

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

What stance in U.S.-China conflict over Taiwan?

— PAGE 10

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 60/NO. 16 APRIL 22, 1996

Los Angeles: 6,000 blast cop beating of Mexicans

BY DAVID CREED
AND CRAIG HONTS

LOS ANGELES — Six thousand people poured through the streets of downtown Los Angeles April 6 to demand prosecution of the cops who clubbed several Mexican workers near Riverside, California, southeast of here. The April 1 beat-

**Tear down Clinton's wall!
Equal rights for
immigrants!**

— see editorial page 10

ing, videotaped by a TV crew flying in a helicopter overhead and shown on television throughout the United States and Mexico, has caused widespread outrage. Chants of "Raza Sí, Migra No!" and "We didn't cross the border, the border crossed us!" rang out from the predominately youthful demonstrators.

Many carried home-made signs and banners that were written after individuals heard about the demonstration on the radio. "No More Latin Blood!" read one placard. "Wilson, Buchanan, Salinas, Zedillo — the blame is yours!" referred to California governor Peter Wilson, ultrarightist politician Patrick Buchanan, and the former and current presidents of Mexico Carlos Salinas de Gortari and Ernesto Zedillo. "Full Citizenship for All Immigrants!" and "I am not a Piñata!" read other signs.

Another woman carrying a sign saying "The real illegals are the police — Jail the cops who beat us!" said in an interview, "I'm here because there should be justice. They should punish the police, they



Outraged demonstrators at April 6 march in Los Angeles. "Prosecute and punish the Riverside cops; delegation from Young Socialists convention," reads the sign in Spanish.

should kick them off their job. They're racists and don't belong in a place with authority. Instead of giving them vacations we should be giving them convictions."

At 5:30 a.m. that morning before the march, border patrol agents followed a truck they claimed was stolen, which overturned on a rural road near Riverside killing seven men and injuring 18. The police said they suspected the vehicle was carrying undocumented immigrants and claimed they did not chase the truck, they just followed it. The victims are between 20 and 30 years old.

"This is not exceptional; cop beatings and killings of immigrant workers happen every day," said Verónica Poses, another demonstrator who came here from Miami. "What was exceptional in the April 1 incident was the TV camera. We've got to fight to stop racist police violence." Poses, a leader of the Young Socialists, joined the march along with several YS members and hundreds of other youth.

Around 300 demonstrators also marched at the same time from City Hall to the county jail in the city of Riverside.

Continued on Page 3

Young Socialists hold first convention

BY NAOMI CRAINE
AND TOM ALTER

MINNEAPOLIS — The Young Socialists came out of their first national convention geared up to join protests demanding equal rights for immigrants, strike picket lines, and antiracist and women's rights actions. In the process YS members will use the momentum from their convention to campaign for socialism and build the communist movement.

Delegates to the convention, held here in Minnesota April 6-7, decided to put winning support for the Socialist Workers candidates James Harris for U.S. president and Laura Garza for vice president at the center of their work. They discussed, amended, and adopted a set of political principles, as well as a plan of action for the coming months. The YS campaigns include work in defense of the Cuban revolution and participation in a broad range of other struggles.

YS members didn't wait for their con-
Continued on Page 6

AS WE GO TO PRESS

Rail workers reject contract

Members of the United Transportation Union (UTU) have turned down a tentative agreement reached between UTU officials and most major railroads in the United States, UTU president Charles Little announced April 10. Negotiations are to resume and no strike announcements have been made so far.

Protests mount against U.S. visa denials

BY MACEO DIXON

BOSTON — "I am writing to express my outrage and disappointment at the U.S. State Department's decision to deny entry visas to Maika Guerrero and Iroel Sánchez

from the Center for Studies of Youth in Havana, Cuba. I understand that you have taken the position that allowing these young Cubans to speak in the United States would be 'against U.S. interests,'" said Eileen Findlay in letter to the State Department.

Findlay is an assistant professor of Latin American and Caribbean History at American University in Washington, D.C.

"The State Department's decision is a clear violation of the rights to free speech and free exchange of ideas which are protected by this country's constitution," Findlay continued.

Sánchez and Guerrero had been invited to come to the United States by 119 professors and student groups from 73 universities in 22

states and the District of Columbia. The Boston-based Faculty-Student Cuban Youth Lectures Committee, which was coordinating their planned April speaking tour, is now urging supporters of free speech to pour protest letters into the State Department demanding it reverse its decision.

The April 10 *New York Times* published a letter from August Nimtz and Gary Prevost, professors at the University of Minnesota and St. John's University respectively, condemning the State Department's action. The two had helped organize similar tours for Cuban youth leaders in the past. "The denial of the visas is an attack on academic freedom that has implications for broader civil liberties as well," they wrote.

Supporters of free speech and the right to hear the Cubans speak for themselves have begun reaching broadly for support. This past week 50 auto workers signed petitions protesting the denial of the visas. Abby Tilsner and a co-worker, Kim Hilaire, circulated the petitions inside the giant General Motors plant in Tarrytown, New York. Tilsner said they did this because denying Sánchez and Guerrero to lecture in the U.S. "makes it more difficult to get the truth about Cuba."

On April 6, in Minneapolis, 50 people attended the regular Saturday Morning

Continued on Page 5

Selling books nets recruits to socialist movement

BY SARA LOBMAN

"The main point of the campaign to sell Pathfinder books is that it helps us find the workers and youth who are interested in becoming part of the communist movement," Naomi Craine said during a recent interview. Craine, recently returned from the April 6-7 Young Socialists (YS) convention in Minneapolis, covering the event for the *Militant*.

She pointed to Monique, a student from Calgary, Alberta, in Canada, who joined the YS at the convention. Monique first found out about the YS at a conference in Omaha, Nebraska, entitled "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" that Pathfinder supporters from Des Moines, Iowa, had attended. She ended up taking a Greyhound bus from Calgary to the Twin Cities — a two-and-a-half day trip — to attend the YS meeting.

This was one of the fruits of the successful book sales campaign through Pathfinder bookstores in March. Distributors in the United States sold 1,890 books and pamphlets last month — 105 percent of their goal. They can now build on this accomplishment by repeating it in April and emulating it in sales though commer-

Continued on Page 5

Cuba Conference

Friday, April 19, 7 - 9:30 p.m.
Saturday, April 20, 10 a.m. - 9 p.m.

The keynote speakers of this conference, Maika Guerrero (top) and Iroel Sánchez (bottom), were denied entry into the United States by the State Department.

Speakers will include:

Herman Ferguson (Malcolm X Commemoration Committee) • Elombe Brath (Patrice Lumumba Coalition) • Mary-Alice Waters (Editor of *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War: 1956-58* by Ernesto Che Guevara) • Leslie Cagan (Cuba Information Project) • Ramsey Clark (International Peace for Cuba Appeal) • Rosemary Mealy (Author of *Fidel and Malcolm*) • Sally O'Brien (WBAI Radio monthly program *Cuba in Focus*) • Ray LaForest (Haitian Anti-Intervention Committee) • Lorena Gaibor (U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange)

Sponsors: BMCC Student Government Association • Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender Alliance • Young Socialists • Socialist Workers Party • BMCC Chess Club • Latino Honor Society • Cuba Information Project • 1999 Healthcare Trade Union Committee • Dominican Friends of Cuba • Haitian Anti-Intervention Committee • Black Panther Committee for Social Progress • Emergency Women's Action Coalition • National Peoples Campaign • Casa de las Américas.

For more information call Reggie Mason at BMCC Student Government (212) 406-3980

BOROUGH OF
MANHATTAN
COMMUNITY
COLLEGE





Argentina: 10,000 inmates rebel

More than 10,000 inmates have rebelled in 18 prisons across Argentina, calling for an end to overcrowding and unsanitary living conditions, and for the government to enforce a rule that reduces sentences by two days for every day beyond two years that a suspect is held before sentencing. The rebellion began March 30 at the Sierra Chica maximum security prison in Buenos Aires when prisoners fought off guards and took hostages in an attempt to escape.

Justice ministry officials said two inmates were killed. But some family members of prisoners who were allowed inside Sierra Chica said they saw 17 bodies. "We recognize that the prisons are overcrowded, and that's the reason for the crisis," Eduardo Duhalde, the governor of Buenos Aires province, said in a radio interview. Provincial officials said Duhalde ordered them to end the crisis by April 7.

Bolivian workers defend state oil

Carrying signs and chanting "Do not sell our heritage," 50,000 people marched April 1 in La Paz, Bolivia's capital, for better wages and against the sale of the state oil company. Striking public workers shut down public transportation. In response, cops attacked the demonstration.

The previous week thousands of workers demonstrated in the main cities of Bolivia with the same demands. The actions were organized as part of a national strike called by the Bolivian Workers Federation (COB). In Cochabamba, the police arrested more than 250 unionists and retirees participating in a hunger strike involving 2,000 people. A peasant was killed in the cop attack. Bolivian president Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada said April 1 that the sale of the oil company was the only way "to defeat the extreme poverty" in the country.

Salvador peasants protest debts

More than 5,000 peasants marched for the second day in a row on March 28 demanding the cancellation of 90 percent of their debts to the government. "We demand the cancellation of the banking and agrarian debt," read several signs that peasants carried in the march to the Legislative Assembly. Many peasants were



Inmates in revolt at a prison in Argentina. Thousands of prisoners are waging hunger strikes to protest crowding and unsanitary living conditions.

former guerrillas or army soldiers who went into agricultural jobs after the peace agreement of January 1992.

The regime proposed to write off 65 percent of the debt, but said the peasants will have to pay 35 percent immediately. The peasants assert that the government's proposal is impossible without asking for a bank loan at 18 percent interest. According to the peasants organizations, the agrarian and banking debts of some 150,000 families goes up to \$345 million. Eduardo Linares, congressman and leader of the former guerrilla group Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), said the peasants "don't see any alternative."

U.S. steps up threats on Libya

The Clinton administration has stepped up military threats against the government of Libya, charging it with plans to build an underground chemical weapons plant.

When asked about using military force against Tripoli at an April 3 news conference in Egypt, U.S. defense secretary William Perry said, "I wouldn't rule anything out or anything in."

Perry said Cairo might be asked to participate in Washington's war plans as a staging area for a military assault against Libya. With scant evidence, Perry said he showed Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak "photographs, and they demonstrate that the Libyans are not now producing chemical weapons but that they have an extensive program under way to develop a chemical weapons facility." Libya's head of state, Col. Muammar Qaddafi, said the facility under construction is a water irrigation system.

Berlin: actions against social cuts

Thousands of working people hit the streets of Berlin March 27 to oppose cuts in social programs announced by city finance minister Annette Fugmann-Heesing. The next day the city council approved Fugmann-Heesing's proposal to chop the city's budget from \$30.3 billion to \$29.1 billion — the biggest cuts in 50 years.

A series of protest actions included 3,000 schoolchildren who marched on city hall March 25. Construction workers paralyzed traffic for hours March 26 demanding the government halt the cancellation of public housing projects that would eliminate 14,000 jobs.

Yeltsin halts anti-Chechnya push

Facing elections June 16, Russian president Boris Yeltsin announced March 31

that all major military operations against Chechnya would cease and said he would approve peace talks with Chechen rebel leader Dzhokhar Dudayev. "Military operations on Chechen territory will stop at midnight tonight," Yeltsin declared in a nationally televised interview.

Meanwhile, Russian planes bombed the village of Shalazi April 3, killing two people and destroying 300 homes. "We don't believe a word Yeltsin says — I wish he'd drop dead," said Olga Astashkino, 30, an ethnic Russian living in Grozny. "How can you talk about peace when they keep bombing us?"

Seoul students protest cop attack

Some 4,000 students rallied in South Korea March 31 after a student was killed in a massive protest against the regime the day before. Thousands of riot cops attacked students who were demonstrating against corruption in the government. "Down with [President] Kim Young Sam," the protesters chanted while marching from a campus in Seoul. Students have protested against the government in the past just before parliamentary elections, which are scheduled for April 11.

U.S. plane crashes in Croatia

A U.S. military plane, a modified version of a Boeing 737, crashed April 3 on a hillside near Dubrovnik, Croatia, as it was approaching the city's airport. There were no survivors among the 35 passengers and crew members. The deceased include U.S. commerce secretary Ronald Brown, a dozen top executives of U.S. corporations, and a CIA "analyst." Government officials in Washington said the plane went down during a severe storm, but have not provided a precise explanation for the crash.

Brown and his entourage were on a mission to expand U.S. commercial and other business operations in Bosnia and elsewhere in Yugoslavia. A number of other chief executive officers of major U.S. companies, including Northwest Airlines co-chairman Alfred Checchi and the president of Boeing, were scheduled to be on that flight but altered plans at the last minute and did not go on the trip.

Trial on MOVE lawsuit to begin

Jury selection began April 2 in the federal lawsuit filed against the city of Philadelphia by Ramona Africa, a member of the Black cultural group MOVE. Police fired 10,000 rounds of ammunition into the group's house May 13, 1985, and eventually dropped a C-4 bomb from a helicopter on the home. The blast ignited a fire that destroyed 60 other homes and left 250 people homeless in that Black working-class neighborhood.

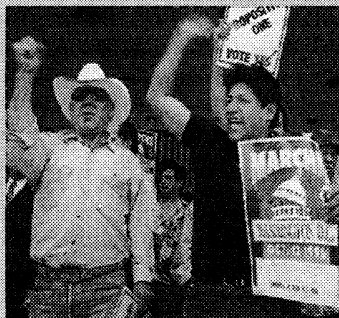
Eleven people in the group were killed by the cops' military operation, including five children. "I was bombed, almost burnt alive," said Ramona Africa. "What happened on May 13 was deliberate murder."

— MAURICE WILLIAMS

THE MILITANT

Defend equal rights for immigrants

Thousands of Mexicans and other immigrant workers refuse to be intimidated by the billy clubs of racist cops. In protests, conferences, and demonstrations they are demanding their right to be treated as human beings. The 'Militant' gives you the facts. Don't miss a single issue!



SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

NEW READERS

☐ \$10 for 12 issues

☐ \$15 for 12 weeks
RENEWAL

☐ \$27 for 6 months

☐ \$45 for 1 year

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

UNION/SCHOOL/ORGANIZATION _____

PHONE _____

CLIP AND MAIL TO THE MILITANT, 410 WEST ST., NEW YORK, NY 10014.

12 weeks of the Militant outside the U.S.: Australia and the Pacific, \$A15 • Britain, £7 • Canada, Can\$12 • Caribbean and Latin America, \$15 • Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, £8 • Belgium, 375 BF • France, FF80 • Iceland, Kr1,300 • New Zealand, NZ\$15 • Sweden, Kr75 (Send payment to addresses listed in business information box)

The Militant

Vol. 60/No. 16

Closing news date: April 11, 1996

Editor: STEVE CLARK

Business Manager: NAOMI CRAINE

Editorial Staff: Naomi Craine, Hilda Cuzco, Laura Garza, Martín Koppel, Paul Mailhot, Argiris Malapanis, and Maurice Williams.

