had registered by July 14 to attend the festival, including youth and others from Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, and Vancouver.

Rosemary Garcia, a student in Los Angeles, found out about the

trip a few days before the deadline for applications and put down a deposit the next day. "I believe that if in Latin America we could free ourselves from the oppressive U.S. government and authoritarian governments like in Mexico, if we had a more socialist, fair, and just government in Latin America, we would be better off," Garcia said. "I want to go to Cuba because I want to see what it's like to live in a socialist society firsthand."

As they learn more about the Cuban revolution, participants in the festival will also bring their experiences and struggles in the United States and other countries to workers and youth in Cuba.

Young people planning to make the trip to Cuba have been organizing fund-raising raffles, setting up speaking engagements at campuses for when they return, and making banners.

The Washington, D.C., Hands Off Cuba Coalition plans to raise money for those going to the festival with proceeds from a dinner on July 26. The event will feature presentations by Hugo Yedra, Cuba's consul in Washington; Adjoa Aiyetoro of the National Confer-

Continued on Page 5



Militant/Ben Fiering

Building youth festival at July 3 protest against Mumia Abu-Jamal death sentence in Philadelphia.

## Defense of Cuba, working-class resistance are heart of SWP convention

BY PAUL MAILHOT  
AND ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

OBERLIN, Ohio — Leaving the 38th Constitutional Convention of the Socialist Workers Party here July 12, delegates and guests headed back to their cities pressing ahead to build the broadest possible delegation from the United States to the Cuba Lives International Youth Festival, which will be held in Havana and other Cuban provinces August 1-7. Defense of the socialist revolution in Cuba was at the center of the deliberations of the four-day convention.

Delegates discussed and adopted a resolution on the growing volatility of world capitalism and the fighting stance communist workers must take to its disastrous effects for working people. Entitled, "So Far from God, So Close to Orange County," the document serves as a guide for practical political activity by party members and supporters in the coming period.

Increasing sales of Pathfinder books and other communist literature is at the center of the SWP's priorities coming out of the convention. Delegates discussed the indispensable place in advancing class consciousness among workers and youth and the building of a proletarian party that

Continued on Page 8

Why Washington, Tokyo clashed in World War II — pages 6-7





## Mexico cops charged in killing

Ten Mexican cops were arrested July 1 for the murder of at least 18 peasants in Guerrero, one of Mexico's poorest and most rebellious states. On June 28, the peasants were on their way to a protest rally near Coyuca de Benítez when they were ambushed by some 100 cops.

Twelve more peasants were killed returning from a fishing trip July 5, apparently also by the police.

Members of the Peasant Organization of the Southern Sierra stormed the main government building in Guerrero June 29, chased away officials, and set it ablaze. They pledged to occupy the building until the cops involved were brought to justice.

## Oil workers strike in Ecuador

Energy workers in Ecuador began an indefinite strike July 13 that could halt electricity and petroleum production. The unions want a repeal of laws that restrict the right of public workers to strike.

A spokesperson for the Union of Petroleum Workers said administration buildings of the state petroleum and electricity companies was occupied by workers, who threatened to close production sites and oil refineries.

## Court ruling favors miners

The Supreme Court in early July rejected an appeal by Kerr-McGee Coal against rules that allow United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) representatives into nonunion operations during government safety inspections. Kerr-McGee was cited for a violation when it refused to allow UMWA organizers into a strip mine for safety inspections in 1990.

The case involved the federal Mine Safety and Health Act of 1977 that requires "frequent inspections" by the U.S. Mine Safety and Health Administration. Kerr-McGee said the rule "runs roughshod over the property rights of mine owners and produces bizarre results."

## Sri Lanka gov't crackdown

Some 10,000 Sri Lanka troops launched a military campaign July 9 to crush the



Marchers in Chilpancingo, Mexico, carry fake coffins to protest police killing of peasants.

guerrillas of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, who are fighting for a homeland for ethnic Tamils in the north and east of the island. Up to 300,000 people fled to the east of the Jaffna peninsula as the death count rose to 121.

The Liberation Tigers have been fighting for more than a decade for a separate Tamil homeland in a struggle that has cost about 50,000 lives. About 18 percent of Sri Lanka's 17.8 million people are Tamil.

## Mercedes gets big China deal

The Chinese government granted a \$1 billion contract to Mercedes-Benz of Germany to build up to 60,000 minivans and 100,000 engines a year in the southern city of Nanfeng. The July 12 deal also included a \$50 million joint-venture contract to make buses in China. Mercedes beat out Ford Motor Co. and the Chrysler Corp. for the project. Capitalist automakers are scrambling over each other to get in on

China's car and truck market. Some 1.5 million vehicles were sold in China last year.

## Burma opposition leader freed

Burma's military regime released opposition leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi from house arrest July 10 after nearly six years of imprisonment. Aung San Suu Kyi, leader of the National League for Democracy, was arrested July 20, 1989. Her party won the 1990 national elections. The military nullified the vote, launched a crackdown that left thousands dead, and attempted to crush dissent in the country of 45 million people.

## Jail demanded for S. Korea execs

Family representatives of those missing in a South Korean department store that collapsed June 29 met with South Korean prime minister Lee Hong-Koo and Seoul mayor Cho Sun demanding that four executives be charged with murder. The businessmen allegedly knew the shopping mall was unsafe hours before it collapsed, but did not warn anyone.

The government of South Korea announced July 13 that twice as many people were missing in the collapse as previously stated, bringing the total killed to almost 700. The announcement caused an uproar as relatives of the victims accused the government of trying to cover up the extent of the disaster.

## Japan automaker to lay off 1,000

Japanese carmaker Mitsubishi Motors Corp. announced it would slash 1,000 of 3,300 seasonal jobs at its domestic plants by September — 10 percent of the com-

pany's assembly-line workforce. Mitsubishi plans to increase production 4 percent to 1.4 million vehicles in the year ending March 30, 1996.

Car sales dropped in Japan because of an economic slump and shift of car manufacturing out of Japan as the yen has risen sharply against the dollar.

## Rightists hit Israel-PLO pact

Hundreds of right-wing Israeli settlers blocked roads in the West Bank July 12 protesting plans for Israeli troop withdrawal under a tentative agreement between Tel Aviv and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Israeli and Palestinian officials set July 25 as the target date for signing a pact over a gradual withdrawal of Israeli soldiers from six West Bank towns and other populated areas.

The Union of Rabbis for the Land of Israel issued a ruling July 12 calling for Israeli troops to refuse orders to leave the army bases in the West Bank, heightening fractures among right-wing forces.

"This is a political act that can destroy the army," said Rabbi Yehuda Amital, who heads a large religious school in the West Bank and opposes the ruling.

## New abortion law in Germany

The German Parliament passed a new abortion law July 14 that declares most abortions illegal, but provides no punishment for women who have them or doctors who perform the procedure.

Abortion will be legal in cases of rape or to protect the life of the woman. In other cases, doctors are instructed to provide counseling stressing "the protection of unborn life," but neither they nor the woman will be prosecuted for terminating the pregnancy. Under the regulation, health insurance will cover abortions for low-income women.

Abortion laws in the former West Germany were among the most restrictive in Europe, while in East Germany abortion was available on demand during the first 12 weeks of pregnancy. Abortion rights have been a hotly debated issue since the reunification of Germany five years ago.

## Life expectancy drops in Russia

Alexander Tkachenko, head of the Russian labor ministry's population department, told the ITAR-Tass news agency July 11 that the average life expectancy of Russian men dropped to 57 in 1994, down from 59 the year before.

The ministry's forecasts also stated that 46 percent of Russian youth would not live past retirement age, which is 60 for men and 55 for women. Russia's death rate climbed to a record high of 1.7 times the birth rate. The mortality rate, which rose 8 percent in 1994, is 15.6 deaths per 1,000 people. The birth rate plummeted to a record low of 9.4 per 1,000 people or 1.4 million.

— MAURICE WILLIAMS

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# Cuban leader speaks at Managua summit

## Delegates from the Americas discuss growing assault by capital

BY FRANCISCO PICADO  
AND SEBASTIAN O'GRADY

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Even in those Latin American countries where the economy is expanding, said Cuban leader Jorge Lezcano, "poverty is growing and every day the difference between rich and poor and between those who have everything and those who have nothing is greater."

Lezcano, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba, was speaking before 300 delegates at the opening session of the Fifth Meeting of the Peoples of the Americas and the Caribbean, held here July 15-18. The gathering drew representatives of political parties, community groups, student associations, labor unions, environmental groups, and women's organizations, among others.

"Infant mortality is rising in all of Latin America," Lezcano noted. "Malnutrition is increasing and 20 percent of the population has no access to potable water."

"We need a common front against neoliberalism," Lezcano said, referring to capitalist government policies that have opened up semicolonial economies to freer imperialist investment while attacking the wages and jobs of working people. As one step to fight the ravages of the worldwide capitalist economic crisis, Lezcano proposed "retaking the banner for the cancellation of the foreign debt, because it is immoral and unpayable."

Lezcano said the foreign debt owed by the governments of Latin America to imperialist banks had grown by more than \$100 billion since the first meeting of this regional conference in 1988. The total Latin American debt now stands at \$533



Students protest law cutting public education in Argentina. Cuban communist leader Jorge Lezcano proposed "retaking the banner for the cancellation of foreign debt."

billion, more than double what it was in 1980.

The conference this year was considerably smaller than the one held last year in Havana, which was attended by 1,200 people. Delegates and observers were registered from 26 countries, the largest delegations coming from Ecuador and El Salvador. Many participants were international political activists who currently live in Nicaragua.

Left-wing political parties and a wide variety of community and social organizations were present. Also attending were officials from several trade unions such as

the banana workers in Honduras, farm workers in Nicaragua, telecommunications workers in El Salvador, public employees in Panama, and landless peasants in Brazil.

Many delegates described government attacks on social security, health care, and democratic rights in the countries in which they live. Jorge Gambino, from the Argentine Communist Party, discussed the "tequila affect," the economic shock waves that hit Argentina and other Latin American nations following the near collapse of the Mexican peso last December.

A number of participants pointed to

## Balkan war grows as UN 'havens' shatter

Continued from front page

Karadzic. Of the others, Zepa was about to fall to Karadzic's forces at press time; Gorazde, with 60,000 residents, was widely expected to be the next target.

The military and diplomatic difficulties facing the Contact Group — Washington, Bonn, London, Moscow, and Paris — were underlined July 18, when Bosnian government troops defending Zepa declared they would use Ukrainian troops stationed under the UN flag there as human shields against the advancing Bosnian Serb rightists. Karadzic's forces, on the other hand, warned they would kill eight Ukrainians they are holding at the first sight of any NATO aircraft.

The Croatian regime in Zagreb is now openly preparing a major assault on Serb forces holding the Krajina region within Croatia. Milan Martić, leader of the "Republic of Serbian Krajina," threatens to launch missiles against Croatian cities in response.

### Bonn deploys Tornados, troops

The German government took another step into the Balkan war on July 18, transferring 14 Tornado fighter-bombers to an Italian air base for use in Bosnia. The Tornados will be accompanied by 1,500 German personnel.

German troops have not been deployed in combat in 50 years. While there is no immediate projection to send ground troops to Bosnia, the German ruling class decision to press forward on using its military capability touched off a widespread debate. Parliament approved the dispatch of the warplanes by a vote of 386 to 258 June 30. At least 50 Social Democratic deputies broke ranks with their party leadership to vote for the deployment.

Bonn is not alone in attempting to use the war to advance its military and political interests in that part of Europe, despite myriad hesitations.

In the wake of Srebrenica's fall, Paris threatened again to withdraw its troops unless reinforcements were sent to Gorazde. French president Jacques Chirac derided Washington for being unwilling to fork over ground troops, and compared the actions of the "allies" to the appeasement of Adolf Hitler in the 1930s. Paris demanded additional British troops to Gorazde, along with 100 U.S. military helicopters to transport the soldiers.

Chirac's "tough, bluff, stance," wrote John Ridding in the July 18 London *Financial Times*, enables Paris to "stake a claim for the moral high ground should the UN be forced to withdraw — an increasingly likely prospect." But, he added, "the immediate effect...was to draw the fire of the British government."

London expressed its displeasure in no uncertain terms. Some 300 UK soldiers are stationed at Gorazde. "If we judge it necessary for the safety of British troops, the response would not be to reinforce them but to withdraw them," declared Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind.

Moscow, which backs the Serbian regime, warned of trouble if new troops are introduced.

### Clinton calls for air strikes

The Clinton administration announced a "new" plan July 18 — large-scale air strikes under NATO auspices on Bosnian Serb-held areas.

U.S. officials made clear that whatever steps they take in Bosnia will not be constrained by the system they had agreed to earlier, whereby Paris, London, and Moscow — under UN cover — could veto U.S. military moves. "We are not going to ask the UN's permission for Americans to do anything in Bosnia," declared Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke.

President Bill Clinton is under fire from wings of the ruling class who castigate him for failure to provide results in Bosnia. Senate majority leader Bob Dole, the most consistent of these, has introduced a Senate resolution that would ignore the arms embargo on the Bosnian government, and would provoke a sharp fight with London and Paris.

For years, capitalist politicians and media have droned on that the conflict in Yugoslavia is a result of "age-old ethnic rivalries." This self-serving lie helps prop up the imperialist support for a partition plan to divide the various republics up into "ethnically" designated fragments. It also provides political cover for the imperialist troops, currently wearing UN hats, inside the different republics. These troops are an obstacle to workers and farmers forging a movement capable of stopping the war.

The war in the former Yugoslavia, however, has nothing to do with ethnicity. It is a result of the breakup of the Stalinist regime in Belgrade. As that process accel-

erated in the late 1980s and early 1990s, rival gangs of privileged bureaucrats consolidated in different regions of the country. Seeking to grab land, secure positions, and get rich, these would-be capitalists began rallying support through nationalist demagoguery that undercut the solidarity working people had forged through the Yugoslav revolution in the 1940s.

As weakened as that solidarity was by decades of Stalinist misrule, even under the blows of a devastating war not all working-class resistance to the course of the respective Yugoslavian regimes has been muted. In Belgrade July 5, several dozen women dressed in black held a protest carrying signs reading, "No forced mobilization," and "Desertion is an alternative to war." The regime of Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic has been rounding up thousands of Serbian refugees from Bosnia and Croatia and conscripted them into rightist Serb armies.

Tens of thousands seeking to avoid that fate have gone into hiding. A 28-year-old man born in what is now the Serb-held region of Croatia said, "The police want to send me into a situation where I will have to kill or be killed. They want me to go back and defend not a country, but an undemocratic regime. The way for me to defend the real interests of my people at this moment is to desert."

## Cuba center opens in Nicaragua

BY FRANCISCO PICADO

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — One hundred people attended a fund-raising party here to help finance the establishment of the Martí-Darío Cultural Center. It was hosted by activists of the Committee in Solidarity with Cuba, based in the neighborhood of Bello Horizonte.

The purpose of the center, named after the Cuban independence fighter José Martí and Nicaragua's national poet, Rubén Darío, "is to become a place where people can find out what is going on in socialist Cuba and to facilitate the efforts of all those who do work in solidarity with Cuba," said Josefina Mojica, member of the local committee and head of the new project.

"I'm committed to contribute because Cuba has been helping us since well before the triumph of the 1979 revolution,"

Cuba as an example for the fight against the effects of this social crisis. "Cuba shows there is an alternative model to the neoliberal policies," the economic resolution stated.

The conference demanded the repeal of the Cuban Democracy Act and condemned the Helms-Burton bill being discussed in the U.S. Congress — measures tightening Washington's embargo on the island. Delegates called for more actions and protest messages demanding the lifting of the U.S. embargo and for backing international actions in solidarity with Cuba around the October 10 anniversary of the start of the Cuban War of Independence in 1868. A resolution submitted by a U.S. delegate urged participation in the August 1-7 international youth festival in Havana.

A delegate from the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador told the *Militant* that it was sending a delegation of 50 to the youth festival. Roger Grijalba, international relations director for the Sandinista Youth of Nicaragua, said 25 Nicaraguans will be attending.

Throughout the four-day long conference, participants exchanged experiences and ideas on how to combat the crisis. The Puerto Rican delegation, which included long-time independence fighters such as Rafael Cancel Miranda, actively promoted the fight to free Puerto Rican political prisoners in U.S. jails.

Some delegations pointed to upcoming elections as the main way to move forward. One of the main backers of this view was the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), which held a special workshop where its delegates asserted the organization would win Nicaragua's 1996 presidential elections in "alliance with other groups." At the final session the FSLN won inclusion of a statement of support for its election campaign.

FSLN leader Daniel Ortega spoke at the closing session. "With the fall of the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, something that favors humanity fell," Ortega stated. "And this leaves us in a worse position."

Referring to the situation in Nicaragua, Ortega complained that "it is difficult for the police, because they have to repress the workers and they call them criminals and traitors." Ortega concluded by pledging to "continue to struggle from this small grain of sand to transform the world."

A group of several dozen Nicaraguan peasants attended the closing session of the conference. They are occupying land belonging to the University of Central America and arrived in Managua to demand title to the land.

The plenary rejected a proposal by the Costa Rican delegation, which submitted a paragraph omitting mention of the fight against imperialism. Instead, delegates adopted a paragraph declaring that these continental conferences will continue to be an open, unified forum against the "neoliberal" policies of U.S. imperialism.

The conference voted overwhelmingly to hold next year's conference in Mexico, to be hosted by the Party of the Democratic Revolution and the Workers Party of that country.

said Bayardo Altamirano, a founding member of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and current vice-rector of the National School of Engineering.

"I personally had to go into exile many times and Cuba always gave us refuge. We received education and training in Cuba," said Altamirano about his participation in the Sandinista-led revolutionary struggle in the 1960s and 1970s. He was in Havana during the U.S.-sponsored 1961 mercenary invasion at the Bay of Pigs and joined tens of thousands of revolutionary students, workers, and peasants in the defense of Havana.

In addition to many delegates from the Fifth Meeting of the Peoples of the Americas and the Caribbean, there were activists from different Cuba solidarity committees in the city as well as some union activists and youth from the neighborhood.



