

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Why workers should oppose imperialist troops in E. Timor

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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Nuclear disaster in Japan endangers workers

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

A flash of blue light September 30 alerted workers in the JCO Co. nuclear fuel plant in Japan that an uncontrolled release of radiation was occurring. The accident, described as the worst in Japan's history, delivered a life-threatening dose of radiation to several workers, two of whom remain hospitalized, barely conscious. Government officials say 35 other people were exposed, including medics who assisted the worst affected. Levels of radioactivity around the plant rose to at least 10,000 times higher than normal.

The JCO plant sits among houses and
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Tire strikers combat trespassing charges

BY SUSAN LAMONT

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — The strikers from Titan Tire's Natchez, Mississippi, plant who were arrested on trespass charges in mid-September have been told to appear in municipal court October 26 to be arraigned, said Titan striker Willie Evans in a recent telephone interview.

Evans is one of 15 United Steelworkers of America (USWA) members who were arrested and charged with trespassing, following the well-attended one-year anniversary rally and march on
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Coal miners strike for two days over contract

BY JAMES VINCENT

FOOTEDALE, Pennsylvania — About 400 coal miners struck the Maple Creek Mine in Washington County for two days over a contract dispute. The miners, members of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 1248, walked off the job at 8 a.m. September 28. A U.S. District Court judge in Pittsburgh ordered the miners to return to work September 30. The union charged that the strike was called due to unfair labor practices.

At a packed meeting at the Footedale fire hall September 30, the miners decided to return to work that day. The strike was over whether the current national Bituminous Coal Wage Agreement or a separate "memorandum of understanding" is the standing contract. The union signed a seven-year labor agreement with Maple Creek in 1995.

The company claims the UMWA job action violated a no-strike clause in that agreement, and the federal court agreed. The court also said that the mine's owner, Robert
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'One day longer!' say locked-out Steelworkers

Kaiser Aluminum workers mark one year of struggle

BY JIM GOTESKY

SPOKANE, Washington — More than 1,000 steelworkers, their families, and supporters rallied at the gates of Kaiser Aluminum's Trentwood plant here October 2 rededicating themselves to their already one-year-long struggle for a union contract.

The spirited rally began with a mile-long march from the headquarters of United Steel Workers of America (USWA) Local 338. Demonstrators arrived at the plant gate chanting, "One day longer!" — the slogan that has become popular in the labor movement since the machinists' strike against Eastern Airlines at the beginning of this decade. The march and rally were part of a full day of solidarity activities. These included a well-organized barbecue, live music, a wrap-up rally, and a bonfire to break the fall weather chill at the USWA Local 338 headquarters.

The steelworkers struggle with Kaiser Aluminum began with a strike September 30, 1998, against the employer's plans for dramatic job cuts, increased contracting out, and minimal raises in wages and retirement benefits.

On January 14 the Kaiser bosses refused the steelworkers' offer to unconditionally return to work while continuing negotiations for a new contract.



Steelworkers and supporters rally in Spokane, Washington, October 2 on anniversary of strike.
Militant/Scott Breen

Kaiser locked out 3,100 workers at its plants in Tacoma, Washington; Gramercy, Louisiana; Newark, Ohio; and two factories here (Mead and Trentwood).

Morale was high at the October 2 rally. "The best thing we can do is be noticed," said Dale Findlay, one of more than 100 women workers at the Trentwood plant, with 22 years at Kaiser. "I'm having the best time of my life. We are on the right road!"

"We have to convince them we're not going away," said Ray Erickson. "I'm not going away after 29 years."

Joe Sexton, a furnace operator at the Trentwood facility, added, "Kaiser never expected a strike with solidarity so strong.... I don't want to see it go another year, but if it does we will get by." Sexton explained how important the lockout has been to his
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N.Y. mayor attacks free speech with threats against Brooklyn Museum

BY MIKE GALATI AND NAOMI CRAINE

BROOKLYN, New York — More than 1,000 people rallied in front of the Brooklyn Museum of Art October 1 in defense of democratic rights and public funding of the arts. They were responding to the latest battle in

the "culture war": the campaign launched by New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani to coerce the museum into canceling an exhibition titled "Sensation."

The central target of this attack on free speech is a piece by Chris Ofili, an artist from Britain of Nigerian origin, titled "Holy Virgin

Mary," a painting of a Black Madonna with a breast made from elephant dung. Ofili uses this material in many of his works, saying it draws on symbolism from ancient African culture.

On September 22, ten days before the exhibit was to open, Giuliani launched a public
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CAPITALISM'S WORLD DISORDER:
WORKING-CLASS POLITICS AT THE MILLENNIUM

JACK BARNES

"It is often said that great historical crises are only resolved in struggle; that's true. But what is not said as often is that the odds — the probability of victory or of loss — are determined long before these class battles themselves break out. The odds depend on the self-confidence, political clarity, and previous combat experience of the cadres of disciplined proletarian organizations who are already among the fighters in the labor movement, and who know that what they do *beforehand* will be decisive when the working class moves toward revolutionary action."

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Pentagon tests new missile

The U.S. military announced with media fanfare that it had carried out a successful test of a new missile October 3. The electronically guided weapon tracked and hit a Minuteman intercontinental ballistic missile launched more than 1,400 miles away. The missile is the first element brought to the testing stage of a scaled-down version of the "star wars" space-based scheme that the U.S. rulers pursued in the 1980s. Based on the destruction of enemy missiles by surface-to-air weapons, the missile system is an attempt to gain the ability to carry out a nuclear first strike without fear of retaliation.

The Pentagon plans to deploy one such system in Asia, dubbing it the Theater Missile Defense system. Washington claims such weapons are necessary to thwart strikes by "rogue nations" like Iraq and North Korea. Beijing, however, has recognized the proposal for the aggressive move it is, and the Russian government has also protested.

China marks 50 years since revolutionary victory

On October 1 China marked the 50th anniversary of the victory of the Red Army over the imperialist-backed nationalist forces of Chiang Kai-shek. This blow against imperialism by workers and peasants in the world's most populous country led to the formation of a workers state. The Chinese military marked the day with a major display of firepower featuring infantry, mobile nuclear-armed missiles, and new fighter jets.

Commentators in the capitalist media grudgingly acknowledged the social gains, including in the field of health and education services, that Chinese working people have won and maintained in the last 50 years. They trumpeted the reforms that the bureaucracy introduced in the late 1970s, which opened up the economy to substantial foreign investment, and urged Beijing to start dismantling more aggressively the basic social protections that still remain. Commentators noted, too, that workers and farmers are increasingly ready to take action to improve working and living conditions. In one indication of this, Beijing placed restrictions on participation in the celebrations, and on movement in and out of the capital.

Students in Mexico maintain strike



Students from University of Mexico demonstrate in the Zócalo, the largest square in Mexico City, September 15. The students have been on strike since April 20, opposing tuition fee increases and demanding equal access to education for all.

Gurkhas protest unequal pay

"End the discrimination. We want justice," chanted 5,000 former Gurkha soldiers as they marched through Katmandu on September 18. Gurkhas from Nepal have served in the British Army for 200 years and have some 3,000 members currently enlisted. Two hundred and fifty are today part of the imperialist occupation force in East Timor.

The retired soldiers explain that they are given much lower pay and pensions than British-born recruits. London has recently raised the levels, but the pension received by a retired Gurkha rifleman amounts to one-seventeenth of that received by his British counterpart.

Russian troops enter Chechnya

Prime Minister Vladimir Putin of Russia admitted that Russian troops struck inside Chechnya at the end of September. The Russian army has assembled thousands of troops on the border between the two territories, with the declared aim of establishing a "sanitary zone" between them. Its war planes have pounded the capital, Grozny, and other areas inside Chechnya with bombs and missiles for two weeks, forcing an estimated 100,000 people from their homes. Chechen forces defeated the Russian military in 1996.

In northern Chechnya residents of a number of farming villages have put up stiff resistance to incursions by Russian troops. Accompanying its military escalation with political provocation, Moscow has withdrawn recognition of the Chechen government and recognized instead the former pro-Moscow government that was ousted during the mid-'90s.

Slovak unions take action

The Slovak Trade Union Confederation organized 40,000 members in a march in Bratislava at the weekend. The workers demanded jobs in response to a rise in unemployment from 14 to more than 18 percent since the government took office last October. They also demanded wage raises and lower taxes. The cost of living in Slovakia has risen from 6 percent to more than 14 percent due to increases in regulated prices.

Ecuador engulfed in debt crisis

Ecuador remains at the center of the deepening debt crisis in Latin America. On September 30 the government promised the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that it would take austerity measures by December in return for a \$350-million "standby" loan. The government has backed off previous wholesale austerity measures in the face of mass demonstrations and strikes.

To date Quito has failed to pay a large part of the interest owing on Brady bonds, issued by the U.S. government during the debt crisis of the 1980s, which constitute almost half of the country's external public sector debt. IMF officials have expressed reluctance to respond on a large scale to Ecuador's problems, indicating that in their view the country has a problem of "insolvency."

Global inequality soars...

The gap in wealth between the world's richest country and the poorest — as measured in per capita gross domestic product — has grown by seven times since 1913, report researchers from the United Nations. In 1992 the wealth ratio stood at 72 to 1. The UN Human Development Report says that countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which includes all the imperialist powers, account for 20 percent of the world's population, and 86 percent of world output. The poorest 20 percent account for 1 percent of output.

In many African countries, the average per capita income has declined since 1970. Another study, by the World Bank, found that 55 to 60 percent of the world's population saw incomes decline between 1988 and 1993.

The human toll exacted by imperialist exploitation is expressed in life expectancy statistics: on average, a person in North America lives 26 years longer than their counterpart in Africa. Infant mortality in Japan stands at 4 deaths per thousand live births; in Sierra Leone and East Timor respectively, 170 and 135 infants die.

...Along with U.S. inequality

The U.S. Census Bureau has just released figures showing that the percentage of the population living below the poverty line (defined as an annual income of \$16,455 for a four-person household) fell from 13.3 to 12.7 percent of the population over the last year. In large part this is due to increased working hours. The Conference Board's Consumer Research Center recently reported figures that reflect this, showing that the average "middle-income family" worked 256 more hours in 1997 than in 1989.

At the same time disparity in the spread of income did not decline, and the poverty rate among workers who are Black remained at 26.1 percent, 2.5 times greater than that for whites. Meanwhile, the annual earnings of the top directors of the country's top 365 companies was 419 times that of the average factory worker, having risen 481 percent since 1990.

— PATRICK O'NEILL

THE MILITANT

Equal rights for all immigrants!

The employers profit mightily from the denial of full equality to immigrant workers, paying lower wages to those they brand "illegal." It is in the interests of working people to oppose these divisions, and to champion equal rights for all. The 'Militant' reports on this struggle in the United States and around the world. Subscribe today!



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Ultrarightist gains in Austria elections

BY CARL-ERIK ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — Ultrarightist Jörg Haider, leader of the Austrian Freedom Party, marked the biggest gains in the parliamentary elections in Austria October 3. The vote for his party jumped from 21.9 percent in 1995 to 27.2 percent, giving it the second-largest total in the preliminary count (absentee ballots are still to be tallied). French ultrarightist Jean-Marie Le Pen hailed the vote for Haider's party as a victory.

The Social Democratic party, which has been in the Austrian government for the last 30 years, lost close to 5 percent, down from 38.1 percent in 1995 to 33.4 percent. The conservative People's Party, which has been the Social Democrats' governmental coalition partner for the last 13 years, fell to 26.9 percent, down from 28.3 percent in 1995.

Reflecting the growing polarization of politics in Austria the Greens also gained, rising from 4.8 percent in 1995 to 7.1 percent now, while the Liberal Forum fell from 5.5 percent to 2.9 percent and will not be seated in parliament.

Haider heads the government in the state of Carinthia, a post he first won in 1989, three years after becoming leader of Freedom Party. In 1991 he criticized the Austrian coalition government's employment policy, stating that Hitler's policy during the Nazi era was better. He was forced to resign his post as chief of the state government, but regained it in March 1999 with 42 percent of the votes in the state elections in Carinthia. In late September the Freedom Party won 27.5 percent of the vote in state elections in Vorarlberg, a gain of more than 9 percent from last elections.

The Freedom Party went through an internal crisis with a revolt against Haider last year and fell in opinion polls to less than 18 percent, but has come out stronger. Capitalist multimillionaire Thomas Prinzhorn topped its parliamentary slate, with downhill skiing Olympic medal winner Patrick Ortlieb as the second name.

Campaign scapegoats immigrants

The Freedom Party's campaign centered on the demand to stop immigration and "put Austria first." This was especially apparent in Vienna — the capital and biggest city, where there are more immigrants than in other parts of Austria. Haider purports to speak for the "little man." His demagoguery is especially directed toward the middle class and toward poor people of Austrian origin in the suburbs, who traditionally have voted on the Social Democrats.

One campaign theme was opposing the enlargement of the European Union, which Austria joined in 1995, into eastern and central Europe. Haider warns that any expansion will bring a flood of immigrants from these countries, many of which have borders with Austria, and these immigrants will take jobs from the Austrians. Haider also blames the immigrants for crime, drugs, prostitution, and the lack of housing.

While Haider is against the European Union and especially its enlargement, he favors the expansion of NATO into Eastern and central Europe and calls for Austria to join the U.S.-dominated military alliance.

Haider and his party also target the Austrian establishment as corrupt. The 13-year "grand coalition" between the Social Democrats and the People's Party, the two parties that in one form or another have governed since 1945, is a particular target for this demagoguery.

Haider is promising \$400 per month to Austrian women who stay at home and take care of their children; immigrant women won't get the money. Austrian pensioners are promised more money, so they "will be better off than the immigrants who live well on welfare payments." Haider also proposes a regressive flat tax of 23 percent.

Located in central Europe, Austria is one of the smaller imperialist states. Its rulers have traditionally seen Yugoslavia and the other Balkan nations as their backyard. This puts Austria's military capacity and alliances, as well as the issue of refugees from the Yugoslav wars, at the top of the political agenda.

Neither unemployment nor immigration are especially high in Austria by European stan-

dards. The current unemployment rate is 4.3 percent, and the coalition government has restricted immigration in recent years so it is close to zero. But Haider skillfully plays on the middle classes insecurity and panic over immigration and unemployment, and he does it in a specific tradition.

The Austrian ultrarightist tradition

Most of the themes in Haider's demagoguery and propaganda are in the Austrian Nazi tradition stemming back to Adolf Hitler, who grew up in Austria and had his first experiences in the politics of resentment there. Haider is a charismatic leader who uses his nationalist demagoguery to build a movement of fascist cadres. Votes are not the main issue for him. The Freedom Party is a means to become a legitimate part of bourgeois politics in Austria to open up more space to build a movement in the streets.

Haider's parents were deeply engaged in the German Nazi party in the 1930s and '40s. Although he insists he abhors the Nazi history of genocide against the Jews, as recently as 1996 Haider attended a secret convention of former Waffen SS troops, the elite forces of the Nazi army, and lauded them as "decent people of character who stuck to their beliefs."

Haider has been treated as a pariah in politics in Austria. The coalition between the conservatives and the social democrats has sought to keep his Freedom Party out of official politics. The leader of the People's Party, Foreign Minister Wolfgang Schuessel, has stated that he will leave the coalition with the social democrats if his party doesn't come in second in the elections.

Edmund Stoiber, leader of the conservative Christian Social Union in Bavaria, Germany, urged the People's Party in Austria to form a coalition government with the Freedom Party.

Meanwhile Alexander Van der Bellen, head of the Green Party, announced he will tour

Socialist meatpackers discuss working-class resistance to attacks by bosses in Canada

BY JOE YOUNG

MONTREAL — Members of the Communist League in Canada who work in plants organized by the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) met in Toronto September 18-19. The meeting registered the establishment of a fraction of communist workers based in hog cut-and-kill operations in the Toronto region and south of Montreal.

Last January, the Central Committee of the CL decided that League members should seek work in red meat plants organized by the UFCW as part of responding to the growing resistance of workers in this industry to massive attacks by the employers. Over the past two years, there have been a series of strikes in meatpacking in response to the bosses' attempts to gut wages and working conditions.

After long, hard fought strikes, companies such as Maple Leaf Foods, Fletcher's Fine Foods, and Quality Meat Packers succeeded in imposing wage cuts of up to 40 percent. At Quality Meats, the standard work day is now 10 hours and the workweek 50 hours.

Participants in the meeting described increasing rates of production, which are leading to a growing number of accidents and repetitive motion injuries. Chris Cournoyeur, who gave the main report to the meeting, described how a young probationary worker in one plant was sent to work on a saw without adequate training. When he lost two fingers, the company sent him to the hospital in a taxi instead of calling an ambulance.

Workers resist these conditions on a daily basis, at times facing disciplinary measures for stopping the line when conditions become unbearable. Cournoyeur underlined the importance of workers fighting for the unions to take the lead in defending health and safety. He referred to pages 133-134 in the book *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium* by

Top court denies hearing for Abu-Jamal



Philadelphia rally October 5 in support of death row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal

BY CANDACE WAGNER

PHILADELPHIA — The United States Supreme Court refused without comment October 4 to consider the appeal of journalist and Black rights activist Mumia Abu-Jamal. That appeal was based on the denial of a fair trial. Abu-Jamal was sentenced to death in 1982, accused of killing Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner. His fight for a new trial has gained international support.

Following the Court's announcement, Pennsylvania governor Thomas Ridge stated that he would set an execution date within 30 days.