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

The Militant can be reached via CompuServe at: 73311.2720 or via Peacenet at: themilitant

Internet: 73311.2720@compuserve.com or: themilitant@igc.apc.org

The Militant can be accessed on the internet at: gopher://gopher.igc.apc.org:70/11/pubs/militant

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Subscriptions: U.S.: for one-year subscription send \$45 to above address. **Latin America,**

Caribbean: for one-year subscription send \$65, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$80. **Asia:** send \$80 drawn on a U.S. bank to 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. **Canada:** Send Canadian \$75 for one-year subscription to Militant, 4581 St. Denis, Montreal, Quebec H2J 2L4. **Britain, Ireland:** £36 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. **Continental Europe, Africa, Middle East:** £40 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution at above address. **France:** Send FF300 for one-year subscription to Militant, 8 allée Berlioz, 94800 Villejuif cheque postale: 25-465-01-S, Paris. **Belgium:** BF 1,900 for one year on account no. 000-1543112-36 of 1Mei Fonds/Fonds du 1 mai, 2140 Antwerp. **Iceland:** Send 5,000 Icelandic kronur for one-year subscription to Militant, P.O. Box 233, 121 Reykjavík. **Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark:** 500 Swedish kronor for one year. Pay to Militant Swedish giro no. 451-32-09-9. **New Zealand:** Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand. **Australia:** Send Australian \$75 to P.O. Box K879, Haymarket, NSW 2000, Australia. **Pacific Islands:** Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand.

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

Clinton escalates assault on immigrants

BY HILDA CUZCO

In the past several months the Clinton administration has escalated factory raids by immigration cops, beefed up the border police, and stepped up the deportation of undocumented workers.

Meanwhile, Democratic and Republican politicians in the Senate are debating a bill to curtail immigration and restrict the rights of immigrants. A version of this measure was approved by the House of Representatives March 21 in a bipartisan vote of 333 to 87. Commenting on the legislation, Republican Congressman Lamar Smith, chief sponsor of the bill, said, "Immigration is not an entitlement, it is a privilege."

Last year the U.S. Border Patrol arrested 1.3 million undocumented immigrants at the Mexican border, 400,000 more than in 1994. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) also announced a record 51,600 deportations in 1995, an increase of nearly 75 percent from 1990.

In January President William Clinton signed legislation raising the INS budget to \$2.6 billion. Much of this increase is to hire 800 Border Patrol cops, boosting the total to 5,700 agents. In the last 10 years the number of U.S. immigration police at the border has almost doubled. While other federal budget items get slashed, Clinton is pushing for an increase in next year's budget to add 700 more border cops.

Some \$4 million has already been earmarked for a giant fence along the border near San Diego. Last year the Clinton administration built a 10-foot high steel wall along 24 miles of the California border and into the Pacific Ocean, as part of a crackdown called Operation Gatekeeper.

Last December, INS chief Doris Meissner and other U.S. officials tested an "enhanced border control plan" in southern Arizona, supposedly in case of mass immigration caused by a financial collapse in Mexico. "Scores of Border Control agents practiced erecting cyclone-fence corrals, herding immigrants through them for emergency processing, and loading them onto bus convoys for travel to mass detention centers," the *New York*



Militant/Margrethe Siem

March in New York City April 6 condemning cop assault on Mexicans in California. The protest announced a national demonstration on October 12 in Washington, D.C.

Times reported December 8. Since January 1995 some 200-300 members of the U.S. armed forces have been sent to reinforce the border police.

Clinton: 'American jobs'

In February Clinton signed an executive order that prohibits companies that hire undocumented workers from receiving federal contracts. "American jobs belong to America's legal workers," the president declared on signing the order.

The number of INS inspectors at workplaces has more than doubled to 700. In March immigration cops arrested dozens of meat-packers in Philadelphia; machine operators in Norwalk, Connecticut; and 24 janitors at the State House in Trenton, New Jersey. In February 83 workers were arrested in raids of restaurants around Washington, D.C. In the last six months the INS has arrested 700 undocumented garment workers in New York.

Last summer and fall, the INS arrested 4,000 immigrants in a sweep of workplaces in six southeastern states, called "Operation South P.A.W." The initials stand for "Protecting American Workers" — the main propaganda theme of Clinton's immigration policy.

In Washington, the administration has set the tone in the debate on an anti-immigrant bill by backing a proposal to reduce legal immigration by one-third, a measure Republican presidential contender Robert Dole has so far not endorsed. Ultrarightist politician Patrick Buchanan has called for a five-year moratorium on legal immigration.

Not to be outdone, however, Dole has supported provisions to restrict immigrants' access to welfare and social security, and advocates use of the military in patrolling the borders. He also calls for declaring English the official language; 23 state governments have already adopted

English-only laws.

An amendment to the immigration bill was approved March 20 that would deny public education to undocumented children. House Speaker Newton Gingrich argued for the measure saying the problem is undocumented immigrants who "come to America to live off the law-abiding, American taxpayer." Clinton opposes this provision, preferring his police crackdown at the border and in workplaces.

This provision in the immigration bill echoes Proposition 187, a California ballot initiative championed by Gov. Peter Wilson that was approved in November 1994. Key parts of that measure were declared unconstitutional by a federal judge last November on grounds that only the federal government can regulate immigration. In 1982 the U.S. Supreme Court struck down a Texas law that banned undocumented children from attending public schools.

Among the highlights of the immigration bill, it authorizes adding 1,000 Border Patrol cops each year for the next five years and building a 13-mile triple fence south of San Diego. It would also set up a toll-free number for bosses to verify the status of prospective workers, a measure some call a step toward a national identification card. Democratic senator Dianne Feinstein has already called for such a national ID card with such features as a person's photo and fingerprints.

The Senate is soon due to debate a similar bill. Some senators have expressed hesitations about pushing too fast right now in the probe against "legal" immigrants, preferring instead to foster a wedge between "American" and undocumented workers.

While INS attacks have stepped up, protests by immigrants and defenders of democratic rights have also noticeably increased across the country. The recent police beating of several Mexican immigrants near Los Angeles has become the most recent focal point of such protests.

In Detroit, the United Auto Workers (UAW) union helped initiate an April 2 action by 35 people outside the INS court. They were protesting recent INS raids at three small auto part plants in Detroit suburbs where cops brutalized and arrested workers. At one of these plants, in the city of Romulus, workers had recently voted to join the UAW.

"The INS denied these workers their human rights. They're just working people trying to live and then immigration roughs them up. On top of that, immigration separates families to pressure people not to contest deportation," said one UAW member, explaining why she turned out to protest.

Similarly, in Minneapolis immigrant rights supporters have called an April 11 protest at the federal building in response to a *migra* raid at the Gold'n Plump chicken processing plant in Cold Spring, Minnesota, nine days earlier. Some 55 workers were arrested and most deported.

Protests blast cop beating of Mexicans

Continued from front page

Prominent in the march were contingents of students from the University of California Riverside, Chaffee College, and Riverside Community College.

"It's wrong for the cops to beat anyone who comes to this country just to work," said Malcolm Johnson, a young worker who is African-American. "Blacks, Latinos, and whites should struggle together. We should be united."

A well-attended news conference preceding the rally was held at the headquarters of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor. Union officials who condemned the police violence at the news conference included Bill Robertson, acting secretary-treasurer of the Los Angeles County AFL-CIO; David Sickler, regional director of the AFL-CIO; and Steve Nutter, regional director of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees.

"This is not an isolated incident," Nutter told the press. "What was their crime?" he asked. "The woman beaten was a garment worker. It could have been me or our members. Her crime was making our clothes."

Nutter was referring to Leticia González, 32, one of the passengers in the pickup truck that stopped on the side of the highway after being chased by the police April 1. As she got out one of the cops beat her on the back with his baton, slammed her face into the pickup's hood, yanked her by the hair, and pulled her to the ground.

González was released after being treated for injuries. Another Mexican worker, Flores Martínez, 26, suffered bruises and a hairline fracture of an elbow; he was jailed after being briefly treated at a hospital.

Similar protests took place in several other cities. Some 75 people turned out at the Federal Building in downtown Seattle April 5. The picket line was called by El Centro de La Raza. Bernie Whitebear, ex-

ecutive director of the United Indians of All Tribes Foundation, called on U.S. attorney general Janet Reno to bring federal civil rights charges against the cops involved in the April 1 beating.

Geoff Mirelowitz from Seattle contributed to this article.

BY AMY HUSK

NEW YORK CITY — Chanting "*Aquí estamos y aquí nos quedamos!*" (We are here and we are here to stay) and "Immigrants Yes, La Migra No," about 350 demonstrators marched from the Federal Building here to Thompson Square Park on the Lower East Side on April 6. Along the way the marchers stopped for rallies in immigrant communities in Chinatown and on Delancey Street.

"We are here to protest the beating of Mexican workers by the cops in California," announced Miguel Maldonado, an organizer of the demonstration and leader of the Immigrant Workers Association. "This is a fight not just for Latinos, not just for Asians, not just for immigrants, but for all people who believe in justice."

The march was part of a series of activities being planned by the local organizers of the Coordinadora/Campaign '96 in the months of April and May. According to the publicity for the march, Campaign '96 is a "nationwide effort to create an immigrant grassroots movement." The group is planning a national demonstration in Washington, D.C., on October 12.

In addition to protesting the police beatings of Mexican workers in Los Angeles, the April 6 action was a protest against a number of other anti-immigrant measures being considered by the U.S. Congress (see article above).

A group of teachers and their family members from Public School 169 came to the demonstration to protest this law. They carried homemade signs demanding education for all children. Danny Stone, a

young teacher, expressed his outrage at "the scapegoating of immigrants, people that have fewer rights to defend themselves."

The majority of the demonstrators were Spanish-speaking workers and youth, including a large contingent of Mexicans carrying a big Mexican flag. Many found out about the march in an editorial in *El Diario/La Prensa*, the main Spanish-language daily in the city. The editorial denounced the police violence in Los Angeles and encouraged people to join the protest.

25 % OFF

FOR MEMBERS OF THE PATHFINDER READERS CLUB
Offer ends May 1

The Politics of Chicano Liberation

Edited by Olga Rodríguez

The rise of the Chicano movement in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s: from the United Farm Workers organizing drive and the Chicano Moratorium against the Vietnam War to the emergence of La Raza Unida Party and the fight against deportations.

\$15.95 (special offer \$12)

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

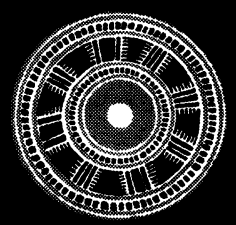
Jack Barnes

A handbook for workers coming into the factories, mines, and mills, as they react to uncertain life, ceaseless turmoil, and brutality of capitalism in the closing years of the 20th 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 8, or from **Pathfinder**, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. If ordering by mail, please include \$3.00 for shipping and handling.

The Politics of Chicano Liberation

Olga Rodríguez Editor



Camilo Cienfuegos as an immigrant in U.S.

Pathfinder Press recently released a new edition of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War — 1956-58*. "Pages from Cuba's Revolutionary History," a weekly series aimed at promoting this book, features articles by and about combatants of the July 26 Movement and Rebel Army, which led the revolutionary war that overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista and opened the socialist revolution in the Americas.

This week's installment is about Camilo Cienfuegos, one of the principal Rebel Army commanders. Before he joined the Cuban revolutionary forces, Cienfuegos was a worker and political activist in the United States. Cienfuegos's first stay in the United States ended with his deportation by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The second ended when he went to Mexico to volunteer for the *Granma* expedition being organized by the July 26 Movement, led by Fidel Castro, to begin the revolutionary armed struggle against the Batista regime.

After the revolution's victory on Jan. 1, 1959, Cienfuegos became Rebel Army chief of staff. He was killed Oct. 28, 1959, when his plane was lost at sea.

The following account was written by a friend of Cienfuegos who accompanied him on both trips. It is taken from *Camilo: señor de la vanguardia* (Camilo, lord of the vanguard) by William Gálvez (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1988). Translation and subheads are by the *Militant*.



BY RAFAEL SIERRA

When we had gathered sufficient money for the trip—which we had to collect from friends, family members, a raffle, etc.—we acquired a 29-day visa, which was then called a "B-29." On April 5, 1953, we took a flight to Miami. On arriving we found lodging in the house of a lady who rented rooms, but we stayed there only 48 hours because we didn't know the language and our objective was to go to New York and find José Antonio Pérez, who would help us get a job, since we were short of money.

We took a bus and arrived in New York on April 6 or 7. We stayed at the Pierre Hotel—we were only there one night because, not knowing it, we had checked into one of the most expensive hotels. We made contact with José Antonio, who was recently married, and he took us to the home of Eugenio Téllez on 18th Street between 8th and 9th Avenues. Téllez owned a guest house more in line with our funds, and we rented a room, which Camilo and I shared. We then began the struggle to find work. The first barrier was not knowing the language and our Latin American background.

Garment worker in New York

Camilo was the first to find work. His experience as a tailor and his physical appearance—he could pass for an American if he didn't talk—helped land him a job in



Cheo Pardo/Cuban Institute of History
Camilo Cienfuegos, above, in Las Villas, December 1958. Inset: Cienfuegos, right, working in a restaurant in New York.

a mass-production garment shop as a sewing machine operator. By then we had only a few pennies left. The job paid little and there was not a lot of work in the shop.

When work there began to slow down, Camilo found a job at a restaurant on Broadway some time around May. In June, when summer began, Camilo—who spoke a smattering of English—found a job at the Huntington Yacht Club on Long Island. This was the first time we worked together, because soon I got a job there too. The work was washing dishes, peeling potatoes and onions, and basically helping in the kitchen. We lived there in the yacht club.

We worked at the Huntington until the end of September, when summer ended. It suited us not to stay in the same place for very long, to avoid detection by the immigration agents. We used false names: Camilo was Ramón Ruiz and I was Luis López. For safekeeping, we gave the little money we had saved to Eugenio Téllez, whom we had befriended.

Owing to this situation and unable to find work, Camilo decided we should go to Chicago and disappear from New York for a while. This was suggested to us by some friends. A few days earlier, Camilo had participated in an anti-Trujillo picket line in front of the hotel where the Dominican tyrant was staying, to protest the dictator's visit to the United States.¹ That demonstration by Dominican patriots, which included many other Latin Ameri-

cans, had big repercussions, and a number of people were injured. This led the immigration authorities to intensify their search for Latinos staying illegally in the country.

Political activity

During the whole time Camilo was in New York—about seven months—we were associated with a patriotic organization of Cuban exiles called Cuban Civic Action, which published a newspaper called *La Voz de Cuba* [the voice of Cuba], for which Camilo wrote a few articles. José Antonio Pérez edited the newspaper and he recruited Camilo and me to this patriotic organization. We participated in meetings and demonstrations against Batista, Trujillo, Somoza, etc.

I remember that when the Moncada events occurred in July,² we held a meeting to discuss how to support and collaborate with the insurgents' cause, since that event had a big impact on everyone. A few things were done, mainly responding to the slanders and distortions spread at the time in the U.S. press. We often met at the home of José Antonio, or Téllez, or a comrade named Brunilda Soler and her husband. Besides Cubans, other Latin Americans sometimes participated in these meetings, where we discussed the organization's work and the situation in Cuba and other Latin American countries. We also conducted political discussion groups, above all studying the works of [Cuban anti-imperialist leader José] Martí.