# 'Anticrime' campaign spawns rightist vigilantism

"From behind prison walls" is a regular column written by framed-up political and trade union activist Mark Curtis. To write to Curtis send letters to him at #805338, Iowa State Penitentiary, Box 316, Fort Madison, Iowa, 52627.



Mark Curtis

FT. MADISON, Iowa — Let's take a look at vigilantism spawned by the bipartisan "crime-hysteria" campaign. There were three actions in particular this year that, each in their own way, show the direction of capitalist politics in the '90s. William Masters is a self-styled crime

fighter in Los Angeles. At 1:00 in the morning last January, Masters confronted two young Hispanic men spraying graffiti on a freeway overpass. Masters killed one of them, Cesar Acre, shooting him in the back with a 9-millimeter pistol. Masters claimed the two men pulled a screwdriver and tried to rob him, though the surviving graffiti artist denied that.

Masters told the *New York Times* that he had long relished the chance to whip out his pistol and yell "Freeze!" at some "criminal." He has also made the talk show circuit, using a racist slur to describe the two men and pushing the button of those who fear and resent the working class and its large immigrant component. Police say Masters acted in self-defense and refused to charge him.

Teaching a lesson to robbers was also the reason security guards gave for stripping naked and flogging four Black youths with belts and bamboo canes. The guards beat the youths, aged 12 to 16, at a

Dallas shopping mall. They suspected the youngsters had stolen a cash register and \$55 from the store. A member of the Nation of Islam, which provided the security force at the Black-owned mall, told police the youth "were whipped because they did wrong. They broke in here. Therefore, they were disciplined. We take care of our own."

The police charged the youngsters with burglary, but it was the arrest of the security guards that brought out protest demonstrations by the shopkeepers, Nation of Islam members, and others.

The third vigilante outfit that caught my attention is Sheriff Joseph Arpaio's "posse" unit in Phoenix, Arizona. Arpaio has deputized 2,300 people to serve in his posses, 800 of whom are armed. They wear uniforms and carry badges, handcuffs, radios, and Mace, which they buy themselves. There is a 400-member "executive posse" made up of doctors, lawyers, and other white-collar types who organize

street patrols and harass "suspicious-looking" folks, such as alleged prostitutes. Arpaio hams it up for the media, which portrays him as a no-nonsense crime fighter. His accomplishments at the county jail mirror Alabama's chain gangs: no more hot lunches, no cigarettes allowed, and inmates living in tents in the desert.

I noticed characteristics common in each of these cases. The vigilantes deem the accused to always be "guilty" and punishment gets dispensed on the spot, from verbal threats to beatings and executions.

And the accused are from the most exploited and oppressed part of the working-class — Hispanic, Black, or female. The vigilantes get support from enraged shopkeepers, doctors, lawyers, and other middle-class elements.

In none of these instances were the vigilantes themselves punished with more than finger wagging by the cops and prosecutors.

## Actions demand halt to execution of Abu-Jamal

BY AL DUNCAN AND HATTIE McCUTCHEON

PHILADELPHIA — Supporters of Mumia Abu-Jamal and backers of the police campaign to execute him jammed into the courtroom of Judge Albert Sabo for hearings here July 12 and 14. Lawyers for the framed-up activist had demanded the removal of Sabo from the case and a stay of execution. Sabo postponed any decision on a stay of execution and rejected the attorneys request that he remove himself from hearing the appeal. Instead, the judge instructed Abu-Jamal's lawyers to present witnesses and other evidence July 18 to support their petition for a new trial.

Lead defense attorney Leonard Weinglass said that by neither granting nor denying the stay Sabo was "effectively blocking" the defense from seeking a stay from the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. Furthermore, he noted, the July 18 hearing date does not give adequate preparation time. Usually lawyers have about 60 days to prepare for such a hearing. On July 18, Sabo issued a one-week delay on the proceedings.

Abu-Jamal faces the death penalty as a result of a frame-up conviction of killing Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner in 1981. The journalist, who was shot and beaten by the cops in the incident, has maintained his innocence.

At the July 12 hearing, Weinglass cited statistics that Sabo had presided over more murder trials that resulted in the death penalty, mostly involving Black men, than any other judge in the United States.

He also pointed to Sabo's long-standing relationship with the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), which is leading a campaign nationally for the immediate execution of Abu-Jamal. With this record, Weinglass said, "Judge Sabo should not sit on the appeal of an African-American man convicted of killing a white police officer."

In response to these charges Sabo stated, "I feel that I was fair to him during

his trial and I could be fair to him now."

Some FOP supporters at the second hearing sported T-shirts that read, "The Jury Said Death...Do It."

Five hundred demonstrators marched on city hall before the July 12 hearing demanding a stay of execution for Abu-Jamal. More than 100 supporters were inside the courtroom for the July 14 hearing, and another 100 who couldn't get in chanted in the corridor outside.

"We are not asking Judge Sabo to release Mumia. We are not asking the governor to pardon Mumia. We are asking for a trial, a fair trial, and if we get that, then there is no question in my mind that Mumia will be, as he should have been in 1982, acquitted of these charges," concluded Weinglass.



July 3 protest in Philadelphia demands stay of execution for Mumia Abu-Jamal

## Letters support parole for Mark Curtis

BY JOHN STUDER

DES MOINES, Iowa — "For several years now, our Diocesan Council for Peace and Justice has been following the case of Mark Curtis," Carol Warren, peace and justice coordinator of the Catholic Diocese of Lexington, Kentucky, wrote June 29 to the Iowa State Board of Parole. "Everything we have seen convinces us that he is innocent of the charges for which he was convicted."

"However," Warren adds, "We find that Mark Curtis is still in prison, after having served more time than most persons convicted on similar charges. He has not been granted parole, although his prison record is exemplary, and he has many promises of work and support upon his release."

"We believe this situation should be corrected."

The day before, Julia Terrell, Curtis's next door neighbor in Des Moines in 1988 at the time he was arrested and framed on charges of rape and burglary, also wrote the parole board.

"Once again I write in behalf of my friend, Mark Curtis, currently at the State Penitentiary at Ft. Madison, Iowa," Terrell wrote. "His re-entry into society will be successful because of a great support network, a fine family, many friends and supporters in every part of the country," she adds. "Please let him be free to continue his endeavors to make this a better world."

Cees Flinterman, a law professor from Maastricht, Belgium, also wrote the parole board saying, "For a long time I have been concerned about the plight of Mark Curtis who has spent the last seven years in Iowa prisons. Even though Mr. Curtis has met the requirements for release on parole for a number of years, the authorities have refused to let him go. I respectfully urge the Iowa State Board of Parole to free Mr. Curtis and to restore him fully in his fundamental rights and freedom."

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee recently received these letters in response to a new flyer asking supporters of justice to write a letter to the Iowa Parole Board to help Curtis win parole.

"Mark Curtis, a political activist, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, and member of the United Food and Commercial Workers union at the Monfort meatpacking plant in Des Moines, was arrested on March 4, 1988, beaten by the police, and framed up on charges of rape and burglary," the flyer begins. "Curtis has spent the last seven years in Iowa prisons. Prison and parole officials have repeatedly refused to release him on parole and have victimized him for his political activity behind bars."

"Even though Curtis has met the requirements for release on parole under Iowa law for a number of years, the authorities have refused to let him go. Instead they raise new obstacles to his fight for freedom," the flyer continues. "With each passing year, these efforts become rawer, more transparent, and make it clearer that their treatment of Curtis is a

product of political prejudice. More and more people are asking, 'Why Is Mark Curtis Still in Prison?'

The flyer details the discriminatory treatment he has received over the last seven years, including being thrown into segregation last fall.

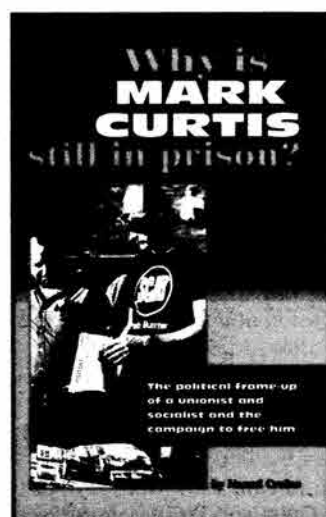
The defense committee asks that letters urging parole for Curtis be addressed to the Iowa State Board of Parole, Capitol Annex, 523 East 12th St., Des Moines, Iowa 50319, and be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311.

The committee hopes to gather hundreds of letters from unionists, political activists, and supporters of political rights. The committee plans to organize a delegation to meet with the board on Curtis's behalf in September, and will deliver the letters all together.

Curtis is now due to be released from segregated lockup on August 2. Under prison regulations, Curtis will be taken before a prison hearing to determine whether he will be released back into the general prison or placed in a special status called "close management." Prison rules describe "close management" as a status "for controlling of the intractable inmate who, by his behavior, has identified himself as assaultive, predacious, riotous, or disruptive to the institution." Any prisoner who has been disciplined for more than 60 days, as Curtis has, is automatically screened for "close management."

While this special status is not considered punitive, conditions are similar to lockup. Inmates in close management are kept in the same cells as those in lockup, with only a few additional rights to exercise, telephone use, and other prison "privileges." Prisoners advance out of "close management" at the arbitrary decision of the authorities.

To help with the parole effort, contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, at the address listed above.



### Why Is Mark Curtis Still in Prison?

THE POLITICAL FRAME-UP OF A UNIONIST AND THE CAMPAIGN TO FREE HIM

Mark Curtis is a union activist and socialist who was framed up by police on false charges of rape and burglary in March 1988. At the time he was involved in a struggle to defend 17 Mexican and Salvadoran co-workers arrested in an immigration raid at the packinghouse where he worked in Des Moines, Iowa. This new pamphlet explains what happened to Curtis, and the stakes for workers, farmers, youth, and other democratic-minded people in demanding his release. Pamphlet, \$6

Available at bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax (212) 727-0150. Or contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa, 50311. Tel: (515) 246-1695.



# Cuban revolution: 'a new future opening'

Below we reprint excerpts of "The Truth About Cuba," a series of articles that first appeared in the *Militant* from May 9 to Aug. 15, 1960. The articles are included in the book *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*, by Joseph Hansen, published by Pathfinder. These excerpts are copyright © 1978 by Pathfinder and reprinted with permission. Subheads are by the *Militant*.

BY JOSEPH HANSEN

One of the things that rankle with the Cubans is a long-standing tendency in Washington to look at their country as a prize to be taken like Texas, California, and the other parts of the West which we seized from Mexico. They can quote declarations going back as far as Thomas Jefferson and John Quincy Adams on the advisability of eventually grabbing Cuba. They cite proposals of statesmen of the Southern slavocracy to wrest Cuba from Spain and make it another slave state....

American troops were landed in Cuba [in 1898] under the proclaimed aim of aiding the Cuban struggle for independence. The Spanish-American War was short. Spain signed a peace treaty on December 10 ceding the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico outright to the United States and relinquishing Cuba. But American troops did not leave the island. They stayed four years as an army of occupation....

Today, to expose the hypocrisy of State Department propaganda, the Cubans remind Americans of that army of occupation. "You demand that the Castro government hold immediate elections," they say. "But when your army occupied our country, you prevented elections from being held for four years."

President McKinley sent American troops to intervene in the civil war in Cuba in 1898 ostensibly to aid the independence movement. His real reason was to make Cuba safe for American investments. That was why the troops were kept there for four years. By the time they were ready to leave, Cuba was safe for the Almighty Dollar.

## Domination by U.S. capital

By 1959 private American capital investments were listed at around \$850 million. This does not sound like very much compared, say, to the some \$2 billion which the Pentagon and State Department are reputed to take out of the public till each year for nothing but worldwide spying. But America's financial sharks are noted for their exceptionally strong parental instincts. They suffer agonies if the smallest investment is endangered; they will fight ferociously to protect it from harm; and they are fabled for their solicitude in providing it with human flesh, bones, and nerves so that it will prosper and grow.

Thus, a half century after the American

troops were withdrawn, at least 40 percent of the sugar production in Cuba was held by U.S. corporations. About 90 percent of the island's mineral wealth was in the hands of Americans, and 80 percent of public utilities. Cuba's oil resources were completely owned by American and British corporations. The biggest cattle ranches were likewise listed in the investment portfolios of American coupon clippers....

In Cuba, sugar customarily accounted for two-thirds of the national income and 80 percent of exports. Property holdings became so concentrated that until the agrarian reform of a year ago, 75 percent of all the cultivated land was held by some 8 percent of the country's property owners. About 700,000 peasants held no land at all.

In the *Nation* of January 23, 1960, Robert Taber summarizes figures indicating the situation facing the working class as follows:

Of the total Cuban labor force of 2,204,000, some 361,000 persons were wholly unemployed throughout 1957; 150,000 were employed only part of the time; 154,000 were engaged in unremunerated labor-e.g., as domestic servants, working for their meals and lodgings. Of 1,539,000 Cubans gainfully employed, 954,000 earned less than \$75 a month in a nation where the peso was on a par with the dollar and had even less purchasing power in Havana than in New York.

## Conditions in the countryside

These are graphic figures; but they fail to indicate the plight of the 500,000 sugar workers in Cuba's main industry. Employment for them existed each year only during the four months of the harvest. The other eight months were known as the "dead time."...

They went without dental care, losing their teeth when they were still young. And they went without medical care.

As for education, some two million Cubans could neither read nor write.

Tens of thousands of fertile acres, growing to weeds, were available for cultivation, but feudal-minded landlords barred this. Cuba's long-suffering victims of chronic hunger, malnutrition, and abysmal poverty had to avoid trespassing on land that really belonged to the people as a whole. To heighten their bitterness, Wall Street's propagandists made sure that they heard all about the "free world" and its wonders, particularly the prosperous "American Way of Life."

The American propagandists need not have rubbed it in. The Cuban masses were well prepared to desire a change in their way of life....

[A] survey, based on a thousand interviews in Havana and other cities and therefore reflecting urban sentiment, was made in May under the direction of the In-

visiting campuses to speak with students groups, professors, and student governments to line up speaking engagements with honoraria when they return. They have also planned a fund-raising picnic.

Many of those making the trip are on editorial assignment and will be reporting on the festival and on the situation in Cuba today, as well as speaking at events planned in many cities to hear report backs from the festival. Participants will spend several days visiting Havana or another province and staying with Cuban families.

Participants on the U.S. delegation will be filing reports for radio and newspapers throughout the country including the *Greene County Democrat* in Alabama, the *Merritt Reporter* at Merritt College in northern California, *Mexico Lindo* in Florida, and the *Baltimore Times*.

In the last days before the trip festival participants also stepped up efforts to gather up material aid donations to bring with them including asking others to donate pencils, notebooks, work boots, medical supplies, and other necessities.



Cuban youth rally for revolution in Camagüey in 1960s. Cubans "have fought their way out of the prison of capitalism with determination and heroism," Hansen said.

stitute for International and Social Research, of Princeton, N.J., headed by Lloyd A. Free.

"If this report is at all accurate," Peter Edson was forced to admit in the rabidly anti-Castro New York World-Telegram, "it should dispel any hopes that the Castro regime is about to be overthrown."

Eighty-six percent of the Cuban people support Fidel Castro's revolutionary government, finding conditions now better than they were under the Batista regime overthrown in 1959. Eight percent rate the Castro regime worse than Batista's. Three percent believe the two about equal. And 3 percent refuse to express an opinion....

Reasons listed for satisfaction with the Castro government included the following:

Approval of its agrarian reform program, 26 percent. Educational reform and campaign against illiteracy, 18 percent. Social justice and concern for workers, farmers and the poor, 17 percent. Economic progress and concern over unemployment, 8 percent. Inculcation of nationalism and patriotism among the people, 6 percent. Safety of the individual with an end to killing and physical abuses by the police, 6 percent.

The statistics speak for themselves. They register overwhelming approval of the sweeping measures taken since the revolution toppled the Batista dictatorship.

If these measures are borne in mind it is not difficult to understand why enthusiasm is so high. Under Batista, Cuba was like a concentration camp. Today the fortresses that housed the dictator's murderous armed forces have been torn down or converted into schools. To most Cubans, this change alone symbolizes what the revolution has accomplished.

But that was only the beginning. For the ordinary person, economic conditions in Cuba in Batista's time were like those of the Great Depression of the thirties in the U.S.A. As the first installment on their promises, the revolutionary leaders slashed rents, lowered essential food costs, raised wages, and began tackling the unemployment problem.

Then came the agrarian reform. This recovered the fertile land that had been

fenced in by giant American corporations and feudal-minded Cuban landholders. Land is now being parceled out to family farmers. The government at the same time initiated a cooperative movement that holds great promise. Cuba's basic labor force, the sugar workers, saw a new future opening up—an indescribably bright future, if it is recalled that under Batista normal unemployment lasted eight to nine months a year.

## Nationalization of industries and land

As America's corporate interests sought to counter such progressive measures by savage economic and political attacks, the Cuban government responded by taking control of many of their holdings. "Intervention," the establishment of control, was followed quite frequently by nationalization. Each time this occurred on a dramatic scale, as in the case of the oil refineries, the island resounded with shouts of approval.

Intervention and nationalization have gone so far that all of Cuba's major industries, including the key plantations and sugar mills, are now in government hands. Wall Street investments, rated as high as \$1 billion among the stock gamblers and their Democratic and Republican spokesmen in government, have reverted to the Cuban people. At this writing, the only major property still held by Wall Street is in Cuba's rich mineral resources. These, however, appear marked for early nationalization.

The beginnings of planned economy were established in the fall of 1959 during a series of great public demonstrations of approval. The beginnings proved successful. Planned economy—the first in the Western Hemisphere!—is now destined for rapid growth in Cuba.

Even if the Cubans find themselves compelled to make quite a few sacrifices because of the terrible pressures that the American monopolists can exert, they have already demonstrated that they will respond with the greatest determination and heroism.

They have begun to win their way out of the prison of capitalism and, as the polls show, they see no reason for returning.

## Youth prepare for Cuba festival

Continued from front page

ence of Black Lawyers; and Sarah Park, who recently returned from a trip to Cuba organized by the Freedom to Travel Campaign. Groups in many cities have planned activities around July 26 to coincide with the anniversary of the 1953 assault on the Moncada barracks organized by Fidel Castro and others who later helped lead the Cuban revolution.