Abu-Jamal's lawyers, Daniel Williams

and Leonard Weinglass, plan to file an appeal in federal court soon.

Fifty supporters of Abu-Jamal rallied at the State Office Building in Philadelphia the day following the announcement. Some held placards reading, "Honk for Mumia" to afternoon rush hour, and many motorists, bus, and truck drivers responded noisily.

The Fraternal Order of Police and Maureen Faulkner, the cop's widow, have recently mounted a stepped-up campaign to demand Abu-Jamal's execution. This includes a highway billboard with a photo of Faulkner that includes the web site address for the "Justice for Police Officer Daniel Faulkner" committee.

Europe to counter the "media hysteria" created by the high Freedom Party vote. Austria "was not a Nazi country before these elections and is not one after them," he stated.

Instability and polarization will certainly

mark events in politics in Austria in the near future.

Carl-Erik Isacsson is a member of the Metalworkers Union.

Jack Barnes. The passage reads, "Labor must convince broad layers of the population as a whole that it is the working-class movement above all that cares about these questions. We must be able to assert with complete confidence and integrity that the stronger and more militant the union, the safer the operations of the industry, whatever it might be."

The meeting took the position that the UFCW should oppose Bill C-80 entitled "Canada Food Safety and Inspection Act." This proposed law would reduce the number of government inspections, and give the companies more power to supposedly police themselves, increasing the danger of food poisoning.

A major theme of the meeting was campaigning to place *Capitalism's World Disorder* in bookstores and libraries where workers and farmers get their books. Cournoyeur described how he participated in a team that visited a strike of woodworkers in Durham, Ontario. One of the strikers bought a copy of *Capitalism's World Disorder* as well as *Women's Evolution* by Evelyn Reed. Her husband is a beef farmer. John Steele, reported that one of his co-workers came to the Pathfinder bookstore in Toronto after a union meeting and borrowed a copy of *Capitalism's World Disorder* to look at.

Joe Young, who works in a packing plant near Montreal, gave a supplementary report to the meeting describing efforts to reach out to workers and farmers in the regions of St-Jean-sur-Richelieu and Granby. One bookstore at St. Jean expressed interest in titles by Cuban revolutionary leader Che Guevara because they had had requests for books by him. As part of reaching out to workers on strike against the Hydro Quebec power utility, a team was told about a chain of bookstores in the Valleyfield region. The chain took an initial order of *Capitalism's World Disorder* and three other books. In addition, a young farmer in that region bought a subscription to the *Militant*.

Communist workers who work in red meat

have a particular responsibility in helping to build an alliance between workers and farmers against the capitalists and their governments, Young said. Family pork farmers in the Granby region face very difficult conditions because of low hog prices, for instance. One expressed interest in meeting young Cubans when they visit Canada next February. The socialist meat packers voted to participate in a team which will meet with farmers in Saskatchewan in October and help place *Capitalism's World Disorder* in bookstores and libraries they suggest.

Steele reported on the recent merger of UFCW Local 743 at Quality Meats with locals 175 and 633. This merger combines the retail workers' sector of the UFCW with the meatpacking and related industry sector to form an Ontario-wide local of 40,000. The fraction meeting concluded that the formation of this massive local weakened the union by reinforcing the approach of the UFCW officialdom to rely on grievance procedure, arbitration, and the courts rather than on the use of union democracy and the mobilized power of the membership to defend its rights against the employers. The officialdom's argument that bigger is stronger masks this reality. In the case of the workers who fought a hard strike at Quality Meats last winter, their fighting capacity has been swallowed up into this massive local and its staff apparatus.

Meeting participants reported on lively discussions around the developments in East Timor in particular at a plant in Toronto where the majority of the workers are of Portuguese origin. The communist workers argued in support of East Timor's self-determination and against the sending of imperialist troops including those of Canada.

The socialist workers also discussed how to build solidarity with auto workers who are negotiating with the three auto giants.

Joe Young is a member of UFCW Local 501.

'Coal miner has been digging into the book'

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

"We're holding on to the UMWA [United Mine Workers of America] here because the young miners are going to need it. The companies are taking away our health benefits, which is the only thing that guarantees that we can retire with a future."

That's what a member of UMWA Local 6417 in Paonia, Colorado told Ilona Gersh after she sold him a trial subscription to the *Militant*. Gersh took part in a week-long trip in the Western coal regions. The three participants on the team covered more than 2,000 miles, selling the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* and promoting *Capitalism's World Disorder* through farming and coal mining territory in Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and Montana.

This trip was part of a nationwide campaign to place this book, Pathfinder's newest title, in bookstores and libraries, and to sell it directly to workers, farmers, and all those who are resisting capitalist political and economic attacks today. The book's subtitle, "Working-Class Politics at the Millennium," gives a sense of how current the political questions it addresses are.

Reading and discussing the five speeches by Socialist Workers Party leader Jack Barnes collected here throws light on such recent developments as the occupation of East Timor by imperialist forces; the preparation by rightist Patrick Buchanan to win new adherents to his reactionary program by shifting his attention to the Reform Party; the round of long-running workers' struggles taking place in the United States; the assault on Chechnya and Dagestan by Moscow; and many other questions.

"The companies are taking away things we won decades ago. I'm hoping the young miners will fight to get the union back in the mines," said the UMWA member, whose local is now comprised entirely of retirees, following votes at which the union was decertified in three local mines.

The sales team had visited this retired miner "on the recommendation of a miner at the Deserado mine near Rangley in Colorado," Gersh told the *Militant* October 5. "This guy has been reading the *Militant* for a long time, and has also been digging into *Capitalism's World Disorder*. He's interested in making the book available to other miners in this area, and asked us to visit two bookstores in Vernal, Utah. There are no bookstores in Dinosaur, where he lives, so miners drive to the closest shopping centers to browse the shops."

The miner is "friends with ranchers and farmers in the area," Gersh added, "and explained to us that low prices and foreclosures have forced many to work in the mines and at other jobs to make ends meet. 'They're just like us,' he said, only some 'don't know it yet.'"

The trip was organized around sales at mine

portals. "We set up sales teams for shift changes at nine mine portals in three states over the course of a week," said Gersh, "and miners bought the *Militant* at every portal we stopped at. Practically every one who bought the paper said they were interested because they'd seen teams selling it before."

The team also paid initial visits to bookstores and libraries, which the next team can follow up on.

Three workers bought *Capitalism's World Disorder* at the October 3 rally in Spokane, Washington, to mark the one-year anniversary of the fight by workers at Kaiser Aluminum (see article on front page). Several socialist workers participated in the action.

Scott Breen, a member of the International Association of Machinists at Boeing, said a fellow Boeing worker bought the book, as did two steelworkers at Kaiser's Trentwood plant. Four workers subscribed to the *Militant* in Spokane. Breen mentioned that two days earlier at a Steelworkers event in Tacoma a woman dockworker and new subscriber to the *Militant* bought the book.

Joe Young from Canada wrote to the *Militant* that "a team visiting workers on strike against the Hydro-Quebec power utility was told about a bookstore chain in the Valleyfield area of Quebec. The chain took an initial order of *Capitalism's World Dis-*



Militant/Mike Baumann

Selling the *Militant* to miners in central Wyoming during September team

order and three other books. The team also sold a *Militant* subscription to a farmer."

Persistent and well-organized work has started to pay off for Pathfinder supporters in Minnesota. They have visited 21 stores and libraries in the last three weeks. Most visits have broken the ice, but at a store in Worthington the proprietor ordered six Spanish-language titles, including the translations of *The 1985-86 Hormel Meat-Packers Strike in Austin, Minnesota* and *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions*.

Carl Weinberg in Georgia sent a note that

should remind all Pathfinder readers the value of requesting the books at their local or school library. He reported that the library at the university where he teaches has purchased *Capitalism's World Disorder* and seven other titles from Pathfinder thanks to his suggestions and requests.

These include five titles in the series "The Communist International in Lenin's Time," which contains documents from the first years of the Comintern, during which it charted a revolutionary course for working class and national struggles around the world.

Pathfinder volunteers make advances

Below we reprint a September 27 letter sent to volunteers in the Pathfinder Reprint Project by Ruth Cheney, a member of the project steering committee. The Reprint Project is an effort involving more than 100 volunteers in several countries to convert the more than 350 books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press into digital form, allowing them to be reprinted rapidly and cheaply using computer-to-plate technology.

"Never before in history has there been a bigger disproportion between the current small numerical size and negligible social weight of communist organizations in the mass labor movement, and the leverage of the political weapons we produce, translate, edit, circulate, and get around in whatever ways we can. There is nothing like it in the history of the workers movement. I do not know what better word to choose than 'leverage'..."

Dear volunteers:

This quote from *Capitalism's World Disorder* is a good summary of who and what we are. And the big advances we are making have to be reported to you, so you know just how good we've been doing.

1. We will have the entire Pathfinder ar-

senal of revolutionary socialism digital by December 31, 1999. "Scan 2000" is on track, fighting to do this. Sixty books and pamphlets remain to be scanned and/or massaged [making an initial round of corrections], which is a serious amount of work. Politically, this is gigantic because the possibility of our books ever not being available to fighting workers will have been eliminated. It also means that by January 1, three months from now, most of the volunteers currently scanning and massaging will become proofreaders, formatters, or graphics volunteers, giving the entire project an additional boost.

2. Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press, told us some great news last week: In August, for the first time, Pathfinder made more income through sales of titles back in print than the income lost due to our inability to fill orders for out of print titles. Yes! Every single one of us has contributed to this result. You might also notice that the newest production chart shows fewer titles out of print. We've produced over 45 completed books and pamphlets and it's making an impact.

3. Thank-you notes are in the mail to all volunteers who have made financial contributions. You will shortly begin receiving reminders about your pledges. The address to send your contribution to: The Reprint Project, 3542 Fruitvale Avenue, #245, Oakland, CA 94602.

4. We just received a note from Nell, a press operator in the Pathfinder building: "I wanted to make sure the volunteers know that we really appreciated their attention to

detail on this cover [*Eugene V. Debs Speaks*]. I participated in printing this the last time from flats, and it was quite a challenge. This time, though, the pic trapped nicely, the 'duotone' looks a little more duo, and the choke on the tint around the letters was great. I think the photo looks richer this time around, too."

5. Because they've gotten so far ahead of the final readers, we're asking the first readers to make indexing their priority for the next few weeks, which should jump-start completion of several more titles next month. Volunteers assigned to graphics and formatting are being asked to take on indexing work as well. To volunteer for indexing, please contact Dean Denno at DDenno@email.msn.com.

6. The attached letter to proofreaders represents a real step forward for our largest "department" — three new procedures that will save us all time and actually improve the quality of the reprinted texts. Scan/massagers should note 2 — which should save considerable time in that stage of production.

7. The icing on this cake: The editors have asked our formatting production team to do the format-checking of six new books being finished right now by the Pathfinder staff in New York. Why? There's nothing like a fresh set of eyes — and the quality of our work is very good. The first book they will work on is the new edition of *Che Guevara Speaks*.

*In solidarity,
Ruth Cheney
for the steering committee*

Titan strikers combat charges

Continued from front page

September 11. That action included an impromptu, brief, and entirely peaceful walk through the yard of the plant, after entering an open gate, by several hundred strikers and supporters. The strikers are members of USWA Local 303L.

Since then, the company has also filed suit in Adams County Chancery Court seeking an injunction against the union to restrict picketing. The company is asking the court to bar union members from trespassing at its Natchez facility, picketing or assembling within 10 yards of the factory gates, and having more than two people gather outside the plant. The company unsuccessfully sought a similar injunction early in the strike, Evans noted.

Meanwhile, an explosion at the plant October 4 seriously injured two replacement workers. "One of the banburys blew up," Evans said, citing the accident as an example of what

happens when untrained people are expected to operate complex and dangerous equipment. A banbury is a machine for mixing the raw, melted rubber and carbon black dust to create the material used to make tires.

Initial reports in the October 4 *Natchez Democrat* about the accident indicate that dust created by the banbury — which had been idle for several months, according to Evans — ignited, causing the explosion. Two scabs' clothes caught on fire, seriously burning both. Clyde Payne, director of the U.S. Occupational Safety and Health Administration's Mississippi office told the *Natchez Democrat* that OSHA would investigate the accident. The plant has had to pay fines to OSHA in the past for violations, including poor housekeeping and electrical problems, Payne said.

Susan LaMont is a member of USWA Local 2122 in Fairfield, Alabama.

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Socialists plan regional conference in Atlanta

BY ROBERTO GUERRERO

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — The Birmingham Young Socialists have decided to raise their local goal for the YS national fund drive from \$400 to \$550. This is part of the effort to meet the national goal of raising \$8,000, which will be a step towards financial independence and proletarian functioning for the revolutionary youth organization. The funds are needed to maintain a national office and a functioning national leadership to help direct the work of the YS in the coming period.

The Young Socialists have also decided to organize a southern regional conference in Atlanta, Georgia, October 23–24 in collaboration with the Socialist Workers Party in the region. (See ad on page 12) The weekend includes a plan to kickoff a raffle as part of reaching the local fund drive quotas in Birmingham and Atlanta. This conference will bring together young people interested in the Young Socialists, as well as fighting workers and farmers from the region. To build the conference weekly Pathfinder literature tables are organized at various campuses as well as working-class communities and factory gates. These literature tables are an important vehicle to meet and bring young fighters closer to the communist movement.

The Young Socialists in Birmingham have been actively involved in labor and other struggles. These include solidarity activities such as the one-year anniversary of locked-out steelworkers at Titan Tire in Natchez, Mississippi; meetings around the recent contract vote by strikers at Continental General Tire in Charlotte, North Carolina; and defense of abortion clinics against Operation Rescue goons. Through the course of its work this summer, the YS here is politically stronger and has a deeper working-class orientation. We will focus on recruitment through consistent political work to guide our activities throughout the duration of the fall fund drive.

Between September 17 and September 20, for example, YS members helped defend abortion clinics against Operation Rescue, a right-wing organization with religious overtones known for its opposition to a woman's right to chose abortion and its thuggish attempts to shut down clinics. One of the clinics defended was the site of a 1998 bombing that resulted in the injury of a nurse and the death of an off-duty police officer, who was working as the

security guard.

The YS has also been actively involved in the election campaign of Ardella Blandford, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Birmingham. Working with the Socialist Workers Party, the YS has been able to successfully promote the campaign.

We have also helped build clinic-defense actions through Pathfinder literature tables on university and high school campuses. Police forced us to close down such a table at the University of Alabama at Birmingham (UAB). The same day, however, we set up another table across the street from Ramsey High School. There, once more, those staffing the table were harassed by the cops who told volunteers they could not distribute clinic-defense leaflets to minors in a school zone. Many young women who go to school there came over to defend our right to distribute the flyers, and stayed until it was clear we could do that. These students explained that anti-choice forces had recently distributed their literature and stood on school grounds with disturbing photographs of fetuses. Students appreciated our presence and many took flyers to distribute to their friends.

The YS and other Blandford campaign supporters came back days later to retake and safeguard our political space at UAB and Ramsey High School. Paul, a UAB student who had witnessed previous harassment by campus cops stayed at the table for the duration and had political discussions with YS and SWP members. Paul later showed up at the Militant Labor Forum and said he was interested in helping with the moving of the Pathfinder Bookstore to its new location.

On September 29, YS member Romina Green spoke to an audience of 800 high school students, on behalf of the Ardella Blandford campaign, in a meeting with seven mayoral candidates present. "What we need to do is build a working-class movement capable of overthrowing capitalism and establishing a workers and farmers government," Green said. During the question-and-answer period Green drew supportive cheers while expressing her opinion on school uniforms and the Blandford campaign's opposition to youth curfews.

Afterwards many students approached supporters of Blandford's campaign and discussed harassment by administrators and what needs to be done to safeguard the democratic rights of young people. "To understand these attacks you must understand capitalism's need to control the working class and youth," YS member Roberto Guerrero said in the discussion. "To maintain its system during its deepening economic crises, these moves are necessary. This is the world we face today until we build a working-class movement strong enough to overturn it and begin building a society based on human solidarity." Other students described their experiences with police harassment. The students encouraged the

Young Socialists to come back as school administrators forced them out of the halls and into the classrooms after the meeting.

This kind of outreach can net new recruits and badly needed money for the fund drive. The Birmingham YS is following the political line of the YS Manifesto — published in *New International* no. 11 — and YS Organizer and having a thorough discussion on these documents to reconquer proletarian norms of functioning on a weekly basis. This is essential for building the YS. We came out of this summer politically stronger as a nationwide and international organization. In order to advance our work and recruit, however, we must regain the norms outlined in these documents. Youth coming into politics today will be won over to the proletarian discipline and collective work the Young Socialists provide.

Romina Green contributed to this article.

YS joins protest of 2,000 against cop brutality in Sweden

BY MAXI ORTIZ

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — About 2,000 people gathered here September 25 to protest a brutal police attack on a demonstration and street party one week earlier.

Several hundred people, mainly youth, had gathered September 18 for a "Reclaim the City" protest and party, occupying one of the city streets. The protest was against "zero tol-

erance" police programs, racism, and massive car traffic.

At one point some 100 cops in riot gear sealed off the street at both ends, stopping people from getting to or from the gathering. Without warning, the cops attacked with clubs, shields, police dogs, and horses.