We left for Chicago in the middle or end of October. After arriving we got an apartment on Clark Street, near Lake Michigan and Lincoln Park. Finding work in that state was not easy at the time. Through an employment agency we found work as busboys in a restaurant just outside the city. But we lasted only four hours. They gave us 35 cents each in tips for three hours of work, but we decided not to accept the money and took off. Camilo got a job in a factory operating a kind of drill machine, but the pay was low. After a month and a half we decided to return to New York.

San Francisco

We again began to look for work, which we found at the Parakeet Restaurant on Long Island, where we also got rooms. This restaurant burned down, owing to the carelessness of one of the cooks, and we were again jobless. When we returned to Téllez's guest house, he told us two immigration agents had been by, asking questions about their Latin American lodgers....

Once again without work, and with immigration agents hovering around, we decided to go to San Francisco, arriving there at the end of June or the beginning of July [1954]. We spent the first night at the Pickwick Hotel. The following day we rented a room with two beds on Utah Street and 24th, in a neighborhood where many Latinos lived.

Again Camilo was the first to get work. He found a job as a waiter in the Fairmont Hotel, located on Mason Street and California, close to a big tourist area. Until I found work at another restaurant, I would go to the Fairmont at noon, sit down, and Camilo would immediately come with coffee, buttered toast, and sandwiches. Getting these things "on the house" helped alleviate our economic difficulties.

Arrest and deportation

We had already spent a considerable amount of time in California and were feeling very insecure about being pursued by the immigration authorities. We frequently remarked, "Those sons of b— are going to grab us at any moment." One night Camilo went out with some Mexican friends from the state of Guerrero to a nightclub called Noche de Rondas on

Pozo Street. There, some immigration agents came in asking people for identification. They went up to the table where Camilo and his friends were sitting and asked everyone but Camilo for their papers. Due to Camilo's physical appearance, they thought he was American.

Camilo understood the situation, and seeing they were demanding identification from his friend Santiago Ruiz—who was illegal—he tried to intervene on the man's behalf. However, Camilo's poor pronunciation sank him. They asked him for identification and discovered his illegal status. The agents took him to our apartment, searched the place, and found my passport as well. They stayed in the apartment with Camilo and stationed an agent on the street to wait for me. Since they had my passport photo, I was recognized and arrested.

We were brought to an immigration office in the city, and were detained for a few hours together with other Latinos. Later they took us in a paddy wagon to Chula Vista, very close to the Mexican border, 600 miles from San Francisco. It was like a prison where they held those who had entered or were staying in the country illegally—even including criminals. There was a sort of trial, and people were held there until papers were secured for their deportation.

For us this was a totally new experience. We were held in a cell ward with 10 double beds. All those held there were Spanish-speaking, and we became friends with some of them. The food was atrocious, enough to make one sick, and discipline was rigorous. There were cases of men who escaped, but they were brought back within two days, despite the fact that the place was only a five minutes' run from the Tijuana border.

Because of his personality Camilo immediately stood out. He was named head of a gang of seven or eight men assigned to clean the cell ward and the hallways.

We had to spend 34 days in Chula Vista until the trial was held and the transit visas were resolved to deport us to Mexico. From there we caught a plane to Mérida, Yucatan, and from there we took a flight to Havana....

Second trip to United States

The reasons that led Camilo to travel to the United States a second time were different from those of his first trip. During his brief stay in Havana—around nine months—he was able to see the tragic situation the Cuban people were going through. Young people were being beaten and murdered with impunity, and terror and abuse were rampant everywhere. Camilo himself had been wounded in the leg by the henchmen's bullets during a demonstration on December 7, and on January 28 he was arrested and booked by agents of BRAC.³

Camilo knew "something big" was being prepared in Mexico, and he was determined to make contact with the comrades of the July 26 Movement. Going to the United States at that time would be a step to reach Mexico.

We arrived in Miami on Mar. 25, 1956. We worked in that city as bellboys in the Ritz Plaza since, as always, we were short of funds. After three weeks of working there, we had saved up enough money to take a bus to San Francisco. The trip took 96 hours.

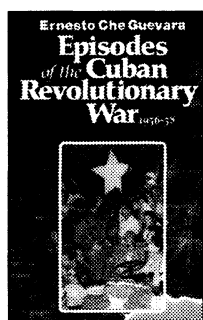
After a few months of collecting the funds for the trip and the stay, Camilo left for Mexico.

¹ Rafael Leónidas Trujillo was the U.S.-backed dictator of the Dominican Republic from 1930 until his assassination in 1961.

² On July 26, 1953, Fidel Castro led an attack by some 160 fighters on the Moncada army garrison in Santiago de Cuba and the garrison in nearby Bayamo. The attack failed, and more than 50 captured revolutionaries were murdered. Castro and 27 other fighters were subsequently captured, tried, and imprisoned.

³ On Dec. 7, 1955, the Federation of University of Students organized an anti-Batista demonstration in Havana on the anniversary of the death of Antonio Maceo, a hero of Cuba's independence wars from Spain. Several demonstrators, including Cienfuegos, were wounded when the police opened fire on the crowd. The Bureau for the Repression of Communist Activities (BRAC) was the Batista regime's secret police.

Special offer from Pathfinder



Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War, 1956-58 Ernesto Che Guevara

Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War is a firsthand account of the military battles and political campaigns that culminated in the January 1959 mass armed insurrection that overthrew the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship.

Guevara's *Episodes* shows how he and other Rebel Army combatants were transformed by their experiences into battle-tested leaders of working people in Cuba. Writing with clarity and humor, he shows how the revolution's social program emerged out of deepening class-struggle experience by workers and peasants themselves. He explains how the Rebel Army and July 26 Movement grew into a movement capable of leading millions to carry through a socialist revolution in the years after the 1959 victory.

Edited with an introduction by Mary-Alice Waters.

Special offer to members of the
Pathfinder Readers Club
Regular price \$23.95

Special offer \$18 (25% off)
Offer good until May 1

Join the **Pathfinder Readers Club** for a \$10 annual fee, and receive special discounts like this, as well as a 15 percent discount on all Pathfinder titles from bookstores listed on page 8 and direct from the publisher. Contact the Pathfinder bookstore nearest you, or write **Pathfinder**, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Fax (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 for postage and handling.

SELL THE BOOKS WORKERS OF THE WORLD NEED

Join the campaign to sell Pathfinder books and pamphlets

Continued from front page
cial accounts.

Overall, participants at the YS convention bought 75 Pathfinder books and pamphlets — 64 different titles. Three copies of Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War* were purchased. The biggest sellers were titles on the fight against fascism. Two participants became members of the Pathfinder Readers Club. Event organizers said that most youth at the meeting are not members of the club.

Machinists fight for 'Episodes' goal

Janet Post, a member of the International Association of Machinists at United Airlines in Miami reports that four co-workers recently purchased a copy of the *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, which describes how Cuban workers and peasants overthrew a U.S.-backed dictatorship in 1959.

"Do you know where I can get a copy of that book," one co-worker asked after Post had left a copy of *Episodes* on the lunch table at work. Another worker from Nicaragua bought the book after seeing it in Post's hands when they passed each other in the hallway. "Having a copy of *Episodes* with you all the time is important if you want to sell it at work," Post observed. A worker at Aerothrust in Miami bought a copy of *Episodes* and a Readers Club membership after discussing the Cuban workers' decision to defend their sovereignty by shooting down two planes that had violated Cuban airspace with the support of the U.S. government.

Making the goal of selling 500 copies of the *Episodes* to industrial workers by May 1 is the main challenge of the campaign.

At a March 31 meeting in Pittsburgh to celebrate the publication of *Episodes*, featuring *Perspectiva Mundial* editor Martín Koppel, eight copies of the book were sold, along with a variety of other titles.

Socialist workers and youth have been taking Pathfinder books and pamphlets with them to demonstrations and rallies in defense of immigrant rights. In Los Angeles, distributors sold \$175 worth of Pathfinder books during the march, 65 copies of the *Militant*, 23 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 4 *Militant* subscriptions. "The table I was at sold two copies

of *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War* and a bunch of pamphlets," Virginia Garza reported. "There were people surrounding us constantly, from the moment we set up."

Lea Sherman reports from Houston that she and another Pathfinder supporter met with the buyers at two local bookstores in Dallas, who ordered a total of 56 books. These titles will show up on the chart next week. Volunteers in Birmingham have also been busy. In addition to visiting local bookstores, they've gotten

April 7: 12%
Should be: 23%

Monthly Sales of Pathfinder Books											
Through PF Bookstores				To Commercial			Totals			Readers Club	
UNITED STATES	Goal	Sold	% sold	Goal	Sold	% sold	Goal	Sold	% sold	Goal	Sold
Salt Lake City	63	0	0%	49	46	94%	112	46	41%	54	35
Seattle *	80	0	0%	60	39	65%	140	39	28%	60	54
Birmingham	63	5	8%	49	24	49%	112	29	26%	43	41
Washington, D.C.	54	13	24%	42	10	24%	96	23	24%	37	28
Detroit	77	20	26%	60	1	2%	137	21	15%	52	40
Atlanta	48	10	21%	32	0	0%	80	10	13%	31	37
San Francisco	95	20	21%	74	0	0%	169	20	12%	64	58
New York *	175	0	0%	175	38	22%	350	38	11%	115	75
Pittsburgh	63	10	16%	49	0	0%	112	10	9%	43	27
Los Angeles *	120	0	0%	95	16	17%	215	16	7%	80	59
Boston	65	8	12%	50	0	0%	115	8	7%	43	35
Miami	55	6	11%	42	0	0%	97	6	6%	36	30
Houston	45	0	0%	32	4	13%	77	4	5%	34	29
Des Moines	45	4	9%	35	0	0%	80	4	5%	31	27
Twin Cities	86	7	8%	67	0	0%	153	7	5%	60	52
Philadelphia	63	4	6%	49	0	0%	112	4	4%	43	34
Brooklyn *	165	0	0%	130	7	5%	295	7	2%	110	63
Newark *	171	0	0%	133	7	5%	304	7	2%	115	90
Peoria *	36	0	0%	28	1	4%	64	1	2%	25	11
Greensboro *	41	0	0%	36	1	3%	77	1	1%	36	31
Chicago *	77	0	0%	60	0	0%	137	0	0%	52	39
Cleveland *	50	0	0%	40	0	0%	90	0	0%	34	18
Morgantown *	32	0	0%	25	0	0%	57	0	0%	21	16
YS convention		74						74			
Total	1769	181	10%	1412	194	14%	3181	375	12%	1219	929
Goal/Should be	1800	414	23%	1400	322	23%	3200	736	23%	1200	720
* no new report											
CANADA											
Vancouver	36	5	14%	28	4	14%	64	9	14%	42	40
Montreal *	72	0	0%	64	0	0%	136	0	0%	40	34
Toronto *	112	0	0%	0	0	0%	112	0	0%	40	30
Total	220	5	2%	92	4	4%	312	9	3%	122	104
Goal/Should be	220	51	23%	92	21	23%	312	72	23%	122	89



Virginia Garza (center) at April 6 march in Los Angeles.

orders from a public library in the region and from a civil rights institute.

Starting with this issue of the *Militant*, figures on sales to commercial distributors that appear in the chart will be

based on actual sales invoiced out to customers by the Pathfinder business office. When figured by this method, 712 books were sold to retail bookstores and libraries in March — substantially more than the 467 reported in the *Militant* last week. This is because some bookstores or libraries send in orders on their own.

Pathfinder books sold to Co-workers

Unions	Goal	Sold	% sold	Readers Club	Goal	Sold
USWA	56	5	9%	58	10	
UNITE	41	3	7%	26	6	
UTU	85	3	4%	87	30	
IAM	70	30	43%	60	12	
OCAW *	50	0	0%	50	24	
UAW *	100	0	0%	70	33	
UFCW *	12	0	0%	11	0	
UMWA *	5	0	0%	4	4	
Total	419	41	10%	366	119	
Goal/Should be	400	92	23%	400	240	

as of 4/7
*No new report

GOALS AND SALES FOR 'EPISODES'			
FEBRUARY 9 - MAY 1			
Totals as of April 7			
City	Goal	Sold	%
Houston	39	49	126%
San Francisco	95	100	105%
Los Angeles *	100	105	105%
Greensboro *	45	44	98%
Des Moines	45	43	96%
Birmingham, AL	60	55	92%
Atlanta, GA	45	40	89%
Miami	50	44	88%
Seattle *	80	69	86%
Salt Lake City	60	51	85%
Twin Cities +	100	85	85%
Philadelphia	60	50	83%
Boston *	60	48	80%
Newark *	133	105	79%
Detroit	60	46	77%
Pittsburgh	55	42	76%
Cleveland *	45	34	76%
Washington, D.C.	75	54	72%
Chicago	60	43	72%
Morgantown *	27	19	70%
New York *	140	91	65%
Brooklyn *	130	84	65%
Peoria, IL *	30	19	63%
TOTAL	1555	1320	85%
SHOULD BE	1550	1,039	76%
IN THE UNIONS			
UTU	80	63	79%
UMWA *	7	5	71%
OCAW *	62	44	71%
UFCW *	12	6	50%
UAW *	110	44	40%
USWA	60	21	35%
IAM	90	28	31%
UNITE *	42	11	26%
TOTAL	443	322	73%
SHOULD BE	500	335	76%
* no new report			
+ raised goal			

IAM—International Association of Machinists; OCAW — Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; UAW— United Auto Workers; UFCW— United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA — United Mine Workers of America; UNITE— Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees; USWA — United Steelworkers of America; UTU—United Transportation Union.

Continued from front page

Coffee Hour of the Resource Center of the Americas to discuss the current political situation in Peru. The education director of the Center, Mary Swenson, opened the meeting by blasting the Clinton administration for blocking the two youth from entering the U.S. She told the group, "Other Cuban youth had come to Minneapolis before them, and we planned to have them speak here. But this decision made by the Clinton administration prevents this exchange. We are outraged!" Swenson urged the audience to send protest letters to the State Department. Some 41 activists at the meeting signed protest petitions to the State Department.

Also over the weekend of April 6-7, 100 young people met in Minneapolis at the University of Minnesota at the first national convention of

the Young Socialists. As part of their U.S. campus lecture series Guerrero and Sánchez were invited to be keynote speakers at the convention. The young revolutionaries pledged to mount a national campaign to protest the refusal of the State Department to grant visas for the Cubans.

The lectures committee received a faxed letter from Sánchez and Guerrero April 6. In part the letter reads, "Once again it has become evident who are the ones who oppose the free exchange of ideas, and fear the words and thoughts of young people. We hope we can meet in another occasion. Therefore, we invite you to visit our country this summer, for the Cuba-U.S. Youth Summit. We know that sooner rather than later the truth will be heard, and we are grateful for your efforts to make it reach further."

Copies of letters and faxes to the State Department continue to come into the offices of the lectures committee. Reports on protest activities are also being received. Rep. Donald Payne from New Jersey has sent a letter of support. One activist has put the lectures committee's material on reg.Cuba conference on PeaceNet.

The Faculty-Student Cuban Youth Lec-

In addition, Pathfinder has clarified that all sales of titles distributed by the publisher (any title that appears in the catalog or order form), count toward the sales goals both through Pathfinder bookstores and other commercial outlets.