Participants are pulling out all the stops to get to the event. Dougie Larson, a member of International Association of Machinists Local 289 in Seattle, said he would sell his car to come up with the last \$400 to make the trip. "What I hear about Cuba sounds good," he explained, "but I want to go there and see for myself so I can come back and tell my co-workers the truth about what I saw with my own eyes."

Many of the participants from Los Angeles are planning to read the *Second Declaration of Havana*, presented by Fidel Castro in the early years of the revolution, before the trip to learn more about the goals of the Cuban revolution.

In New York, festival participants are

for further reading from Pathfinder

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By Joseph Hansen How did the Cuban revolution come about? Why does it represent, as Joseph Hansen put it, an "unbearable challenge" to U.S. imperialism? What political challenges has it confronted? This compilation, written with polemical clarity as the revolution advanced, is irreplaceable in understanding the Cuban revolution today. \$20.95

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# Why Washington and Tokyo went to war

## Imperialist conflicts mount again 50 years after U.S. atomic slaughter in Japan

The article below first appeared in the Aug. 16, 1985, issue of the *Militant*. It has been updated for republication.

BY PATTI IYAMA

This year marks the 50th anniversary of the U.S. government's use of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. On Aug. 6, 1945, the United States became the first and only government to drop the atomic bomb on people.

This decision has become increasingly controversial. Protests forced the U.S. Postal Service to withdraw its stamp of a mushroom cloud with the caption, "Atomic bombs hasten war's end, August 1945." The Smithsonian Institution shaved down its exhibit to a terse "factual" one centered on the *Enola Gay*, the airplane that delivered the bomb at Hiroshima, after the original display was accused of being too sympathetic to the Japanese victims.

The bomb's effects on the Japanese city of Hiroshima were devastating. The shock wave and fireball resulting from the nuclear reaction annihilated 10 square miles of Hiroshima, melting granite and imprinting shadows of people and objects on the ground. It generated fires miles from the center of the explosion, and produced whirlwinds that fanned the flames so powerfully that they burned over four square miles after the initial blast. More than 100,000 people, including U.S. prisoners of war, perished instantly. Thousands more died later of burns, shock, or radiation poisoning.

Three days later the U.S. government dropped a second atomic bomb on Nagasaki. It killed 35,000-40,000 people and flattened the center of the city.

Between these two bombings, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan on August 8 and invaded Japanese-held Manchuria.

On Aug. 10, 1945, the Japanese government announced that it would surrender, formally ending World War II on September 2.

The war culminated decades of inter-imperialist conflicts between the rulers of the United States and Japan over which imperialist power would win domination of the Pacific.

The current debate over the use of the atomic bombs focuses on two questions: Was the bombing necessary to force Tokyo to surrender? And what were the causes of the war in the Pacific? This article will address the second question.

### Reasons behind WW II in the Pacific

World War II was presented by the governments of the Allied powers—the United States, Britain, and France—as a war for democracy against fascism, for the "four freedoms"—freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion, free-



Trial of participants in 1919 uprising of more than 1 million in Korea against Japanese colonial rule. Washington and Tokyo vied for domination of Asia and the Pacific.

dom from want, and freedom from fear.

In spite of this high-flown rhetoric, the real roots of the war lay in the struggle between the ruling families of the major imperialist powers for control of the world's resources and markets. This inter-imperialist struggle pitted the U.S. and British rulers against the ruling families of Germany, Italy, and Japan.

This struggle for political and economic domination of the Pacific was fought on many levels. Just as in Europe, the Pacific war did not serve the interests of the workers and farmers in any of the countries. They were merely the cannon fodder for the ruling families of both Japan and the United States.

The war in the Pacific was also a war of national liberation fought by the oppressed and exploited people of China against the attempts of Japanese big business to bring China forcibly into its orbit. And the war marked the beginning of the end of open European colonial domination of Asia.

This article will concentrate on the inter-imperialist war between Washington and Tokyo.

### Imperialist division of Asia

The Japanese rulers were one of the latecomers in the imperialist plunder of the world. After feudalism was officially abolished in 1871, Japan moved quickly to become a major capitalist power.

Why was Japan the only non-European nation that became an imperialist country rather than a colony? The penetration of China was the top priority for the imperialist powers after the Opium War of 1840-42, which forcibly opened the country to foreign trade. Japan, considerably smaller and with few known resources, was not so attractive, so the British or U.S. rulers made no serious military attempts to con-

quer it.

The Japanese rulers were also able to make a smooth transition to capitalism because, in addition to their closed economy and isolation from war, native economic institutions had been developing toward industrialization on their own. Industry, trade, and transport were growing from the 1700s on.

Although the land tax on the peasants was high—around 50 percent—in many villages it was static or even declining slightly while the productivity of land was rising due to new farming techniques and the introduction of new crops. This left a larger and larger surplus in the hands of peasants, leading to the existence of a large class of relatively wealthy, educated, and ambitious peasants by the mid-1800s.

The merchant class, theoretically at the bottom of the feudal hierarchy, had begun the process of capital accumulation. Indeed, just prior to 1868, about 94 percent of the country's wealth was reportedly in the hands of the merchants.

Another factor contributing to the swift transition to capitalism was the availability of a large pool of farmers with skills adaptable to industry. By the late 19th century, a very large proportion of Japanese farm families had a generation or more of experience in working part-time at nonagricultural occupations that developed handicraft, artisan, and commercial skills. Thus, traditional rural weavers had little trouble learning to operate power looms and accountants who had used an abacus readily mastered bookkeeping. The habit of moving off the farm for work for an employer was also widespread, which reduced the problem of recruiting an industrial labor force.

### Japan emerges as capitalist power

It was only natural that the most important sector of Japanese manufacturing until well into the 1930s was the textile industries, mainly silk and cotton. This was achieved by the expansion of traditional industries with relatively modest technical and organizational adaptations. Capital investment in equipment was also relatively modest.

At the same time that the textile industries and a variety of small-scale manufacturing industries such as ceramics, residential construction, fishing, and food-processing developed, construction of model factories for large-scale manufacturing enterprises were financed by the government.

The government turned for help to a few business families that for centuries had been engaged in banking and commerce as agents of the lords, the *zaibatsu* (great business houses). The four major *zaibatsu* were Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, and Yasuda. Some *samurai* (knights under feudal society) also joined their ranks.

The *zaibatsu* played a special role, not only because of their close relations with the government but also because of the wide range of enterprises they controlled. These included mining, metals, mechanical engineering, electrical apparatus and

machinery, textiles, paper cement, glass, chemicals, shipbuilding, shipping, foreign and domestic trade, banking, and insurance. With their domination in finance, as well as industry and commerce, they had a decisive advantage over other large business concerns. In spite of governmental intervention, heavy industries did not develop substantially in Japan until the 1930s.

By the end of the 19th century, Japanese capitalism had begun to consolidate a strong empire with significant colonies.

It began expanding its territory with acquisition of the Ryukyu Islands, seized from China in 1874; the Kurile Islands, ceded by Russia in 1875; and the Bonin Islands, colonized by Japan and recognized as Japanese territory by Washington and London in 1875.

As early as 1876 the Japanese government indicated its intent to control Korea when it signed the Treaty of Kanghwa, which opened two Korean ports to Japan. In 1894, the Japanese government fought a war with China and decisively defeated the Chinese army. It won all the rights enjoyed by the European colonial powers in China and acquired rich colonial territories—Formosa, the Pescadores Islands, and the Liaotung Peninsula in south Manchuria. Chinese hegemony in Korea was eliminated. Japan soon began to dominate Korea politically, economically, and militarily, formally annexing it in 1910.

But the European colonialists were not prepared to acknowledge Tokyo as an equal power in the imperialist scramble for China. They forced the Japanese rulers to return Liaotung Peninsula to China only five days after the treaty was signed in 1895. The Russian, British, German, and French ruling families then proceeded to carve up China for themselves, creating spheres of influence.

The other colony that the Japanese government was able to acquire in this period was Taiwan, which was formally transferred from China in 1895. It took four to six years for Japanese troops to subdue the nationalist guerrilla fighters and establish control over the island.

The U.S. ruling families also launched an expansionist drive to obtain colonial possessions in the Pacific at the end of the 19th century. U.S. Marines invaded Hawaii in 1893. Washington formally annexed Hawaii in 1898 to protect the property of U.S. landholders, who by then had seized three-fourths of the islands.

In 1898-99 the U.S. government also won Wake, Guam, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Cuba as booty from the Spanish-American War. Even after this conquest, it took nearly a decade and 40,000 lives to crush the Filipino guerrilla struggle for liberation that ensued.

The U.S. rulers now had intermediate islands as fueling stops that could facilitate their main ambition in the Pacific—the penetration, and ultimately the domination, of the potentially vast China market.

The U.S. rulers now made the "Open Door" the core of its foreign policy in the region. The Open Door policy insisted on equal access to Chinese markets by the imperialist powers. The U.S. capitalists believed that, with their economic superiority, they did not have to challenge the existing special interests and spheres of influence of the European capitalists.

Self-sufficient in food, energy, coal, and iron, the U.S. capitalists boasted an immense industrial base unmatched by any other imperialist power. They were the principle exporter of such strategic goods as petroleum and sophisticated machinery. They were largely concerned with obtaining foreign markets for surplus U.S. production, unlike the Japanese rulers who wanted to seize raw materials to keep their factories running.

The Japanese ruling class, however, altered the balance of power in Asia in 1905 with its stunning victory over the tsarist government in Russia, thus dramatically announcing its arrival among the ranks of

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the imperialists. The Russian government was forced to recognize Japan's primacy in Korea and to surrender its economic and political interests in Manchuria. The ability of an Asian nation to defeat one of the European powers was an inspiration to the oppressed and exploited people of Asia.

Many nationalists in fact initially supported Japan against the European colonialists. This changed after experience exposed Japan's propaganda of "Asia for the Asiatics" and a "greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere" as cover for Tokyo's domination.

## Two powers contending in Asia

Between 1905 and the Second World War, the history of the Pacific was dominated by the struggle between the U.S. and Japanese imperialists for economic, political, and military control of the region.

During World War I Tokyo joined the Allies — the governments of Britain, France, the United States, and Russia — in the first imperialist war. It "seized the opportunity of 1,000 years" to grab Germany's possessions in Asia — Shantung province and the Marshall, Mariana, and Caroline Islands in the Pacific.

The October 1917 revolution of workers and peasants led by the Bolsheviks removed the tsarist empire from the imperialist competition.

The two remaining rivals in Manchuria, Japan and the United States, were able to arrive at an understanding in 1917. The Lansing-Ishii accord reaffirmed the Open Door policy of "equal opportunity for commerce and industry." The U.S. government recognized Japanese territorial acquisitions from Germany and "special interests" in China. The agreement averted open war between the two for the time being.

At the Versailles Peace Conference two years later, the Japanese government managed to hang on to the German colonies it had seized during the war, against vehement opposition from the U.S. rulers. In spite of this settlement, with millions of dollars due in war credits, the U.S. ruling families became creditors to half the world and leaped forward to become the dominant imperialist power in Asia.

A series of treaties among the imperialist powers in the early 1920s attempted to modify Japanese influence in the Pacific. The rulers of the United States, Britain, France, and Japan signed a Pacific treaty that established their alliance and also recognized each other's possessions in the Pacific. In other agreements, the Japanese government was forced to return Shantung to China, limits were set on naval ship construction, and the political and territorial independence of China was recognized (within limits). These treaties served to recoup some of the losses suffered by the other imperialists from Japan, while substantially improving the U.S. capitalists' position at the expense of the other ruling families.

U.S. bankers and investors found the Chinese republic too unstable and instead invested heavily in the flourishing industries of Japan, which in turn invested increasingly in mineral-rich Manchuria. By 1930, 70 percent of all foreign investment in China was shared equally by Britain and Japan, compared to only 6 percent for the United States. U.S. exports to Japan, though, were at twice that rate, and by 1935 Japan was their third largest overseas customer, dependent on U.S. oil and strategic material imports.

In 1931, the Japanese government began to take further steps toward expanding its empire in the Far East. Using the pretext of an incident in Manchuria, Japanese troops invaded, overcame feeble resistance, and set up a puppet state, Manchukuo, which became a virtual province of Japan.

In 1934 Tokyo closed the open door in China with its announcement of the Amai Doctrine. The Japanese government claimed the right to oppose loans or any other support by other nations to China and denied China the right "to avail herself of the influence of any other country to resist Japan."

Japanese troops invaded China in 1937. When the nationalist government headed by Chiang Kai-shek refused to surrender, a puppet government headed by a rival of Chiang, Wang Shing-wei, was set up in Nanking.

Until as late as 1939, sections of the Japanese military were preparing for war with the Soviet Union in order to obtain resources in Outer Mongolia and to hold onto Manchuria. They saw that the Japanese economy was totally dependent on the United States for oil (80 percent of overall fuel) and dependent on U.S. scrap iron for steel (75 percent), copper (nearly 50 percent), and machine tools (more than 60 percent). Tokyo therefore looked to avoid direct conflict with Washington. The Japanese army was defeated by Soviet forces in an initial probe and a truce was arranged by September 1939.

The governments of Germany, Italy, and Japan signed the tripartite pact in 1940. The deal recognized Japanese hegemony in Asia and each signatory agreed to help any attacked by a power not then at war. After Germany's rapid defeat and occupation of France and other West European countries and with England under heavy air attack, Japanese rulers saw the pact as clearing the way for their conquest of Southeast Asia.

The U.S. government was threatened by the closing of the open door in China and the southward advance of the Japanese army. But it did little except to supply the nationalist government of China.

U.S. businessmen were making big profits from the oil, textile, machinery, and strategic material exports that were required by the Japanese war machine. Not until Japanese troops directly attacked the colonies of Europe and had a strategic base from which to attack the Philippines — a U.S. colony — was there a shift in policy.

Japan's rulers were now challenging U.S. big-business interests. War was inevitable.

## Behind Pearl Harbor attack

Some historians have documented that President Franklin Roosevelt and his administration knew beforehand about the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor, yet they did nothing to stop it in order to ensure support for U.S. entry into World War II. But it does not really matter whether this is true.

The U.S. and Japanese governments had been preparing for war for quite a while. The stakes were high: economic and political domination of Asia.

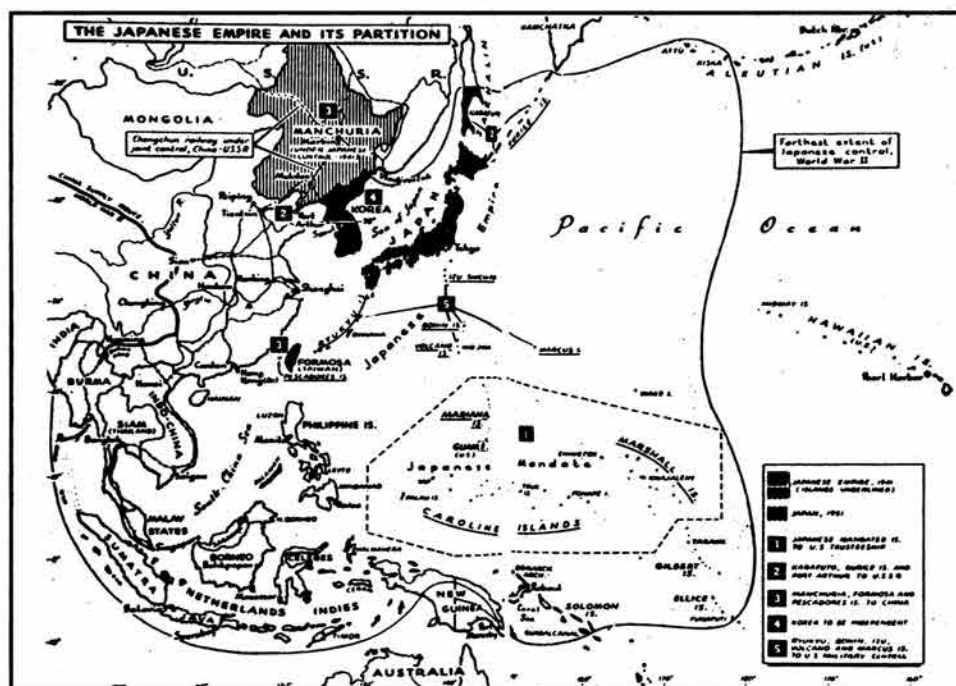
As far back as 1936, the possibility of a Japanese surprise air raid against Pearl Harbor had been discussed. By then, officers at the U.S. Naval War College had refined the Orange Plan for war with Japan, first developed in 1913. They tested the plan 127 times in chart maneuvers and board games where the U.S. fleet battled the Japanese in the Pacific. In the spring of 1941 the navy began planning how to wage unrestricted submarine and aircraft war on merchant shipping and commercial planes in the Pacific.

The U.S. military experts had been discussing the possibility of incendiary bombing raids on Japan since 1919. The U.S. Navy planned to wage unrestricted submarine warfare on Japan months before Pearl Harbor. And President Roosevelt had signed a secret order in July 1941 to send U.S. bombers to China to be flown against Japanese cities by U.S. pilots.

It is simply a myth that the U.S. government was a disinterested party drawn into a war with "fascist Japan" by a "sneak attack." The U.S. secretary of war, Henry Stimson, had recorded in his diary prior to the attack at Pearl Harbor that "the question was how we [the U.S. government] should maneuver [Japan] into ... firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves."

Even without Pearl Harbor, a war between the U.S. rulers and the Japanese capitalists for control of the resources and markets of Asia was certain.

After a series of rapid victories, the Japanese army lost its military superiority



Map shows Japanese colonies during and after World War II

by the end of 1942. From then on, the Japanese rulers fought an increasingly defensive battle. All their reserves of manpower, aircraft, and shipping were stretched to reinforce the empire's perimeter.

By 1945 the Japanese capitalists were crushed by the mobilization of the vastly superior industrial and military might of the United States. The Pacific was transformed into an "American lake" and sphere of influence. This had been an aim of the U.S. ruling families since the end of the 19th century.

Washington used the atomic bomb twice, sacrificing hundreds of thousands of lives, to demonstrate to the world that the United States was the dominant imperialist power. The bombs were dropped primarily as a political and military warning to the Soviet Union and workers and peasants around the world fighting against

colonial and semicolonial oppression.