The cops charged several times from around 8 p.m. until 11 p.m. Plainclothes police arbitrarily pointed out people who were to be arrested. These were dragged into buses and taken to police stations all around Stockholm county. By 10 p.m. all the detention cells had been filled. A total 243 people were held for questioning, some of whom were charged with violent rioting and sedition. Several people were injured, some seriously. The national news media covered the event with interviews of people who had been brutalized by the cops. A prosecutor subsequently started an investigation of criminal charges against the police. The leader of the left party and member of parliament Gudrun Schyman condemned the police attack. The assault caused widespread anger, especially among youth, which was reflected in the number of participants at the September 25 protest, one of the largest recent demonstrations in Stockholm.

YSers and members of the Communist League staffed a book table at the demonstration selling 10 copies of the *Militant*, 2 copies of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Socialism and Man in Cuba*, and one copy each of *Feminism and the Marxist Movement* and *Che Guevara and the Imperialist Reality*, both by Mary-Alice Waters.

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Newark	9,000	1,980	22%
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Canada	3,650	905	25%
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United Kingdom	0	40	0
Totals	\$127,88	\$28,004	22%
Should be	\$125,00	\$67,300	54%

New Zealand supporters are setting pace for Pathfinder Fund

BY PAT HUNTER

New Zealand supporters are leading the campaign to raise \$125,000 for the Pathfinder Fund. Their collection of \$1,531—62 percent of their goal—sets the necessary pace for a successful international fund drive.

Janet Roth, a leader of the Communist League in Auckland, New Zealand explained that the Fund was launched in there "at Militant Labor Forums straight after the Active Workers Conference" (at Oberlin, Ohio, August 5–8) where the international fund was a central feature. "We then followed up on everyone who had made pledges to find out how they planned to pay — lump sum or weekly payment — by the November 15 deadline. Some of the larger pledges have already been paid in a lump sum, hence getting

us ahead of our goal."

Throughout the United States supporters are planning to get on target with special events, broadly-mailed letters explaining the importance of the fund, and outreach to co-workers and other toilers.

For instance, a fund rally will be a feature of the southern regional educational conference being organized by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists in Atlanta, Georgia, October 23–24.

A special meeting to celebrate the political experience and communist activity of Ethel Lobman, a member of the Socialist Workers Party for 56 years, is scheduled for October 10 in New York City. To further Ethel's lifelong commitment to building the communist movement organizers of the meeting are urging sizable contributions to the Pathfinder Fund.

Joe Swanson and Jennifer Ponce, members of United Auto Workers 1672 in Des Moines, described how they have taken the campaign into work. "We have talked to four co-workers who bought *Capitalism's World Disorder* about the fund. We have also been showing these co-workers the *Militant* news coverage on the fund. All four have made pledges and two have

made payments. All four have pledged to pay in full by November 1."

SWP members, party supporters, and other backers of the fund in San Francisco raised their goal to \$12,500 "after doing a round of phone calls." Fund director, Karen Ray, said that "one of the results of widening the distribution of Pathfinder's titles into more commercial outlets is an invitation from Barnes & Noble Booksellers in Berkeley for an author appearance with Mary Alice Waters on October 14. The title of the talk is "The Cuban Revolution Today." Waters is editor of the Marxist magazine *New International* and the author of *Che Guevara and the Imperialist Reality* and *Defending Cuba's Socialist Revolution*."

In Australia, supporters have set a goal of raising \$950 and have an event planned for October 23 to ensure they meet the goal on time.

To find out more about the fund, to get involved, or to make a contribution, contact your nearest Pathfinder bookstore listed on page 12. Please make all checks and money orders to Pathfinder, earmarked Pathfinder Fund, and send to: Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014-2570.

from Pathfinder

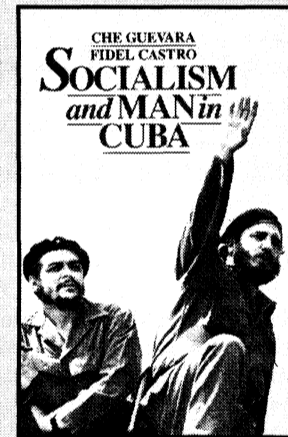


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UK government steps up attacks on immigrant rights

BY CELIA PUGH

LONDON — Media hysteria about a “rising tide of immigrants” who “swamp Britain’s resources” has provided a backdrop to new Labour government immigration policies. The Asylum and Immigration Bill, which will become law by November, deepens attacks on the rights of immigrants and scapegoats them as a drain on welfare and taxpayers’ money.

For the first time in half a century, the state will have no obligation to guarantee basic welfare to refugees. Announcing the bill in July, Home Secretary Jack Straw declared, “We need a system which reduces the incentive to economic migration and which recognizes that what the genuine asylum seeker needs is food and shelter and not a giro cheque.”

Until now refugees who seek asylum on entry can claim state income support, set at the official poverty level. All asylum seekers must now prove that they have no family or friends to keep them while their asylum claim is considered. Savings and jewelry over a certain amount must be declared and are considered income. Only refugees who prove destitution will receive government aid.

This assistance puts recipients at 30 percent below the official poverty level and is largely in the form of vouchers to be redeemed in specified supermarkets, to purchase a restricted list of goods. A family of four will be provided with £90.80 per week (£1=US\$1.50). This includes a token cash payment, initially set at £1 per day for an adult and 50 pence per child. After threatened opposition by a small number of Labour members of Parliament, the cash component increased to £10 a week (\$15)

per adult and child. These MP’s are now reported to accept the Bill.

It is illegal for asylum seekers to work while their claims are considered. At present refugees wait an average of two years for their status to be reviewed. Many wait longer, pending appeals against deportation. The bill aims to cut this to two months with more limited rights to appeal.

Refugees claiming aid will have no choice over where they live. On arrival they will be sent anywhere in the UK. The Home Office has already requested the use of army barracks in Dover to house them.

The government has also announced an extra £120 million for more immigration officials. The Bill introduces extra powers of search, arrest and detention for these officers.

Every year more than 9,000 asylum seekers are detained in prison or detention center. They can be held at any time, for any reason and with no time limit. Most are not charged with any criminal offense.

Home Office minister Lord Bassam announced in August that Roma (Gypsy) refugees from the Czech Republic may be denied asylum status if they fail to obtain visas before entering the UK. Figures up to 1997 show that no Roma from the Czech Republic or Slovakia have been granted refugee status in Britain. In 1998, 65 percent of processed asylum claims were rejected. In December 1998 more than 64,000 asylum seekers awaited an initial review.

Actions defend immigrant rights

Immigrant rights and refugee organizations have campaigned against these attacks with demonstrations, lobbies and court action. On February 27 this year 3,000 people



Militant/Tim Rigby

February 1996 rally against asylum and immigration bill of previous Conservative government in London. Current Labour government is pushing further restrictions.

marched through London.

In 1997 asylum seekers held without charge at the Campsfield House detention center near Oxford took action after two detainees were brutally removed to a prison. Five detainees were later acquitted of charges of riot but were removed to prison in Rochester. A hunger strike of Campsfield detainees in 1998 demanded their release.

In August this year two refugees, a Kurd from Turkey and an Algerian, won a high court ruling against prosecution for using false passports in their escape from persecution in their own countries. This ruling is a direct challenge to the new legislation, which makes it a criminal offense for refugees to use false papers.

In addition, immigrant workers at Lufthansa Skycheffs at Heathrow airport in London have been on strike for 10 months to defend their right to use union action against poor pay and conditions.

The anti-immigrant campaign is particularly virulent in the south coast port of Dover. Since 1997 the local council and media have shifted the blame for cuts in social services onto refugees entering the port. Roma from the Czech Republic or Slovakia and Kurdish refugees have been particular targets. The *Dover Express* accused them of being “welfare spongers, thieves and brothel keepers.”

Polarization in Dover

In 1997 the rightist National Front demonstrated in Dover, demanding the deportation of refugees. This summer Dover council officials warned about “a tinder box” in the town and demanded that refugees be “dispersed” elsewhere. Refugees had been subjected over months to physical attacks by rightist gangs. On the weekend of August 13, 11 people were injured in clashes between local youth and immigrants. Many received knife wounds. On this occasion, most of those injured were local youth who are white.

Militant reporters went Dover and talked with a family of Slovak refugees and their friends. Jaroslav Dyrda has been in Dover for three years. “In Slovakia we were attacked by skinheads and the police. We came here and now people say, ‘Gypsy go home,’” he said.

Tatar Gegza came to the United Kingdom in 1997. “The police here keep stopping us, asking to see our papers. A year ago when the National Front came we were frightened for our children and stayed indoors,” he said.

Jaroslav commented, “Not all people treat us like this. There are good and bad people in Slovakia just as there are good and bad in England.” *Militant* reporters showed Jaroslav the August 30 issue of the *Militant* reporting the October immigrant rights demonstration in Washington D.C. He translated the demonstration demands to his friends: “Amnesty for the undocumented, the end to deportations and immigration raids, work permits for all and living wages.” Jaroslav added, “This is what we want too.”

Militant reporters also talked to a group of a dozen local youth at the fair where the clash had taken place. Fifteen-year-old Darren had received stitches for knife wounds in what he claimed was an unprovoked attack. He and his friends echoed the propaganda offensive from government officials and media.

The group had heard of a National Front demonstration that day along the road housing refugees. To build the action, the NF had stickered the area and handed out racist literature. None of the youth said they intended to go. The march failed to take place and there was no sign of the NF during the day. The Home Office has imposed a three month ban on immigration marches in Dover, including those defending immigrant rights.

The Labour government Asylum and Immigration bill feeds the myth that resources for housing and welfare are “drained” by immigrants. At the same time, a survey by the Institute of Fiscal Studies published in August shows “The Blair government is on course to spend relatively less than any administration since that of Harold Macmillan (Conservative) 40 years ago,” according to the national daily *The Guardian*.

Rose Knight contributed to this article.

Two bombs explode at a Black agricultural university in Florida

BY BILL KALMAN

MIAMI — Two pipe bombs were detonated within three weeks at Florida A&M University (FAMU), an historically Black agricultural school in Tallahassee. Both bombs went off in men’s bathrooms in two separate buildings on campus: the first an administration building, the second a computer classroom building. The FBI and Florida authorities say they are investigating these bombings as “hate crimes.” After both bombings, someone called a local TV

station to claim responsibility, using racist epithets to call for “getting rid of” Blacks on campus.

In response to the two blasts, which occurred August 31 and September 22, the campus of 12,000 students has been locked down under heavy guard. Armed security guards, campus, city, and county police have taken up positions around the university. Tallahassee and Leon County police are staffing five check points round-the-clock and require anyone coming onto campus to

produce Florida A&M photo ID. Student government president Corny Minor told the *Tallahassee Democrat*, “I think it [the presence of armed cops on campus] will continue the fear. Whenever you see an armed officer, that is fear personified.”

Omar Kelly, editor of the *Famuan*, the student newspaper, told the *Washington Post*, “A lot of students are scared to come to school. There are tons of police officers and FBI-looking persons on campus, and driving to campus I was stopped three times, and when I got to campus I was stopped once.” Visitors to the campus are asked their purpose and turned away if their reason is not specific enough.

Florida governor John Ellis Bush has authorized \$200,000 for police overtime and surveillance cameras. To date no arrests have been made or are imminent. “We don’t need to talk about what we’ve got and what we haven’t got,” Florida Department of Law Enforcement Commissioner Tim Moore said.

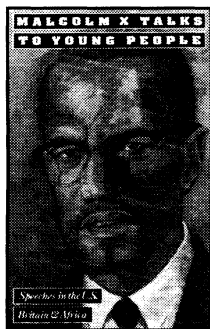
For all the concerns about safety, the school administration only shut the campus for the rest of the day following each bombing. Elizabeth Hamilton, a freshman student, said, “I don’t like the way the school runs things because there is a bomb over here and a bomb over there but yet class is still going on and they don’t know where anything is going.”

Students at the university have organized protests at the state capitol in Tallahassee against the bombings, and students from neighboring Florida State University (FSU) marched September 28 from their campus to FAMU “to show solidarity,” according to one of the march organizers. Both FSU and FAMU were founded during the Jim Crow era and were racially segregated for many years.

On September 26 Jesse Jackson spoke at an ecumenical service on campus denouncing the bombings.

Bill Kalman is a member of United Transportation Union Local 1138 in Miami.

From Pathfinder



Malcolm X Talks to Young People

“I for one will join in with anyone, I don’t care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth”—Malcolm X, Britain, December 1964.

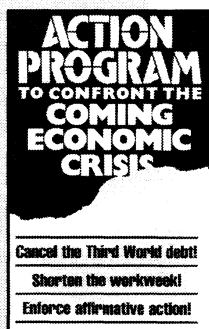
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Steelworkers press for contract in Ohio

BY JAMES VINCENT

HANNIBAL, Ohio — Since their contract expired May 31, 1,800 steelworkers here are leading a fight for a fair and decent contract. "It's been 13 long years," said Don Brown, who has worked 22 years at Ormet Aluminum. "In 1986 we took concessions to keep the plant open. We gave up COLA [cost-of-living allowances], some of our insurance benefits, took a cut in wages, and less vacation time. Now we deserve a reasonable contract."

Brown is not alone in his thinking. This fact is driven home miles before you reach the sprawling Ormet complex on Route 7 along the Ohio river. Signs like "USWA wants a contract" and "COLA" begin to appear along the roadside, along with "Welcome to Greedsville."

Each day at shift change, several hundred workers march together in and out of the plant. After marching out of Ormet, members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) locals 5724 and 5760 organize informational pickets at both plant entrances during shift changes. Whistles and honking fill the air. Fists shoot up as workers drive in and out of the plant.

Most cars and trucks whizzing by have union slogans scribbled on them: "No COLA, No Contract," "USWA 5724, 5760," and "We will win." People from the community driving by also join in. The loudest noise comes from over-the-road trucks with their powerful horns.

Between the two gates, workers have built a shelter in direct sight of Ormet plant management offices. The unionists are particularly proud of the shanty, which was constructed with donated wood, because it symbolizes what many describe as their "hatred" of the company and its chief executive officer, Emmet Boyle.

In August the company destroyed the union's shanty in broad daylight. This backfired, however, and the aluminum giant was forced to apologize. Trying to save face, the company said the person who ordered the removal was unfamiliar with a permit obtained by the union. The Steelworkers rejected the apology.

Unions demand COLA, eight-hour day

Since the contract expired there has been no progress in negotiations with the two union locals. Recent talks broke off in September. The central issue for USWA Local 5724, which organizes the 1,200 workers in the reduction plant, is to win back the cost-of-living adjustment, lost in 1986 as a concession to allow Boyle to purchase the reduction plant.

The adjustment would give the workers a \$1.18 per hour wage increase. The company's counteroffer is a three-year deal with no COLA, a \$1,000 signing bonus the first year, and 75 cents in wage increases over the next two years.

The main sticking point with Local 5760 is opposition to Ormet's proposal to impose 10- or 12-hour shifts at the rolling mill. Workers there now work eight-hour shifts, although most are forced to work many hours of overtime.

After a four-month strike in 1986, workers agreed to big concessions. At the time this was trumpeted by Boyle as "equality of sacrifice." Workers were told that after the company got on its feet financially they would be able to get back what they gave up. But it hasn't worked out that way.

In the mid-1980s, Ormet workers were among the highest paid wage workers in the Ohio valley. Since then their wages have risen a paltry \$1.28. In addition, the company has slashed jobs through combinations and intensified speed-up on the job.

Some recent developments have raised the tension level. Workers learned that Ormet is the leading candidate to purchase a Southwire Co. aluminum plant near Louisville, Kentucky. This report came just days after the company suspended a \$170 million modernization project from the bargaining talks.

Outraged by this move, some 200 workers from both locals held a protest in front of Ormet's corporate headquarters in Wheeling, West Virginia, September 24. In response, the company obtained a temporary injunction limiting the number of people who can demonstrate to six at any time. A hearing October 15 will determine if the injunction will be per-

manent.

"Boyle has bought six plants and is now talking about buying the Southwire plant for \$500 million," said Bill Brown, a longtime member of USWA local 5724. "What's more the workers there I'm told are locked out." Two years ago, the USWA was voted in at Southwire and in June 1998 the workers went on strike. Early this year the company locked out the workers and brought scabs into the plant.

Brown spends most of his time off the job at the union shelter. "I'm 43 going on 65 years of age," he said. "Most of the guys my age are pretty banged up. A lot of bad shoulders and knees. We've lived with forced overtime, job combinations, and the company runs shifts short of men all the time. Ten, fifteen years ago we used to have 2,000 people in the foundry, now we have 1,200."

"I'd go back in the mines any day over working in there," he added. Brown, who worked at Powhatan 4 mine in the 1970s, said about 20 percent of Ormet workers are former miners.

"What keeps us going is the tremendous support," said Brown. "We've seen support from steelworkers at Wheeling-Pitt [who gave \$2,000] and MSI, from coal miners at UMWA Local 1785, from chemical workers, from all kinds of truck drivers — it's been great, really lifts our spirits."

Brown and other Ormet workers spoke about the struggle by steelworkers at Century Aluminum in Ravenswood, West Virginia. Many noted that they wouldn't be where they are today if the Ravenswood workers hadn't waged a 20-month fight in the early 1990s.

One of the older workers, Larry Boger, a 32-year veteran, declared, "I can't retire be-

Coal miners strike in Pennsylvania

Continued from front page

Murray, must meet with the union to determine which agreement is in place, and ordered the company to process grievances.