Finally, we want to remind readers that reports on local sales goals are due in the *Militant* no later than Monday morning at 8:00 a.m. EST. As you can see from the accompanying chart, sales through Pathfinder bookstores appears artificially low, since so many areas did not report in by the deadline this week.

tures Committee has asked that letters of protest be addressed to Michael Ranneberger, Coordinator for Cuban Affairs; Richard Nuccio, Special Advisor for Cuban Affairs to Secretary of State; and Sean Murphy of the Cuban Desk, all at the United States Department of State, 2201 C Street, NW, Washington, DC 20520. Their phone numbers are (202) 647-9273 and fax (202) 736-4476.

Along with academic figures, the committee is urging its supporters to seek letters of protests from Congresspeople and other public figures. The committee is also circulating a petition addressed to the State Department.

The committee requests that it be informed of all activities concerning this campaign, including receiving copies of letters and faxes.

Funds are urgently needed to carry out this protest effort. Checks can be written to the Faculty-Student Committee and sent to Caribbean Focus Program, c/o Tom Reeves, Room 3-353, Roxbury Community College, 1234 Columbus Ave., Boston, MA 02120. Tel: (617) 427-0060 ext. 5151. The new fax number is (617) 776-5832.

YS convention

Continued from front page

vention to end to begin carrying these out. Several missed the first day of the gathering in order to participate in protests in Los Angeles and New York against the April 1 police beating of two Mexican workers in California.

A statement of principles drafted six weeks earlier by a leadership conference of the YS National Committee and representatives of YS chapters across the country provided the framework for the political discussion on the first day of the convention. These principles were discussed and voted on in Young Socialists chapters, along with proposals on the group's campaigns and rules of organization and discipline.

Thirty-three delegates voted in convention proceedings from chapters of three or more YS members. Several consultative delegates were also chosen by Young Socialists in cities where there are two members, and from YS groups in Australia, Canada, France, and the United Kingdom. Between delegates and observers, 140 people registered for the convention, from more than 50 different cities. The overwhelming majority were between 14 and 26 years old, the age range for YS membership.

Delegates discussed the political principles under two reports, presented by Jack Willey, a garment worker and member of

building an organization with an internationalist working-class program and orientation that can lead workers and farmers to take state power, the YS leader said.

The simultaneous resistance to the rulers' attempts to put the burden of the crisis on the backs of working people shows the openings to win workers and young people to build such an effective movement. Willey pointed to strikes against austerity drives in France and Canada, the continued national struggles by the Irish, Quebecois, and Palestinians, and the immediate outcry against the Los Angeles beatings.

"Defense of the Cuban revolution is part of what the Young Socialists was born out of," said Newberry. Her report on Cuba expanded on one of the draft political principles: "The YS defends Cuba's socialist revolution and sees it as a living example of the way forward for all of humanity, as the Bolshevik-led October 1917 Russian revolution was earlier in this century. Our goal is to emulate the Cuban revolution in the U.S. and internationally."

"We're missing something here at this



Militant/Jon Hillson

Delegates cast their votes at first national convention of Young Socialists April 6-7 in Minneapolis

capitalism," she said.

Three days after the convention, Newberry and Róger Calero left for a speaking tour in Cuba, at the invitation of the Union of Young Communists (UJC). In addition to speaking with workers and young people in several provinces about what communist youth in the United States do, they will be attending the congress of the Cuban trade union federation. YS leader Brian Taylor, an airline worker in Washington, D.C., will also be traveling to Cuba for the congress.

Many YS members had been reading and studying the theses that Cuban trade unionists discussed at thousands of factory assemblies between January and March. Meg Novak from Peoria, Illinois, urged chapters to study the document collectively. "It lays out a plan for the working class for fighting imperialism," she said.

Discussion reflected real experiences

The character of the discussion over the principles of the Young Socialists was marked by the real experiences members of the YS had gone through since its founding in August 1994.

Members of the YS shared their accounts from recent demonstrations against the fascist-minded presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan. Many members of the YS have taken part in demonstrations, along with other fighting youth, from Lexington, Massachusetts, to Toledo, Ohio, and Chicago opposing the racist and sexist ideas of Buchanan.

Gaetan Whiston from the Twin Cities chapter stated that YS members learned from the St. Patrick's Day Parade in Chicago, in which Buchanan marched, that "Where Buchanan will be, fascists will be." He was referring to a Pathfinder literature table staffed by members of the YS and SWP at the parade that was confronted by right-wing youth. During the encounter those staffing the table refused to back down or be forced into overreacting to right-wing provocations. "This shows why we need to organize ourselves in a disciplined way," he said.

"The YS looks to the working class," states the group's principles, as the class capable of leading the fight for a revolutionary transformation of society. This passage was much discussed. Delegates pointed to the need for the YS to base itself and its activities in the working class.

Several delegates noted that Buchanan supporters take his message to factory gates, and that he marched in parades with unions to try and portray himself as on the side of workers, while he promotes a program aimed at dividing the working class.

The YS's commitment to defending working class unity in action was clearly shown in the YS Steering Committee's decision to send three convention delegates — Verónica Poses, Ved Dookhum, and John Evenhuis — to the 6,000-strong demonstration in Los Angeles to protest the brutal assault on Mexican workers by police on April 1.

The international character of the Young Socialists came across in the meeting. YS members from Canada had been involved in the fight for Quebec independence and in supporting the recent public workers strike in Ontario. Two new members of the YS came from France, where they were involved in the strikes and student protests against the Juppé government's austerity programs last December.

In addition to the international dele-

gates, many Young Socialists from the United States had been to other countries recently. Cecilia Ortega, a high school student from Cleveland, described a sales team at the Mexico City book fair. "Besides talking to thousands of people at the fair, we set up tables at the university and outside a Chrysler auto plant," she said. "We got an amazing response to the literature, especially *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*" by Ernesto Che Guevara. It's important for YS members to "do politics internationally and come back and talk about it," she said.

YS members also traveled from the United States to participate in socialist conferences in Britain and in Iceland, and three YS members from the U.S. and Canada attended the Havana book fair in February. YS leaders also participated in a February congress of the Movement of Communist Youth of France.

In keeping with these experiences, one of the political principles adopted by the group states, "The Young Socialists recognizes the need to overthrow capitalism and fight for socialism. Since this is an international struggle, we build our organization internationally."

Greetings from the UJC in Cuba and the African National Congress Youth League in South Africa were read to the gathering.

Discussion on China, Taiwan

One of the political questions delegates grappled with was the tensions between Beijing and the government in Taiwan. A couple delegates questioned whether socialists should support the stance of the Chinese government insisting on the reunification of Taiwan with mainland China. "Is it better for workers in Taiwan to go back under a Stalinist regime than to fight for independence?" asked one.

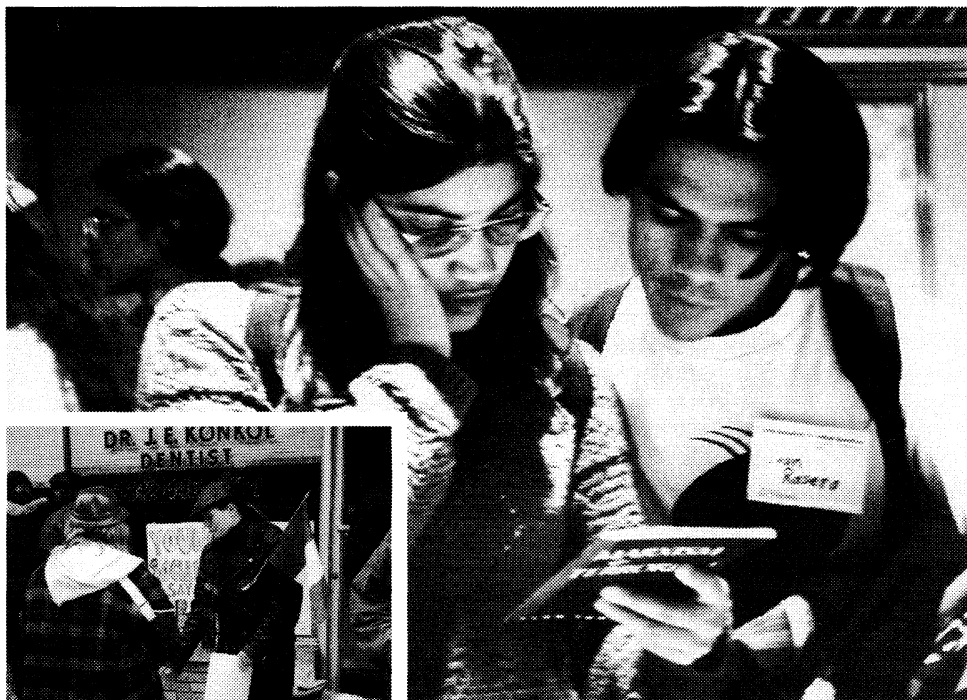
Many YS members were discussing this, and a number of delegates took the floor. "The imperialists use the false propaganda that there are two Chinas to justify attacks on the workers state in China," said Megan Arney from the Twin Cities. "We should stand for a united China."

"Think about what capitalism lost with the revolutions in Russia, China, and elsewhere," said José Aravena from Boston. "Look at the map — these are huge territories ripped out of the hands of capital." That's why Washington sent warships to back up Taiwan and threaten the Chinese workers state, he said. The delegates voted to include among their campaigns building opposition to the U.S. war preparations against Cuba and China, as well as Yugoslavia.

After hearing the Socialist Workers candidates James Harris and Laura Garza speak to a public meeting (see accompanying article), the YS voted to endorse the ticket and launch Young Socialists for Harris and Garza as a way to involve new people in campaigning activity. They took on the goal of signing up 700 endorsers for the socialist ticket by early July, and 1,500 by the November election.

"We can use this campaign to build the socialist movement," said Brock Satter, a

Continued on next page



Militant/Eva Braiman (top), Pat Smith (left)

Above, convention participants check out Marxist literature. At left, YS member sells *Militant* and Pathfinder books while protesting Buchanan at St. Patrick's Day parade in Chicago.

meeting," Newberry said, "because the U.S. government refused to allow Maika Guerrero and Iroel Sánchez into the country." Guerrero and Sánchez are Cuban youth leaders who were going to be on a speaking tour in the United States in April. They would have been in Minneapolis during the YS convention. Representatives of the Faculty-Student Cuban Youth Lectures Committee from Boston set up a table at the convention to get out information on the fight being organized to demand the reversal of the decision to deny them visas. The YS set as an immediate priority working with others to get protest messages to the U.S. State Department.

This attack on the democratic right to have a free exchange of ideas is part of Washington's stepped-up aggression against Cuba, Newberry stated. It goes hand-in-hand with tightening the decades-long policy of economic war against the Cuban people and the anti-Cuba propaganda barrage that followed the downing of two planes, originating from Florida, that invaded Cuba's airspace February 24.

"The Young Socialists and Socialist Workers Party are among those who've taken the lead in protesting the latest U.S. war moves against Cuba," the YS leader noted.

Newberry pointed to the upcoming congress of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC) as a sign of how "workers in Cuba are discussing defense of the gains of their revolution concretely. They are saying, 'We are not introducing capitalism in Cuba. We're preparing to fight against everything that comes out of

the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees in New York, and Diana Newberry, an airline worker who moved to the Twin Cities (Minneapolis-St. Paul) before the convention to work full time on organizing the event.

Willey described the world today as one where capitalism is increasingly unstable. As competition between rival capitalists in different countries sharpens, the possibilities that trade conflicts may lead to military confrontations grow. At the same time there is more political polarization, which is reflected in the rise of figures like ultrarightist politician Patrick Buchanan.

"Buchanan taps into the instability and attacks the 'establishment' " Willey said. "He puts forward a program based on defending the 'nation.' " The only answer for working people to the Buchanans is

Young Socialists National Committee

Elected April 7, 1996

Regular

Tom Alter
José Aravena
Jennifer Banathy
Mark Gilsdorf
Ryan Kelly
Diana Newberry
Meg Novak
Cecilia Ortega

Verónica Poses
Brock Satter
Brian Taylor
Jack Willey
Alternate
Gaetan Whiston
Stefanie Trice
Tami Peterson
Joshua Carroll

Where to contact the

Young Socialists
P.O. Box 14392
St. Paul, MN 55114

Phone and Fax: (612) 645-1674
E-mail: 73321.413@compuserve.com

Socialist candidates seek 'active support'

BY GREG McCARTAN

MINNEAPOLIS — "This will be the most important political meeting of the campaign," said James Harris, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president, at a meeting held here April 6 during the Young Socialists convention. He spoke and answered questions together with vice presidential candidate Laura Garza. Some 175 workers and young revolutionaries came to the public event, hosted by the Young Socialists.

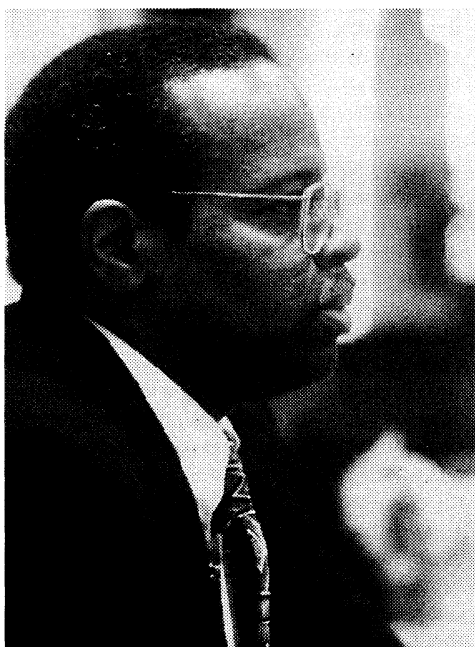
"We want your endorsement, which means your active political support," Harris told the Young Socialists. "We want you to be engaged with the Socialist Workers Party in political activity in the fight for socialism across this country and around the world. We want to go to strikes, rallies, and picket lines together; we want to protest the ultrarightist course represented by Patrick Buchanan, the war preparations by Washington, and the U.S. threats and economic war against Cuba."

The socialist campaign "is the only campaign that has answers and a program for working people," Harris said. "For bigger sections of the population the world we face seems more bleak every day. You get downsized or forced to speed up on the job. Reports that there has been a gain in employment the past two months send the bond and stock markets into a tailspin. This all feeds into the polarization that exists in society."

Millions feel a deeper and deeper distrust for the capitalist system, something right-wing, fascist-type groups feed on to try to attract people to their banner. "As people become more and more disenchanted with politics as it is in the United States, these rightists provide reactionary answers that reinforce divisions within the working class," Harris said.

"But this also means that people are more and more open to taking on radical political conclusions to what they see operating in the world today," he said. "Which means that there is room for socialists to reach out with our explanations as to what is happening in the world."

The communist campaign "gives scientific answers," Harris stated. "When you hear people complain that there are too many Mexican immigrants, give them a



SWP candidates James Harris and Laura Garza appeal for endorsement of YS

scientific answer: 'The more the merrier.'

"Immigrant workers strengthen our class, by bringing their experiences into the working class in every part of the country. That's why Mexicans are a problem for the bosses, not for us. That's a scientific, in-your-face answer."