The Soviet Union had emerged from World War II victorious against the German military invasion. The Soviet workers and peasants, who suffered far more casualties than those of any other country in the war, had fought to defend the revolutionary conquests of the October 1917 revolution that resulted in the overturn of capitalism in Russia.

The Soviet Union's survival challenged Washington's ability to establish its domination over the world. Capitalism was also overturned in Eastern Europe, and the Chinese workers and peasants overthrew capitalist rule in 1949. Cuba threw out its capitalists in 1960. Thus some of the very prizes over which the imperialists went to war were "lost" to the workers and peasants.

Today there are once again rising ten-

Continued on Page 12

# Protests greet Enola Gay exhibit

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Protests greeted the opening of the scaled down exhibit featuring the *Enola Gay* — the B-29 bomber that dropped the atomic bomb on Japan in August 1945 — at the Smithsonian Institution's Air and Space Museum June 28.

Demonstrators from the Enola Gay Action Coalition carried pictures of the victims of the first atomic bombing. "We want the exhibit to show more of the ... devastation to the innocent women and children that got bombed," stated Tom Siemer, a coalition spokesman and one of 21 protesters arrested under a federal nuisance statute at the entrance to the display. Other protesters went into the exhibit, where they unfurled banners saying, "Never Again."

The *Enola Gay* exhibit has been at the center of public controversy for more than a year. Originally, the federally funded Smithsonian Institution planned a major exhibit with extensive pictures and documentation that would have raised many questions about the decision of Democratic president Harry Truman to drop the atomic bomb on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This brutal act slaughtered more than 200,000 civilians. However, a reactionary campaign by the American Legion and other such forces supported by Democratic and Republican politicians from Capitol Hill to the White House succeeded in censoring and then scrapping the museum's originally planned exhibit.

The public display consists mostly of sections of the *Enola Gay* plane and a 16-minute film with comments from its crew. The space that was to have accommodated the original exhibit has been turned into an account of how the *Enola Gay* was restored.

"The exhibit, as it ended up, is hollow and parrots the established line on the bombing," stated World War II veteran Robert Vandivier, after viewing the display.

"It's not right to leave out information and be so bland about such a historic event," stated Catherine Long, one of

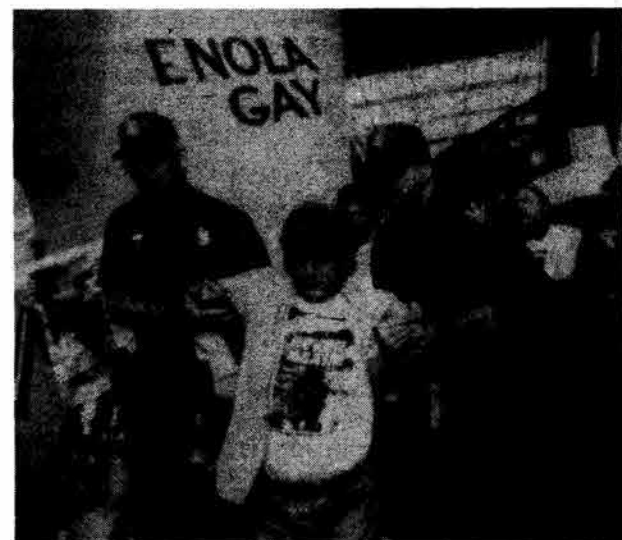
the protesters outside the museum. Other museum attendees were supportive of the display.

Among those covering the exhibit's opening were a number of reporters from the Japanese media. "The *Enola Gay* is presented here not as a warning against the great horror of nuclear war," declared TV Asahi correspondent Hideaki Saito, "but as a national hero that brought World War II to an end."

Yoichi Funabashi, a correspondent for the national Japanese newspaper *Asahi Shimbun*, wrote, "This is an exhibit without any record of the damage the bomb caused. Two aspects of the bomb that cannot be ignored — the birth of the atomic age and the idea of 'never again' — have been yanked out completely."

Several miles down the road at the student center at American University, a month-long exhibit entitled "Constructing a Peaceful World: Beyond Hiroshima and Nagasaki" opened to the public July 8. The inaugural ceremony included Hiroshima mayor Takashi Hiraoka and three survivors from the atomic bombing. Many of the photographs and artifacts on display here, which were on loan from museums in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, were censored out of the exhibition at the Smithsonian.

Brian Williams is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 27 in Cheverly, Maryland.



Cops arrest protester at Enola Gay exhibit



# Socialist Workers hold 38th convention

## Delegates discuss defense of Cuba, fights against effects of capitalist crisis

Continued from front page  
these weapons of the communist movement represent.

Altogether some 600 people attended the convention and participated in related conference activities. These included workshops aimed at increasing the effectiveness of political work by party members and supporters and classes on a variety of political topics.

The Young Socialists, which was founded as a nationwide organization at a similar gathering here last year, co-hosted this year's conference and also held a meeting of its members. Of the 108 regular and fraternal delegates to the convention, 13 were also members of the Young Socialists.

About 20 percent of the participants at this year's gathering were under 30 years of age. Participants came from cities across the United States and from nine other countries. Twenty-five languages were spoken by one or more conference participants.

Half of those attending the convention were industrial workers and members of trade unions. The political discussions throughout the gathering were marked by the practical activity of communist workers in industry and the unions.

Many participants were active in other organizations. Some 150 were members of local Cuba coalitions. Others belonged to abortion rights groups, the National Organization for Women, groups demanding freedom for Irish political prisoners, coalitions against the death penalty and police brutality, committees to stop the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal, and immigrant rights organizations.

In addition to the 56 delegates with decisive vote elected from party branches in 23 U.S. cities, members of the party's National Committee chosen by the 1994 convention were seated as fraternal delegates. Other fraternal delegates were seated from communist leagues in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United Kingdom; from groups in France and Iceland; and from the Young Socialists.

The convention took special note of several long-time members of the party who died in the past year. These included John Enestvedt, Howard Mayhew, Rob Cahalane (articles about their contributions to the communist movement will appear in the upcoming issue of the *Militant*), and Fannie Curran. Dan Priest, a member of the party in Salt Lake City, Utah, and Alberta Dannels, a long-time active supporter of the party in Tucson, Arizona, also died this year.

### Cuba and the imperialist reality

A report and discussion on "Cuba and the Imperialist Reality," presented by SWP leader Mary-Alice Waters on behalf of the party's National Committee, placed



Delegates at SWP convention discussed how the social disorder created by capitalist economic crisis breeds fascist forces such as Republican presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan.

the importance of the Cuban revolution in the world at the political heart of the convention.

The establishment of a workers and farmers government that overthrew capitalism and established the dictatorship of the proletariat in Cuba in 1960 — opening the socialist revolution in the Americas — marked a historic advance for the world working-class movement. The com-

munist leadership in Cuba continues to support the international struggle of workers and farmers against the capitalist system.

The Cuban working class and its leadership, Waters said, has maintained this course despite the fact that the revolution has been forced into a retreat by formidable economic and social difficulties since 1989. Cubans refer to these

strained conditions, and the measures they have been compelled to take in face of them, as "the special period."

Waters related her experience during a recent trip to Cuba, noting that steps taken to boost production of agricultural goods, increase hard currency to purchase oil, and to curb waste and mismanagement have halted the free-fall of the Cuban economy. While shortages remain there are signs that the situation has bottomed out.

A special period is what capitalism has in store for the rest of the world as well, Waters stated. "We need to look no further than Mexico if proof is needed," she said. "The collapse of the Mexican peso last December, with its devastating consequences for workers and peasants; and skyrocketing unemployment in Argentina, as the bourgeoisie there attempts to hold on to parity of its currency with the U.S. dollar, are the first of others to come as the 1990s unfold."

Under these conditions, Cuba's example in the world class struggle is growing once more, the SWP leader said. Cuba is showing how to fight for dignity, sovereignty, and independence, and why only a socialist revolution makes it possible for working people to hold their own against capital — anywhere in the world. There is no other way, as the *Communist Manifesto* describes, because "the need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must

## Young Socialists build Cuba festival

BY BROCK SATTER  
AND JOYA LONSDALE

OVERLIN, Ohio — Young Socialists and interested youth from the United States, Britain, Canada, Iceland, and Australia met here during the 38th Constitutional Convention of the Socialist Workers Party to discuss what the Young Socialists are doing around the world to build the Cuba Lives international youth festival in August.

Diana Newberry gave a report to the meeting on behalf of the Young Socialists National Committee. Building the largest delegation possible to Cuba Lives is the central task of the Young Socialists, Newberry explained. She initiated a discussion on how to get as many YS members and other youth as possible to this event. Those attending the meeting enthusiastically agreed with this perspective.

The festival will be a launching pad to involve a new generation internationally in defending the Cuban revolution. Many of the guests at the SWP convention who were not yet members of the YS are plan-

ning to go to the festival.

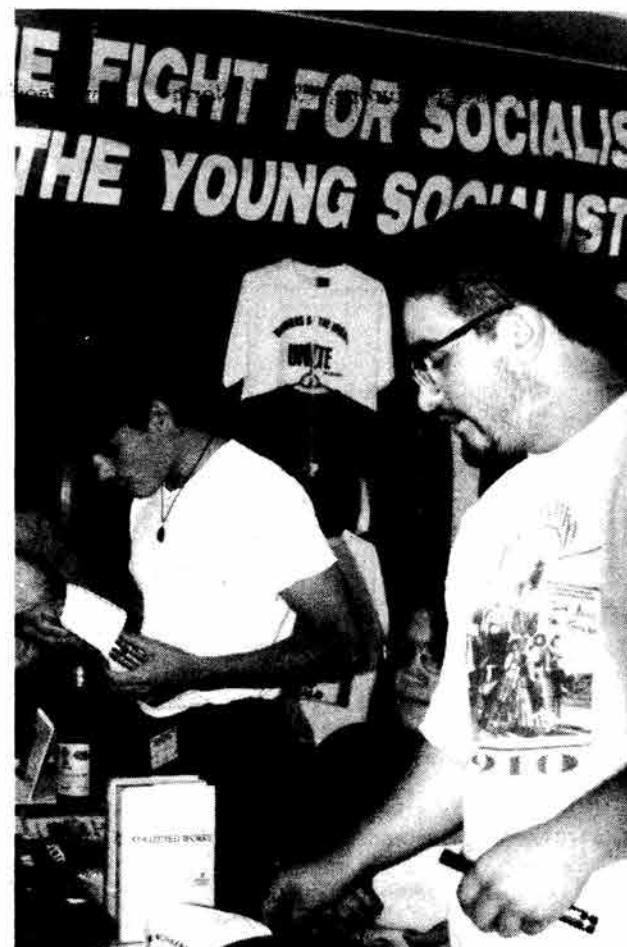
Mara Geller, 24, came to the convention with YS members from New York and is going to make the trip. "As a person from the United States, I think it's especially important for us to go to Cuba to show that there are people who are against the blockade, which is putting economic stress on the lives of the people there," she said.

Joshua Carroll, a 23-year-old student from San Francisco, was also attending his first convention. By the end, he decided to join the Young Socialists and go to the youth festival. Carroll said the discussions at the convention helped him to decide to make the trip.

Many other young fighters who will be in Cuba are also looking for a way forward and a solution to the crisis of capitalism. The Young Socialists, along with communists in Cuba and from around the world, will work together to win many of this new generation to socialism. The festival is an opportunity for revolutionary-minded youth around the world to make contact with each other and plan common actions.

Young Socialists will bring the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International* in various languages, and Pathfinder books with them. They will also bring their experiences as participants in labor struggles, fights against police brutality and the death penalty, immigrant rights demonstrations, abortion clinic defense lines, and many other struggles to share with workers and youth in Cuba and from other countries.

Young Socialists have made it a point to politically prepare themselves and others who are going to the festival by reading the article "Defending Cuba, Defending Cuba's Socialist Revolution" by Mary-Alice Waters in *New International* no. 10; a series of articles printed in the *Militant* by reporting teams that visited workers as-

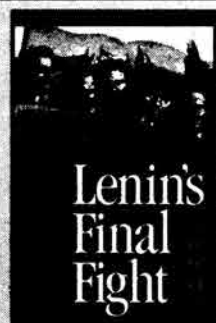


Young Socialists table at conference

semblies, factories, agricultural markets, and agricultural cooperatives earlier this year; and other materials. Young Socialists in Manhattan reported they are sponsoring a class on the *Militant* series. The San Francisco chapter has reprinted the articles and is selling them on literature tables and at political events.

In addition to getting press credentials to report on the trip, Young Socialists discussed how they are setting up speaking engagements at college campuses, high schools, churches, and in their workplaces to tell of the experiences they had in Cuba. These meetings will be an opportunity to tell the truth about the Cuban revolution and help build the upcoming October demonstrations against U.S. policy towards Cuba and any other solidarity actions coming out of the festival.

### For further reading...

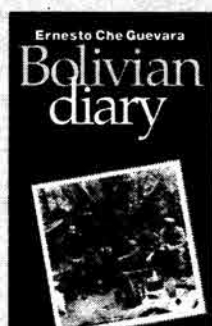


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Available at bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014, Tel: (212) 741-0690, Fax: (212) 727-0150. Please include \$3 for postage and handling.



nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production."

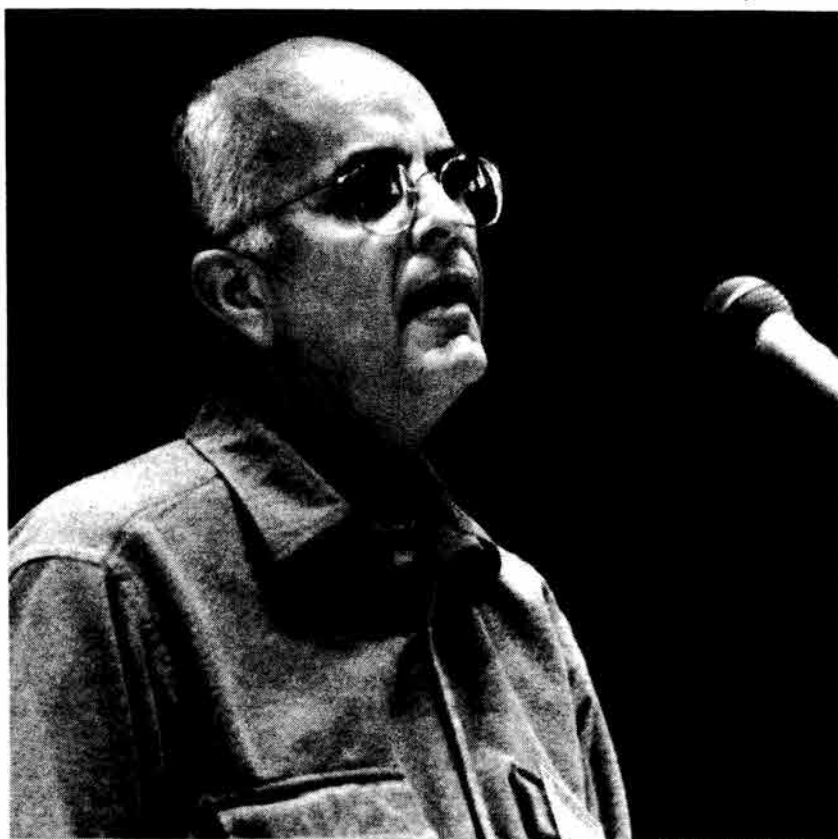
But that is the world to which Cuban working people have said "no, we will never go back," Waters said. "We will chart a different course for humanity, a socialist course." Communists in Cuba are reaching out more and more with communists and revolutionary-minded youth in other countries, "establishing connections in the four corners of the globe to help build a revolutionary current," she stated.

She pointed to young communists from Cuba traveling throughout Latin America, the English-speaking Caribbean, several countries in Europe, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, China, and elsewhere to build the international youth festival in recent months as an example of this.

It is important for all who defend Cuba to see it in the world, Waters explained. It would be wrong to have an idyllic vision or over expectations of what Cuba can accomplish outside of further advances in the world revolution. Socialism can't be built in one country.

Cuba must be seen as part of the expansion of the Russian revolution that in 1917 became the first example of how working people can mount an effective struggle for their own government and then overturn capitalist property relations. After the first dictatorship of the proletariat was established, other anti-capitalist revolutions triumphed in Eastern Europe, China, North Korea, and Vietnam.

From the earliest days of the Cuban revolution, communists have backed the



SWP national secretary Jack Barnes addresses delegates

Cuban leadership's course of integrating their revolution more deeply as part of the existing workers states, regardless of their deformations.

#### Defending socialist revolution

Several delegates pointed out that what communist workers do with others in the United States to defend Cuba weighs in the outcome of the class struggle in both countries. For example, building a large delegation for the Cuba Lives festival will help to bring the experiences of the class struggle from around the world more into view for revolutionary workers and youth in that country. In turn, those going to Cuba will return to their countries more able to explain the truth about Cuba and many will want to join the fight to build an international communist movement.

Delegate Betsy Farley, a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union from Peoria, Illinois, described the visit by Cuban youth leader Kenia Serrano to the picket lines of striking Caterpillar workers and to a union meeting of the United Pa-

perworkers International Union (UPIU) in nearby Decatur. "The tour generated discussion and debate on the October 1962 'missile crisis' and many other questions," Farley said. "The week after Kenia left, a member of the UPIU railed against the fact that the union had invited a communist from Cuba to address the workers. But many union members answered him, speaking favorably of Serrano's visit."

"When a Cuban communist speaks directly with workers in the United States it has a big impact."

Farley said that several young people from central Illinois are now preparing to go to the Cuba Lives festival.

Nearly 150 delegates and guests at the conference attended a meeting of those planning or considering to go to the youth festival. They discussed how to join with others in fund-raising, organizing to collect work boots, school materials, medical supplies, and other aid to be donated to Cuban youth, and building send-off events and report-back meetings.

While building the festival, socialists plan to join hundreds of others in organizing to build the October actions, called by the National Network on Cuba, to demand that Washington end its economic war against the people of Cuba, lift the travel ban, normalize relations, and respect Cuba's right to self-determination.