Several miners at the meeting, who asked not to be quoted, said working conditions are bad. They described company harassment of workers who file grievances, forced overtime of up to 60 hours per week, and dangerous safety practices. In recent years Maple Creek has hired a layer of younger miners, and this was their first strike.

According to a retired Maple Creek miner who started at the mine in 1947, Footedale is an old company town that used to be owned by U.S. Steel Corp. At one time Maple Creek, which sits near the Monongahela River in southwestern Pennsylvania, was one of U.S. Steel's "captive" mines. In 1995 Murray bought the mine and preparation plant in New Eagle, Pennsylvania, from U.S. Steel Mining Co. It is one of the largest underground mines in the region, extending 11 miles underground.

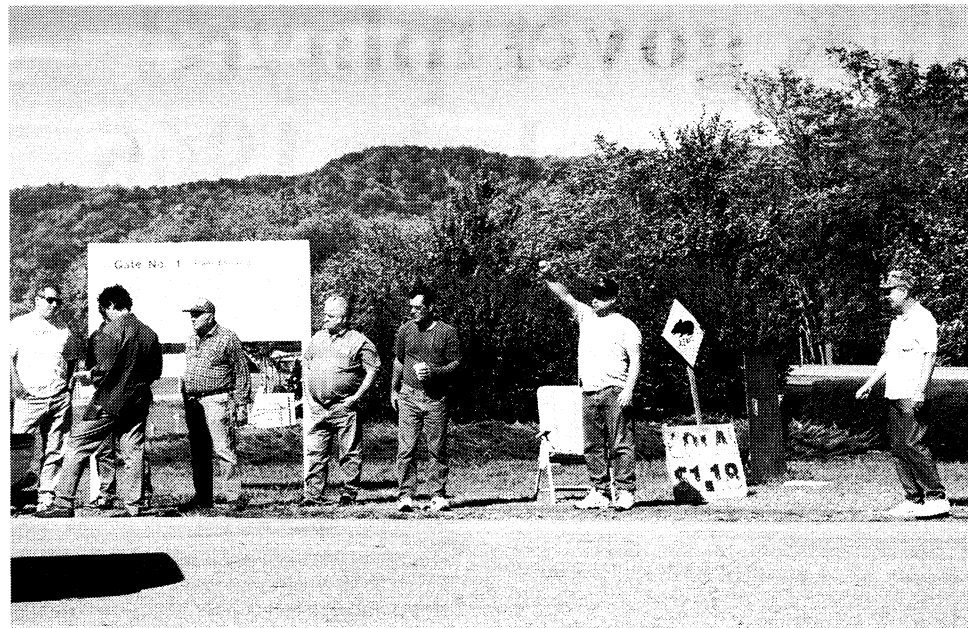
The two-day strike comes on top of other recent disputes at the mine. In April the company ordered miners out of the mine and told them to clean out their lockers. The union was not informed of the closure and no explanation was given to the miners. This infuriated union members. The mine closing was also a clear violation of the state's Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification law that require a 60-day notification for plant or mine closures.

The abrupt closing took place after inspectors with the U.S. Department of Labor's Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) cited the company for serious safety violations.

According to a report in the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*, "MSHA spokeswoman Kathy Snyder said there was an excessive accumulation of coal dust near a main belt conveyor used to transport coal. That led inspectors to order a partial withdrawal affecting only 10 mine employees." According to the MSHA report, six to eighteen inches deep of coal dust was found on the roof, roof supports, mine floor, and belt structure. Coal dust is a fire and explosion hazard, and causes Black Lung disease.

More facts on Ohio mine deaths

Meanwhile, new facts have come to light on the disaster that killed two coal miners



Militant/Salm Kolis

Informational picket of Steelworkers at Ormet Aluminum. Each day at shift change, workers in the plant organize a march and a picket to publicize their contract fight.

cause my pension is only \$900 a month and that's before taxes. You can get by on that but you can't live on it," he said.

Several of the more vocal union supporters have been singled out for company attack. To date some 32 workers have been disciplined, eight of them fired. To bring attention to these workers, the union erected a tall structure outside the gate listing all 32 names, putting those fired in red paint.

Ormet workers reach out for support

Throughout the summer and early fall Ormet workers have marched in several parades in the surrounding communities in Ohio and West Virginia, held rallies and expanded picket lines in front of the plant, and used the union hall to sponsor fund-raisers to aid the fired workers. A Wives Support Group organizes food for the informational pickets.

"Despite pouring rain, about 500 of us

marched in the Labor Day parade in Paden City, West Virginia," said Brown. The parade in Shadyside, Ohio was particularly satisfying because several "company people live there and tried to stop us from marching," said Brown. "We were told not to march. But we used our constitutional rights and marched anyway."

The night the contract expired the company had two busloads of scabs ready to enter the plant. At this stage, the union has decided not to organize a strike, but to continue to pressure the company by building support in the labor movement and in communities throughout the valley.

When asked if Ormet workers had been involved in actions like this before, Brown responded, "No, this is the first time. This is all new. It is something new in this country.... Many of us feel that there will be no labor movement in the Ohio Valley if we don't stick together."

and injured two others at the Powhatan No. 4 mine in southeast Ohio. The September 24 accident was not a roof cave-in, as last week's *Militant* reported, but a roof fall, according to a spokesman for the Ohio Department of Natural Resources.

The collapse occurred about 700 feet underground and about half a mile in. It is estimated that between 20 and 50 tons, covering a 20-foot-by-50-foot area, collapsed on three of the four miners working there to recover equipment from the mine. The protective roof (canopy) contains several layers of steel, a wire screen, and stone.

According to the coroner's report, the roof fall was of such force that it killed William Florence, 49, and Gerald Eble, 57, almost instantly. The funerals for the two miners were announced on the front pages of the local papers.

Wayne Peters, 56, and Anthony Patch, 56, were treated and released for injuries sustained during the collapse. Peters suffered a broken arm, cuts and bruises. Patch suffered a broken shoulder. The following report from the *Monroe County Beacon*, a weekly newspaper, is an account based on an interview with Patch on what happened:

"Soon lunch break was over and the miners returned to work. The two [Patch and Peters] walked around the motor to retrieve the last pipe it would take to load the car. That's when Patch heard a snap. 'Something threw me 10 feet to the out-by and covered the other three up,' said Patch.

"Patch landed on his head and shoulder, and then on his back and the self-rescuer strapped there. He was dazed, and it was too dusty to see anything.

"He heard the voice of Peters calling out for help. 'Wait until I can see,' he called back to his friend. Patch didn't want to do anything to cause further collapse.

"When the dust cleared, he could see that he was under good top. He moved to the area where Peters and the others were buried. He said Peters was covered with 4x6 inch planks about four feet long, 60-pound (per foot) rail (used to shore up the passageway), rocks, dirt and debris.

"Peters was having difficulty breathing, not because his head was covered, but because he was being crushed.

"I yelled for a jack, but there was no one around," said Patch. He was able to move a rail a few inches so Peters could breathe easier. Shortly, someone threw the jack from the opposite side of the fall.

"Patch dug a hole for the jack and began moving the beams — he got to one of Peters' legs...there were four more planks over his other leg. In faith, Patch began digging with his hands. 'I had to get him out,' he said noting that Peters was in 'much pain.' It took about half-an-hour for Patch to free his co-worker."

The Ohio Department of Natural Resources inspected the mine September 14-16 and said it was safe. The cause of the collapse remains under investigation. The UMWA is also part of the investigation. The mine, which employed around 1,000 people in the early 1970s, had been closed since May.

A small maintenance crew had been working to close down the mine. Most of the 178 UMWA miners who worked there have been laid off.

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\$5.00

Coal Miners ON STRIKE

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write **Pathfinder**, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.



U.S. gov't played major role in 1965 Indonesia massacre

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

The "agony of ridding Indonesia of effects of Sukarno...has begun.... Army in control." With that cable message Marshall Green, U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia, reported to Washington on Oct. 5, 1965, the opening of an army-orchestrated reign of terror against the workers and peasants of Indonesia. By the early months of 1966 the worst of the bloodletting was over. Up to a million people were dead, their unions and other organizations smashed.

Nearly 35 years later the massacres of 1965-66 are again reverberating in Indonesian politics. As workers, peasants, students, and others in this country of 212 million people engage in new struggles for a more dignified and less poverty-stricken future, they are also starting to dig for the truth about their past. Their search is aided by documents that have recently been released.

The "army is doing a first-class job here of moving against communists," wrote Ambassador Green on Nov. 4, 1965. Green's cables appear among secret records of the U.S. State Department and CIA. Extracts from the files published in *Sydney Morning Herald* articles during July of this year reveal evidence of the hands-on involvement of the imperialist powers in the massacres.

Some of the secret diplomatic correspondence between the Australian embassy in Jakarta and Canberra has also been published. These imperialist functionaries reported the military's use of arson, construction of concentration camps, and perpetration of large-scale murder in matter-of-fact, and at times enthusiastic, tones.

On Oct. 6, 1965, Australian ambassador K.C.O. Shann described the official Indonesian government of the time as "Sukarno and his greasy civilian cohorts." Sukarno had assumed power at the head of a powerful independence movement that had forced the Dutch colonialists to cede independence in 1949.

Sukarno's foreign minister Subandrio is one of the "snakes that infest the country," wrote Shann on October 15. His opinion mirrored that of all the imperialist powers: they hated the government of Sukarno not so much for what it was, as for what had created it.

Marian Wilkinson wrote in a *Herald* article entitled "Hidden Holocaust" that "Sukarno's power rested, in part, on the support of the PKI [Communist Party of Indonesia], the largest political party in the country. Sukarno used the PKI to contain the power of the army." The PKI, whose leader-

ship looked to the Mao Zedong regime in China for their political line, and popular organizations affiliated with it influenced and organized millions of working people. Sukarno's "relations with his top generals and the West were tense," continued Wilkinson. "His country was in armed border 'confrontation' with Britain and Australia over Malaysia, and he was threatening to break diplomatic relations with the US..."

Imperialist interests in Indonesia

For the imperialists Indonesia represented enormous human, agricultural and mineral resources and potential profits. It carried similar weight in their political and strategic considerations. During 1964 and 1965 the rulers of Australia and New Zealand, the imperialist powers closest to Indonesia, had sent soldiers to join military efforts by the U.S. and Britain in Vietnam and Malaysia respectively — in the latter case, to fight against Indonesian forces.

Fear of "communism" — of massive anti-imperialist and anticapitalist struggles — marked the imperialist stance towards Indonesia and elsewhere, just as it marked the policy of the government in Jakarta they were about to install. The tumultuous events of late 1965 began with the kidnapping and killing of six army generals by a group of lower-ranking officers, who announced that they had taken action to save Sukarno from a "CIA-backed coup."

The leadership and character of this "September 30 affair" are still subjects of debate, but in the formerly classified files the Australian and other embassies in the capital of Jakarta describe it as internal army affair, backed by some PKI leaders only at the last minute. With imperialist backing, however, military officers in Indonesia immediately denounced the event as PKI-led, and used wildly fictionalized and gory accounts of it to justify their offensive.

U.S. Ambassador Green forcefully recommended that the military, which immediately began to move against the PKI, put the September 30 affair to propaganda use. "On Indo-language broadcasts show that the South Vietnamese are fighting this same kind of Gestapo terror [as the attempted rebellion]," he wrote on October 15. Two weeks earlier he had reported approvingly that the army "has important instruments of power such as press, radio and TV." He recommended to Washington to "indicate clearly to key people... such as [Generals] Nasution and Suharto our desire to be of assistance.... Spread the story of PKI's guilt, treachery and brutality..."

The U.S. representatives were directly involved in the events. The files describe meetings between representatives of the Indonesian generals and the U.S. embassy, some over rounds of golf. Among other things, they discussed the secret supply of U.S. "medical supplies, communications equipment, and small arms." One *Herald* article referred to a study published by U.S. lawyer Kathy Kadane "detailing how an American diplomat provided lists of Indonesian communists to the Soeharto [Suharto] forces when the mass killings were beginning."

The embassy also dealt with leaders in the Muslim church. The files record the role of both Muslim and Catholic hierarchies, who organized reactionary forces to work alongside the army in the massacres.

Suharto, then head of the army's strategic command, increasingly took charge. Sukarno was powerless in the face of the furious military assault. (His defeat was later formalized in March of the next year, when he delegated extensive powers to Suharto.) In the days and weeks after September 30, Green favorably reported arrests of PKI leaders, and "extensive sweeps [by the army] in Jakarta lower-class suburbs to round up communist paramilitary elements active in September 30 violence." In another cable he wrote that a "pro-army youth group in Medan [a major city in northern Sumatra] began destroying PKI property."

"He would be a very cautious man,"



The remains of burned-out building of Indonesian Communist Party, Oct. 10, 1965.

smugly declared an October 22 report by the Australian embassy, "who did not derive some encouragement from events in Indonesia over the past week."

Trade unions, peasants are target

Among the unionists targeted, Green reported the "arrest, interrogation and execution of PKI leaders" in the camp of the state-owned Pertamina oil company.

The Australian embassy reported that it was customary "for the army to assemble the labour force and ask them whether they wish to continue work as usual. Those who decline are asked again and, unless they change their mind, summarily shot."

Peasants also fell victim. Drawing on the files, another *Herald* article reported that "entire villages were wiped out during the killings.... many of the killings occurred at the behest of landlords, who had earlier been outraged when PKI cadres encouraged peasants to take over fields."

Green reports that the military attaché to the U.S. embassy heard from the aide to an Indonesian general that "Anti-PKI demonstrations and raids taking on more of an anti-Chinese line. Recently there have been raids against Chinese residents in Kalimantan and Atjeh.... The forcible entry and search of Chinese Embassy commercial office in Tjikini was not done by the army but by those 'who do this kind of thing for us.'"

For several months the reign of terror rolled across the country, especially across Java, the most populous and developed island, and Sumatra, a center of oil and agricultural production.

In the new year, a CIA report stated, "Nearly every member of the PKI politburo has been arrested; many have already been executed, including the three top leaders. The party's mass organizations have been paralysed and virtually put out of business. The slaughter of PKI members and sympathizers in North Sumatra, East and Central Java and Bali is continuing." By February, Green's deputy in the embassy estimated "a total of about 400,000 killed as a result of the September 30 affair..." By a year later,

Philadelphia protesters rally against imperialist intervention in East Timor

BY J. P. CRYSDALE

PHILADELPHIA — Fifteen people gathered in front of the Philadelphia Federal Building September 28 to demand independence for East Timor and protest the occupation of that nation by Australian, U.S., and other imperialist forces under the banner of the United Nations. The demonstration was initiated by the Socialist Workers Campaign and the Young Socialists.

Socialist Workers mayoral candidate Connie Allen spoke about the importance of working people in this country supporting the Timorese workers and peasants in their struggle. "The people of East Timor are our fellow fighters and have continually shown their ability to combat first the Portuguese then the Indonesian colonial occupation of their nation. Only the workers and peasants themselves can call the Indonesian rulers to account — as they have proven capable of doing many times. The best aid we can give the Timorese is to direct our fire against our own government's involvement."

U.S. scholars were placing the death toll between 500,000 and a million.

The most important lesson

While the files reported in the *Herald* articles allow a glimpse at the crimes of the imperialists, they provide little insight into why the PKI, as Green noted, "offered... no meaningful resistance." This inaction did not reflect a lack of combativity on the part of Indonesian working people as was shown in an Australian embassy report of an incident on November 10. As an Indonesian army unit approached a village in East Java, "the villagers... advanced... on the troops with cries of 'Nekolim,' meaning 'Neocolonialists and imperialists'... [They] were armed with bamboo spears, knives and 'one or two guns.... Shots fired over their heads by the patrol failed to deter them and the army was obliged to shoot... killing seven and wounding 17."

Workers, farmers, and young people looking for an explanation of the PKI's paralysis can start with *Maoism vs. Bolshevism*, part of the "Education for Socialists" series published by Pathfinder Press. The booklet is by Joseph Hansen, who wrote about the events in Indonesia as they occurred in the Marxist magazine *World Outlook*. In *Maoism vs. Bolshevism* he analyzes this "disaster that shattered the largest Communist party in the capitalist world" as "a major defeat still reverberating in world politics..."

This was "the most devastating defeat for the working class since the fascist victory in Germany in 1933," writes Steve Clark in his introduction to the booklet.

Hansen places responsibility for the PKI's abject defeat on the leaderships of the PKI and the Chinese Communist Party: "Out of... passing diplomatic needs (an alliance with Sukarno and the Indonesian bourgeoisie) [Mao] blocked the Indonesian Communist party from developing a revolutionary policy that could have stopped the reactionary generals and put the Indonesian working class in power."

Today, the new generations of workers, **Continued on next page**

FROM PATHFINDER

EDUCATION FOR SOCIALISTS

Maoism vs. Bolshevism

THE 1965 CATASTROPHE IN INDONESIA, CHINA'S 'CULTURAL REVOLUTION,' AND THE DISINTEGRATION OF WORLD STALINISM

By Joseph Hansen

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Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12

Why working people should oppose military intervention in East Timor

BY DOUG COOPER

SYDNEY, Australia—In the first weeks of September, before Australian, New Zealand, and other foreign troops began landing on East Timor, top officials from a broad range of unions, with the support of other organizations in Australia, mobilized union members and others in protests for speedier military intervention by the Australian government in Can-

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

berra. They also organized boycotts and bans against Indonesian products and companies. Officials of my union, the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA), with its strategic social weight, were at the forefront of this campaign.