Give scientific answers

The presidential candidate continued, "When the Palestinians, or Irish, or Cubans stand up and fight against national oppression or provocations by imperialism, the liberals will say, 'I wish they'd done it a different way.' You should say, 'You should rejoice — the world would be a far worse place if they stopped fighting.' That's a scientific answer."

The central demands of the socialist campaign, Garza said in her presentation, "are ones that unify workers. We raise the need for the labor movement internationally to demand, 'Jobs for all!' in order to combat the devastating consequences of the world capitalist crisis." The candidate said such a fight would be a social battle, that would also include demands to defend and extend affirmative action in employment, housing, and education; raise the



Militant/Jon Hillson

minimum wage; and establish full cost-of-living escalators in wages, social security, and unemployment compensation.

Garza said the employers and their government are targeting "the social protections, the social wage, and the rights we have won over decades," including social security, Medicare, unemployment compensation, and other such entitlements.

"Today there is a massive offensive to take that back, to make working people pay for the crisis of the capitalist system," Garza said. "To succeed in further attacks on us they have to divide us, to coarsen relations between workers. One of the ways they do that is to scapegoat immigrant workers. But the rulers' greatest fear — that we're not across the border waiting to come in but that we are already here in our millions and we're not going anywhere — has become a reality."

"When Buchanan talks about building a wall between the United States and Mexico, when Clinton talks about 'immigration control,' they aren't aiming mainly at stemming the number of immigrants coming into the country," Garza said. "They want you to get used to the methods of thuggery you saw on the high-

way in California being used against more working people here in the United States. When the ruling-class politicians talk about 'taking back the country' they mean taking back what our class has won."

Reject the 'lesser evil' train

Garza raised with the young socialists that "a 'lesser evil' train is going to get rolling in the United States as the elections heat up. They will try to convince you that Robert Dole, Newt Gingrich, and the Republicans will do so much damage to working people that you should vote for William Clinton instead — even if you don't really support him."

As Garza spoke, other forces that call themselves socialist were jumping on the train. An editorial in the April 6 issue of the *People's Weekly World*, the paper of the Communist Party USA, denounced Ralph Nader's Green Party election campaign, warning that "if Nader takes enough votes from Clinton, Bob Dole could win" in California. "The AFL-CIO is so concerned they have put aside their differences with Clinton and given him an early endorsement.... This is the true path of political independence," the *World* stated.

"Instead of supporting a lesser evil we need to organize and fight along the line James Harris talked about, independent of all the parties that accept or defend capitalism," Garza said. Providing a working-class voice also means doing something Nader and other procapitalist candidates won't do — rejecting defense of "our nation," which ultimately always means siding with American bosses, she said.

Instead Garza pointed to revolutionary Cuba as an example of the solution working people and fighting youth the world over should fight for. "Working people there built revolutionary organizations, took political power away from the bosses and landlords, did away with capitalism, and run society in the interests of the vast majority," she said. "We should do the same thing here."

Following Garza's presentation, Verónica Poses, a leader of the Young Socialists from Miami, reported to the meeting on the march and rally earlier that day in Los Angeles to protest the police brutality against two workers who are immigrants. During the question period, several Young Socialists spoke about fights they had participated in, such as supporting striking public workers in Ontario and fighting for the right of high school students in Utah to have gay rights and other clubs.

Attending the campaign meeting, in addition to delegates and guests at the YS convention, were working people from the region. Four meatpackers from Perry, Iowa, originally from Guatemala and Portugal, drove up, for instance.

In her talk, Garza pointed to one of the fighters in the audience, Roxanne Gould from Sioux City, Iowa. Gould has been active in fighting against the killing of a Native American woman by the cops there. "We pledge to use our campaign to join in and build support for fights like hers all over the world," Garza stated.

Those attending the meeting donated \$1,130 to help with immediate campaign expenses, and pledged an additional \$1,580. This will serve to kick off a \$90,000 fund to finance the presidential campaign.

Young Socialists adopt principles, campaigns

Continued from previous page

member of the International Association of Machinists in New York, explaining the proposal in a report on Young Socialists tasks the second day of the convention. The purpose of Young Socialists for Harris and Garza will be to organize youth who want to actively support the campaign, whether they are ready to join the YS or not. Delegates also adopted a goal of recruiting 50 new members to the Young Socialists by July 9, and doubling the size of the organization by the end of the election campaign in November.

Satter reviewed the evolution of the Young Socialists, which was initiated by groupings of revolutionary-minded youth in the Twin Cities and New York joining forces to launch the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee in early 1994. At a conference in August that year, members of the organizing committee from across the United States adopted the name Young Socialists and set out to build a nationwide organization. Young socialists from several other countries participated in that meeting, and decided to build sister organizations.

The April 6-7 gathering reflected genuine progress on these fronts. It was the first delegated convention of the group.

One of the campaigns adopted by the convention for the next several months is to join in building the U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange delegation, which will travel to the Caribbean island in late July.

"We should encourage local Cuba coalitions to take goals for signing up youth for the exchange," Satter said, "and build as broad participation as possible. It's not at all too soon to start fund-raising and building the brigade." In the next few weeks, publicizing the Youth Exchange, which is a project of the National Network on Cuba, can be combined with protesting

the denial of visas to Guerrero and Sánchez, and with trying to get a few more workers signed up to attend the CTC congress in Cuba, the YS leader said.

Satter also proposed the YS join with socialist workers in efforts to sell more Pathfinder books. "Every book we sell inflicts another blow against the capitalist system," he said.

Delegates also resolved to continue active participation in the fight for gay and lesbian rights along with the struggle for women's emancipation.

The final task of the delegates was electing a National Committee to serve as the highest decision-making body of the organization between conventions. They elected a committee of 12 regular members, with four alternates who will have consultative vote and be prepared to fill any vacancy among the regulars.

Following the convention, the new National Committee met and decided to keep the center of the organization in the Twin Cities for a period. The national center had been based in New York until shortly before the gathering.

Workshops highlight campaigns

Workshops held as part of the events surrounding the convention highlighted some of the YS activities. These included "Campaigning for a socialist alternative," "Building the Cuba Youth Exchange, winning visas for Cuban youth Maika Guerrero and Iroel Sánchez," "Writing articles and taking pictures for the *Militant*," and "Fighting to free Mark Curtis."

John Studer and Adam Gray from the Mark Curtis Defense Committee in Chicago set up a table at the event. They signed up seven endorsers for the case, collected \$60 in contributions, and organized a showing of the video *The Framing of Mark Curtis* that 35 people attended

during a lunch break. The framed-up unionist sent a message of greetings, which was read to the convention.

YS members also presented several classes: "Can a Rebel Army be built in the U.S.? — Studying *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War, 1956-58*," "Forging a combat party through working-class struggle — Teamster rebellion 1934," and "The Quebecois freedom struggle."

A literature table from the local Pathfinder bookstore did a booming business, selling over \$600 worth of books and pamphlets during the weekend.

The YS convention drew some media attention as well. The daily Minneapolis *Star Tribune* ran an article about the group a couple days before the convention. The *Minnesota Daily*, published at the University of Minnesota, covered the convention on its front page April 8. A local TV station covered the opening of the gathering, and YS leaders were interviewed on radio.

Campaign for the socialist alternative!

Contribute to \$90,000 campaign fund!

- ☐ Sign me up for campaign activities as a Young Socialist for Harris and Garza
- ☐ Enclosed is a \$_____ contribution
- ☐ I want to invite a candidate to speak at my union, school, or organization
- ☐ I am interested in joining the Young Socialists
- ☐ Enclosed is \$10 for a 12-week subscription to the *Militant*, a socialist newsweekly, or \$6 for 4 months of *Perspectiva Mundial* in Spanish

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____ Union/School/Organization _____

Mail to: Socialist Workers 1996 Campaign, P.O. Box 2652, New York, NY 10009

Lessons of the 1916 Easter rebellion in Ireland

The following are excerpts from an article by Russian revolutionary leader V. I. Lenin on the Irish Easter Rebellion of 1916, which we are publishing on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the revolt.

On Easter Monday, 1916, in the middle of World War I, some 1,200 members of the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army seized the General Post Office and several other sites in Dublin. They were led by Patrick Pearse, a leader of the Irish Volunteers and of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and by James Connolly, a revolutionary socialist and workers' leader who founded the Citizen Army.

Under conditions of deepening opposition to British colonial rule and to the imperialist war, the rebels had counted on setting off a national revolt. While uprisings did erupt elsewhere in Ireland, the hoped-for general insurrection did not transpire. After five days of bitter fighting, the survivors surrendered to overwhelming British force on Saturday.

In the course of the fighting, British artillery leveled a large part of Dublin. Pearse, Connolly, and 13 other Irish leaders were sentenced to death and shot.

Although the Easter Rebellion was crushed, it inspired a rising tide of struggle in Ireland. Sinn Féin, the nationalist political party, grew rapidly in the wake of the revolt. In 1919 the Volunteers (now incorporating the Citizen Army) adopted the name Irish Republican Army. A civil war developed.

In 1921 London, unable to crush this nationalist revolt by force, reached agreement with bourgeois leaders of the Irish nationalist movement to partition Ireland. Eamon De Valera, a surviving veteran of the Easter Rebellion, later became president of the formally independent Irish Free State. The island's six northern counties, however, remained under British colonial rule. The IRA and Sinn Féin opposed the partition and continued the fight for an independent, united Ireland.

The Easter Rebellion was the first major outbreak of revolt by the oppressed and exploited in Europe since the beginning of World War I. The Irish rebels' stand, "We serve neither king nor kaiser, but Ireland," was in stark contrast to the treacherous conduct of the majority of European labor and Socialist leaders, who told the toilers to put aside their fight for justice and a decent life for the good of "their own" government's war efforts.

At the time of the Easter Rebellion, the minority left wing in the international Socialist movement — those who opposed calling a truce with the exploiters in the class struggle and supporting the imperialist rulers in the war — was debating what policy to adopt toward the fight by oppressed nations for the right to self-determination. How to evaluate the Easter Rebellion became part of that discussion.

The article by Lenin that appears below is one section from "The Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up," a polemic with supporters of Polish revolutionist Rosa Luxemburg. It was first published in October 1916 and can be found in Lenin's *Collected Works*, volume 22. This section focuses on an article by Polish revolutionist Karl Radek (K.R.). In general agreement with Rosa Luxemburg, Radek held that "the right of self-determination... is a petty-bourgeois formula that has nothing in common with Marxism."

The item by Lenin, titled "The Irish Rebellion of 1916," appears in its entirety in the Marxist magazine *New International* no. 1 along with an article by Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky titled "Lessons of the events in Dublin."



BY V. I. LENIN

The views of the opponents of self-determination lead to the conclusion that the vitality of small nations oppressed by imperialism has already been sapped, that they cannot play any role against imperialism, that support of their purely national aspirations will lead to nothing, etc. The imperialist war of 1914-16 has provided facts which refute such conclusions.

The war proved to be an epoch of crisis for the West-European nations, and for imperialism as a whole. Every crisis discards the conventionalities, tears away the outer wrappings, sweeps away the obsolete and reveals the underlying springs and forces. What has it revealed from the

standpoint of the movement of oppressed nations? In the colonies there have been a number of attempts at rebellion, which the oppressor nations naturally did all they could to hide by means of a military censorship.

Nevertheless, it is known that in Singapore the British brutally suppressed a mutiny among their Indian troops; that there were attempts at rebellion in French Annam [Vietnam] and in the German Cameroons; that in Europe, on the one hand, there was a rebellion in Ireland, which the "freedom-loving" English, who did not dare to extend conscription to Ireland, suppressed by executions, and, on the other, the Austrian Government passed the death sentence on the deputies of the Czech Diet "for treason," and shot whole Czech regiments for the same "crime."

This list is, of course, far from complete. Nevertheless, it proves that, owing to the crisis of imperialism, the flames of national revolt have flared up *both* in the colonies and in Europe, and that national sympathies and antipathies have manifested themselves in spite of the draconian threats and measures of repression.

All this before the crisis of imperialism hit its peak; the power of the imperialist bourgeoisie was yet to be undermined (this may be brought about by a war of "attrition" but has not yet happened) and the proletarian movements in the imperialist countries were still very feeble. What will happen when the war has caused complete exhaustion, or when, in one state at least, the power of the bourgeoisie has been shaken under the blows of proletarian struggle, as that of tsarism in 1905?

A 'putsch' or national rebellion?

On May 9, 1916, there appeared, in *Berner Tagwacht*, the organ of the Zimmerwald group¹, including some of the Leftists, an article on the Irish rebellion entitled "Their Song Is Over" and signed with the initials K.R. It described the Irish rebellion as being nothing more nor less than a "putsch," for, as the author argued, "the Irish question was an agrarian one," the peasants had been pacified by reforms, and the nationalist movement remained only a "purely urban, petty-bourgeois movement, which, notwithstanding the sensation it caused, had not much social backing"....

The term "putsch," in its scientific sense, may be employed only when the attempt at insurrection has revealed nothing

but a circle of conspirators or stupid maniacs, and has aroused no sympathy among the masses.

The centuries-old Irish national movement, having passed through various stages and combinations of class interest, manifested itself, in particular, in a mass Irish National Congress in America (*Vorwärts*, March 20, 1916) which called for Irish independence; it also manifested itself in street fighting conducted by a section of the urban petty bourgeoisie *and a section of the workers* after a long period of mass agitation, demonstrations, suppression of newspapers, etc.

Whoever calls *such* a rebellion a "putsch" is either a hardened reactionary, or a doctrinaire hopelessly incapable of envisaging a social revolution as a living phenomenon.

To imagine that social revolution is *conceivable* without revolts by small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without revolutionary outbursts by a section of the petty bourgeoisie *with all its prejudices*, without a movement of the politically non-conscious proletarian and semiproletarian masses against oppression by the landowners, the church, and the monarchy, against national oppression, etc. — to imagine all this is to *repudiate social revolution*.

So one army lines up in one place and says, "We are for socialism," and another, somewhere else and says, "We are for imperialism," and that will be a social revolution! Only those who hold such a ridiculously pedantic view would vilify the Irish rebellion by calling it a "putsch."

Whoever expects a "pure" social revolution will *never* live to see it. Such a person pays lip service to revolution without understanding what revolution is....

The socialist revolution in Europe *cannot* be anything other than an outburst of mass struggle on the part of all and sundry oppressed and discontented elements. Inevitably, sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the backward workers will participate in it — without such participation, mass struggle is *impossible*, without it no revolution is possible — and just as inevitably will they bring into the movement their prejudices, their reactionary fantasies, their weaknesses and errors.

But *objectively* they will attack *capital*, and the class-conscious vanguard of the revolution, the advanced proletariat, expressing this objective truth of a variegated and discordant, motley and out-

wardly fragmented, mass struggle, will be able to unite and direct it, capture power, seize the banks, expropriate the trusts which all hate (though for different reasons!), and introduce other dictatorial measures which in their totality will amount to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the victory of socialism, which, however, will by no means immediately "purge" itself of petty bourgeois slag.

Social-Democracy, we read in the Polish theses, "must utilize the struggle of the young colonial bourgeoisie against European imperialism *in order to sharpen the revolutionary crisis in Europe*."