The SWP convention received greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba; Union of Young Communists in Cuba; the African National Congress of South Africa; the Antonio Maceo Brigade, a Miami-based organization of Cubans in the United States who support the revolution; the Move-

ment of Landless Rural Workers of Brazil; the Workers Party of Korea; and Mark Curtis, a unionist and political activist who is a party member. Curtis was framed-up by police on rape and burglary charges while he was involved in a campaign to defend 17 immigrant co-workers arrested in an immigration raid on the meatpacking plant where he worked in Des Moines, Iowa. He has already been in prison for nearly seven years of a 25-year sentence.

#### Politics of the 21st century

"The near meltdown of the international stock market in October 1987 marked one of the great turning points in history and ushered in the politics of the 21st century," said Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes during the main political report to the convention on behalf of the outgoing National Committee. The stock market crash combined with the opening of a worldwide depression in 1989, the launching of the Iraq war, and the collapse of the Stalinist apparatuses in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, demonstrates the degree of vulnerability and instability of the capitalist system world wide and the consequences of the new stage of the downward curve of capitalist development.

This new reality, Barnes explained, means that the lawful workings of the capitalist system in coming years will bring sharp alterations in the economic situation. High levels of permanent joblessness and expansions that don't accomplish much are features of the depression that alternate pressures on working people. The demand for jobs and fighting for class unity becomes increasingly important as the employers try to tear the working class apart by forcing millions more onto unemployment rolls to solve their problems. One of the main banners at the front of the convention hall featured the slogan, "Jobs for All—Defend Affirmative Action and Shorten the Workweek with No Cut in

Continued on Page 10

## Books, workshops, classes add to socialist event

BY GREG ROSENBERG

OBERLIN, Ohio — Surrounding the Socialist Workers Party's 38th Constitutional Convention was an International Conference of Socialist Workers and Youth, jointly sponsored by the SWP and Young Socialists. The conference featured a literature and display center, workshops, and classes, along with social and entertainment events.

The literature and display area was a popular attraction. Built around the Pathfinder Press exhibit, the center included booths from the Young Socialists, the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

"Mining our communist continuity" was the title of an exhibit highlighting the successful completion of the first stage of a project to index all of the SWP's internal bulletins and theoretical magazines. The exhibit drew a steady stream of conference participants.

A bound index incorporating six decades of communist writings from the party's theoretical magazines was on display at the booth. Visitors to the exhibit were also able to find out about the newly begun effort to scan all the materials from the magazines *New International*, *Fourth International*, and *International Socialist Review* and make these available to the public on CD-ROM.

Two new titles — a Spanish-language edition of *In Defense of Marxism* by Russian Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky and *The Second Declaration of Havana* in French — were unveiled at the Pathfinder display. In all, some 720 books were purchased during the four-day event, totaling more than \$6,800.

Seventy-three conference participants picked up copies of *Marxism and Terrorism* by Trotsky, making it the top seller. This is a new edition of articles previously published under the title *Against Individ-*

ual Terrorism.

Conference participants also purchased 128 Education for Socialists bulletins. The top seller was *Class, Party, and State*, and the *Eastern European Revolution* — 23 copies were sold. Others at the top of the list also dealt with the workers states in Eastern Europe and China, and the history of workers and farmers governments in the modern epoch.

#### Selling the books workers need

Taking advantage of widespread opportunities to increase the sales of Pathfinder books to workers and young people was a theme that ran throughout the conference. Pathfinder distributors in Los Angeles set an example of what is possible over the previous three months, coinciding with an international effort to boost sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Over the course of April, May, and June they sold 91 copies of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory distributed by Pathfinder, accounting for more than \$1,000 in gross sales. Sales from the Los Angeles Pathfinder bookstore totaled \$5,648 — an increase of 125 percent over the January-March figure of \$2,507. The key, said Pathfinder distributor Craig Honts, was "fanning out across the city and region with our ideas."

Conference workshops centered on increasing the practical political activity and striking power of the communist movement, such as the experiences registered during the sales campaign in Los Angeles.

A workshop entitled "Communist Workers Talking Socialism on the Job" focused on the daily political activity of party members and supporters, from promoting books and the working-class press to fellow workers in factories and mines, to providing timely coverage of political discussions as they unfold on the job, and combining political education along with

activity in recruitment to the communist movement.

George Williams, an aerospace worker in Birmingham, Alabama, took the floor to explain how he and other socialist workers had sold 14 subscriptions to the *Militant* along with 6 copies of *New International* on the job during the spring. "We're 24-hour-a-day communists," Williams said, pointing out that he took the opportunity to discuss politics with all of his co-workers, not just those he thought might agree with him.

At another workshop participants discussed the success of the campaign to increase monthly financial contributions from supporters and friends as well as how to strengthen rooting the party in the industrial unions.

A third workshop focused on utilizing Pathfinder bookstores and work by Pathfinder sales reps in local areas to strengthen the communist movement,

along with weekly Militant Labor Forums.

Participants in the "Reaching out politically" workshop discussed using the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* effectively, conducting socialist election campaigns, and working to defend Mark Curtis.

A series of well-attended classes included "Labor's Fight for a Sliding Scale of Hours and Wages," "Marxism and Terrorism," "Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution," "Women's Liberation and the Line of March of the Working Class," "Marx and Engels on Ireland: The Irish Freedom Struggle and the Building of the International Workingmen's Association," "The Socialist Workers Party in World War II," and "Immigrant Workers and the Seamen's Unions: from the California Gold Rush to the Korean War."

Members of the Young Socialists conducted a raffle during the conference that raised more than \$1,800 to help finance building the socialist youth organization.

NEW FROM PATHFINDER

### The History of American Trotskyism

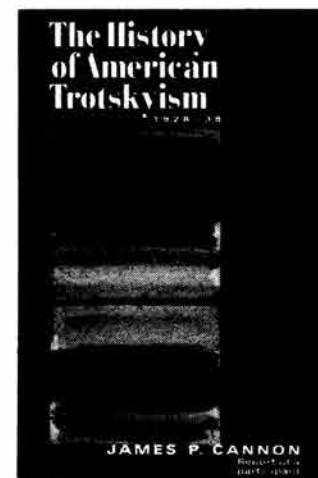
By JAMES P. CANNON

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# SWP convention

Continued from Page 9

Pay."

"For communists this points to the importance of carrying out practical work while maintaining production and distribution of the books and pamphlets that contain the lessons of the struggles of the modern working-class movement — lessons the working class has fought for in bloody battles over decades," Barnes explained in his report. "Above all, our movement must be firmly rooted in the working class and actively engaged in politics. This is the only way to understand great turning points in history and maintain and enrich the classical works of Marxism that point to the line of march of the working class."

In the days leading up to the convention Pathfinder Press released the most recent reprint from its book-a-week publishing program, *The History of American Trotskyism*, by SWP founder James P. Cannon. This 50th anniversary edition is an example of the type of weapon today's fighters need to understand the political tumult in the world and the necessity for building a working-class party that can help lead the struggle to overturn capitalism and fight for socialism.

John Staggs, a delegate from Philadelphia and a member of the United Auto Workers (UAW) union, spoke about recent experiences selling Pathfinder books and the *New Internationalist* magazine to Caterpillar strikers. Some of these fighters have been interested in subscribing to the *Militant* and buying *New Internationalist* no. 10 with "Imperialism's March toward Fascism and War," he explained. "The strikers' interest comes because they see these books and pamphlets as helping to explain what is happening in the world, and how their struggle fits in," he said.

Frank Forrestal, also a UAW member and a delegate from Chicago, described how socialist workers joined in a week of mobilizations and other activities in Aurora, Peoria, and Decatur, Illinois, marking the one-year anniversary of the Caterpillar strike and sold more than 200 issues of the *Militant* and 8 copies of the Pathfinder book catalog.

Another addition to the communist arsenal, which will help fighters learn from the lessons of past struggles, was also introduced at the convention with the first copies of the index to the party's theoretical magazines. This index makes it possible to easily search for articles spanning 60 years of communist writings on the rise of Stalinism, the struggle against fascism, working-class politics during World War II, the victory of the Chinese and Cuban revolutions, the Black struggle, and more included in the *New Internationalist*, *Fourth International*, and *International Socialist Review* magazines.

Convention delegates discussed how

the social disorder created by the capitalist economic crisis breeds fascist forces like Patrick Buchanan, a Republican presidential candidate in the United States, and right-wing militia groups.

The roots of Buchananism lie in the deteriorating social conditions faced by millions, Barnes said in his report. It is also bound up with capitalism's drive toward war to defend and expand markets for U.S. goods in the face of ever-stiffening inter-imperialist competition.

Buchanan, like every other classical rightist, uses nationalist demagoguery to appeal to those fearful of being dispossessed. "These are fellow Americans," he recently told a Republican Party gathering in Philadelphia. "These are people who work with their hands, tools, machines. They don't work with word processors.... They are the losers in this economy." From there Buchanan scapegoats immigrants for the problems of "fellow Americans" attempting to promote the fissures in the working class needed by the capitalists to maintain their rule.

Delegates to the convention noted that nationalist appeals are promoted by all bourgeois politicians, from U.S. president Bill Clinton on down, and that it is important to go to the heart of this discussion promoting internationalism and the unity of workers' and farmers' struggles across



Young Socialists met to organize final push to build maximum U.S. participation in Cuba festival.

all borders.

One mark of internationalism at the convention was the decision to send a delegation of socialist workers and youth to Japan in early August to join working people and others there at the 50th anniversary ceremonies protesting the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

A team of *Militant* reporters will also soon head to Beijing to cover the United Nations-sponsored international women's conference.

## Leftists drawn to rightist forces

Barnes noted that a layer on the left has an attraction to fascist forces today. Recent articles in the *Nation* magazine by columnist Alexander Cockburn speak with a certain fascination of the right-wing militias, for instance. In one recent article that begins under the heading, "Neither Left nor Right," Cockburn chastises those who point to the anti-Semitic and right-wing views of militia groups in an unbalanced way. He quotes approvingly of a New York *Newsday* editorial, which gives a "sane" view of militia groups saying "initial suspicions of racism and anti-Semitism don't hold up across the board.... And even though militias have their share of white supremacists and separatists, not all of them share those sentiments."

Cockburn concludes his column saying, "The 'farm crisis,' 'oil politics' NAFTA, the I.M.F. and the World Bank can produce, simultaneously, militias in the United States and Chiapas. I invite the 'left' to get off its high horse and re-examine the incredible real-life grass roots resourcefulness in America..."

"Rightist forces grow out of bourgeois politics. That is why they get the press and the attention for their anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant, and anti-working-class views.



Militant/Linda Joyce

Pathfinder exhibit. Increasing sales of Pathfinder books and other communist literature is at the center of the SWP's priorities coming out of the convention.

The working-class voice grows out of struggle," Barnes explained. "It is easy in this period to just see the fascists growing, but all history shows that the working class will get its chance."

Delegates to the convention also discussed the meaning of recent stirrings in the upper echelons of the AFL-CIO.

The shaking up that is going on in the top levels of the labor bureaucracy today has nothing to do with responding to workers' struggles. The trade union officialdom is reacting to the polarization in politics and the fact that their market value to the capitalists is negligible today.

One problem communist workers can get into is adapting to the trade union bureaucracy as it tries to pull in all kinds of radicals to shore up its position among the ranks of labor and make themselves more useful to the capitalists, Barnes pointed out. "They will give all kinds of space to let radicals talk about their ideology but their goal is to keep working-class fighters in a line of march behind them and their policies. We have no purchase on their offers to us."

"Today the most important thing to concentrate on in the labor movement is that all political questions are fair game for discussion in the working class. It is wide open. Strikes and other workers' struggles, no matter how small, are a channel to discuss and debate."

"We have to glory in being with workers who are fighting, like the Caterpillar strikers and others. And we have to combine that approach with talking socialism and advancing the political consciousness of our co-workers and those we are fighting together with."

## Workers states

In the preconvention discussion there were several challenges to the long-held view of the Socialist Workers Party that the states in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union remain workers states despite serious deformations. A number of contributions put forward the view that

capitalist economic and social relations had been reestablished in eastern Germany since it was now an integrated part of Germany as a whole. These points became a focus of the discussion under the political report.

Workers states still exist in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, Barnes explained. The dictatorship of the proletariat is not a concept, it is a historical fact. A large hunk of the world has been blocked off from the lawful subordination to the workings of international capitalism. This is important because capitalism can only survive by expanding.

Overtaking the workers states would open up the possibility of a massive expansion of capitalism in the world, enabling the employing class to find a way out of their crisis.

To fundamentally change the social relations in the workers states, many delegates pointed out, the imperialists would have to defeat the working class in bloody battles. In spite of the alliance of the capitalist rulers with their friends in the state apparatuses, this fight is precisely what they continue to avoid.

In eastern Germany, the capitalist rulers face the biggest contradictions. The much heralded "unification" has meant massive transfer payments to the east in order to stave off big social struggles by workers there. Rather than overturning the workers state in eastern Germany by taking on the working class in battle the resolution of all major questions keeps being postponed. "Social relations haven't been reversed in eastern Germany," said delegate Doug Jenness from the Twin Cities. "That is the heart of what a workers state is."

The continued existence of the workers states, even in their deformed and weakened condition, remains a strength and an aid to Cuba, which has correctly fought to be part of the dictatorship of the proletariat worldwide. Building socialism in one country has never been a possibility. The power of the Cuban revolution would be quickly dissipated if it was the only post-capitalist state still standing.

Under the Organizational Report to the convention presented by SWP leader Greg McCartan convention delegates discussed the progress that has been registered in organizing the party's work to facilitate be-

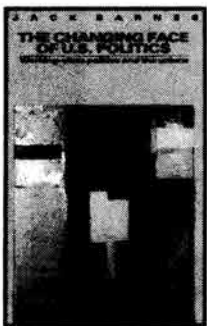
Continued on Page 11

## The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

WORKING-CLASS POLITICS AND THE TRADE UNIONS

By Jack Barnes

A handbook for workers coming into the factories, mines, and mills, as they react to the uncertain life, ceaseless turmoil, and brutality of capitalism in the closing years of the twentieth century. It shows how millions of workers, as political resistance grows, will revolutionize themselves, their unions, and all of society. \$19.95.



Available at bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Fax (212) 727-0150. If ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover postage and handling.

## Socialist Workers Party National Committee Elected by 38th Constitutional Convention

### REGULAR

Jack Barnes  
Derek Bracey  
Joel Britton  
Steve Clark  
Naomi Craine  
Mark Curtis  
Estelle DeBates  
Betsy Farley  
Laura Garza

James Harris  
John Hawkins  
Chris Hoepfner  
Martin Koppel  
Angel Lariscy  
Wendy Lyons  
Luis Madrid  
Ernie Mailhot  
Paul Mailhot

Argiris Malapanis  
Greg McCartan  
Thabo Ntweng  
Francisco Picado  
Dave Prince  
Aaron Ruby  
Norton Sandler  
Ma'mud Shirvani  
Mary-Alice Waters

### ALTERNATE

1. Frank Forrestal  
2. Maggie Trowe  
3. John Cox  
4. Sara Lobman  
5. Rollande Girard  
6. Peter Thierjung

7. L. Paltrineri  
8. Brian Taylor  
9. Mark Gilsdorf  
10. John Staggs  
11. Dennis Richter  
12. Toni Jackson

13. Ken Riley  
14. Brian Pugh  
15. Diana Newberry  
16. Jack Willey  
17. Nell Wheeler

## YOUNG SOCIALISTS NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Mark Gilsdorf  
Victor Manga  
Diana Newberry

Cecilia Ortega  
Tami Peterson  
Brian Pugh

Ken Riley  
Brock Satter  
Jack Willey



# Caterpillar workers maintain their fight

BY ANGEL LARISCY

PEORIA, Illinois — Talk of a settlement in the more than four-year labor dispute between Caterpillar, Inc., and the United Auto Workers (UAW) is circulating here. Striking UAW members on the picket lines, meanwhile, continue to demonstrate their resolve to win a contract that defends their union.

A high-level meeting between Caterpillar negotiators and UAW International officials is scheduled to take place during the first week in August. On July 5 and 6, Caterpillar and UAW negotiators held an "off-the-record" meeting in Chicago. It was the first time the two sides had met in four months. On July 12, the UAW central bargaining committee for Caterpillar strikers was called to Detroit for a meeting with newly elected UAW president Stephen Yokich.

This action by the union caused Peoria *Journal Star* business writer Bob Bouyea to pen a column entitled, "Strikers sense walkout could end by Aug. 1."

"Caterpillar knows it must offer the union something, but the union must move first," the columnist wrote, citing an unnamed source.

Larger than usual pickets have become a more common occurrence in recent weeks. UAW members stepped up strike activities in late June around the one-year anniversary of their walkout against the earth-moving equipment manufacturer. On July 6, more than 75 strikers gathered

at Caterpillar's Mapleton foundry to rally as the afternoon shift of replacement workers left the plant and the midnight shift arrived.

On July 13, another 60 strikers and supporters participated in a candlelight vigil outside the same gate.

Groups have also been congregating at pickets in East Peoria, Illinois.

Tom Smith, a member of UAW local 974 in East Peoria, has participated in a number of these actions. "It shows we're still around and won't go away," he noted.

Smith recounted how last winter a news reporter interviewed him after eight workers were arrested for illegal picketing at a gate outside the East Peoria facility. Smith says what he told the reporter then still holds true: "If they think we're going to go away just because the cops come and arrest some people they're wrong." Smith says this has been the predominant attitude throughout the strike.

Caterpillar continues to claim it is the victim in the dispute. On July 12, corporate vice president Wayne Zimmerman testified before a House of Representatives subcommittee during a hearing on the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB).

Zimmerman asserts that a key NLRB official is biased toward the union. Since March 1993 the NLRB has issued 165 complaints against Caterpillar. Zimmerman claims that NLRB general counsel Fred Feinstein "seems to us, at best, to be



Militant/Frank Forrestal

Unionists show their solidarity at one year of Cat strike June 21 in Peoria, Illinois.

out of touch with the realities of the factory floor and, at worst, harbors a strong pro-union bias."

Of the 11 complaints that have been resolved, Caterpillar has been ruled against in six.

Glenn Zipp, NLRB Region 33 director, says that Caterpillar is advocating for the passage of legislation that would legalize joint company-worker committees that would decide issues such as workers' pay, vacation policy, and who remains an employee with a company. Zipp says this would basically result in a company union.