Is the Australian government's intervention in East Timor the result of mass pressure as reader Shane from Melbourne suggests in a letter printed on page 15? Should workers support or join prointervention protests? Should we use union power to try to damage the Indonesian economy? Should we get behind "our" government in the largest Australian military intervention since the Vietnam War? Is Australian nationalism progressive?

I believe the answer to each of these questions for workers taking action to resist the antiunion drive of the bosses and the government at home is no. While that opinion is shared by only a small minority of wharfies, there is plenty of space.

Rulers invoke 'national' interest

Conservative prime minister John Howard has invoked the "national" interest. But there is no such thing. Those who promote it do so in order to hide the fact that different social classes have conflicting interests. For Howard—and all the opposition parties, who back military intervention—supporting the "national" interest means the interests of Australian big business with its billions invested in Indonesia and the region.

Australia is a class-divided society. That is precisely why we need unions. Workers and small farmers have common interests because we are producers of social wealth. But we have nothing in common with the superrich, regardless of their nationality, who exploit us at home and superexploit and oppress fellow workers in semicolonial countries.

Rather than organizing working people to "force the government to act," as top CFMEU official John Sutton told protesters September 7, the labor movement should campaign to expose the real goals of the intervention that was planned and organized for months by Canberra.

Their goals have nothing to do with saving "helpless" East Timorese. They aim to hem in the independence struggle, bring to power a neocolonial government, and boost their abil-

1965 massacre

Continued from previous page

peasants, and students in Indonesia are weighed down less heavily by the weight of the catastrophe as they wage their struggles, forge new organizations, and begin to figure out their way forward politically. Above all, Stalinism is now much weaker in the international workers movement, and nowhere is this more true than in Indonesia.

The imperialists and the Indonesian rulers are weaker than in 1965. The "New Order" regime of Suharto, founded on the massacres of that period, has been revealed for the reactionary myth it has always been. Over 25 years the military has been unable to crush the independence forces on East Timor. And a degree of new industrialization means the enemies of working people now face a bigger working class than ever before.



Australian soldiers search East Timorese men for weapons in Dili, October 1, 1999.

ity to deploy their troops anywhere "instability" threatens the "right" of the Australian imperialist exploiters to make a profit off the toil of workers and farmers.

In fact, the more than two-week "delay" in deploying foreign troops into East Timor permitted pro-Jakarta gangs to do their dirty work. It was collusion with the Indonesian military and the rightists, not indecisiveness or cowardice, and set the political stage for intervention. This complicity has been the hallmark of the Canberra-Jakarta relationship for 35 years. Our unions should be telling the truth about Canberra's consistent role, not demanding intervention.

Oppose anti-Indonesia boycotts

One wharfie, a supporter of the International Socialist Organization, argues that while we should oppose military intervention in East Timor, anti-Indonesian boycotts and bans organized by unionists are progressive. As long as workers are the ones taking action then it's okay, it seems.

But the 10 days of bans on Indonesian cargo imposed by MUA officials, the ban on processing Indonesian crude oil by Australian Workers Union officials, and protests aimed at stopping Garuda, the Indonesian airline, from functioning in Australia, were inevitably carried out in an Australian nationalist—

and anti-Indonesian—framework. They were part of, not counterposed to, the Howard government's preparations to intervene—no matter what the intentions of those workers who carried them out.

Such bans only divide workers in Australia from other workers, by promoting the false view that all Indonesians are responsible for the nearly 24 years of Jakarta's crimes and covering up Canberra's collusion in those crimes. Workers and farmers in Indonesia have common enemies with their brothers and sisters in East Timor: the Australian and other imperialists and the Indonesian rulers and military officer caste.

The logic of operating in an Australian nationalist framework is shown by the actions of officials such as Jeremy Pyner, secretary of the ACT Trades and Labor Council, who have disgraced the labor movement by carrying out anti-Muslim chauvinist actions in front of the Indonesian embassy in Canberra. There is no place in our unions for insulting the religious faith of workers who are believers—whatever the religion.

Backing intervention weakens unions

If the labor movement and fighting unionists support intervention, it will be that much easier for the bosses' government to deepen its attacks on our unions and all

working people. An effective fight against the government at home can only be waged as part of an international struggle against imperialism and war.

With intervention now a fact, the union bureaucracy has ended the bans. Their attention will shift to getting workers to patriotically support the troops and the government, which has wind in its political sails. Our unions will be further weakened as a result. It will be harder to defeat the government's draconian anti-union legislation pending in Parliament.

Whether the union officialdom takes the next logical step in its patriotic, prointervention campaign and gives support to conscription and increases in war spending remains to be seen. One wharfie who was conscripted and sent to Vietnam in the mid-60s told me he is completely opposed to today's intervention. That view and experience deserves a broad hearing among unionists.

The Australian government seeks to promote a self-image as a disinterested, moral force for good. Australian soldiers have "never sought to impose the will of this country on others but only to defend what is right," Howard said. Real solidarity with the East Timorese independence struggle begins with exposing "our own" imperialist rulers' self-image for the lie it is.

Every war they have roped working people into fighting has been to impose their will and defend their profit system at the expense of workers and farmers. In World War I they took over the Pacific colonies of Germany, especially Nauru and the German-controlled part of New Guinea. In World War II, they sought to retain those colonies against encroachment by their Japanese competitors.

Australian troops invaded neutral, Portuguese-controlled East Timor in 1942, thus setting up the East Timorese toilers to face a Japanese counterinvasion. They sent Australian troops to Vietnam because they feared that the example of the workers and peasants' fight for self-determination and socialism there would spread.

Their motives today are equally predatory. It is in the interests of workers and farmers in East Timor, Indonesia, and Australia to say no to intervention and yes to independence now for East Timor.

Doug Cooper is a member of the Maritime Union of Australia. MUA member Ron Poulsen contributed to this article.

UN to establish E. Timor as a protectorate

BY MICHAEL TUCKER

AUCKLAND, New Zealand—As troops from the multinational force led by Australian imperialism continue to expand their control in East Timor, United Nations secretary general Kofi Annan has announced plans to boost the intervention to 9,000 soldiers and establish a UN protectorate over the territory, "envisaged to last 2–3 years."

Annan's proposals, contained in a report to the UN Security Council, also call for 1,640 police and a large contingent of civilian officials to be sent to administer East Timor. Troops in the International Force for East Timor (Interfet), mandated by the UN Security Council, began their intervention September 20. East Timor, previously a Portuguese colony, had been under Indonesian military occupation since 1975, when Jakarta invaded with imperialist backing to prevent the East Timorese from consolidating their newly-won independence.

A UN-organized referendum on August 30 saw a landslide vote in favor of independence. Following the announcement of the poll result September 4, the Indonesian military, and "militia" gangs organized and backed by the military, unleashed a reign of killing, burning, and looting against the population. This provided the pretext for Washington, the Australian government in Canberra, and other imperialist powers to mount their intervention.

Most Indonesian forces withdrew in the initial stages of the intervention, leaving about

1,500 troops and police. After securing their presence in the capital Dili, Interfet forces have begun to fan out to other parts of the country. About 1,000 troops began moving towards the border with Indonesian West Timor for the first time October 1. Many of the militia gangs retreated to West Timor with the departing Indonesian army. Interfet Commander, Australian Maj. Gen. Peter Cosgrove, warned that his forces could cross into West Timor if their security was "threatened."

Small groups of militia continue to operate inside East Timor. Interfet forces fought a brief gun battle with militia in the northeast on September 29. In a clash with Australian troops October 6, two alleged militia members were killed near the West Timor border.

The imperialist troops have also disarmed and detained a number of pro-independence Falintil guerrillas. Falintil, the armed wing of the independence movement in East Timor, numbering several thousand fighters, has waged a guerrilla struggle against the Indonesian military occupation for the past 24 years.

An agreement between Interfet and Falintil leaders was reached October 5 that the guerrillas would not bear arms outside their own areas. This followed a confrontation between Australian troops and 30 Falintil fighters southeast of Dili October 4, when the Australian forces attempted to take the guerrillas' weapons. The Falintil militants refused to be disarmed, saying they were protecting East Timorese.

Maj. Gen. Cosgrove declared October 5 that

he would be pressing "in the strongest possible terms" for Falintil to be disarmed. His statement was rejected by East Timorese leaders Jose Ramos-Horta and Xanana Gusmao, the commander of Falintil. "We would consider it to be an affront if they attempt to disarm" the guerrillas, said Ramos-Horta, since Falintil "provided protection for the hundreds of thousands of East Timorese people in the mountains..."

Up to 500,000 East Timorese, out of a population of 850,000, are reported to be continuing to live in makeshift camps in the territory's tropical forests and hills. Up to 250,000 are reportedly held in camps in West Timor where they fled or were herded by withdrawing Indonesian troops and militia. Most towns and villages remain largely deserted, with houses and buildings, especially in the western half of the country, burnt or destroyed.

Thailand's Maj. Gen. Songkitt Chakkabatr arrived in East Timor October 6 to take up his post as deputy-commander of Interfet. The first contingent of Thai troops was due to follow. There are now around 5,000 Interfet troops in East Timor. The New Zealand government is increasing its forces there to a battalion of 800 troops by the end of the month. They are expected to be joined by a Canadian infantry company. There are more than 2,500 Australian troops in East Timor, with the number due to grow to 4,500.

Michael Tucker is a member of the Service and Food Workers Union in Auckland.

Airline bosses use 'drug bust' to attack our rights

BY RICK WALKER

MIAMI — Attacks on the democratic rights of airport workers continue to deepen since Operation Ramp Rat and Operation Sky Chef splashed on the front pages August 25, with the arrest of 58 employees of American Airlines and Lufthansa Sky Chef on charges of drug, hand grenade, and gun smuggling.

On September 9, 15 more people were arrested as a result of another two-year investigation that was called Operation Ramp

arrest" of our fellow workers.

Workers' access to what they call "restricted areas" has now been reduced from 37 doors to 7 "checkpoints" where three different cop agencies are represented (U.S. Customs, Dade County police, and airport security) to search our personal belongings. We are not allowed to bring our backpacks or duffel bags out onto the ramp, even though we need to have our rain gear, ear protection, and kneepads to do the job. MIA says they will issue 25,000 transparent fanny bags to workers in the next 60 days. These will not be large enough to carry our gear, and you will have everyone carrying the same bag with the same gear in it. It will get confusing. American doesn't even provide enough lockers for all the workers, so you have to throw your bag on top of a vending machine in the break area along with everyone else's. They only have three break rooms for workers at 35 gates on three different concourses.

We have to swipe our electronic ID card as we go through the checkpoints, so employees can only access the part of the airport where they work. The airport authority will provide this information to the airlines, so that they can check how many breaks workers are taking and for how long.

Workers may have to go to the airport on a day off to pick up a paycheck or to look for co-workers to swap days off or to check on flights if we want to travel somewhere. And the bosses know that when we want to organize to defend our rights, we need to be able to go around and talk to each other, regardless of what days off we have. To the extent that they enforce these new rules, this access has now been cut off.

The response of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) at American Airlines and the International Association of Machinists, which represents the workers at Dispatch Services, has made it easier for management and the government to drive through this major attack on workers' rights. David Bates, president of TWU Local 568, has said that the union is on board with the new measures, as long as they are "fairly and equally applied to all airport workers."

American employees seem to be adapting to the new situation. We are not taking bags onto the ramp and so far have been

UNION TALK

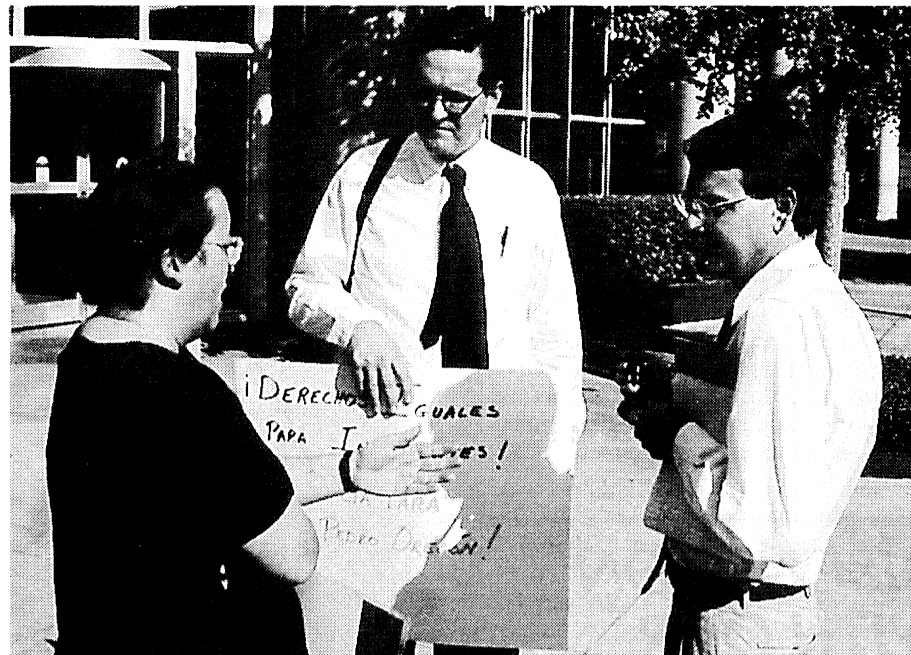
Rat II and Operation Icon (Internal Conspiracy). According to the *Miami Herald*, this investigation involved the infiltration of Caribbean and Central American drug-trafficking operations by undercover agents. "After winning their trust, the agents would sell fake cocaine that was allegedly smuggled for \$2,000 a kilo by the workers at MIA [Miami International Airport]," the *Herald* reported. Those arrested face 10 years to life in prison. They include 10 ramp workers who were employed by three companies that have contracts to handle baggage and other ramp services, including Dispatch Services. More arrests are promised by the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration.

For the most part, workers at the airport do not believe that the entrapment and arrests that have taken place will do anything to stem the flow of drugs. They understand that it is not ramp workers who are responsible for the drug trade and that the illegal drug industry flourishes because there are big profits being made from it that will not be touched.

The real consequence of the government sting operations has been to restrict our basic democratic rights, such as freedom of movement, and to try to create an atmosphere of suspicion among coworkers. Miami-Dade Mayor, Alex Penelas, announced "sweeping new reforms" in mid-September that "go beyond federal requirements."

The latest and most outrageous of the new security measures, reported in the September 18 *Miami Herald*, is the offer of "rewards of up to \$1,000 for tips leading to the

Socialist Workers campaign in Houston



Militant/Phil Duzinski

SWP candidates Laura Garza (left) and Dave Ferguson (center) speak to reporter

BY PHIL DUZINSKI

The Socialist Workers Campaign fielded two candidates in Houston's municipal elections September 20, Laura Garza for mayor and Dave Ferguson for city council.

The candidates used a press conference at City Hall Annex to speak out on several crucial issues that affect working people and youth.

Ferguson, a pipe cutter and member of United Steelworkers of America Local 6635, spoke out in defense of affirmative action as a way to unite the working class in its fights against the bosses. Affirmative action programs in city contracts are under attack by the city administration. Houston residents rejected a ballot ini-

tiative in 1997 by opponents of affirmative action, defeating it by a margin of 54 to 46 percent.

Garza, a machinist and member of the International Association of Machinists Local 969, called for murder charges to be filed against the cops who killed Pedro Oregon in 1998. A federal grand jury announced charges today against two of six cops for violation of Oregon's civil rights by the cops illegally entering his brother's apartment without a warrant. None of the cops who shot Oregon have been charged.

Ferguson filed petitions containing 600 signatures, triple the amount required to get on the ballot. On September 27 the city secretary informed Ferguson that he will appear on the November ballot.

cooperating with the guards when they check the bags. No one wants to appear to be "soft on drugs." But at the same time, we don't like it. We have been harassed by Customs officers coming up on the plane while the cleaners are working, demanding to know if they are scheduled to work that day.

Some people think the crackdown won't last, but the truth is the bosses have already succeeded in changing the work atmosphere. People do look at each other more closely now than they did before, and instead of holding the door for a worker who may be coming behind, they close the door, so the other person can swipe their own card.

American and the other airlines have not been able to push back the workers as far as they have wanted, so they have had to rely on the government to help them, either by ruling strikes illegal (as Clinton did with the American Airlines pilots' strike in 1997) or by imposing the onerous new security measures at our workplace. The latest example of the confidence of American's workforce is the overwhelming rejection by 73 percent of flight attendants of their proposed new contract.

Rick Walker is a member of TWU Local 568 at American Airlines.

Electricians in London strike for a decent wage

BY JAMES NEIL AND MARCELLA FITZGERALD

LONDON — "The worm has turned!" read a placard on a demonstration of some 520 electricians marching through Sidcup on the outskirts of London September 21. "Welcome to the '70s, We're Back!" read another placard, referring to the labor struggles of that decade, and the renewed confidence of workers today.

Some 1,400 electricians, members of the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union (AEEU), struck unofficially for one day in cities across the United Kingdom that day, including in London, Edinburgh, Newcastle, Liverpool, and Manchester. Another one-day strike on September 29 saw the action spread to workers in more cities, including Hull and Sellafield, as well as Grangemouth and Peterhead in Scotland.

Strikers attending the London demonstration came from some of the largest construction projects in the country, including the Millennium Dome entertainment complex, the Royal Opera House, and the Jubilee Line underground (subway) extension, where last year workers for Drake and Scull contractors fought a successful battle to defend health and safety.