Is it not clear that it is least of all permissible to contrast Europe to the colonies in *this* respect? The struggle of the oppressed nations in *Europe*, a struggle capable of going all the way to insurrection and street fighting, capable of breaking down the iron discipline of the army and martial law, will "sharpen the revolutionary crisis in Europe" to an infinitely greater degree than a much more developed rebellion in a remote colony.

A blow delivered against the power of the English imperialist bourgeoisie by a rebellion in Ireland is a hundred times more significant politically than a blow of equal force delivered in Asia or in Africa.

1. Zimmerwald, Switzerland, was the location of a September 1915 international conference of Socialists who opposed voting for war credits for their governments. The Zimmerwald group refers to supporters of this international current. Lenin led a left wing at that conference, and his supporters were known as the Zimmerwald Left.

New International no. 1

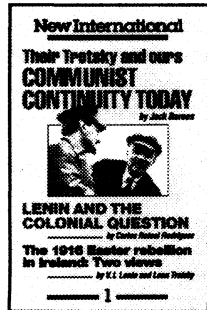
• **Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today**
by Jack Barnes

• **Lenin and the Colonial Question**
by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez

• **The 1916 Easter Rebellion in Ireland: Two Views**
by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky

\$8.00

Available at bookstores, including those listed on page 8, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St. New York, NY 10014. If ordering by mail please include \$3.00 for shipping and handling



— IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP —

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

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA: Birmingham: 111 21st St. South. Mailing address: Suite 252, 267 West Valley Avenue Zip 35209. Tel: (205) 323-3079. Compuserve: 103402,1231

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460, 380-9640. Compuserve: 74642,326 **San Francisco:** 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 285-5323. Compuserve: 75604,556

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

FLORIDA: Miami: 137 N.E. 54th St. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. Compuserve: 103171,1674

GEORGIA: Atlanta: 803 Peachtree NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 724-9759. Compuserve: 75607,1455

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 1223 N. Milwaukee Ave. Zip: 60622. Tel: (312) 342-1780. Compuserve: 76171,2307 **Peoria:** 915 N. Western. Zip: 61650-0302. Mailing address: P.O. Box 302. Tel: (309) 676-2472. Compuserve: 103435,1724

INDIANA: Bloomington: P.O. Box 1304. Zip: 47402. Tel: (812) 333-6859.

IOWA: Des Moines: 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-8249. Compuserve: 104107,1412

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 780 Tremont St. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772. Compuserve: 103426,3430

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 7414 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Compuserve: 74767,1050 Tel: (313) 875-0100.

MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: 2490 University Ave. W., St. Paul. Zip: 55114. Tel: (612) 644-6325. Compuserve: 103014,3261

NEW JERSEY: Newark: 141 Halsey. Mailing address: 1188 Raymond Blvd., Suite 222. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341. Compuserve: 102330,106

NEW YORK: Albany: P. O. Box 2357, E.S.P. Zip: 12220. Tel: (518) 465-0585. **Brooklyn:** 59 4th Avenue (corner of Bergen) Zip: 11217. Tel: (718) 399-7257. Compuserve: 102064,2642. **New York:** 214-16 Avenue A. Mailing address: P.O. Box 2652. Zip: 10009. Tel: (212) 388-9346; 167 Charles St. Zip: 10014. Tel: (212) 366-1973. Compuserve: 104113,2150

NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene St. Zip 27406. Tel: (910) 272-5996. Compuserve: 103475,672.

OHIO: Cincinnati: P.O. Box 19484. Zip: 45219. Tel: (513) 662-1931. **Cleveland:** 1832 Euclid. Zip: 44115. Tel: (216) 861-6150. Compuserve: 103253,1111

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: 1906 South St. Zip: 19146. Tel: (215) 546-8218. E-mail: philaswp@aol.com **Pittsburgh:** 1103 E. Carson St. Zip 15203. Tel: (412) 381-9785. Compuserve: 103122,720

TEXAS: Houston: 3260 South Loop West. Zip: 77025. Tel: (713) 349-0090. Compuserve: 102527,2271

UTAH: Salt Lake City: 147 E. 900 S. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124. Compuserve: 76714,1545

WASHINGTON, D.C.: 1930 18th St. N.W. Suite #3 (Entrance on Florida Av.). Zip: 20009. Tel: (202) 387-2185. Compuserve: 75407,3345.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: 1405 E. Madison. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 323-1755. Compuserve: 74461,2544.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: 242 Walnut. Mailing address: P.O. Box 203. Zip: 26507. Tel: (304) 296-0055. Compuserve:

70543,1637

AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 19 Terry St., Surry Hills 2010. Mailing address: P.O. Box K879, Haymarket, NSW 2000. Tel: 02-281-3297. Compuserve: 102174,1243

BRITAIN

London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 0171-928-7993. Compuserve: 101515,2702

Manchester: Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Postal code: M4 4AA. Tel: 0161-839-1766.

CANADA

Montreal: 4581 Saint-Denis. Postal code: H2J 2L4. Tel: (514) 284-7369. Compuserve: 75253,265

Toronto: 827 Bloor St. West. Postal code: M6G 1M1. Tel: (416) 533-4324. Compuserve: 103474,13

Vancouver: 3967 Main St. Postal code: V5V 3P3. Tel: (604) 872-8343. Compuserve: 103430,1552

FRANCE

Paris: MBE 201, 208 rue de la Convention. Postal code: 75015. Tel: (1) 47-26-58-21. Compuserve: 73504,442

ICELAND

Reykjavík: Klappartíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavík. Tel: 552 5502. INTERNET: gphssg@treknet.is

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Postal address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 379-3075. Compuserve: 100035,3205

Christchurch: 199 High St. Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 365-6055. Compuserve: 100250,1511

SWEDEN

Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33. Compuserve: 100416,2362

Delicate — According to Ian Uydess, the latest tobacco industry researcher to become a whistleblower, scientists were admonished to avoid words like addiction or carcinogens. If they had to mention health damage, they used



Harry Ring

"biological activity."

Progress report — In Tennessee, scene of the 1925 "Monkey Trial," in which John

Scopes was convicted of teaching evolution, the state senate voted 20-13 to kill a bill that would have permitted school boards to fire teachers for telling students that evolution is a fact.

Sleep well — "Hydrogen gas is building up to dangerous levels in vats and pipes at the former Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant and could explode.... The hydrogen is not radioactive, but an explosion could spew radioactive material that remains in pipes, vats and ducts.... The problem came as a surprise to state and local officials." — AP dispatch from Golden, Colorado, 16 miles from Denver.

Maybe a good belch — "A

1,500-pound bundle of uranium fuel is stuck in a reactor at the nation's largest nuclear plant, and federal regulators are now mulling a plan to dislodge it. The public is not in any danger, authorities say." — Report from Palo Verde nuclear power plant in Wintersburg, Arizona.

Please, spare us — Iowa Select Farms, the state's biggest factory-type hog farm, made a video to recruit workers that includes scenes from a Farm Aid concert to support family farmers. Demanding it be removed, a Farm Aid spokesperson said they did not want to be associated "with a company that promotes industrial hog operations over family farms."

The company responded it was included in the video "to show things to do in Iowa in your spare time."

No free market? — "Until last year, \$30,000 in India could buy a new kidney from a doctor who paid a living donor less than \$1,000.... Finally, prompted by general resentment that India was serving as a spare parts repository for richer nations, as well as by reports of shady practitioners who cut costs by stealing organs...the Indian legislature passed laws banning organ sales." — March *Scientific American*

Be well — At the same time it barred trading in organs of living donors, the Indian government

gave a legal OK to the concept of "brain death" — that a person is dead when the brain stops functioning even if the heart and other organs are still working. Or, a cheap new source of organs.

Bunch of gripers — A year ago at the sports complex being built for the Olympic games in Atlanta, a stadium light tower collapsed, killing a worker. Then they found that dorms built for the Olympic Village were sinking as much as nine inches more than expected. Last month, a five-ton roof truss collapsed. The construction chief complained that everybody focuses on "the few incidents" and not all the things that are done right.

Miners in Australia strike for union recognition

BY BOB AIKEN
AND MARNIE KENNEDY

SYDNEY, Australia — Seventy-seven workers at CRA's Comalco bauxite mine in the far north of Queensland struck the company March 27 to press their fight for union recognition.

In the course of a seven-week strike late last year the members of four unions combined in the Weipa Industrial Site Committee won active support from tens of thousands of working people across Australia, including national solidarity strikes by the coal and maritime unions.

CRA, one of the largest corporations in Australia, has been on a union-busting drive over several years, signing up an estimated 11,000 of its 16,000-person workforce to individual, nonunion, contracts with the lure of large pay raises. Workers who refuse to sign these contracts at sites where they have been offered have remained on lower pay, and face ongoing company harassment.

A small minority of the workforce at Weipa is fighting for the right to union representation and for wage parity with workers on individual contracts. It is the most significant resistance to CRA's offensive so far.

"When we went out on strike on October 13 we didn't think it'd explode the way it did," Richie Ahmat, president of the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU) lodge at Weipa,

explained at a union reception in Sydney, February 21. After "two years of intimidation, discrimination and harassment by the company, we thought, 'This is the bottom line!' That's when we stopped and went out indefinitely."

"The fight against CRA has just begun. It's not finished by a long shot," Ahmat said, but the strike had dealt a blow to "CRA's long-range strategic plan."

The mine workers at Weipa ended their strike November 29, following a return-to-work order eight days earlier by the Australian Industrial Relations Commission (AIRC), which included an 8 percent pay raise backdated to March 1994.

On January 23, the AIRC handed down an interim order ruling that Comalco must "extend the terms and conditions available to staff" to the award employees. Awards are union-negotiated contracts. The decision also stipulated that, to gain wage parity, award workers must "work in accordance with all the requirements of the staff contracts."

A *Sydney Morning Herald* editorial January 24 described this as "a sting in the tail of the decision." These requirements include management-determined work



Striking unionists and supporters on the picket line at Evans Lookout in Australia. The miners battled against one of the world's most powerful mining corporations, valued at \$27 billion.

U.S. unionists prepare for Cuban workers convention

BY SETH GALINSKY

MIAMI — Some 55 trade unionists from across the United States will be traveling to Cuba at the end of April to attend the 17th Congress of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC).

Ignacio Meneses, national coordinator of the U.S./Cuba Labor Exchange, which is organizing travel for most U.S. unionists to the event in Havana, said that members of about 18 unions will be part of the delegation. Among them are members of the International Association of Machinists, National Education Association, Service Employees International Union, United Auto Workers, Union of Electronic Workers (UE), and the United Transportation Union.

Many of the participants are full-time union organizers, shop stewards, and retired union officials, Meneses said. There are also a dozen rank-and-file workers. The U.S. unionists are coming from more than two dozen cities, ranging from Los Angeles, California, to Des Moines, Iowa.

Discussion among refinery workers

Patti Iiyama, an oil worker at the Lyondell-CITGO refinery near Houston, is going to the CTC congress with the U.S./Cuba Labor Exchange group along with a co-worker. Iiyama is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-227.

"The response of my co-workers has been very interesting," Iiyama said. "Some people have argued that [Cuban president Fidel] Castro is a dictator and want to know what I think I will accom-

plish by going.

"But others think it's really great I'm going. They have an image of Cuba as a country of fighters."

Iiyama has been distributing on the job and discussing with fellow unionists the theses for the CTC congress, a document prepared by the union federation's National Committee after a round of CTC conferences organized in every municipality in Cuba last year.

The theses were discussed at thousands of factory assemblies and other workplace meetings in the Caribbean island between January 15 and March 15. The *Militant* translated the document and published it in a four-part series in its March 18, March 25, April 1, and April 8 issues (to get a copy send \$3.00 to the *Militant* at the address listed on page 2).

"We've also started collecting material aid to bring to the Cuban workers," Iiyama said.

This is the largest delegation the Labor Exchange has helped organize over the last several years, Meneses stated. "Along with attending the CTC conference we will also be visiting factories and agricultural cooperatives."

The U.S. Health-care Trade Union Committee of Local 1199 of the hospital workers union in New York is also organizing a smaller delegation.

For travel information from the United States contact the U.S./Cuba Labor Exchange at (313) 836-3752.

Seth Galinsky is a member of the United Transportation Union in Miami

hours, pay rates set through a Personal Effectiveness Review (PER) system, and no overtime rates.

Laws brought in by the Labor government of Prime Minister Paul Keating opened the way for the bosses to replace collective bargaining arrangements with individual contracts. The Liberal/National coalition government of John Howard elected March 2 has pledged to help the bosses deepen this process.

The AIRC ruling directed CRA to negotiate a new award with the unions based on its ruling, which would apply to all workers at the mine.

Two unionists from Weipa, Lloyd Roots, a fitter, and Rob Grinstead, a crane driver, gave an interview to the *Militant* at the February 21 reception about the strike.

"Everyone understands that technically we have a victory" with the January 23 ruling, Roots stated, "but nothing's changed. We're still getting intimidated, we haven't got the money, we haven't got the conditions yet. There's still a fight."

In the negotiations that have taken place since the AIRC decision, CRA has stalled on every issue, Grinstead said, and is also disputing the ruling that pay raises should be backdated to when staff contracts were introduced two years ago.

Beginning October 26, during the strike last year, "floating picket lines" were set up on Weipa harbor aimed at preventing pilot vessels and tugboats from escorting the huge bauxite carriers into dock. On two occasions bulk carriers were forced to do a U-turn on the harbor by the strikers' flotilla of dinghies.

Within a week, four bulk carriers were banked up outside the harbor and, with the support of members of the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA) on the bulk carriers and on the Weipa wharves, the pickets had successfully prevented the loading of A\$6 million worth of ore.

Grinstead laughed as he described how the strikers responded to the company filming them with video cameras, threatening to use the scenes as evidence against them. "We were waving" back at them, he said, "saying, 'My name's Robert Phillip Hillary Grinstead, this is my boat and I'm about to attack that tugboat.' We just didn't care no more...enough's enough!"

"There's no nicer feeling than to be able to just flaunt your nose at a company like

that" Grinstead said, "especially after they have just pushed you into a corner."

"They tried to scare us," Roots noted, "and I really think that if we hadn't been intimidated for so long, if people weren't so angry, and if they had done it earlier, the company might've succeeded."

The company won an AIRC ruling November 10 allowing it to begin legal proceedings against 48 strikers and their unions for losses during the walkout. The same day CRA won an injunction in the Queensland Supreme Court to stop the harbor blockade, which the strikers ignored. Roots recalled the days before legal writs were served on the strikers saying, "The company was having meetings with [contract] staff [to say] that the strikers would be back at work in a day or two and should be 'treated with respect even though they were defeated!'"

Queensland Police reinforcements had arrived in Weipa by the second week of the strike and six arrests took place. CRA also brought private security guards in and spread rumors that the strikers planned sabotage. Union supporters still working at the mine kept the strikers informed of the company's misinformation campaign.

"I think they were about to show what they could do to the union movement, how they could crush it at will," Grinstead said.