On July 11, the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor Health and Hu-

man Services and Education voted to cut the NLRB's budget 30 percent; it also voted for a provision requiring four out of five NLRB members to vote for injunctions requested against certain company practices instead of a simple majority. Such injunctions would also be required to meet a higher standard of proof.

In related developments, Caterpillar executives had a furious reaction to a petition, signed by 500 professors across the United States, opposing passage of anti-labor legislation that Caterpillar supports. The professors' petition didn't name any particular corporation, but Jerry Brust, Caterpillar director of labor relations, responded to it.

The "unscholarly letter," wrote Brust, is "irresponsibly inaccurate and ethically questionable." University of South Carolina management professor Holt Wheeler responded, "If ever one needed evidence that employees need protection from the tender mercies of some corporate executives, [Brust's] letter would prove it."

Meanwhile, Illinois governor Jim Edgar signed into law a bill outlawing "jack rocks." Maximum penalties of up to one year in jail and a fine of \$1,000 could be levied against anyone caught making or possessing the device, which can be used to puncture tires.

Caterpillar and cops from Peoria and Tazewell counties, where the majority of picket lines are, lobbied for passage of the legislation.

Other labor disputes in central Illinois continue.

In Decatur, Illinois, members of the United Paperworkers International Union locked out for two years by corn-processing company A.E. Staley rejected an offer by 60 percent that would allow 350 of the 750 workers to return to work.

Angel Lariscy is a member of UAW 1494 in Peoria.

## Socialist Workers Party convention

Continued from Page 10

coming more deeply involved in work around social protest actions and strike-struggles, with the central priority of campaigning with the Young Socialists to build the Cuba Lives festival and ongoing campaigns in defense of the Cuban revolution.

As part of the effort to keep turning outward into politics and to the fights of working people, convention delegates adopted a campaign to build support for framed-up unionist Mark Curtis through selling widely the recently released pamphlet, *Why Is Mark Curtis Still in Prison?* Distributing this pamphlet not only gives working-class fighters and youth an understanding of the stakes involved in the fight to win his freedom, but is also one of the best introductions to socialism, McCartan said. "It explains how joining the communist movement helps you become a more effective fighter."

McCartan also urged delegates to continue joining with others in the fight against the death penalty as the capitalist rulers wield this class weapon more aggressively. One of the most important battles taking place around the death penalty is the campaign to halt the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Black political activist framed up by the cops in Philadelphia. "This case is an extremely powerful example of class justice," McCartan said. "It shows how a Black person, or a worker, gets framed and ends up on death row." Pennsylvania authorities plan to put Jamal to death on August 17.

Because Jamal continues to stand up and fight he has become a symbol for many young Blacks of someone who refuses to be silenced, and his case has moved to the center of the fight against the death penalty.

McCartan's report, based on a draft resolution submitted to the convention entitled, "Worker-Bolsheviks Take Back Your Branches," proposed that goals for upcoming efforts to distribute the *Militant* and meet the party's financial needs be adopted after a series of discussions in local branches on the possibilities for these campaigns. Members of the National Committee will travel to local areas in coming weeks to help in these discussions.

### Active supporters boost financial goals

Leading up to the convention, a step was taken by local branches to organize active supporters of the party. The major goal of the effort is to build up financial

contributions to the work of advancing the communist movement.

Organizing active supporters as an auxiliary of the revolutionary party has been part of a proud tradition of the Socialist Workers Party. Throughout the worst days of the McCarthyite witch-hunt active supporters helped the party weather the political reaction through financial contributions and other forms of assistance.

Only a few months before the convention active supporters were contributing about \$85,000 a year to the work of the party. By the end of the gathering a \$150,000 goal had nearly been reached. The active supporters are organizing to meet a goal of \$200,000 a year by October 1.

At the final session of the convention delegates elected a new National Committee to lead the work of the party until the next convention. Of the 44 elected members of the National Committee half are working in industry and active in industrial trade unions. Others are currently carrying out full-time responsibilities helping to produce the communist books that workers of the world need today.

Following the final convention session, the conference closed with a political summation of the gathering by Barnes and a rally to launch a special fund to help finance the production costs of the *Militant* newspaper. More than \$61,000 was pledged that evening. Supporters in local areas plan to decide on goals for this campaign in coming weeks.

In addition, a special slide presentation on the second night of the convention entitled, "Sell the Books the Workers of the World Need Now!" launched a Capital Fund for contributions of \$1,000 or more. This presentation followed up on the program at last year's convention, which focused on producing revolutionary books. The Capital Fund event explained the wide possibilities and good reception for Pathfinder books around the world that delegates throughout the convention related.

### Launching of Capital Fund

That evening's presentation also celebrated the completion of the first stage of the project to index all of the party's discussion bulletins and theoretical magazines, making difficult-to-find material from the party's communist continuity more easily accessible. The discussion at the convention itself, which touched on myriad important political questions concerning the working-class movement, was

testament to the value of being able to reach back for the lessons of working-class struggles.

Talks at the Capital Fund event also explained some of the next steps being instituted in the party apparatus to produce the communist political arsenal with fewer full-time workers, making it possible for more members of the party to be active in local branches.

While there were many newer and younger participants at this year's convention, special tribute was also paid to those in attendance who have been a part of the revolutionary movement for more than 45 years. These included: Tom Leonard (45), Mary Lou Montauk (49), Almeda Kirsch (49), Helen Scheer (51), Ethel Lobman (52), Paul Montauk (54), and Charles Scheer (57). Harry Ring, who writes the *Militant's* weekly column "Great Society" as well as other regular articles, was also at the convention. He is celebrating his 59th year as an active member of the communist movement.

## Flight attendants at USAir reject concession contract

BY DEBORAH LIATOS

PHILADELPHIA — Members of the Association of Flight Attendants (AFA) voted down a concession contract proposal by USAir that included \$53 million in concessions for the 8,300 flight attendants. The package was rejected by 55 percent of the workers who voted.

AFA officials, who came to agreement on the concessions with USAir in May, had recommended that the membership ratify the deal.

The \$53 million concession package is part of a plan by USAir to cut costs by \$1 billion annually, \$485 million of which the company hopes to take from workers' wages and benefits.

USAir is also demanding cuts of \$190 million a year from the pilots, who are organized by the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) and \$132 million a year from nearly 15,000 workers represented by the International Association of Machinists Union (IAM).

The company also says it wants to cut \$110 million a year in the wages of non-union employees.

Officials of ALPA and the IAM have also reached agreement with USAir on

concession contracts for these unions and are recommending acceptance to their membership.

The flight attendants union was the first major union to put the proposed concessions to a vote. The membership of the Transport Workers Union, which organizes dispatchers, has already ratified a concession package. Members of the IAM and ALPA have yet to vote on their proposed agreements.

The agreements are subject to Board approval, union membership ratification, and shareholder approval.

In return for the concessions, USAir says workers will receive \$400 million in preferred stock, a 20 percent stake in USAir's common stock, profit sharing, and four seats on USAir's 16-member board.

Discussions and debates among USAir workers are constant on the concession proposals. The vote by USAir flight attendants reflects dissatisfaction in the company's take back demands as well as skepticism that the promised "returns" will soften the blow of the concessions.

Deborah Liatos is a member of IAM Local 1776 at USAir in Philadelphia.



# Behind the U.S.-Japan conflict in World War II

Continued from Page 7

sions between the imperialist powers in the Pacific. While Washington and Tokyo backed away from a full-fledged trade war over automobiles in June, we can expect trade conflicts between the two to escalate as they compete for raw resources, markets, and fields of investment. There will be more sanctions and even embargoes by both sides.

And, as has been proven time and again, economic pressure alone cannot meet the needs of the owners of capital. It must be backed by a willingness to proceed to military action.

World War II led to the loss of at least 50 million lives, mostly workers and farmers, in Europe and Asia. This waste, including the massive destruction of cities, should drive home an important lesson about imperialist war for working people in all the major capitalist countries: there will never be peace until capitalism worldwide is overturned and replaced by socialism.

*Patti Iiyama is a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers in Houston. She had relatives who were killed by the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, and her parents were interned in the concentration camp at Topaz, Utah, during World War II.*

## —CALENDAR—

### ILLINOIS

#### Chicago

**Celebrate July 26 and José Martí's 100th Birthday.** Sat., July 29. Videos 5-7 p.m. *Ojos del Pueblo*, 19th and Carpenter. Dinner and Program 7:30 p.m. *St. Pius Church*, 19th and Ashland. Speakers: Miguel Nuñez, First Secretary of the Cuban Interests Section. Dance at 9:30 p.m. with Angel Quiñones y Conjunto Areto. Tickets \$10. For more information, call: (312) 663-0527.

Sponsored by the Chicago Cuba Coalition.

### MINNESOTA

#### Minneapolis

**Defend Cuba's Right to Live! Lift the U.S. Embargo!** Celebrate Cuba's national holiday, July 26. Good food, live music, dancing! Send off Minnesota's delegation to the Cuba Lives festival in Havana. Help raise funds to pay for their travel expenses. Wed., July 26, 6 p.m. *Todos Los Santos Church*, 28th St. and Lyndale Ave. S. Minneapolis. Rain date: July 28. Advance tickets: \$8 (at Resource Center of the Americas) \$10 at the door. For more information, call (612) 332-8575.

### NEW YORK

#### New York City

**National Network on Cuba: Northeast Regional Meeting.** Sun., August 13, 11 a.m.-4 p.m. Casa de las Americas, 104 W. 14th St.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Philadelphia

**Socialist Workers Campaign Rally!** Meet the Candidates: Deborah Liatos for Mayor, Hattie McCutcheon and John Staggs for City Council at-large. Sat., July 29, 7 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$5. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**Celebrate the 42nd Anniversary of the Beginning of the Cuban Revolution.** Speakers: Hugo Yedra, Consul of Cuba in Washington, D.C.; Adjoa Aiyetoro, Executive Director of the National Conference of Black Lawyers; Sarah Park, St. Mary's College student just returned from trip to Cuba with Freedom to Travel Campaign. Music by Luci Murphy and friends. *Washington Peace Center*, 2111 Florida Ave., N.W. Dinner 7 p.m. Program 7:30 p.m. Sponsored by D.C. Hands Off Cuba Coalition. Donation: \$4. Dinner: \$5. For more information, call (202) 452-5966.

### BRITAIN

#### Manchester

**Celebrate July 26 with Live Afro-Latin Music from the Mambo.** Fri., July 28, 7 p.m. to 2 a.m. *Copacabana, Dale Street* (on the corner of Spear St.). Donation: £2. For more information, contact Cuba Solidarity Campaign, Dept. 68, 1 Newton St., Manchester M11HW.

# Bipartisan affirmative action probe

Continued from front page

off for now a bill that would bar federal contracts that include "preferences" for women, Blacks, Latinos, and other oppressed groups. Gingrich argued that the Republicans must first "put together a package designed to help blacks and other minorities without the use of any preferences," the *New York Times* reported.

Other big-business politicians favor more aggressive moves, however. U.S. Rep. Gary Franks, one of two Black Republicans in the House, plans to attach amendments to spending bills that would prohibit federal agencies from setting aside a portion of their contracts for oppressed nationalities and women.

"It will represent the first salvo against affirmative action as we know it today," declared Franks. "I've been opposed to racial and gender-based set-asides and preferential treatment throughout my career."

The debate over this issue has been especially intense in California. Gov. Pete Wilson has played a prominent role in calling for restrictions on affirmative action programs. Faced with a recent Supreme Court decision allowing curbs on affirmative action, and a proposed statewide ballot initiative that would eliminate many such programs, a wide array of political forces in California are beginning to organize to defend these social gains.

A pro-affirmative action coalition of more than fifteen organizations has come together in California. It includes the NAACP, American Civil Liberties Union, National Organization for Women, League of United Latin American Citizens, Urban League, International Association of Machinists (IAM), United Electrical workers, United Auto Workers, and religious, community, and student groups. It is organizing out of the IAM offices in Long Beach.

The group is campaigning against the California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI), a proposed 1996 state referendum attacking affirmative action programs. A statement by the coalition says: "The CCRI campaign is calculated to distract us from the reality of the larger economic and political problems causing depression of wages and job loss. It exploits our fears and insecurities...by scapegoating and pitting one group against another."

The coalition says in one of its leaflets: "We see this need [to organize] in the wake of the recent Supreme Court decisions against affirmative action and school desegregation and the bi-partisan campaign against these hard won gains of women and minorities that redress years of racial and sexual discrimination and help to unify working people."

Loren Pommells, a young member of the IAM who is involved in the coalition,

said, "Many people fought for women and minorities to get equal rights. One victory was affirmative action and now they want to take it away. Affirmative action gives everyone an equal opportunity for jobs and education. It doesn't discriminate against anyone. If affirmative action is abolished, it will be a setback in our goal of equality."

The *Los Angeles Times* ran a sampling of interviews from California students on the issue. Ken Adams, 24, said: "We still need affirmative action. I'm worried about my own admission possibilities, but also about the general picture of affirmative action...I need it because it makes me feel safe that nobody will say no to me because I'm African American." Sylvia Casasola, 38, put it this way: "Affirmative action doesn't mean you get everything for free. That's the way [Gov. Wilson] is putting it, that every Latino is taking advantage of all the benefits."

Some demonstrations in support of affirmative action have been taking place on California campuses, and teach-ins, voter education and registration, media campaigns and other activities are being planned. A widespread debate has broken out on Wilson's proposal to end affirmative action in hiring, contracting and admissions in the University of California system. The university regents were scheduled to vote on the proposal July 20.

One Wilson ally on the Board of Regents is Ward Connerly, a wealthy Sacramento housing developer who is Black. He says affirmative action has outlived its usefulness and is proposing that the university scrap its affirmative action poli-

cies. "Today we're not in an institutionally racist society as we were in 1965," he asserted.

Despite this claim, average real income for Black families is no higher than in 1969, while for whites it rose 9 percent. Some 12 percent of whites live below the official poverty line, but 33 percent of Blacks and 31 percent of Latinos live in poverty. Women earn no more than 71 percent of men's average wages, and Black women even less.

The affirmative action debate has become a feature of the emerging presidential campaign. Wilson, a Republican presidential hopeful, announced he will exercise his right for the first time to preside over the regents meeting. Democrat Jesse Jackson, another possible presidential candidate, declared he would speak at the protest rally planned for July 19 and at the July 20 board of regents meeting.

*Mark Friedman, a member of the IAM in Los Angeles, contributed to this article.*

## 'Militant' summer schedule

A reminder to our readers: the 'Militant' is taking a one week break after this issue. We resume our weekly schedule with the issue printed August 3.

Please remember: the deadline for items for the calendar and Militant Labor Forums is Wednesday at noon the day before publication.

## —MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

The Militant Labor Forum is a weekly free-speech meeting for workers, farmers, youth, and others. All those seeking to advance the fight against injustice and exploitation are welcome to attend and participate in these discussions on issues of importance to working people.

At the Militant Labor Forum you can express your opinion, listen to the views of fellow fighters, and exchange ideas on how best to advance the interests of workers and farmers the world over.

### IOWA

#### Des Moines

**A Discussion on the Cuba Lives International Youth Festival.** Fri., July 28, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

### GEORGIA

#### Atlanta

No to the Death Penalty — Stop the Execu-

tion of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Fri., July 28, 7:30 p.m. 803 Peachtree St. (between 5th and 6th Street). Donation: \$3. Translation into Spanish and French. Tel: (404) 724-9759.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**Stop Government Attacks on Welfare and Health Care.** Speaker: Gary Cohen, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 28, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Pittsburgh

**Eyewitness Report from Socialist Cuba.** Speakers: James Munro, chairperson, Philosophy Department, Edinboro University of Pennsylvania, and Eugenia Porto. Both attended the Seventh Conference of North American and Cuban Philosophers and Social Scientists in Havana in June. Fri., July 28, 7:30 p.m. 1103 E. Carson St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (412) 381-9785.

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### SWEDEN

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**It's the work-hard-and-get-ahead system** — Over a 12-month period ending in March, workers' productivity increased 2.1 percent, reports the U.S. Labor Dept. During that same period, it



Harry Ring

adds, real wages dropped 2.3 percent.

**Shucks** — In Sheffield, England, a posted letter to employees at a McDonald's franchise advises: "You may be aware of the

rumor...that McDonald's donates money to the IRA [Irish Republican Army]. There is absolutely no truth to this rumor." The writer believes that the fable stems from the fact that U.S. employees can sign up for IRA [Individual Retirement Account] payroll deductions. The letter was dated 1992, so apparently they're still denying it.

**There's something funny** — We readily accept McDonald's assurance that it never contributed to the Irish liberation struggle. Our question is, how does someone working for McDonald's wages afford an IRA?

**That makes it a lesser or greater crime?** — The three Cincinnati cops who were filmed macing a Black youth and kicking

him in the ribs were "punished." One was transferred and the other two suspended for five days. A spokesman for the cops "union" bleated they had only done what their trainers had taught them

**It was ordered by the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agency?** — Obviously mortified, the feds agreed to return 75 million bullets seized from a California company shortly after the Oklahoma bombing. At the time of the full-dress raid it was suggested the bullets had been illegally imported and were, perhaps, intended for militia groups. In announcing the return, a U.S. prosecutor snapped, "No comment."

**The justice system** — "After serving less than two months of a

one-year sentence, a former New York state trooper convicted in an evidence-tampering scandal was granted early release by a Delaware County panel." — News item.

**American as apple pie** — An Atlanta *Journal Constitution* dining-out guide recommended the "Big House Special" at a local pub: "Here's something really different...reflects what's on the menu that day at one of the local prisons....Look for inmate favorites such as beef stroganoff, macaroni and cheese, and green Jell-O served on washable, non-lethal plastic trays."

**Can't be too nosy** — The *Los Angeles Times* reported that in neighboring Ventura County

there's been more than a dozen sewage spills this year, with up to 2 million gallons of raw sewage and other toxins running into the Pacific. The article spotlights the fact that Ventura officials don't bother to post required beach warnings when the spills occur. But it doesn't even ask what's being done about a sewage system with two major spills a month.