A pay deal has been offered by the Electrical Contracting Association for a £1.50 rise per hour over a period of two years (£1=US\$1.50). Currently, the electricians' wages average £7.42 per hour. But the pay raise would be offset by cuts in weekend overtime rates and abolition of travel allowances. Temporary layoffs would also mean that workers could be laid off if materials don't arrive.

Rank and file union leaders are urging workers to vote against the offer to defend the basic wage of electricians across the industry. Workers are demanding £15 per hour without conditions.

Gary Beaumont, an approved electrician on the Jubilee Line Extension at the Westminster site, reflected the views of many strikers when he said that the deal "is basically about cheap labor." Beaumont said two years ago the company tried to introduce a job category called Skilled Mechanical Assembler (SMA), with training levels of only a few months, instead of the normal four-year apprenticeship required for qualification as an electrician. Workers voted against SMA's. Now the bosses are trying to introduce the National Vocational Qualification (NVQ) which is a similar type of training.

Beaumont said that of past 20 years, the last two to three have been the first time he has seen such unity in the industry, with joint strikes by electricians from various building projects across the United Kingdom. Several other workers made the same point.

Ian Bell, who traveled to the demonstration on September 29 from a worksite in Hull, said that as well as fighting for a decent basic wage, "We've got to look at a shorter working week."

George Witherington, an approved electrician at the Royal Opera House site, described how 14 months ago the AEEU won the right for agency and self-employed workers to be hired as permanent workers, thus increasing the unity of workers on the site.

Some 60 to 70 percent of the workers on the sites in London are from outside the capital. Many are from Scotland and the Northeast. Witherington said that the company initially thought that due to high unemployment, workers from the North would be unwilling to fight and would accept a job for a lower basic wage. But workers from London and the North learned from each other and the union was stronger, Witherington said.

The strike was not supported by the AEEU general secretary Sir Kenneth Jackson, who called for "a strike-free Britain" one week earlier at the Trades Union Congress. Within 24 hours of Jackson's comments, 430 toolmakers at the Ford car plant at Dagenham struck over bonus pay reductions. Jackson said that the electricians demands were "bloody stupid." Many of the handwritten placards on the demonstration were directed at the union leadership, and strikers chanted, "Jackson Out! Jackson Out!"

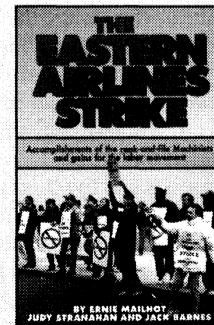
Big-business newspapers have tried to isolate these workers by claiming that they are a greedy, elite group. A *Financial Times* editorial September 22 said, "The most disruptive workers were often the best paid." The Times reported Jackson claimed "workers were earning up to £1,800 per week." But workers told the *Militant* the maximum for a 70-hour week before deductions is £800. Outside London, £400 for a 50 hour week is the norm.

The strike was organized through rank-and-file union members. The first demonstration took 10 days to organize, mostly through word of mouth and telephone calls. It was the first time in recent years that supervisors came out as well.

Stephen Shaw, a 17-year-old student, watched the march pass and said he had never seen a union march in Sidcup before. He thought the workers had a right to strike as long as they did not cause disruption. A number of retail workers from the main shopping street in Sidcup came out to see the demonstration pass and exchanged friendly comments. The electricians are planning further actions.

James Neil is a member of the Young Socialists.

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

Colorado strikers are stronger from struggle

BY JAN MILLER

PUEBLO, Colorado — "They underestimated us; we are more united than ever," Mike Rodriguez, a member of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 2102, on strike against Rocky Mountain Steel Mills for the last two years, told the *Militant*. Rodriguez was one of more than 500 workers who attended a spirited rally here October 2 marking the second anniversary of the walkout.

The rally, called "Jam for Justice," featured speakers from the labor movement including United Farm Workers leader Dolores Huerta, as well as a number of local Democratic Party politicians. The event attracted workers from as far away as California and Arkansas. Members of 16 different unions were present, including USWA members from a plant in Rocky Flats, Colorado, whose local has contributed more than \$50,000 to the strike.

The strike began on Oct. 3, 1997, when 1,100 members of USWA locals 2102 and 3267 walked out to protest forced overtime, forced job assignments, and unsafe working conditions. "I averaged 72 to 80 hours a week," Rodriguez said. "If I tried to turn it down they threatened to fire me."

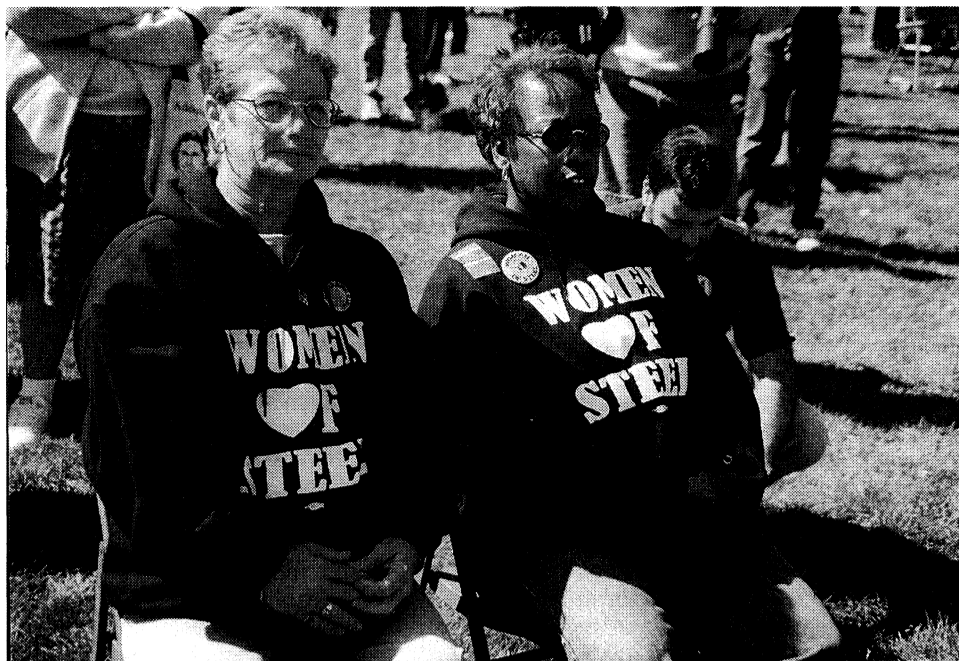
The vote was three-to-one to strike at CF&I, which is now called Rocky Mountain Steel. At the time of the strike, the plant produced steel for light rail, nails, wire, and seamless pipe for the oil industry. Many of the workers had been in the mill for more than 20 years and many had parents who worked in the plant. A large percentage of the workforce is Chicano.

"The company tried to divide us," Rodriguez noted. "Young and old, Hispanic and white, but it didn't work."

Martin Santoyo has been an electrician at the mill since 1979. He told the *Militant*, "People have worked 16 and 20 hours a day, seven days a week, for 15 weeks." This overtime "was the straw that broke the camel's back.... What the company said was, 'We pay you. We will tell you when to work, when to go home, when to see your families.' The overtime was pushing us back into the early 1900s, sweatshop days.

"This conflict is not about money," Santoyo added. "It's about dignity, respect, to be treated like human beings, not beasts of burden."

The company has run the mill since day



Militant/Jason Alessio

Participants at Steelworkers rally of over 500 in Pueblo, Colorado, October 2.

one of the strike, eventually hiring 600 replacement workers and using 100 USWA members who crossed the picket line.

Company seeks to bust union

On the morning of the rally a full-page letter from Joe Corvin, president and CEO of Oregon Steel Mills, the parent company of Rocky Mountain Steel, appeared in the *Pueblo Chieftain*. "We have over 600 employees at our mill in Pueblo and we are proud that they have chosen to work for us.... It was the choice of the Steelworkers' Union leaders to reject our offers, causing many of their members to become unemployed.... Rumors have been spread that at some point Rocky Mountain Steel Mills will give in to old demands and re-employ former employees who refused to come back to work when they were offered new contracts. This is not going to happen."

Conditions in the plant are far from safe. This year the Occupational, Health and Safety Administration (OSHA) fined the plant \$400,000, the second-largest such fine in Colorado history, for 61 "serious, willful, and/or repeat violations" of health and safety. According to the *Colorado Labor Advocate*, 218

industrial accidents were registered in the mill in 1998 alone. They included crushed legs, hands, feet, and fingers; burned arms, hands, necks, and faces; and fractured ribs, elbows, teeth, and fingers.

Recently, Rocky Mountain Steel has been forced to close its seamless pipe division because of poor sales. This comes on top of previous decisions to close nail production and to sell off their wire mill.

At the rally USWA Road Warriors — teams of steelworkers who travel this country and Canada to build support for the strike — were introduced to the crowd. Over the last two years these strikers have been stationed in Minnesota, Oregon, California, Colorado, and Canada. They have promoted a campaign to boycott the Wells Fargo Bank, which bankrolled Oregon Steel, and have urged local transit companies not to buy Rocky Mountain's light rail.

The San Francisco Board of Supervisors and the Hennepin County [Minnesota] Regional Railroad Authority have passed resolutions calling on the respective railroads in their area to stop buying rails from Rocky Mountain Steel until the labor dispute is settled.

'Kaiser never expected a strike with solidarity so strong'

Continued from front page

three teenage children. "It is teaching them how the world works. My 16-year-old daughter has been on the picket lines as much as some steelworkers."

Unionists from across Washington joined the protest. Other delegations of workers came from California and Canada to show their solidarity.

Five members of USWA Local 5702 at the Kaiser Gramercy, Louisiana plant traveled here for the rally. Steelworkers in Local 7945 from Kaiser's Tacoma plant joined the march. USWA Local 9241 members from Silverdale, Washington, were also present. Other unionists participating from Spokane included members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1439; Teamsters Locals 582 and 690; Firefighters Local 29; Communication Workers Local 7818; Elevator Constructors Local 19; and the Letter Carriers. A small contingent of Machinists from Seattle-area Boeing plants marched with the Steelworkers.

Also attending the rally were environmental activists from northern California involved in a 10-year-long fight against Pacific Lumber Company's plans to cut down the last old growth Redwood forest in the United States. Charles Hurewitz, the principal owner of Maxxam Corporation and Kaiser Aluminum also owns Pacific Lumber Company. Kaiser Steelworkers have joined the fight against Pacific Lumber.

Michael Evenson, a rancher and member of Natural Resources in Humboldt County California, told unionists gathered at the wrap-up rally, "The kind of fire you have here is what we need. We thought we were at the end. Then all of a sudden the steelworkers came along! When you stand strong we'll stand strong."

Rally speakers included Leon Lynch, USWA human affairs vice president, David Foster, USWA District 11 Director, James Maloney, a representative of the Quebecois aluminum workers federation, and Kaiser local union presidents from Gramercy, Louisiana and Tacoma and Spokane, Washing-

ton.

The officials focused on promoting the consumer boycott campaign of Kaiser Aluminum products. The union organized consumer boycott of Pepsi has been a center piece of the USWA's efforts to pressure Kaiser to return to the negotiating table.

Steelworkers union representatives are meeting with the giant Boeing Corporation centered in Seattle. Boeing is a major Kaiser customer. Protests are planned at the Bonneville Power Administration, which provides price-discounted electrical power to Kaiser.

James Maloney from the Quebec aluminum workers federation stirred an enthusiastic response when he announced Quebecois aluminum workers had raised \$11,192 in contributions to aid Kaiser unionists. The funds, he said, came both from union local treasuries and from individual workers' donations. Maloney reported that 530 members of his Local of 800 pledged \$1,060 per week until June of the year 2000. More workers, he said, were joining the campaign each day. "You should never bow in front of adversity. We issue a challenge to USWA locals to top our pledges."

No talks are currently scheduled between Kaiser management and the USWA. Steelworkers union officials, however, have drafted a new proposal to present to the company.

Jim Gotesky is a member of USWA Local 1440 in Pittsburg, California. Osborne Hart, Ove Aspy, and Scott Breen contributed to this article.

BY SUSAN LAMONT

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — "We marked the first anniversary of our strike with a candlelight vigil at the picket line," said Wayne Stafford in an October 4 telephone interview. Stafford is president of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 5702, on strike at Kaiser Aluminum's Gramercy, Louisiana, bauxite processing

plant. "We had a prayer, some short speeches, and rededicated ourselves in solidarity to the strike." Stafford had just returned from the Kaiser strike rally in Spokane, which he attended along with the other local presidents involved in the yearlong battle.

The candlelight vigil actually occurred September 30. Strikers planned it to take place after spending the day in federal district court in New Orleans.

A group of Local 5702 strikers had attended a hearing at which Kaiser petitioned the court to remove the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) from investigating the massive explosion that ripped the processing plant apart July 5. Kaiser asked that the Occupational Safety and Health Administration be put in charge. This was turned down, Stafford said. Kaiser also requested that management personnel not be required to testify in the public hearings MSHA has been conducting around the explosion for the past three weeks, or if they have to, to do so in a closed hearing before the judge. A ruling on this is expected shortly, Stafford said. So far, MSHA has heard testimony from USWA members, strike breakers, and one supervisor, who apparently appeared before Kaiser could object.

One of the replacement workers who testified, Stafford said, was one of the 21 injured in the explosion. He had worked in the unit that blew up. He reportedly confirmed in his testimony that the replacement workers Kaiser has hired since the strike began had been given virtually no training, much less how to handle an emergency situation. This worker was permanently blinded in the explosion.

Stafford was one of two USWA representatives who accompanied MSHA inspectors the first day they entered the plant after the blast to begin their investigation.

Susan LaMont is a member of USWA Local 2122 in Fairfield, Alabama.

Denver's Regional Transportation District announced it will require 100 percent third-party inspection of all rail and perform pre-purchase audits before buying from the company.

On Dec. 30, 1997, the USWA members accepted a proposal by their officials to end their walkout and make an offer to the company to unconditionally return to work. The union also filed complaints with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) calling it an unfair labor practice strike.

The Denver office of the NLRB ruled in favor of the union and ordered Oregon Steel to reinstate all the strikers. The company has filed a counter-complaint. It could be next year before a ruling is issued in this case, and years longer before all the appeals are heard.

Women of Steel support strike

The rally featured a raffle conducted by Women of Steel, an organization of female steelworkers in the mill. Several members of Women of Steel described efforts by the company in the mid-1970s when they first hired women — prior to a national affirmative action consent decree — to push women out of the plant by putting them in the dirtiest, hottest jobs such as the coke plant and blast furnace.

Georgina Daffin, a production worker at the plant, said the strike had revived Women of Steel. "Currently about 100 women work in the plant, about 20 in production." The rest hold clerical, quality assurance, security, and other jobs. The main function of the group right now is "to help each other through the strike." Daffin said she has "never seen such a strong solidarity committee."

A foreman told her crew before the strike that "your jobs should be more important than your families" when workers protested all the overtime. "All that made us stronger," Daffin added. The company "made us one big family."

Paul Romero, who worked in production for 25 years, expressed the sentiment of many, "The union is stronger now," he said. "I believe we're going to win, but I don't know at what expense... the plant may close." Regardless of that, "we went out for the right reasons," he said, "for better working conditions."

BY TONY PRINCE

NEWARK, Ohio — About 150 trade unionists rallied October 3 at the Frontier Ranch, a recreational campground near this town, to mark the one-year anniversary of the USWA strike against Kaiser Aluminum. They then formed a car caravan and drove to a parking lot near the plant and marched to the picket line. Kaiser has a plant here that employed 240 workers before the lockout. A highlight of the action was the participation by 20 locked-out steelworkers from Armco Steel, now AK Steel, in Mansfield, Ohio. Armco began its lockout August 31, demanding the workers accept mandatory overtime. Steelworkers also came from Columbus and Coshocton, Ohio; and from the USWA locals at RMI in Niles, Ohio, and Century Aluminum in Ravenswood, West Virginia.

Tony Prince is a member of the Union of Needletrades, Textile, and Industrial Employees in Cleveland, Ohio.

MARK YOUR CALENDAR

Upcoming Labor and Farm Actions

Sat., October 16
March for Immigrants' Rights
Washington, D.C. — Assemble 10 a.m. at Malcolm X Park. For more information call: (212) 473-3936 or 633-7108.

Sat., October 16
Rally and March for Justice for Max Antoine
Irvington, New Jersey — Join protest at noon to demand justice for Max Antoine, brutally beaten by cops. At Irvington Police Station, 1 Civic Plaza. For more information call: (201) 487-1531.

Rally at N.Y. museum: 'Defend free speech'

Continued from front page

campaign denouncing the upcoming exhibit as "sick," anti-religious, and an example of "Catholic bashing." The mayor, who is the all-but-declared Republican candidate for U.S. Senate in next year's election, demanded that the museum cancel the showing, under threat of losing all city funding and possibly being evicted from the city-owned building. Nearly a third of the Brooklyn Museum's \$23 million operating budget comes from the city budget.

Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush and New York governor George Pataki both backed Giuliani's stance. "I don't think they ought to be using taxpayer money to denigrate religion," declared Bush while campaigning in Buffalo, New York.

The U.S. Senate voted unanimously September 29 to eliminate federal funding for the Brooklyn Museum — which is already minimal — from a spending bill under discussion.

Right-wing commentator William Buckley praised the mayor's actions in a syndicated column published September 30. "Mr. Giuliani," declared Buckley, "has shown

here at least as much courage as the deprived artist who believes that he should be protected by the United States Marines when he sorties into public museums to profane in wild elaborations the faith of a hundred million Americans."