In a phone interview April 3 Roots said that in the first few days of the new strike the union members have reestablished their strike headquarters camp at Picket Point but had not resumed their floating picket line. Negotiations had taken place with the company, he stated, and Comalco had backed down from demanding that the union members sign individual contracts, or individually sign their acceptance of the company's working conditions. However, the strikers were not satisfied that the right to union representation had been guaranteed, he said.

MUA members who crew the giant bauxite carriers have been attending the strikers' daily meeting while they were in port, Roots said. With calls of support coming from many unions around the country, "The solidarity is still there."

Bob Aiken is a member of the AWU-FIME union and Marnie Kennedy is a member of the Australian Manufacturing Workers' Union in Sydney.

Tear down Clinton's wall!

The Clinton administration is leading the bosses' assault on immigrant workers. Following in the president's footsteps, Democrats and Republicans in Congress are debating how much further they can go in denying basic rights to a layer of the working class.

Clinton has pushed for increases in border cops and authorized the use of the U.S. armed forces to aid them. Under his Democratic tutelage the number of raids, arrests, and deportations of immigrant workers has shot up. Clinton has put up a wall that runs into the Pacific Ocean near San Diego and plans to spend millions to build more steel fences. And he is expanding rules for identification checks of workers.

Some Congressional proposals are probing attacks on the rights of legal residents. At the same time, much of the big-business debate seeks to

convince immigrants who have papers to identify as "American" and pit themselves against undocumented workers — "illegal aliens" scapegoated as the cause of unemployment, crime, and drug trafficking. These are workers Washington is denying proper documentation to keep them in a permanent pariah status.

Washington's and Wall Street's real aim is to drive a wedge into the working class and justify greater use of repressive measures, and the wholesale denial of rights to a growing number of those who toil on the land and in thousands of U.S. factories. Measures denying children the right to an education, eliminating access to any social benefits, and doing away with legal protections for a chunk of the workforce are a dagger



Clinton administration has ordered fences built along border with Mexico.

aimed at the entire working class. As always when the bosses attempt to deepen divisions among our class, they go after those they think are the easiest prey, those they hope will receive the least support or solidarity.

The attacks on affirmative action, on the gains women have made in access to jobs and education, and on hard-won social entitlements will be speeded up if the bosses and their government can make it acceptable to deport, harass, and disenfranchise a section of the working class because they are immigrants.

Their steel fences and border walls are aimed at separating Chicano, Mexican, Puerto Rican, and other workers from the "real Americans."

The danger of accepting the government's claim that it is legitimate to hunt workers down, kick them out of jobs, deny people medical care, and throw kids out of school should be clear to all workers, especially trade unionists.

Any union fighter knows the key to taking on the bosses is unity of the workers — not allowing the employers to pit us against each other. What the government has in store for us can be seen in the use of *la migrá* to go after workers like those who had just voted in the United Auto Workers in one auto parts plant in Michigan.

The battles labor must take on to organize more workers and to defend the unions under attack can never be won without a clear stance in defense of the right of every worker to a job, a living wage, and access to all social entitlements. That's why the labor movement must push the demand for equal rights for immigrants. Millions of these workers are already denied equal protection under labor laws, such as farm workers, who are largely immigrant and Chicano. Many are not entitled to some social programs, live under constant fear of deportation, and cannot get citizenship or vote.

The bosses and their mouthpieces in the capitalist parties, however, are beginning to find out that they are taking on a little more than they bargained for. The walls and divisions they want to enforce will have to be imposed in cities from Los Angeles to Chicago to New York; in factories like meatpacking plants in Iowa, garment shops in California, and steel and auto plants and farm fields throughout the country. They are launching salvos at a section of the U.S. working class that is large in numbers, integrated in a growing number of cities and towns, and not willing to roll over and play dead. This layer of the working class is in fact giving growing indications of a willingness to fight the rulers' offensive.

The labor movement should welcome the fact that the U.S. border with Mexico is becoming more porous. Workers from Mexico and throughout Latin America are flowing into the United States because U.S. capital has penetrated their countries deeper, forcing harsher conditions of superexploitation. The new workers coming to the north make the U.S. working class more international and thus stronger. Many of these fellow toilers bring with them experiences of how to fight for workers' rights from their countries, and can be recruits to the side of our army — the working-class army labor must forge to defend our hard-won rights from the bosses.

The demonstrations in response to the April 1 beating of Mexican workers by Riverside cops are the latest example of a nationwide movement of Chicano and Mexican workers that has already emerged — standing up to attacks from the cops, the courts, ultrarightists like Buchanan, and liberals like Clinton. More and more they are taking the lead in conferences and protests to answer the deadly attempts to divide the working class. In fact, the struggle led by the Chicano and Mexican movement can give impulse to fights by Puerto Ricans, African-Americans, and other oppressed nationalities.

This is a **battle** all working people can join.

We can **participate** in planning and **helping** to get the word out about future **events** — especially the October 12 national march on Washington — to demand:

Jail the **guilty** cops!

Stop the **raids** and deportations!

Equal **rights** for immigrants!

What stance should workers take in conflict over Taiwan?

Several readers have taken issue with the *Militant's* stance on the China-Taiwan crisis. In this week's letters column, Adam Wolfe agrees that China's national reunification is the heart of the conflict but says support to this fight should be qualified because of Beijing's antilabor policies.

Last week, James Robb of Auckland, New Zealand, questioned the *Militant's* assertion that "the Chinese people are trying to take back what is rightfully theirs — Taiwan," saying there is no

Do socialists support every action by Beijing? No. But they don't make the defense of a workers state — its nationalized property relations, monopoly of foreign trade, and centralized planning — conditional on the nature of the government or on particular actions by that government.

The Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union committed brutalities as great as those carried out by Beijing, but class-conscious workers have al-

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

evidence of a popular movement in China today over this question. The week before, Hsin-chih Chen of Rego Park, New York, expressed his opposition to U.S. intervention in the region but criticized the *Militant* for siding with China, citing the regime's repression against students and Tibetans.

The fundamental issue here, however, is the confrontation between the Chinese workers state and the Chinese people, on one hand, and Washington and the capitalist rulers of Taiwan, on the other. Working people should unconditionally take the side of China against U.S. imperialism. "Unconditionally" means regardless of Beijing's policies or the ups and downs of popular mobilizations. Taiwan is historically part of China, and the Chinese have the right to reunify their nation.

To win public support for its war drive against China, the U.S. government has launched a propaganda campaign — echoed by liberal, conservative, and many leftist commentators — portraying China as an "imperialist" aggressor, and itself and its Taipei ally as "democratic." But the real aggressor is Washington, which arrogantly sent a massive naval armada into the western Pacific to threaten China and prop up the Taiwanese regime. China has a right to defend itself by any means necessary — including the recent military maneuvers off its own coast — against provocations like the latest U.S.-backed "independence" campaign by the Taipei government.

Taiwan: a dagger aimed at Chinese workers

Washington has used the capitalist regime in Taiwan as a dagger aimed at China since the 1949 revolutionary triumph there. The socialist revolution was, and is, a giant victory for working people. Chinese workers and peasants ended imperialist domination, abolished landlordism, forged a national unified state, and overturned capitalist property relations. They made big gains in land reform, literacy, health care, women's rights, and other social and democratic rights.

In 1949 the defeated capitalist forces of Chiang Kai-shek fled to Taiwan and imposed a ruthless dictatorship with U.S. aid. In 1958 Taipei moved troops onto the coastal islands of Quemoy and Matsu, blocking key mainland ports. Washington threatened nuclear war when China defended itself. Since then, the U.S. government has armed Taipei to the teeth. The call for "independence" by sections of the Taiwanese ruling class would only mean greater domination of that breakaway region by their imperialist masters.

ways unreservedly supported the workers state there *against* "democratic" imperialism. As Leon Trotsky explains in his book *In Defense of Marxism*, this is because the Moscow regime, despite representing a privileged and parasitic petty-bourgeois layer, has been compelled to defend the social conquests of the 1917 revolution.

Furthermore, workers should stand with all oppressed peoples, regardless of their leadership, in confrontations with imperialism. In 1937, for instance, Trotsky backed China — under Chiang's capitalist dictatorship — in its war with Japanese imperialism. China's victory put workers and peasants in a more favorable position to win national sovereignty, oust Chiang, and overthrow capitalism.

National aspirations of Chinese people

The Chinese people's strong sentiment for national unity is more than "anecdotal," as Robb's letter termed it. It has been the driving force of China's century-long fight against imperialist domination, eventually becoming inseparably intertwined with the fight for socialism. Part of that history is the struggle in Taiwan, first against 50 years of Japanese colonial rule, and since then against U.S. domination.

Any action by the Chinese government in defense of the nation's sovereignty and the workers state puts working people, on both the mainland and Taiwan, on a stronger footing vis-à-vis their main enemy: imperialism. Yes, this should make capitalists in Taiwan and Hong Kong, as well as aspiring capitalists in southern China, nervous. Workers in Taiwan will gain from the weakening of the Taipei regime, as they have done since they helped end the decades-long dictatorship by Chiang and his son.

Despite Robb's suggestions otherwise, capitalists in Hong Kong and wannabe capitalists in China's "special economic zones" are not about to overthrow the workers state in that country's southern region. The exploitative conditions imposed by entrepreneurs there have sparked increased resistance by Chinese workers.

Just as in Yugoslavia, the Chinese workers state is much stronger than the ruling petty-bourgeois layers. Likewise, capitalists are far from being able to take over — they would first have to crush the workers and peasants in giant class battles, including direct military assaults. Because of that working-class strength, the return of capitalist Hong Kong to China — like the eventual unification of Korea — will not be a setback for working people but one more historic blow against world capitalism.

— MARTÍN KOPPEL

Sinn Fein national conference

Continued from back page

Saoirse. A Saoirse spokesperson responded, "We will continue to campaign around the release of political prisoners irrespective of the sectarian machinations of a small group of students."

While *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, the paper of Sinn Fein, has carried a lively debate in its letters column assessing the decision of the IRA to end its cease-fire, delegates to the conference unified around the point Gerry Adams made that the Ard Fheis was "not the vehicle for such announcements" about the IRA.

One delegate, Aongus O Snodaigh from Dublin, challenged the leadership's peace strategy, saying it had failed. He said, "I am not calling for an immediate rejection of the strategy, but we surely need to re-evaluate it and if need be dump it." At the conclusion of the Ard Fheis, however, there was a unanimous vote on the political report presented by the leadership.

In all the Ard Fheis passed more than 100 motions on issues ranging from proposals for a new

police force to replace the RUC to opposition to the U.S. embargo against Cuba and support for gay and lesbian rights.

The longest debate was on a motion proposed by Maghaberry women republican prisoners, seconded by H-Block prisoners, calling for a woman's right to choose abortion. Proposing the motion, Mary Ellen Campbell said women republicans were used to oppression but had the added burden "of legislation which prevents us taking decisions affecting our own bodies."

Speaking against this, Caomhghlin O Caolain said passing the motion would create "serious dissatisfaction" in the party and threaten its vote, especially in rural areas. He and others also spoke out against the current policy of Sinn Fein in defense of the right to travel to have an abortion, to information about abortion availability, and to have an abortion in life-threatening or rape cases.

In the end the motion was defeated, leaving Sinn Fein's current policy in place.

Actions to support Detroit news strikers increase

BY JOHN SARGE
AND HOLLY HARKNESS

DETROIT — During the month of March public activity in support of the Detroit newspaper strikers, which had taken a downturn since the end of last year, increased. The new mobilizations have focused on civil disobedience by religious figures and some elected officials in front of the struck facilities, which have led to the arrests of 150 people in March.

Six unions, representing some 2,500 workers including press operators, mailers, drivers, reporters, typographers, and maintenance workers, walked out July 13 against the Detroit Newspaper Agency, which manages the advertising, circulation, and other business operations of the city's two main dailies — the *News* and *Free Press*. The unionists struck to protect jobs, wages, working conditions, and their right to bargain jointly with the newspapers. Nine months later, more than 2,000 remain on strike.

The company has hired scabs and brought in hundreds of goons to guarantee its ability to maintain production.

In the largest mobilization since Thanksgiving, 700 people converged on the Detroit News Building the morning of March 6 to protest the employers' union busting. Most protesters carried out a spirited picket line. At the same time, 24 elected officials and religious figures refused to move from the doors of the building's parking garage and were arrested by the police.

This action was followed March 14 by a protest of 500, billed as a "Women's action in support of striking newspaper workers." Forty-four women, including strikers' wives, leaders of the National Organization for Women, and local politicians, were arrested for blocking access to the doors of the *News* garage.



Militant/John Sarge

Detroit newspaper strikers picket Sept. 16, 1995.

These actions were the first in a series organized by Readers United, a group of religious figures and pacifists organized last summer to build support for the strike. Its leaders said they called the protests to refocus public attention on the walkout.

A discussion on the state of the strike took place March 7 at a "Town Hall Meeting" sponsored by Readers United. The group invited both union representatives and company officials to attend.

"Robert Giles has declined to come tonight," said Shea Howell, the chairperson of the event, referring to the publisher of the *News*. "He said the community already knows the position of the Detroit *News* and *Free Press*. He said he's ready to negotiate if the unions are reasonable in their demands."

Strike had become less visible

Many participants said the strike had become less visible over the past few months and that more public actions of solidarity were needed. Others condemned the Detroit News Agency's recent ads, which tout the company's commitment to "racial diversity" in the workforce.

On March 14 a group of 40 Teamsters from Quebec were blocked from crossing the border by U.S. customs agents as they tried to deliver a \$10,000 donation to the strikers. They held a protest and blocked traffic for 30 minutes at the Ambassador Bridge, which links Detroit and Windsor, Ontario.

Some 300 people turned out March 30 at a strike support rally called by the Labor/Religious/Community Committee of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO, the first action called by this group since December.

The striking unions have set another rally for April 14 at Cobo Hall, the city's convention center.

The new round of mobilizations has buoyed the strikers' spirits.

"These demonstrations and rallies strengthen the strike," said Armand Nevers, a typographer at the *News* for 35 years. "We need to be out more to win this strike."

In the late fall, officials from the striking unions decided to downplay solidarity actions. Instead, the focus of strike activity shifted to a consumer boycott of advertisers in the scab papers and the production and distribution of the *Sunday Journal*, a weekly newspaper financed by AFL-CIO unions and produced by strikers.

Over the winter months, picket lines shrank. "Our strategy is that the strike is fought on many different fronts," said Shawn Ellis, a striking member of Teamsters Local 372. "People were moved from the strike lines to areas that are as important — to work on the *Sunday Journal* and boycott activities. We always picket in Sterling Heights. We picket some distribution centers and downtown [the editorial offices] most days." The Sterling Heights plant was the site of the largest mobilizations last fall and is the one location where the newspapers got a court injunction to limit picketing.

The upturn in activity has led to strength-

ening of the picket lines at the editorial offices.

Strikers spend many hours working on the *Journal*. Time to produce the weekly is considered the same as doing picket duty. But the *Sunday Journal* is not published as a strike organizing tool. The paper has averaged one page of strike coverage a week.

What is 'Sunday Journal'?

Its purpose, according to union officials, is to provide a weekly replacement for the struck papers. Aside from union issues, the *Journal's* editorial stance differs little from most big-business dailies. In its stated effort to provide "solid and balanced journalism," the *Journal* has run articles reporting favorably on the defense campaign for two police officers convicted of beating to death Malice Green, an unemployed steelworker who was Black. The paper has also endorsed the dispatch of NATO troops to Yugoslavia and promotes company-union cooperation in the auto industry.