**Free-market multiculturalism** — The Mattel company is busy turning out Pocahontas and John Smith dolls. The heads are strictly from Disney, but the bodies are Barbie and Ken. An exec explains: "Certain efficiencies can be achieved that allow for us to make profitable merchandise at retail prices that are very reasonable."

## Socialist candidates speak out in San Francisco

BY WILL WEYER  
AND CATHLEEN GUTKANST

SAN FRANCISCO — "This weekend, celebrations begin for the 50th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations," said Jim Gotesky, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of San Francisco, at a June 23 rally here. "Working people will not mark this date with jubilation about humanity's triumph over war and hunger."

Gotesky is an oil refinery worker and member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union Local 1-326. He launched his write-in campaign at the Pathfinder bookstore here along with Jeanne Tuomey, Socialist Workers candidate for district attorney of San Francisco County, and Osborne Hart, the SWP candidate for county sheriff.

Gotesky explained that Mayor Frank Jordan and former California House speaker Willie Brown, two prominent Democrats running in the November election, have both professed opposition to the so-called California Civil Rights Initiative. This measure, on the ballot in November 1996, would "eliminate race and gender preferences in government hiring, education and contracting." Neither politician, said Gotesky, has or will do anything to mobilize working people to defend affirmative action or any of the gains made in struggle by the labor movement.



San Francisco campaign rally. Left to right: Jim Gotesky, Jeanne Tuomey, Osborne Hart, meeting chairperson Milton Chee. Socialists champion fight for jobs for all.

"I advocate an action program to unify workers and farmers in struggle all over the world to fight the effects of the crisis," the socialist said.

"There is no American solution. Unity is the key. Affirmative action must be vig-

orously defended and immigrant rights jealously guarded. The integration of the working class in the United States is one of the most unifying forces at work today."

Tuomey, a 19-year-old airline worker,

is a member of the Young Socialists. She participated in a solidarity brigade to Cuba earlier this year. "In Cuba, unlike on my job, workers actually have a direct say, not only in how their companies operate, but also in what direction their country moves in." She encouraged all of those present to build the Cuba Lives International Youth Festival in Havana August 1-7. "This will be an international leadership conference, not for CEOs, but for us. For those of us who want to learn how to fight against capitalism and imperialism and for socialism."

Hart, a meatpacker, reported that a local radio station had just reported the observance of National Sheriff's Week. "This is how they are celebrating: there have been three police killings in San Francisco within two weeks. On June 4, Aaron Williams, a laid-off factory worker who was Black, was taken from his home and mercilessly beaten by 12 cops in full view of his family and neighbors. He was sprayed with pepper spray three times and died in police custody shortly after the beating."

Hart urged protests, and said the campaign would also help mobilize opposition to the death sentence against Mumia Abu-Jamal and the death penalty.

Participants in the campaign kick-off either pledged or contributed more than \$1,100 to the socialist campaign.

## L.A. forum: 'counterterrorism' bill threatens civil liberties

BY MARK FRIEDMAN

LOS ANGELES — Responding to federal government attempts to expand FBI spying and harassment, the Militant Labor Forum sponsored a discussion here in June that drew a full house. A broad panel of speakers reviewed past spy agency disruption of the antiwar, civil rights, socialist, and labor movements and called for public action to stop the passage of the bipartisan "anti-terrorism" measures, approved by the Senate shortly after the meeting took place. These are now under debate in the House.

Tony Russo, a defendant with Daniel Ellsberg in the Pentagon Papers trial in the early 1970s, told how he spent 47 days in jail for refusing to cooperate with government investigators. Russo said that after the Vietnam War "the government brought the whole Saigon terror apparatus here...and set them down in Orange County. They worked with the U.S. government against other liberation movements, against antiwar activists, and those seeking normalization of relations with Vietnam. Some were even shot and physically attacked."

Frank Wilkinson, head of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, also spoke. He fought in the 1950s against the House Un-American Activities Committee. Wilkinson pointed out that "there is little difference between the Republican ['counterterrorism'] bill and the pre-Oklahoma City bill introduced by Clinton, which allows the government to wiretap without a court order and denies organizations the right to appeal if they are named a terrorist organization."

"Who is it who defines terrorism?" asked Omar Ricci of the Muslim Public Affairs Council and the Islamic Center of Southern California. Ricci reported that in the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing his group received threatening calls as did other Islamic groups and numerous individuals.

FBI harassment and infiltration of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) began in 1981 and continued for four years. Don White, a spokesperson for CISPES, said the organization's goals included trying to prevent the deportation of Salvadoran refugees, raising humanitarian aid, and stopping U.S. intervention. "It turned out that the INS was sending the names of deportees back ahead of time, so the refugees never got through the airport in San Salvador. The military knew the political history of who was coming back and picked them up," he said.

Nelson Blackstock, author of *Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*, published by Pathfinder, reviewed the historic lawsuit by the Socialist Workers Party against the FBI and other government agencies, which revealed a 50-year spying and disruption operation against the party.

Now, said Blackstock, "they say they need to loosen the reins of the FBI: the bogeyman is no longer communism but terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism. The real target is neither Arabs nor right-wing patriots but the working class and its ability to link up and solidarize with workers around the world facing an economic crisis."

## — 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

### THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

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HEIDELBERG, Germany, July 9 — Afro-American GIs stationed in Germany are waging an open struggle against racism, brutality and bad conditions, and for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indochina. They organized a public "Call for Justice" meeting July 4 in Heidelberg attended by about 1,000 Black GIs.

The UBS [Unsatisfied Black Soldiers] was formed in Heidelberg in April. Another organization, the Black Defense Group, existed in Karlsruhe, and in May its president initiated the idea for the "Call for Justice" meeting.

The UBS demands at the July 4 rally were immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Indochina; establishment of enlisted men's review boards to rule on pretrial confinement of Black soldiers; creation of a civilian inspector general in Army units to fill the posts now held by officers; an end to discrimination in assignments and duties; and employment of more Blacks in overseas civilian jobs connected with the Army.

### THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N.Y.

FIVE (5) CENTS

July 28, 1945

LOS ANGELES, Calif., July 20 —

More than 14,000 persons answered the call of the anti-fascist united front organized during the past week to demonstrate against Gerald L.K. Smith and his fascist movement by attending a mass meeting at the Olympic auditorium tonight.

Meanwhile, at the Shrine auditorium a mile away, Smith ranted to an audience of less than 5,000 against "the Jews and Communists" at the Olympic. Demagogically appealing to the aged members of the Ham and Eggs movement and the fanatically religious sects who provide the only base he has been able to secure here thus far, Smith screamed: "There's ham and eggs for Russia, and ham and eggs for Britain, and now we're going to get ham and eggs for America!"

W.J. Bassett, representing the AFL Central Labor Council, and Philip Connelly, secretary of the CIO Industrial Council, made the most significant speeches at the anti-fascist mass meeting.

Bassett exposed Smith's demagogic references to his membership in the AFL by explaining that years ago this fascist demagogue had "confused some AFL unions in Louisiana into giving him life memberships" and has been exploiting them ever since.

Bassett was the first speaker to emphasize the special interest of labor in stopping Smith, who is "attempting to divide all working people and do away with organized labor."

Connelly's speech, as full of double talk as the Stalinist line which he follows, explained Smith's presence in Los Angeles as an attempt "to disrupt the war effort in the Pacific."

Then touching a basic truth for once, he said: "This is the reactionary big business method of solving postwar problems."



## Stop the execution of Abu-Jamal

All partisans of democratic rights should raise their voice to oppose the Pennsylvania government's plan to execute Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was framed by the Philadelphia police on charges of killing a cop. This state-sanctioned murder is scheduled for August 17.

Abu-Jamal's case is an example of class justice in capitalist society: how the cops and courts routinely arrest, brutalize, and railroad working people to jail, particularly those who are Black. It is how thousands of workers end up on death row.

By refusing to get on his knees and fighting to speak out against his frame-up and the death penalty, Abu-Jamal has become an emblem of resistance to many youth and others who are outraged by the racism, social injustice, and brutality endemic to capitalist rule.

Abu-Jamal, a radio journalist, was working as a cab driver when he encountered a cop beating his brother. His brother was attacked because he was a worker and Black, not as authorities claim for making a wrong turn on a one-way street.

Abu-Jamal is facing execution because he was convicted of killing the cop who was shot to death. That's why the authorities put him on death row. But they had a problem: Abu-Jamal would not go silently or allow the prosecution to trample on his rights without protest. Pro-cop forces responded by publicly campaigning for his execution and seeking to prevent him from speaking out from behind prison walls.

A Black rights activist in his youth, he had become known for his journalistic exposure of the Philadelphia government's attacks against the Black nationalist group MOVE. He put that experience to good use in his efforts to expose the frame-up and reach out to all who would join in the fight.

E.L. Doctorow wrote July 14 in the *New York Times* that application of the death penalty must meet the "most awesome judicial imperatives" suggesting that Abu-Jamal's conviction "does not hold up under examination."

Working people should oppose the death penalty used

by the capitalist rulers whether the conviction "holds up" or not. Capital punishment is a barbaric weapon used to terrorize working people, especially those who are of oppressed nationalities.

In Philadelphia, of the 103 people who sit on death row, 91 are Black or Latino. It's next to impossible for workers, particularly Blacks or immigrants, to get a fair trial in capitalist society. Being framed up and railroaded by the cops and the capitalist court system is a common experience for working people. That's why presumption of innocence is an important conquest for the working class.

The capitalist rulers are determined to press ahead with implementing the death penalty. Some 38 states have legalized capital punishment while President Bill Clinton's crime bill expands the death penalty to about 60 federal offenses.

Abu-Jamal has continued to use his skills to speak out effectively not only on his own behalf, but in opposition to the government's use of capital punishment and injustices against working people both inside and outside prison walls. His courageous stance has won growing public support.

As the 50th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Japan approaches, where 150,000 people were instantly incinerated, this should serve as a reminder of the barbarity of capitalist society and the mass slaughter the U.S. rulers are capable of. Their use of the death penalty — whether it's a deterrent to crime is irrelevant — is just another example of how capitalism dehumanizes and breaks down bonds of human solidarity.

By joining the rallies, demonstrations, and other public actions, youth and working people can raise the political price the government will pay for proceeding with the execution. We should oppose this execution and any other that the rulers seek to impose on us. The labor movement should join this campaign to demand:

- Stop the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal!
- Grant Abu-Jamal a new trial!
- Abolish the death penalty!

## No to nukes, no to chauvinism

The decision by President Jacques Chirac in France to resume nuclear weapons testing on Moruroa, one of its colonial possessions in the Pacific, should be roundly condemned by working people throughout the world.

Paris plans to move ahead with the tests despite widespread public opposition from Tahiti to Japan to France itself. Some 50,000 people in Fiji have already signed a petition to the French government declaring: "The Pacific and its people have been the testing ground for the nuclear powers since 1945. Fifty years after the bombing of Hiroshima it is time to stop."

The reference to Washington's dropping of the atomic bomb on Japanese cities is apt, since every imperialist power has built up and used military might in brutal wars to dominate parts of the globe and maintain their system of exploitation and oppression known as capitalism.

The large protests in recent weeks in Tahiti and other colonies and semicolonies across the Pacific deserve the support and solidarity of workers, farmers, and young people the world over. The demands of these protests combine with the aspirations for national self-determination, independence, and economic and social development in these countries.

At the same time, the imperialist rulers in Australia and New Zealand have seized on opposition to nuclear testing as an opportunity to mount a nationalist cam-

paign against their rivals in Paris. Canberra and Wellington are whipping up anti-French sentiments to advance their own interests against workers, peasants, and youth across the Pacific. Their actions have nothing to do with the campaign against the dangers of nuclear radiation, threat of imperialist wars, or colonial domination.

Workers and youth in Australia and New Zealand who are opposed to nuclear weapons can strike a blow against the wealthy rulers in each country by combating the nationalist campaign. This is the only way to chart an internationalist course that unites workers and youth in opposition to the commercial and foreign policy goals of the imperialist governments.

By targeting the capitalist rulers at home as the main enemy — be it Canberra, Wellington, Paris, or Washington — the working class will be in the best position to lead a revolutionary struggle to replace the capitalist governments in "our own" countries, establish workers and farmers governments, and advance the worldwide fight for socialism. This is the only effective answer to nuclear testing and other crimes the capitalist system perpetrates on working people around the globe.

Workers, farmers, and youth should join together in protesting the resumption of French nuclear testing; at the same time we must vigorously oppose every attempt by capitalist rulers to whip up national chauvinism.

## Labor needs affirmative action

The Clinton administration's decision to back off, for the moment, from the bipartisan assault on affirmative action reflects the difficulties the U.S. rulers face in convincing a broad enough layer of working people that these programs amount to nothing but "reverse discrimination," or that it was a good idea in the past but has "gotten out of hand."

Democratic and Republican politicians have not been able to extinguish the legacy of the victory over Jim Crow segregation coming out of the massive civil rights struggles in the 1950s and 1960s. And they have not been able to turn back the fight for equality by women and oppressed nationalities.

To illustrate this point, pollster Lou Harris found that 80 percent of the people responded positively when asked if they support the California constitutional amendment that would ban all state affirmative action programs based on race and gender "discrimination" and "preferences." But when asked if they favor the amendment if it "discourages or even ends programs to help women or minorities achieve equal opportunities in education and employment," support drops to 30 percent.

While holding off on a frontal assault, Clinton is de-

termined to keep pressing against affirmative action. His aides say the president will issue a directive to eliminate or "reform" any program that includes quotas, one of the only ways to ensure that the word and the deed of affirmative action programs match up.

The fight to defend affirmative action is a fight to unify the working class. As long as the employers can deny jobs or other rights to some because they are a different nationality or sex, they can keep our class divided and weaken our ability to protect the jobs, wages, and working condition, of all workers.

The labor movement should champion the fight for affirmative action along with demands for jobs for all, a minimum wage at union-scale pay, and equal rights for immigrants. Putting these demands together presents a fighting program that can unite the working class and offer a powerful counter to the capitalists' bipartisan offensive against our rights and living standards.

The initial response by working people and students in California to the probes on affirmative action show that Clinton and the bipartisan gang on Capitol Hill, and in state houses across the country, will not be able to dismantle this conquest without a fight.

## Why Korean toilers fought war against U.S. occupation

*"The entire administrative power of the territory of Korea south of parallel 38 is under my jurisdiction. The population should unreservedly obey the orders issued over my signature. Those acting against the occupation or violating order and tranquillity will be mercilessly and severely punished. For the period of military occupation, English is introduced as the official language."* — Gen. Douglas MacArthur, upon occupation of South Korea by U.S. forces on Sept. 8, 1945.

Fifty years ago the victors in World War II divided the Korean peninsula. From the beginning Korean workers and peasants fought against military occupation and for reunification. Washington sent thousands of troops, under the United Nations banner, to block reunification and protect imperialist interests. The Korean War claimed more than 3 million lives. July 27 marks the 42nd anniversary of the end of the brutal imperialist invasion. The article below is excerpted from "Civil War in Korea — New Stage in the Asian Revolution," which appeared in the September-October 1950 issue of *Fourth International*, a forerunner of today's *New International magazine*.

Even before the entry of American or Russian troops, however, local revolutionary committees divested the Japanese authorities of power throughout the country. The network of "people's committees" had been quickly consolidated into a "People's Republic" set up at Seoul, the capital, located in the South.

"The Japanese authorities," writes Professor McCune, the outstanding American authority on Korea, "fearful of the powder keg on which they were sitting, did not impede the formation of the Republic, but on the contrary granted its leaders special facilities in exchange for assistance in maintaining order." (*Korea Today*, by George M. McCune, Harvard University Press, 1950. Our presentation of Korean events leans heavily on this scholarly work for its factual material.)

In the North the Republic's activities were thereafter carried on "with the sanction of the Russian occupying forces" who promptly recognized the new "people's committees." When US troops arrived on September 8, 1945, the Republic offered its services to the American command, but "was given a cold shoulder." Instead, General Hodge, the commanding general, "announced that the existing Japanese administration would continue in office...."

Greatest of all was the land hunger that had grown to vast proportions under the Japanese and which here, as everywhere in Asia, was the paramount explosive force. The Soviet-backed North Korean authorities faced that problem at once and a central decree legalized all previous action taken spontaneously, with sweeping provisions "bestowing the right to exploit the land to those who cultivate it." All Japanese and collaborator-owned lands were confiscated and distributed in their entirety to the peasants free of charge....

In the South, on the other hand, all revolutionary overturns in property were ruthlessly suppressed. No land reform at all was instituted until 1949. Under the land bill finally passed by the American-sponsored National Assembly, peasants were required to pay for land grants, parceled out from estates formerly owned by the Japanese, with 20% of their crop for 15 years (to compensate former landlords)....

Compounded with all these sources of resentment was that of the division of the country itself, felt equally strongly by the mass of the people in the South as well as in the North....

Like the Chinese civil war which finally overthrew Chiang Kai-shek, the Korean war is anchored in a revolution which, challenging foreign imperialism, tends to overturn all of society in the process. The events in China proved that the revolutionary ferment produced by World War II had risen to such proportions that the ruling class, no matter how superior its material resources and how great the aid obtained from abroad, could not withstand the assault of the dispossessed....

In Korea, as in China, the war proceeds with a constant division of the landed estates. The army recruits as it marches forward, the peasants are only too anxious to defend their newly acquired land, the population its newly acquired rights. That's what makes for the undiminished mass of soldiers and their "fanaticism." What makes the "people's war" so superior tactically, as Jack Belden has pointed out in *China Shakes the World*, is that its soldiers know exactly what they are fighting for, they have it tangibly before their eyes. On the other hand, the soldiers opposing them have only the vaguest notions as to the whys and wherefores of the struggle. At best, as one of them explained to a front reporter in Korea, "I am fighting to remain alive."

The example of China, and now of Korea, cannot help but have its effect on the rest of Asia. "The promptness with which the North Koreans instituted drastic land reforms in the conquered areas of South Korea is an impressive fact for many Asians," writes Harold R. Isaacs in *The Nation*. And this, the writer explains, undermines the ability of politicians like [Pandit] Nehru [in India], much as they desire, to carry their countries into an alliance with the US.



# Retail workers strike Ireland's biggest employer

This column is devoted to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on their living standards, working conditions, and unions. We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a

ers at Dunnes were fired for refusing to handle South African products in protest of apartheid. The Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party sent messages of solidarity to the strikers.

the bakery owners want a clause that forbids local agreements on this question.