New York Post columnist Mark Goldblatt likewise struck a culture-war note in a September 28 article titled, "'Sensation' as Thought Control." Describing the Brooklyn exhibit as an example of "anti-establishment bias," he wrote, "Taxpayer-subsidized museums regularly show art calculated to offend... but calculated only to offend those whose sensibilities are right of center and are thus taken to represent establishment politics."

Liberal politicians opposing Giuliani's moves to cut the institution's funding joined the chorus in condemning the content of the exhibit. "I find it offensive, but that's my judgment," City Council speaker Peter Vallone, a Democrat and one of the first prominent politicians to speak against cutting funds to the museum, stated September 24. Hillary Clinton, who is preparing her

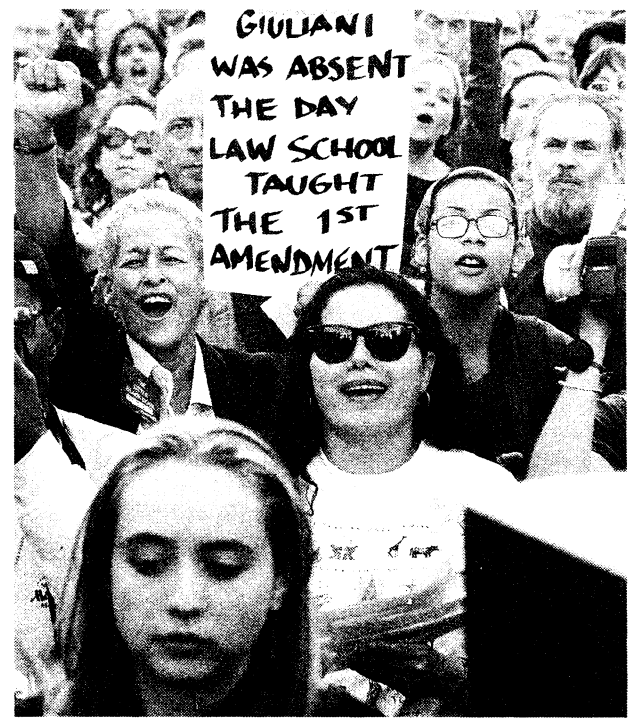
Democratic Party campaign for Senate in New York, later made a similar statement, as did Vice President Albert Gore.

The response by representatives of other cultural institutions in the city was slow. On September 28, nearly a week after Giuliani issued his threats, the Cultural Institutions Group released a statement saying that it "would set a dangerous precedent for any mayor to revoke funding if he or she finds even a single element of an institution's programs offensive: one painting in an art museum, one exhibit in a science museum, one performance in a theater, or even one book in a library." Eighteen of the 33 city-financed institutions in the group, as well as six private establishments, signed this statement at first. Several others added their names in the following days.

The *New York Times* published what it described as "E-mails that circulated among members of the Cultural Institutions Group" that reflected the hesitancy of many to make any comment.

"I find no fault with the Mayor's aesthetic sensibilities, only with his effort at censorship," stated Philippe de Montebello, director of New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, in an October 5 *New York Times* column, following a long silence since the controversy erupted.

According to news reports, Brooklyn Museum officials initially met secretly with city



Militant/Hilda Cuzco

October 1 rally in front of Brooklyn Museum of Art

government representatives and suggested they might remove the Ofili painting from the exhibit as a way of ending the confrontation with the mayor. After word of this was leaked to the press, museum officials insisted that the entire exhibit would go on as planned.

The museum then followed by filing a lawsuit in federal court accusing mayor Giuliani of violating the First Amendment by threatening to withdraw city funds from the museum if it went ahead with the showing of Sensation. The city responded by canceling a payment of almost half a million dollars due to the mu-

Continued on Page 14

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Why Working People and Youth Should Oppose the Death Penalty. Panel discussion. Sat., Oct. 16, 7:30 p.m. Dinner 5:30 p.m. 1223 N. Milwaukee Ave. Donation: \$4. Dinner: \$5. Tel: (773) 342-1780.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

U.S., Australian Troops Out of East Timor. Speaker: Naomi Craine, editor of *The Militant*. Sat., Oct. 16, 7:30 p.m. Dinner 6 p.m. 1906 South St. (at 19th). Donation: \$5. Dinner: \$5. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

BRITAIN

London

Ireland: The Patten Report and Bloody Sunday Revelations Further Reveal the Weakness of British Imperialism. Fri., Oct. 15, 7 p.m. 203 The Cut. Donation: £2. Tel: 0171-928-7993.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

General Election Campaign Meeting. Speaker: Terry Coggan, Communist League candidate for Auckland Central. Fri., Oct. 15, 7 p.m. 203 Karangahape Road. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

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Washington, Moscow wage a 'holy crusade'

The following is a section titled "Imperialism's new holy crusade" from "So far from God, so close to Orange County," by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. It is based on a talk and closing presentation to a regional socialist educational conference held in Los Angeles over the 1994-95 New Year's weekend. The edited report was discussed and adopted by delegates to the SWP's 38th National Convention in July 1995. It is published as the second chapter of *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium*. Copyright © 1999 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY JACK BARNES

The television networks and daily newspapers gave a lot of play to various international conferences in 1994. There was the "Summit of the Americas" in Miami. There have been conferences of NATO, the European Union, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and others.

from the pages of Capitalism's World Disorder

Another international conference this month did not get much coverage, however. The fifty-two-member Organization of the Islamic Conference met in Casablanca, Morocco, in North Africa, December 13-15. While we were being deluged with dispatches about other world gatherings, I only saw one mention of the Islamic Conference—a short item in the "World News Briefs" column of the *New York Times*.

This is hardly an organization of firebrand revolutionaries. It is made up of the heads of state of bourgeois regimes—from the king of Morocco to the prime minister of Pakistan. But these figures rule in the name of hundreds of millions of people who are convinced, with good reason, that racist and xenophobic attitudes toward their religion and culture are being promoted by the governments and leading politicians in the imperialist countries—France, Germany, the United Kingdom, Canada, the United States, and elsewhere.

I was struck by two decisions of this conference. First, the heads of state adopted a resolution condemning the "ferocious campaign to tarnish Islam" and associate it with terrorism. And they also voted unanimously to urge military aid for the embattled Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I do not raise this because I expect these governments to start supplying substantial material aid to Bosnia. I do not—although we will see stranger things happen before this century is over. I raise it because class-conscious workers in the United States and other imperialist countries need to start paying more attention to the imperialists' aims in fanning the flames about "Islamic fundamentalism" or "Arab fanaticism" or whatever they choose to call it....

For the past three years, we have watched the first large-scale war take place in Europe in almost half a century. There has been massive, sustained artillery shelling. Air power has been used to bomb civilian populations in Europe for the first time since the bombings of Dresden, London, and other cities during World War II. Altogether U.S. jets, together with warplanes from the United Kingdom, France, and Holland, have carried out five bombing operations in Yugoslavia since February 1994.

All this has been happening in Yugoslavia. It is a war that has brought to the surface the deepest conflicts among the imperialist powers in Europe and North America since the collapse of the Stalinist apparatuses at the opening of the 1990s. It is a war that has exposed the increasing contradictions in what continues to be called the NATO alliance.

And what do we find right at the center of this European war? We find that one of the combatants, the Bosnian government, presides over a majority Islamic population. We find the terror squads of Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic agitating against "Islamic fundamentalism" as the pretext to promote murderous "ethnic cleansing" along national and religious lines among working people who had lived and worked alongside each other for decades since the Yugoslav revolution in the aftermath of World War II....¹

Moscow's bloody assault on Chechnya

Then you turn to the news about what is going on in Russia. The *New York Times* recently featured two photographs accompanying an article headlined, "Russian General Halts His Tanks As Qualms Over Rebellion Grow." One was of women from Chechnya on the road leading to the capital city of Grozny. They were appealing to Russian troops to refuse Moscow's orders and halt their advance. In this case, as in several others, the Russian soldiers and their officers were won over and refused to move their tanks any further.²

The other photograph was of U.S. vice president Albert Gore and his wife Tipper the same day with big smiles on their faces at the fancy GUM department store in Moscow. I guess this scene was supposed to be suggestive of budding capitalism. They were there to show Washington's backing for their man Boris Yeltsin. The Russian president has been having a hard time of it lately and evidently needed a public display of support.

To justify his bloody onslaught and imperial designs in Chechnya, Yeltsin is raising the specter of "Islamic fanaticism." And what did the grinning Gore have to say about all this while in Moscow? He repeated the assertion of his commander-in-chief, William Clinton, that Chechnya was "an internal affair" of Russia. The Clinton administration supports the suppression of any secessionist or other moves that would further destabilize the weak Bonapartist regime in Moscow.³

We should note that Gore and Clinton get no quarrel on this score from ultrarightist Patrick Buchanan, who has warned in his syndicated column about the dangers of the "nationalist virus" in places such as Chechnya "spreading to the West." "Look homeward, America!" Buchanan writes. "With the multinational empires torn apart, are the multinational nations next?" And in Russia itself, the most prominent voice rallying to the defense of Yeltsin's war against the Chechens has been that of the fascist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

From the Caucasus and all along the Silk Road,⁴ national groupings and minorities who are predominantly Muslim chafe against subordination to the Great Russian overlords and their agents. This chauvinist course makes a mockery of Moscow's claims of normalization and stability, let alone its hypocritical championing of the inviolability of borders.

Bolshevik appeal to Muslim toilers

This anti-Islamic crusade in Russia is not an innovation of the Yeltsin government, however. It is a product of the Stalinist counter-revolution in the Soviet Union some seventy years ago. Previously, under Lenin's leadership, the course of the Bolshevik-led workers and peasants government had been guided by one of its very first decrees, the "Appeal to All Toiling Muslims of Russia and the East," is-

¹ Among the major activities of the U.S.-organized NATO "Implementation Force (Ifor)" in Bosnia in 1996 was pressuring Bosnian Muslim authorities to deport volunteer fighters from Iran and other countries with large Islamic populations and to cut off further military aid and training from the Iranian government. The first widely publicized NATO military operation was a February 1996 raid on what Washington labeled an Iranian-run "terrorist training camp" near Sarajevo. ² In December 1994 the government of Boris Yeltsin dispatched an invasion force of 30,000 Russian troops to crush the independence movement of the largely Islamic people of Chechnya in the northern Caucasus mountains, bordering Georgia. During the first year and a half of relentless Russian army bombing and shelling, an estimated 35,000 people were killed and the capital city of Grozny and dozens of Chechen villages were laid to ruin. The war was unpopular from the outset among broad layers of working people and others in Russia.

³ Standing beside Yeltsin at a news conference during an April 1996 summit meeting in Moscow, U.S. president William Clinton responded as follows to a question about the U.S. government's position on Moscow's assault against Chechnya and the death toll it has taken: "I would remind you that we once had a civil war in our country in which we lost, on a per capita basis, far more people than we lost in any of the wars of the 20th century, over the proposition that Abraham Lincoln gave his life for, that no state had a right to withdrawal from our union." The U.S. government, Clinton added, "has taken the position that Chechnya is a part of Russia, but that in the end, a free country has to have free association, so there would have to be something beyond the fighting, there would have to be a diplomatic solution."

⁴ The part of the world from Iran through Central and East Asia. The term derives from an ancient trade route for silk, spices, and other goods linking China with the eastern Mediterranean.



Women near Grozny, Chechnya, confront occupying Russian soldier, December 1994. To justify his bloody war against Chechnya, Yeltsin claims "Islamic fanaticism" is on the rise.

sued in early December 1917. Without lending an iota of credence to the progressive character of any religious beliefs or institutions, the Soviet republic declared:

All you whose mosques and shrines have been destroyed, whose beliefs and customs have been trampled on by the tsars and the Russian oppressors! Henceforth your beliefs and customs, your national and cultural institutions are declared free and inviolable. Build your national life freely and without hindrance. It is your right. Know that your rights—like those of all the peoples of Russia—are defended by the full force of the revolution and its organs, the soviets of workers', soldiers', and peasants' deputies.

And a few years later, at the 1920 Baku Congress of the Peoples of the East, leaders of the Communist International joined with other revolutionary fighters—from inside the borders of the old tsarist empire and beyond—in calling on all Muslim toilers in the region to join in a "holy war for the liberation of all humanity from the yoke of capitalist and imperialist slavery, for the ending of all forms of oppression of one people by another and of all forms of exploitation of man by man!"⁵

Three quarters of a century later, we can confidently assert that for communist workers in the United States, Europe, and elsewhere, reaffirming this clear pledge to oppressed and exploited toilers who may be

⁵ Both documents are contained in *To See the Dawn: Baku 1920, First Congress of the Peoples of the East* (New York: Pathfinder, 1993). See pages 251 and 231-32.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

25 CENTS THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

October 18, 1974

BOSTON, Oct. 9 — The white racists have been mobilizing ever since the opening of school Sept. 12. They are trying to prevent Black students from entering the predominantly white schools, which were ordered desegregated by federal judge Arthur Garrity on June 21. The ruling was in response to a suit by the NAACP.

But it was on Monday, Oct. 7, that a genuine lynch mob was formed and a Black man nearly lost his life. Jean-Louis Andre Yvon, Black immigrant from Haiti, was driving his car, en route to pick up his wife at work, when he ran afoul of the racist mob in South Boston.

Somehow Yvon managed to escape for a moment. The mob was in hot pursuit. A cop fired some shots into the air, and the mob pulled back for a while, hesitating. But the lynch cries soon resounded again. "Offer him up! Offer him up!" By then, however, a few more cops arrived on the scene, and Yvon was led to safety.

One hundred seventy-five Black students held a meeting at Boston University Oct. 9 and called a protest rally for Oct. 11 in front of the student union. A broadly sponsored rally against the racist offensive has been called for the same day by Ujima, the Black student organization at the University of Massachusetts. Coupled with the increasing sentiment for mass action has been the widespread feeling in the Black community that federal troops

Muslim, or who hail from parts of the world that are predominantly Muslim, is not a remote or external matter.

It comes directly into the fight against imperialist war in Europe.

It comes directly into the fight by the workers and peasants of Russia to defend the political space they carved out with the collapse of the Stalinist apparatus there.

It comes directly into the fight for democratic rights in the United States, where federal prosecutors will soon begin the first open sedition trial in many decades, this time against an Islamic cleric from Egypt and ten other defendants—a frame-up trial built around agents provocateurs.⁶

Communists and other class-struggle-minded workers combat every vestige of imperial arrogance and prejudice. We approach fellow toilers as equals who—through experience combating oppression and exploitation, and irrespective of beliefs they start out with—can be won to a scientific world outlook and communist organization. This conviction is a touchstone for those building a proletarian party and world movement.

⁶ In 1995 Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman and nine others were convicted in a federal court of violating a Civil War-era seditious conspiracy statute. The prosecution case, linking them to the 1994 World Trade Center bombing, rested on testimony by an informer who admitted in court that he had lied under oath and had received more than \$1 million from the FBI. The defendants were not convicted of carrying out a criminal act, but of conspiring "to overthrow, or put down, or destroy by force the government of the United States." Rahman and one other defendant were sentenced to life in prison; eight others received from twenty-five to fifty-seven years.

are needed to protect the rights and safety of the Black students.

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

October 17, 1949

Right after Truman announced an "atomic explosion" in the Soviet Union, the Sept. 25 "Worker," Sunday paper of the Communist Party, proclaimed editorially that "the fight for peace has received a new impetus." But what really has received a new impetus is the deceptive propaganda that it is possible to maintain peace under capitalism through "international control" of atomic weapons and "disarmament."

This slogan of "disarmament" — one of the most tarnished and shopworn in the propaganda arsenal of imperialism — is now the main stock-in-trade of the Stalinists.

The cause for war — the cause which the Stalinist "disarmament" slogan ignores — is modern capitalism itself. [Lenin's] **Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism**, irrefutably proves that the capitalist profit system, decades before the first world war, had developed into a system of gigantic monopolies and "financial oligarchies," that their struggle for profitable outlets for accumulated capital, for control of world markets and sources of cheap labor and raw materials, for domination of the globe were the breeding ground for continuous warfare.

Defend freedom of expression

"The polarization in the 'culture war' declared by Buchanan and other ultrarightists takes many forms: chauvinist anti-foreigner agitation, racist assaults on affirmative action, vulgar attacks on women's social equality, half-hidden but virulent outbursts of Jew-hatred, fearful prejudice against homosexuals.... These are not movements about art or culture; they are not movements about schools or education. Those just provide some of the words that emotional energy is invested in. It is a reactionary, demagogic, petty-bourgeois social and political movement, one that over time becomes increasingly brutal and murderous in its methods...."
— Jack Barnes in *Capitalism's World Disorder*

Working people and all supporters of democratic rights have an obligation to speak out in defense of free speech and against censorship, in face of New York City Hall's threat to cut funding and take other punitive measures against the Brooklyn Museum of Art based on the content of an art exhibit.

This is an attack on the rights of all working people, including on access to public cultural institutions such as museums and libraries—gains that are the product of working-class struggles over the past century and a half. Like other assaults on public funding of art and culture by city governments and U.S. Congress alike, it is part of the broader efforts today by the U.S. ruling families, driven by the worldwide economic crisis of the profit system, to undermine the social rights of our class—and to curtail gains codified in the Bill of Rights such as freedom of expression.