Most strikers, however, see the publication of the *Journal* as an important part of their fight. "There's three things that will win this strike," said Armand Nevers at the March 7 town hall meeting. "The *Sunday Journal*, the advertiser boycott, and a national march on Detroit that would shut down the papers in Sterling Heights and downtown Detroit." Many working people here buy the *Journal* as an act of solidarity.

Meanwhile, strike support actions organized by the labor movement on the local level continue to take place on a modest scale. United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 160, which represents workers at the General Motors Technical Center in suburban Detroit, held a fund-raising dinner at its union hall March 12 that netted \$12,000 for the strike on top of the \$39,000 already collected by union members.

John Sarge is a member of UAW Local 900 in Detroit. Holly Harkness is a member of UAW Local 235 in the same city.

LETTERS

On China's reunification

The editorial entitled "On the side of Chinese people" in the March 25 *Militant* states that "the heart of this conflict is China's right to national reunification." This is indeed the heart of the matter, although I question the lack of any condemnation of Beijing's approach to "reunification." According to the article on China, Beijing is carrying out "naval and air force exercises with live ammunition" off the coast of Taiwan.

The People's Republic of China is a deformed workers' state, and as such cannot be imperialist: it is not driven to military aggression by the need to expand markets or fields of investment. However, the bureaucratic caste that heads the PRC is licking its chops at the impending reunification with Hong Kong, a capitalist bonanza that, under the terms of the 1984 Basic Agreement, will continue with its free-market economy for at least fifty years after 1997.

And the privatizations and joint enterprises with Western capital in the coastal provinces, along with the horrendously anti-labor policies there, should persuade anyone that this ruling caste does not have any great fondness for the interests of Chinese workers and farmers, on either side of the Taiwan Strait.

No one can doubt the intentions of Beijing when it tells Lee Teng-hui not to seek independence and reaffirms its right to reunify by conducting military exercises conveniently timed to run through Taiwan's elections.

China does have the right to reunification, but I doubt that the workers and farmers of Taiwan want it administered with tanks and guns. What they need above all is the political space to engage in the class struggle and test out working-class leaderships. The belligerent moves of Beijing re-

duce that space considerably.
Adam Wolfe
Evansville, Indiana

Nazi death camps

In a letter in the March 18 *Militant*, Rick Young takes issue with a sentence in the article "Don't give NATO what it hasn't already taken," by Argiris Malapanis (Feb. 19 *Militant*): "The Nazis won popular support for their openly stated aims of exterminating Jews and other non-Aryans based on the smashing of the labor movement."

"The Nazis did not 'win' popular support for the death camps," Young writes. "The camps were not openly proclaimed." The exterminations came years later than the smashing of the labor movement, Young says, "in the latter years of World War II"; and the idea that "the extermination of the Jews was done with 'popular support'" reinforces the idea of "collective guilt."

Young is right that the idea of collective guilt is wrong. Guilt belongs to the individuals who commit crimes, and the responsibility for Nazi rule belongs to the leaders of the capitalist class that turned over power to the Nazis, knowing full well what they were. But I think that Young falls into several errors in his argument, and that Malapanis's reference to Nazism was right on the mark.

The world war began in September 1939 with the invasion of Poland; mass murders of Jews and other Poles began immediately. The death camps began to operate at the end of 1941. The war was two years old at the time and would run another three and one-half years. The extermination of Jews did not begin "in the latter years" of the war, but right at the



start.

Nazism was a popular movement, based on the middle class, with a mass following that could be mobilized in their hundreds of thousands. Those who supported the Nazis could have had no doubt what Hitler held in store for the Jews, since he and his Jew-hating predecessors in the German nationalist movement openly proclaimed it.

The mass support did not falter as atrocities against the Jews multiplied. One can say that Hitler won popular support for the murder of the Jews by carrying out crimes against them. Each wave of crimes toughened up the Nazis for a new round of worse crimes.

Hitler did not invent Jew hatred, nor did he originate the idea of murdering the Jews. Before Hitler, there were some 30 years of anti-Semitic propaganda tied to pro-imperialist German nationalism, including comments like "for

the Jews the struggle for existence has begun," spoken by the leader of the nationalist Pan-German League on April 13, 1918.

(1) The myth of the "international Jew" was the central theme of all Nazi propaganda, as was the determination to combat this mythical villain ruthlessly. Jews were seen as a race, not a religion, so the task could not be to change them, but to eliminate them.

In Hitler's first public speech, September 16, 1919, he said, "[A]nti-Semitism based on reason must lead to the systematic legal combating and removal of rights of the Jew.... Its final aim, however, must be the uncompromising removal of the Jews altogether."

(2) The party program (February 24, 1920) proposed taking citizenship from all Jews.

(3) In Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (1924), Jews are blamed for ruining the German nation through the stock exchange and Marxism; they are blamed for the November 1918 revolution and for the international outlook of the workers' movement in Germany. "The nationalization of the broad masses will succeed only when ... their international poisoners have been exterminated," Hitler wrote.

(4) There was never any question, from the very beginning of Hitler's career, that he would cruelly victimize the Jews. If his words left any ambiguity, the actions of his storm trooper thugs spoke louder than words. Months before the war began, Hitler openly proclaimed his intention to murder the Jews, in a speech to the Reichstag on Jan. 30, 1939;

"the consequence [of war]," he said, "will not be the Bolshevization of the world and therewith a victory of Jewry, but on the contrary, the destruction of the Jewish race in Europe."

(5) Although he did not reveal the details of his plans, he announced his aims loudly and unmistakably.

The first thing the Nazis did on seizing power was the task for which the capitalists had chosen them: they utterly crushed the working-class organizations. The Nazis had always been thugs, but they had to crush the working class before their thuggery could become government policy; from that point, there was no force in Germany with the political will to stop their crimes.

They could not have crushed the working class, however, if they were not a mass, popular movement whose supporters believed ardently in the rightness of the crimes they were committing.

The workers' movement is the thin red line that can stand between human civilization and the barbarism that capitalism has in store for us.

It's important to keep our eyes on that red line in Yugoslavia. Malapanis's reference to Germany is on the mark because it's historically accurate, because it shows the consequences of defeat, and because it shows the difference between a defeated working class and one which can still fight.

Tom O'Brien
St. Paul, Minnesota

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.

Irish nationalists discuss strategy

Sinn Fein conference assesses struggle for all-party talks and a free united Ireland

BY PETE CLIFFORD
AND PAUL DAVIES

DUBLIN, Ireland — "John Major is kidding no one — the peace process goes nowhere without Sinn Fein," Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein president, confidently told the 800 delegates and visitors gathered at the party's Ard Fheis (annual conference), held here March 23-24. Adams was responding to suggestions repeatedly made by British government ministers that all-party talks on the future of Ireland would proceed June 10 without Sinn Fein if the Irish Republican Army (IRA) did not call a cease-fire.

Introducing the political report to the gathering, Sinn Fein vice president Pat Doherty said the period since the IRA cease-fire of August 1994 was "not a waste of time.... Those 18 months exposed to the world what Britain's role in Ireland really is. They exposed the fact that Britain was prepared to risk a return to war rather than accord nationalists democratic rights. And we have been able to bring our message of peace and justice through negotiation to the world."

Jim Gibney, a member of Sinn Fein's leadership body, the Ard Chomhairle, reported on the organization's recent campaigns. "Last year saw the highest level of consistent campaigning on the streets throughout the 32 Counties since the 1981 hunger strikes," he said.

"In campaigning for all-party talks, the release of political prisoners, demilitarization, the disbanding of the RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary], Irish language rights, an end to sectarian discrimination, social and economic equality, our party and our supporters have kept the central issues which need to be addressed in the search for peace in the forefront of national and international attention."

International solidarity

Reflecting Sinn Fein's success in reaching out internationally, a representative of the African National Congress attended the Ard Fheis for the first time. Ian Phillips, a member of Parliament from KwaZulu-Natal, said, "Our South African revolution was aided by the world movement against apartheid and our democracy will not measure up so long as oppression and repression exist in others parts of the world. In coming from a bitter struggle I salute the heroes and heroines of the Irish struggle for freedom." Phillips's greetings were met with an enthusiastic standing ovation.

Also attending the conference were a representative of the French Communist Party and John Austin Walker, chair of the Socialist Campaign Group of Labour



Militant/Paul Davies

Plenary session of Ard Fheis, Sinn Fein national conference, Dublin, March 23-24.

Party members of Parliament (MPs), a left caucus of 30 headed by Anthony Benn. Austin Walker called on the British government to convene "all-party talks with no preconditions." The previous week Austin Walker and 25 other MPs defied Labour's leadership and voted against London's renewal and expansion of the repressive Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Other international delegates came from Portugal, Germany, Spain, the Basque country, Denmark, El Salvador, and Turkey. Some 25 participants attended from Britain.

Referring to the IRA's resumption of armed actions, Adams said, "It was the public commitment by both [British and Irish] governments that negotiations would commence after a specified period of three months, without preconditions...

which delivered the IRA cease-fire." He charged that "the basis of this cessation had been removed through the reneging on the negotiations by the British."

Outside the conference hall, plainclothes Special Branch police harassed delegates. On the route from Dublin airport the Irish army mounted an armed roadblock.

'London not for democratic settlement'

In recent "proximity talks" from which Sinn Fein was excluded, Adams said, the British government "is involved in a real negotiation, but its objective is not a democratic peace settlement. Its negotiation is with Dublin, the SDLP [Social Democratic and Labour Party] and the U.S. administration in an effort to outflank us.... London's aim is to pacify Ireland

and to concede the minimum possible."

Sinn Fein chairperson Martin McGuinness charged that the "announcement that all-party negotiations will begin on June 10 now has a hollow ring to it, with obstacles and preconditions littering the road to nowhere." McGuinness declared that the announcement by British prime minister John Major of May 30 elections in Northern Ireland was "an attempt by the British to lay down a unionist framework for an internal political settlement in the north before one word of negotiations has taken place."

London has announced that the 110-member elected body will meet parallel to the talks. Unionist party leaders, who are likely to get the largest vote, have said it should discuss and vote on the issues raised in the talks. McGuinness explained, "Our preference is for non-participation in both the elections and the elected body." McGuinness said Sinn Fein will propose this course to the SDLP. Failing their agreement, Sinn Fein will ensure "our electorate is not isolated," which most took to mean that the Ard Chomhairle would decide to stand in the elections.

Youth join in organizing

The Ard Fheis decided to work toward establishing a youth department that would organize a national youth conference in the coming months. In early February the newly established Belfast Sinn Fein youth group Glór na nOg hosted a forum that attracted 70 delegates from all over Northern Ireland as well as some from the Republic.

In addition, students at Queens University in Belfast formed a branch of Saoirse, the prisoners rights campaign. Sinn Fein had been denied the right to organize at Queens, and on March 14 the student council voted 27-21 to extend the ban to

Continued on Page 10

Bonn, Paris batter UK capitalists over beef

BY CHRIS MORRIS

MANCHESTER, England — British prime minister John Major, his ministers, and other capitalist politicians are on a campaign to divert toward the European Union (EU) the anger that has spread among many working people here against the government over the "mad cow disease" crisis. This is unfolding as London is being battered by Bonn, Paris, and other capitalist powers on the continent, which are taking advantage of the British beef disaster to get more of an edge on the United Kingdom in European and other markets.

"Douglas Hogg, the unfortunate Agriculture minister, was kicked all around the room in Luxembourg this week by the foreigners who now govern Britain," said Norman Tebbit, a former British minister under Margaret Thatcher, in a column in the April 4 London *Sun*. He added that "our masters" were "intent on grinding Mr. Hogg and his country into the dirt."

Tebbit was referring to an emergency meeting of the EU farm ministers, which took place in Luxembourg April 1-3. Disregarding protests from Hogg, the European Union decided to maintain a global ban on British beef exports.

The prohibition was instituted earlier when the British government disclosed that 10 deaths from Creutzfeldt-Jacob disease (CJD) in Britain may have been caused by consumption of beef infected with bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE), or mad cow disease. The revelation resulted in a quick collapse of the British beef market, the near ruination of many British farmers, and layoffs of thousands of workers in food processing. Some 161,000 British cattle have been registered

as infected with BSE since 1985 as the government weakened hygiene regulations and food inspection procedures.

At the Luxembourg meeting, the British government agreed to slaughter 4.7 million cattle 30 months and older — 15,000 cows per week for five to six years. In exchange the European Union pledged to pay up to 70 percent of the cost of compensating farmers. London has to foot the bill for the remaining 30 percent plus for the culling, slaughter, and incineration of the herds.

Bonn takes swipe at London

German foreign minister Klaus Kinkel has since said the EU payment will be partly funded by reducing Britain's annual £2.9 billion (\$4.4 billion) rebate on contributions to the European Union, negotiated by Thatcher's government. "Once the lost rebate is taken into account the true value of compensation may fall to 30 percent," reported the April 6 *Guardian*. Germany's agriculture minister said Bonn's position reciprocates for London's demand that the EU pay as little compensation as possible to Germany when swine fever broke there in 1994.

"I am totally pro-Commonwealth and anti-European Union," stated Bernie Grant, a Labour Member of Parliament and founder of the Parliamentary Black Caucus, in a typical comment attempting to fan the flames of patriotism for the British crown.

Reactions by businessmen and bourgeois commentators in other countries in Europe have been equally sharp. "The president of the French cattle association, Joseph Dole, described the British as 'convinced anti-Europeans who are taking

the mickey out of us in this mad cow affair and who should count themselves lucky today to be getting help from Europe,'" said an article in the April 7 *Independent*.

English, Scottish, or Welsh beef?

Meanwhile, inside the United Kingdom and in Ireland there is a feverish drive to distinguish British beef from cow meat produced in areas other than England. The Tesco supermarket chain has started labeling beef as Scottish, Irish, or British — a move welcomed by farmers in Ireland and Scotland where bovine infection rates are lower.

Ian Paisley, leader of the pro-British Democratic Unionist Party in Northern Ireland and member of the European Parliament, has spoken in favor of this distinction in labeling. Representatives of the Scottish Nationalist Party have done so as well. At the same time, the Scottish Office of the British government announced that "we can't claim" that Scottish beef is BSE-free.

Douglas Scott, president of the Scottish Federation of Meat Traders, which represents around 500 retailers, said, "There has been a flurry of calls at the grassroots level for separate labeling. But at the decision making end we have held back."

A spokesman in Scotland for the National Farmers Union, which is led by capitalist farmers, said, "Scottish beef is noted for its quality, but we cannot say it is BSE-free. It has to be looked at in the context of British beef. Then we will be looking at a marketing initiative."

Chris Morris is a member of the Amalgamated Electrical and Engineering Union in Manchester.

Ireland

AND THE IRISH QUESTION

Karl Marx
Frederick Engels

For workers in Britain, Marx and Engels explain, "the national emancipation of Ireland is no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment, but the first condition of their own social emancipation." Cloth only \$19.95



Available from bookstores listed on page 8, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690 Fax (212) 727-0150.