"I would like to know why the contract was signed without this question being solved," said one worker. Also unresolved at the Skogaholm bakery are company plans to lay off 70 of the 300 workers.

Although most workers expressed satisfaction with the wage increase, one said, "You don't know where the pircs end up. From that point of view a shorter agreement would have been better."

## ON THE PICKET LINE

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

Thousands of workers at Dunnes, Ireland's largest private employer, launched their first nationwide strike June 19. Pickets closed most Dunnes shops.

Workers are protesting the company's demand for "zero hour contracts." Under these contracts, employees must be available to work at all times, but are not guaranteed any work. Hours can vary from zero to 39 a week. Unionists also seek pensions, more full-time jobs, sick pay for part-time employees, and wage hikes, as well as resisting Dunnes's plan to introduce Sunday work at straight time. Mandate, the union that organizes the predominantly female workforce, estimates that union membership has shot up from 30 percent before the strike to 80 percent now.

A striker at the St. Stephens Green shopping mall in Central Dublin said management thought that because of their age and inexperience workers could be bullied into accepting the new conditions. "We have had about as much as we can take," the young worker said. "Now is the time for action."

In the mid 1980s, women work-

### Retail, bakery workers in Sweden win contracts

Retail and bakery workers in Sweden won wage hikes and other benefits in recently signed contracts. Thousands of workers in both industries walked out in May and June and employers retaliated by locking others out.

Some 125,000 retail and storage workers in Sweden won a union pact June 13 after a 16-day strike. The three-year agreement contains wage hikes and increased vacation pay. The majority-female workforce defeated the employers' plan to lower pay for working inconvenient hours.

"Retail employers always had low-wage contracts so we are very pleased," said Annika Malmgren, one of 70 employees at ICA supermarket in Solna.

The Swedish Foodworkers Union signed a three-year contract with bakery owners June 26 after 6,000 workers went on strike or were locked out at all privately owned bakeries in Sweden. The agreement, which was not brought to the membership for a vote, includes annual raises of about 50 cents an hour.

At a union meeting just a few hours after the contract was signed, workers at Skogaholm bakery in Stockholm discussed the pact.

Most of the discussion centered on the lack of agreement on working hours. The law requires a local agreement for all night work, but

### Unionists in Puerto Rico oppose 'flexible hours'

In the last several weeks, unionists in Puerto Rico have organized protests against proposed changes in the labor law, including a public speakout of 500 people. The bosses' goal is to have complete flexibility in the scheduling of workers. One thousand protesters filled the gallery while the Senate voted on the legislation June 23. Senate leaders responded by calling the police riot squad and then voted in favor of the bill.

On June 25 an assembly of more than 100 trade union officials, organized by the Labor Organizations Committee, voted to plan a general strike to protest the proposed changes.

Luis Fortuño, the head of the government-owned Puerto Rico Tourism Co., is leading the drive to change the labor laws. One proposal would allow employers to vary the starting hour by as

much as four hours without incurring overtime penalties. A proposal to abolish local minimum wages was dropped. In addition to discussing strike action, the assembly voted on a series of activities to protest the proposed changes in the labor laws, including picketing tourist hotels and various government agencies.

### Janitors mark rally that sparked organizing drive

Chants of "Si, se puede" (yes, we can do it) rang through the streets of Beverly Hills June 15 as 200 janitors and supporters marked the fifth anniversary of a vicious police attack against a Culver City demonstration that sparked the rise of the "Justice for Janitors" organizing campaign in southern California. The demonstration was particularly spirited after the recent negotiation of a contract covering 6,000 janitors by Service Employees International Union Local 399.

Marchers demanded authorities

drop the charges against 49 union janitors arrested while demonstrating in front of the Beverly Wilshire Hotel in March. They are charged with trespassing, failure to disperse, unlawful assembly, and resisting arrest and are facing possible jail time and fines totaling more than \$30,000.

"They want us here to clean their office buildings at night in silence, but when we come here in the day to demand justice they want to arrest us," was how one demonstrator summed it up.

Contributors to this week's column include: Bill Loxton and Stewart Alexander in Dublin; Inger Nyman and Catharina Tirsén, members of the Foodworkers Union, and Lasse Johansson, a member of the Transport Workers Union in Stockholm; Ron Richards, a member of the American Federation of Government Employees in San Juan, Puerto Rico; and Craig Honts, a member of United Transportation Union Local 1674 in Los Angeles.



Some 2,500 workers struck Detroit's two daily papers, the *Free Press* and the *News*, July 13 against planned job cuts and other concession demands. The papers printed early editions that day, but could not distribute them.

## LETTERS

### The bridge goes both ways

[Editor's note: The following is a response to a letter printed in our June 5 issue from reader Ed Meredith on the subject of gun control.]

Since it's founding in 1938 the Socialist Workers Party has stood up for the workers' right to defend themselves against the economic, political, and physical attacks of the ruling rich and their various armed thugs. Naturally the party has always been pretty suspicious of any so-called anti-crime or gun control legislation no matter what the pretext; such moves are always an attack on the rights of the oppressed. They are always an attempt to disarm the workers politically, morally, and physically.

I'm not speaking for either the party or the *Militant*, but I have been a subscriber and an SWP supporter for the last 32 years and I'm pretty familiar with the movement's traditions and principles. The foundation principles of the party are contained in a book titled *The Transitional Program For Socialist Revolution*, by Leon Trotsky. In this program there is a short section subtitled "The picket line/defense guards/workers militia/the arming of the proletariat." I urge you to study this.

You will find that there are no directions on bomb making or how to bury rifles in the back wood lot; workers self-defense is treated as a political and educational task. The task of Socialists is, in Trotsky's words, through agitation and organization, "on the basis of the experience of the masses...to root out from their

consciousness the tradition of submissiveness and passivity..." Further, "when the proletariat wills it, it will find the road and means to arming." To put this in proportion, the problem of arming for self-defense is two and a half pages in a 240-page book; slightly more space is given to forming an alliance with oppressed farmers.

To any socialist, the real revolutionary struggle is the fight to break the oppressed from their political dependence on their oppressors; to free workers, farmers, African-Americans, abortion-rights fighters, radical youth, and so on from their illusions in the twin parties of big business. In that struggle we need democratic rights, the rights to speak, publish, organize, to do politics. Those are the rights under attack by the "Omnibus Anti-Terrorism Bill."

The purpose of the Socialist Workers Party is to lead the workers and farmers in political struggle against the rule of big business. Our future goal is the formation of a workers and farmers government, a government that really will represent the people. Our means of struggle are political and democratic means to win over the majority; there is no other way to make a revolution.

Of course we aren't dumb enough to expect the rich to use democratic means. In the capitalist crisis during the 1930s the ruling rich organized fascist bands to attack the unions and farm protest movements. The SWP played an important role in leading the self-defense efforts against fascist attacks in Minnesota and around the country. In Minneapolis the



bosses brought 5,000 armed thugs into the city to crush the Teamsters; SWPers played a leading role in the Union Defense Guards that drove the bosses goons off the streets.

When Jim Cannon (a major leader of the SWP at that time) was accused in court of fomenting violence, he replied that he was proud that the party had some role in influencing the workers to defend themselves against violence. "I think the workers have a right to defend themselves. If that is treason, you can make the most of it."

If the SWP's analysis of the current world crisis is correct, we face a future of struggle. As the working people move politically to assert their rights to a decent life, we must expect the ruling rich to launch fascist violence in one form or another. In that case, we socialists have to be prepared to speak to the thugs in a language they understand.

One final point Ed, I would be

careful who I hung out with. Now I don't know what "militia" groups you've got down in Kentucky, but I do know what we've got in Delaware. In Delaware there's an outfit called the "Posse Comitatus." This is your basic pro-Second Amendment "militia," funny uniforms, black jump boots, and automatic weapons. I've seen the Posse march down Main Street, Elkton, and Main Street, Newark. The Posse was marching for Second Amendment rights and "Christian morals." The Posse was marching with it's allies, the Klan and the nutty Nazis. I think we can guess what kind of morality these characters stand for and why they want guns.

On both those marches, the 100 or so weirdos were met by thousands of counter-demonstrators. The Posse and their fascist friends were able to get out of town in one piece, because they were escorted by several hundred riot police. I am proud to say that socialists played a small role in building the

counter demonstration.

If the boys you are "building bridges to" are anything like the Posse well, bridges have been known to be two way. Be real careful Ed; don't get lost, and don't buy any ostriches.

Roy Inglee  
Newark, Delaware

### Immigrant rights

I found the article by Salm Kolis, "Rally against INS raids says, 'We're here to stay'" in the July 3 *Militant* very interesting. In Miami June 8 the Immigration and Naturalization Service rounded up 51 workers at aircraft repair companies near Miami International Airport. One mechanic who witnessed the raid described how "they had them handcuffed together in a line. It looked like a chain gang."

I work at an International Association of Machinists—organized engine overhaul plant next door to one of the raided airplane hangers. "They were working! They were not stealing," said a Cuban-born mechanic who disagreed with the raid.

Another co-worker remarked, "These people should stay in their country and try to fix the problems there."

Phoenix Kendrick  
Miami, Florida

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.



## Protesters say 'no nukes in Pacific!'

### Imperialist regimes dredge up reactionary anti-French chauvinism

BY BOB AIKEN  
AND DOUG COOPER

SYDNEY, Australia — Thousands of people took to the streets here July 14, Bastille Day, to protest the French government's decision to resume nuclear tests in September on Moruroa, an atoll in its colony of French Polynesia.

The rally and march, which ended in front of the French consulate, focused on nationalist appeals for the Australian government to take "stronger" action against "France."

People for Nuclear Disarmament initiated the action under the slogans, "End French Testing" and "Boycott French Products," as well as, "No Uranium Sales to France." Politicians from all the main political parties — the Australian Labor Party, Liberal Party, National Party, the Greens, and Australian Democrats — as well as major environmental organizations, union officials, and left-wing groups backed the action.

Organizers said 20,000 marched, while police put the figure at 10,000. Some 3,000 also marched in Melbourne, and 2,000 picketed the official Bastille Day celebration organized by the French Embassy in Canberra. Demonstrators also rallied in Brisbane, Adelaide, Perth, and the Gold Coast.

"We want Australia to take the lead," former Tasmanian Green senator Bob Brown told the crowd as he summarized a five-point letter to go from the rally to the Australian government. The five points demanded that Canberra "join with New Zealand" and send an Australian navy supply ship to support a flotilla of protest vessels that is due to set off in mid-August from both countries to join the *Rainbow Warrior* in French Polynesia; halt the export of uranium; support self-determination for the French colonies of French Polynesia, New Caledonia, and Wallis and Futuna; campaign for an end to all nuclear testing through the United Nations and the World Court; and campaign against the Moruroa tests.

While a few speakers cautioned that the protests are not directed at French people but at the French government, many handwritten placards took the common Australian nationalist framework to its logical, chauvinist conclusion with slogans like



Protesters outside French embassy in Santiago, Chile. Paris's decision to launch new round of nuclear testing has sparked worldwide outcry, especially in Pacific. Capitalists and union tops in Australia, New Zealand have stirred up anti-French sentiment.

"Frogs don't have a leg to stand on," "Only the French could have that much Gaul," and "Bomb Paris." Major radio stations and other media built the rally using anti-French rhetoric and jokes.

Maritime Union of Australia national secretary John Coombs told the rally that the union is taking action against French-flagged ships and cargoes. "It is our intention to drive the French off the seas completely," he said.

#### No mention of Australian imperialism

Speakers who pointed to the need for independence for France's colonies made no mention of Canberra's imperialist role in the region or its backing of the war on Bougainville by the neocolonial regime in Papua New Guinea, its former colony.

Aside from condemning the sale of uranium to Paris by the Australian government, few speakers pointed to Canberra's backing of the nuclear arsenals of Wash-

ington, London, and Paris, or its support of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

A handful of protesters pointed to Canberra's complicity with Paris. One banner ironically noted, "End uranium mining, boycott Australian products." Another sign said, "No more double standards. No more uranium sales. Australia is as guilty as France."

Daniele Caraty, who organized the June 18 Sydney protest by French-Australians against Chirac's decision, also spoke. Hundreds carried both printed and handwritten signs that said, "Non!" (No!).

High school and university students made up a large part of the protest. Further actions are scheduled for Hiroshima Day, August 6.

Bob Aiken and Doug Cooper are members of the Australian Workers' Union in Sydney.

BY LINDA HARRIS

SYDNEY, Australia — The biggest mobilization ever to take place in Tahiti shut down the capital city, Papeete, for several days in early July to protest the French government's decision to resume nuclear tests at Moruroa Atoll.

Some 10,000 people, more than 10 percent of the island's population, took part in the protest, blocking roads in and out of Papeete. The demonstration coincided with the arrival of the Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior*. Oscar Temaru, leader of Tavini Huiraatira (the Polynesian Liberation Front), the main pro-independence party, said the mood was one of "outrage and indignation," and that more actions against nuclear testing would follow.

Temaru and French Catholic bishop Jacques Gaillot joined the *Rainbow Warrior*'s international crew as it sailed from Tahiti for Moruroa. It reached the 12-mile exclusion zone around Moruroa July 10, marking the 10th anniversary of the 1985 bombing by French agents of the original *Rainbow Warrior* in Auckland harbor, New Zealand, which resulted in the death of one crew member.

A French naval ship rammed the *Rainbow Warrior* soon after it violated the limit and commandos stormed the vessel, smashing windows and firing tear gas as they arrested crew members, passengers, and journalists.

Protesters in Papeete delayed the Bastille Day military parade for more than an hour July 14. Some 5,000 cheering demonstrators, many waving the blue and white flag of the Tahitian independence movement, welcomed the crew of the *Rainbow Warrior* as it returned from Moruroa. Temaru said the ship would return to protest at Moruroa. "We'll use all means to prevent resumption of nuclear testing on the atoll," he said.

Four thousand people marched in Suva, Fiji, July 15, in opposition to the projected tests at Moruroa. A coalition of 10 organizations, including the Fiji Trades Union Congress, the University of the South Pacific Students Association, the Pacific Conference of Churches, and the National Council of Women, called the march.

Another action is planned in Suva for August 5.

Linda Harris is a member of the Australian Manufacturing Workers' Union in Sydney.

## Irish protests hit release of paratrooper

BY MARTIN HILL

LONDON — Widespread protests followed the July 3 release of British paratrooper Pvt. Lee Clegg, after serving less than three and a half years of a life sentence. Clegg was imprisoned for the 1990 killing of Karen Reilly at a roadblock in West Belfast, Northern Ireland.

Patrick Mayhew, British secretary of state for Northern Ireland, personally approved the recommendation to release Clegg. He was only the second soldier to be convicted of murder in Northern Ireland. Both received early release.

No republican or loyalist prisoner convicted of murder has ever been released short of serving at least 10 years. Clegg is preparing to resume his army career.

Government officials insisted that the release was a judicial, not a political decision. "No one in Belfast believed that," said the *Economist*. "The scorn increased when it emerged that the much-respected head of Northern Ireland's Probation Board had resigned from the Life Sentence Review Board in protest at the 'deviation' in Mr. Clegg's case from the usual criteria for reviewing a sentence."

"He's got away with murder," was the angry reaction of Sean Reilly, father of the young woman shot by Clegg. "They made special rules for him because he wore a

para's uniform."

The leader of the Catholic Church in Northern Ireland, Cardinal Cahal Daly, criticized the release as "crass insensitivity," and said, "There must now be urgent action in the case of other prisoners who had the experience of being caught up at a young age in troubles which they did not have any control over." Irish prime minister John Bruton warned that the peace process could be at risk unless Irish Republican Army prisoners were given similar treatment.

"People here find this decision insulting," Martin McGuinness of Sinn Fein said. Slogans went up on walls in West Belfast saying, "Clegg out — all out!" referring to the hundreds of political prisoners still in jail. Angry demonstrations, pickets, and rallies in Belfast and other towns backed this demand.

Some 2,000 marched in West Belfast, protesters in Derry blocked roads, and others demonstrated in Dungannon and Coalisland. In London, members of Saoirse, the campaign for freedom for Irish political prisoners, staged a protest outside Parliament as television cameras covered the reelection of John Major as Conservative Party leader.

During some of the protests in Northern Ireland, demonstrators overturned vehi-

cles and set them on fire. The Royal Ulster Constabulary arrested more than 30 people.

Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams rejected government claims that the violence was being orchestrated by his party. "If the peace process is to be salvaged, the British government must remove the obstacles it has erected to dialogue," he said. Saoirse explained that the outbreak of violence reflected frustration at the government's double standards.

Clashes also took place when the right-wing Orange Order staged its annual marches in towns across Northern Ireland to mark the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne July 12. Many Catholics view these demonstrations commemorating the 1688 defeat of King James II's army as attempts at intimidation. Residents took action to block march routes in Portadown and the Ormeau Road in Belfast.

Prisoners' supporters are stepping up their efforts as a result of recent events. Saoirse will be participating in a day of protests August 31, marking the anniversary of the IRA cease-fire. As well as protests in Ireland, a major rally is planned in London's Trafalgar Square.

Martin Hill is a member of the Transport and General Workers Union in Luton.

BY PATRICK BROWN

CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand — More than 1,500 people rallied and marched here July 14 to oppose Paris's plan to conduct eight underground nuclear bomb tests between September 1995 and May 1996. Protesters chanted loudly, "Stop the tests!" and "1,2,3,4, we don't want no nuclear war; 2,4,6,8, we don't want to radiate!" as they marched through the streets. Many passers-by applauded.

All the prominent speakers appealed to New Zealand nationalism in the fight against the testing.

The mayor of Christchurch, Vicki Buck, advocated that the New Zealand government send a naval frigate to Moruroa. Her remarks received loud applause. The opposition parties in Parliament have hammered this demand, and the government has said it is considering sending an unarmed naval research vessel.

At other actions in New Zealand more than 2,000 protesters marched in Auckland July 14. Another 2,000 picketed the residence of the French ambassador in the capital, Wellington.

Patrick Brown is a member of the Engineers Union in Christchurch. Eugen Lepou in Auckland contributed to this article.