Condemnations of "degenerate art" were a stock-in-trade of the Nazis, who banned innumerable works of art, literature, and music — along with artists, writers, and musicians — as part of paving the way for smashing the elementary defensive organizations of the working class and imposing fascist rule. As in the 1930s, the demagoguery of today's "culture war" is intended to mobilize forces against the hard-won gains of working people.

The attack on free speech spearheaded by New York mayor Rudolph Giuliani has become the latest focal point in this culture war. It will nourish the demagoguery of ultrarightists

like Patrick Buchanan, who is currently waging his third presidential campaign in an effort to win cadre to his incipient fascist movement.

Buchanan and his ilk are not pushing Giuliani, a liberal Republican, to the right. Rather it is the inability of the capitalist system to offer anything but growing economic instability and social polarization, and the rightward drift of both the Democratic and Republican parties, that provide such demagogues with the themes of their campaigns. Buchanan simply states more clearly and forcefully the logic of policies carried out by politicians of both these parties.

Statements by figures ranging from Democratic politician Hillary Clinton to Metropolitan Museum of Art director Philippe de Montebello denouncing the content of exhibit, even as they state opposition to censorship, simply put wind in the sails of the ultraright.

Most working people rightly recoil from vandalism of churches, synagogues, and mosques, or other attacks against religious believers. That has nothing to do with decreeing a work of art to be blasphemous and banning its exhibition, however.

Class-conscious workers need to reject any attempt at defining an official art — either under a capitalist censor's eye or in a workers state.

Part of the fight of the labor movement must be to broaden access to art, books, and music of all varieties. Workers must have access to a broad range of reading material, be able to exchange ideas, learn from history of past struggles, and decide for themselves what they think. They don't need to be told by Giuliani, Montebello, or Hillary Clinton what's "good" or "bad" art. They can make up their own minds. That's the opposite of everything capitalist society tries to impose.

We encourage our readers — as they join in rallies, forums, and discussions in defense of free speech — to dig into *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working Class Politics at the Millennium* and other books and pamphlets published and distributed by Pathfinder that address these questions, such as *Art and Revolution* by Leon Trotsky and *Socialism and Man in Cuba* by Ernesto Che Guevara.

Washington's cover-up in Korea

The following message was sent October 6 to the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. The greetings, which point to the 50-year cover-up by Washington of its crimes against the Korean people, coincide with the anniversary of the founding of the Workers Party of Korea on Oct. 10, 1945.

As we approach the 54th anniversary of the founding of the Workers Party of Korea, the Socialist Workers Party reaffirms our solidarity with the struggle to end the forced division of your country and condemns Washington's efforts to politically and economically isolate the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

We join with youth and working people in south Korea who have demonstrated over the last week to condemn the 1950 massacre at the No Gun Ri railroad bridge of 400 civilians, carried out by the U.S. officer corps under the orders of its high command. Evidence only still partially reported in the big-business press, nearly a half century after the fact, corroborates the accounts that survivors have tried for decades to bring to light. These cold-blooded killings are only one among innumerable instances of U.S. imperialist brutality, many against the Korean people, both north and south of the U.S.-imposed border. The public airing of these facts provides another chance for toilers around the world to see who is, and who has been, the aggressor in the Korean peninsula: the U.S. rulers and their imperialist allies in Japan, as well as their local backers, the brutal propertied classes centered in Seoul.

We also take this occasion to condemn Washington's ongoing nuclear blackmail against Korea — from the 1950-53 war that failed to reimpose an imperialist boot on the neck of the DPRK, to the deployment of U.S. nuclear-tipped warheads aimed at the Korean people to this day.

This year's anniversary of the founding of your party comes at a time when the Pentagon has just carried out what it claims is the first successful test of its developing "Star Wars" Theater Missile Defense system, which the U.S. government has already announced its intention to deploy in Japan, south Korea, Taiwan, and elsewhere in Asia. This effort to achieve nuclear first-strike capacity is aimed not only against the people of Korea but of China as well.

At the same time, U.S. troops and sophisticated military hardware are part of the imperialist intervention in East Timor, led by the Australian military under the United Nations flag. Washington, Canberra, and the other imperialist powers have rationalized this invasion using the pretext that they are safeguarding the Timorese people's aspirations for national sovereignty — a bold-faced lie, given the decades-long record of support by these very same powers for the savage force used, first by the Portuguese colonizers and later by the regime centered in Jakarta, to brutally suppress the popular struggle for self-determination. This operation is designed to strengthen finance capital's domination in the region, stabilize capitalist rule in Indonesia, and tighten neo-

colonial control over East Timor.

The Korean people and the Iraqi people today — like those earlier in the Congo and elsewhere — have bitter experience with ongoing assaults and insults as a result of "peace-keeping" or "humanitarian" operations being carried out under the UN flag.

The Socialist Workers Party pledges to continue telling the truth about the aims of U.S. and Japanese imperialism in Korea. As we join alongside other working people and youth in struggle — from steelworkers locked out by Titan Tire, to miners protesting attempts by the coal barons to gut hard-won health benefits, to struggling farmers and other rural poor resisting belt-tightening demands by the employers — we will take these facts to them and work to broaden support for the fight to end the division of the Korean peninsula.

We look forward to and continue to act to speed the day when we can join the Korean people in celebrating a united Korea, free from foreign domination.

Nuclear disaster in Japan

Continued from front page

schools in Tokaimaru, a town of 33,000 people 87 miles northwest of the capital Tokyo. There are at least 14 other major nuclear-energy-related plants in the area. The government issued no response to the radiation release until initial efforts to stop it failed.

Officials then ordered 300,000 people in the surrounding area to stay indoors, close their windows, and avoid contact with well water or rain, though such steps offer virtually no protection from radiation. The following morning, workers finally stopped the radiation by smashing a pipe to drain water accelerating the reaction. That afternoon, officials declared the emergency over. Scientists in Japan state that with such high radiation levels, the plant may never reopen.

Initial reports laid responsibility for the accident on the workers on the scene. The reaction occurred while uranium fuel was being poured from steel buckets. Injured workers have reported that among a number of departures from "safe" procedures, they used their hands in the operation, rather than measuring devices, and mixed nearly six times the recommended amount of uranium.

JCO management, while saying that the company faces intense foreign competition, initially denied that they pressed workers to skip safety measures. One injured worker, however, reported on October 4 that he routinely used shortcuts laid out in an illegal company manual. The police now say they will pursue criminal charges against the plant's operators.

Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi apologized for the government's slow response, and postponed the announcement of a new cabinet. A debate has opened up on

Museum

Continued from Page 12

seum and threatening to go to court to evict the museum from the building it has occupied for more than 100 years.

The evening before the show opened, more than 1,000 people turned out for a rally against censorship outside the Brooklyn Museum. A *Daily News* poll published that morning reflected widespread support for democratic rights, with 60 percent of those asked opposed to Giuliani's efforts to close the art show. Only 30 percent supported the mayor's stance.

'No art show should be censored'

A large number of students turned out for the rally, which was called by the New York Civil Liberties Union.

"I respect their right to express themselves. I don't think any art show should be censored or banned," said Herbert Weldon, a 19-year-old student from Baltimore who is studying painting and film at the Cooper Union. "I don't think anybody should be censored or funding for the museum cut off." His classmates had been talking up the protest, Weldon said, and many of them came.

Hannah Williamson, another art student, said she had seen the exhibit in Britain. It's "not designed to be offensive," she commented, adding her view that "Giuliani's trying to win right-wing votes."

Richard Kussmaul, a retired florist, said he came after seeing a leaflet posted. "This made me so angry... I had to come out and protest censorship. I choose what I want to see." He carried a hand-lettered sign that read, "What next? The Nazis banned 'degenerate' art. Censorship is dangerous."

Speakers included several Congressmen and local politicians, as well as artists and other supporters of civil liberties. There was also a small counter protest of about half a dozen during the rally. One of these was a Black man in his 30s yelling, "The Jews control this museum. They knew what they were doing." Both the museum's director and the chairman of its board are Jewish. An older woman stated that painting a swastika is considered racist, but "when they bash Catholics it's art."

In his weekly radio broadcast September 24, Giuliani made a more veiled appeal to anti-Semitism. "Where it comes to Catholic bashing, this kind of thing is never treated as sensitively as it sometimes is in other areas," he said. "If this were a desecration of a symbol in another area, I think there would be more sensitivity about this than a desecration of a symbol that involves Catholics."

"If another museum... aggressively attacks, let's say, a different religion, I'll have the same reaction to it," the mayor added in a news conference October 4. Since then opponents of the exhibit have launched a further attack on Brooklyn Museum director Arnold Lehman for supposed "Catholic bashing" during a previous job as director of the Baltimore Museum of Art.

The Brooklyn Museum opened its exhibit October 2 to record crowds. Many who came said they had not planned to see the show, but they wanted to know what the controversy was about and did not think the mayor had a right to say what they could see.

A much smaller crowd than had come out in defense of civil liberties showed up to pray in front of the museum in protest the opening day. In addition, a handful of animal rights demonstrators opposed the exhibit, objecting to pieces that include animals in formaldehyde.

Mike Galati is a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers.

Armco steelworkers give and receive solidarity

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

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines about what is happening in your union, at your

of Local 169 are to receive unemployment compensation, Armco management again claimed that it started the lockout because of an alleged danger of sabotage by its employees. But the company presented no evidence of this and did not challenge their right to unemployment.

The next day, Richland County Common Pleas Judge James Henson placed a preliminary in-

Drivers told the press they took the action because there are too few buses in the system. Many of the vehicles are unsafe due to bad brakes and wheels and poor maintenance. Drivers complained of poor security, with bus radios often inoperable.

Strikes by public bus drivers are formally illegal in Michigan, but that didn't deter the drivers. Nathanael Franklin, Jr. summed up many drivers attitude when he told reporters, "The union had no recourse.... What's the point of a union if you can't strike?" The anger among ATU members is fed by the fact that they are among the lowest paid public bus drivers in Michigan. They start at \$9.85 and top out at about \$13.65 an hour.

DDOT normally carries about 140,000 riders a day, Monday through Friday, many of them low wage workers. City buses feed the suburban bus system, the Southeast Michigan Rapid Transit Authority. Bosses in the suburbs complained that the action disrupted their operations because the sick out effectively shut down the bus service. DDOT officials reported that only about 30 out of the usual 400 buses were on the street that afternoon.

Drivers warned their riders of the planned sick out the day before, so many workers were able to make arrangements. This response may explain why the mayor and other government functionaries decided not to try to victimize either the drivers or their local union under the states' no strike legislation. City officials did threaten to take actions, including bringing in other bus companies to run city routes, if there is another job action.

One week earlier, drivers for Flint's Mass Transportation Authority (MTA) staged a 30-minute strike to protest company violations of their union contract. The Flint Journal reported that the action was promoted by company changes to seniority rights, the reduction of one worker from full-time to part-time, and changes in the way the students who use city buses are transported.

LaVard Lewis an MTA driver for more than 20 years, said, "When it comes to our seniority rights, that's where we draw the line. We live by the contract. We feel that manage-

Flight attendants picket airport



Militant/Nancy Cole

US Airways flight attendants at informational picket September 27 to press their contract demands. The action marked 1,000 days without a contract, and was originally timed to coincide with a possible strike by Machinists.

ON THE PICKET LINE

workplace, or other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

MANSFIELD, Ohio — Locked-out steelworkers from Mansfield, Ohio, picketed the stockholders meeting of Armco, Inc., in Pittsburgh September 29. The occasion was the vote being held to sell the rolling mill company to AK Steel, which was holding its own stockholders meeting at the same time in Wilmington, Delaware. Another busload of members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 169 members, which represents the 620 locked-out mill workers, picketed that meeting.

The lockout began at 11 p.m. August 31 when the old contract expired and workers who showed up for that shift found the newly installed gates closed and a gang of guards hired from Securcorp on the other side. The company demands the right to force overtime, including minutes before a worker is scheduled to go home. Workers also resent the harassment they received inside the mill from the newly hired guards during the weeks before the lockout.

There have been many gestures of solidarity from local unionists and others in this manufacturing city of 50,000 people. Signs stating "We support our steelworkers" are appearing in the windows of cars and neighborhood stores. Members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 549 at the local GM stamping plant followed up their visits to the picket line with a plant gate collection of \$7,525, the largest such collection in their history.

Six members of USWA Local 341, who are locked out at Kaiser Aluminum in Heath, Ohio, visited the Mansfield picket September 23. About 30 Armco workers joined the send-off rally for a solidarity car caravan to the Kaiser picket line on October 3, marking the one-year anniversary of the fight there. "We need to have unity, we need to have solidarity!" declared Bob Muth of USWA Local 169 at this rally.

During a September 27 hearing by the Ohio Bureau of Employment Services to determine if members

junction, which is a permanent order, on the local. His previous temporary restraining order September 3 set a limit of four pickets at each gate. All others had to be at least 300 feet away. The new injunction extends this to 750 feet, including a street corner near the south gate where steelworkers had gathered to publicize the lockout. Someone who lives across the street from the mill is now allowing the steelworkers to use their yard to set up a tent and signs, free from the injunction.

Other new restrictions include a measure barring a person from possessing any object which might be used as a weapon, or from disguising their identity within a 750 foot zone around each gate. Other provisions restrict the Securcorp guards to four at each gate during a shift change and bar them from video-surveillance of Local 169's union hall and parking lot.

At this time 12 workers have been indicted for alleged acts during a September 10 confrontation with vanloads of security guards. Five of them are members of USWA Local 8530 at Ideal Electric. The police are scanning rolls of videotape in an effort to identify others for prosecution.

Meanwhile, a guard who was fired from Securcorp described to union members and the Mansfield News Journal the long hours and low morale of the guards and of the scabs working in the mill. He is going back home to his painting business in Florida.

Michigan bus drivers protest conditions

DETROIT — More than 400 of the 500 unionists scheduled to drive this city's buses called in sick September 24. The drivers, members of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 26, were protesting the lack of progress in contract negotiations, unsafe buses, and low pay. The ATU's 973 members have been without a contract with Detroit's Department of Transportation (DDOT) since June 1998. The union and city met September 15 with both sides rejecting the proposals put forward by the other.

LETTERS

Disagree on East Timor

I find your call for working people to oppose the INTERFET force in Timor to be astounding. Without the pressure put to bear by the various world powers the Indonesian military would have continued killing and purging the population. The armed resistance in East Timor is simply not strong enough to protect the people, yes they have fought long and hard, but they number (from press reports) only about 2,000 poorly armed persons. This is compared to up to 30,000 well armed Indonesian soldiers and police.

To call for independence for East Timor, yet to oppose the intervention is in the real world plainly contradictory. If forces in Australia and around the world could have prevented the intervention it would

have been at the expense of the continued genocide in East Timor. Why do the motives of the Australian Government have to be characterized as imperialistic? Just as governments make concessions domestically to assuage the 'masses' they do so also on the international front if pressured.

Your view on this matter is too simplistic.

Shane
Melbourne, Australia

P.S. I found the site while surfing the net. It's excellent and despite my above letter I loved most of the content.

More photos on website

The website in the current issue runs the text for a photo box, without the photo. How is this possible?

The web page needs more photos. Photos are part of the politics of the paper. And a photo box would appear to be an obvious place to take the plunge.

Among the advantages of web publishing over print is that you can include more material, not less. (Of course that can also be a disadvantage, space limitations of paper impose a certain discipline.)

I suggest the page be changed to include the photo for the balance of the week and for the archives.

J.R.
Cape Girardeau, Missouri

Clarification on tire strike

The article in Militant no. 33 on the yearlong strike by United Steelworkers Local 850 against Continental General Tire in Charlotte, North

Carolina, left a couple points less than clear. Continental General Tire has three, not two other plants in the United States. The workers at the plants in Ohio and Kentucky are organized into the Steelworkers union. Workers in the third plant, in Mt. Vernon, Illinois, are fighting to organize into the union. They have a very active organizing committee in Illinois which raised money for Local 850's strike fund, and workers from the plant came into Charlotte to show their solidarity several times through the course of the fight there. Local 850 members also traveled to Mt. Vernon, where the organizing committee held a special meeting for them early in the strike. Photos from that meeting are displayed in Local 850's union hall.

The article also leaves the impression that the new contract ap-

ment should live by the contract too." Flint drivers returned to work after union officials demanded they end their job action.

Teachers in Detroit ratify contract following strike

DETROIT — Detroit Federation of Teachers officials announced September 24 that union members had ratified a new labor agreement, by a vote of three to one. On August 30 teachers had rejected the leadership's proposal to extend their old contract 10 days and had gone on strike. After nine days on the picket line the teachers voted at a mass meeting to return to work, September 8, pending a vote on the proposed settlement.

During the strike, officials in the 172,000-student district attempted to portray the teachers as trying to block educational reforms that are supposed to aid students. This effort backfired, however, and the officials were put on the defensive as working people recognized the justice of the teachers' demands for decent wages and smaller class size. There was no attempt to open schools and the recently appointed school board did not even try to use a new state law that increased the penalties against each teacher who takes part in a strike. But the threat of more severe legislative intervention against the strike hung over the talks, with the governor and numerous state legislators threatening new laws.

The teachers kept up spirited picket lines during the first week of

the strike. Well over 3,000 teachers and their supporters descended on the school administration building for a mass protest September 3, and hundreds of teachers led the traditional Labor Day Parade through downtown Detroit. The new contract includes a 2 percent pay raise for most teachers each year of the three-year deal. The most senior instructors will receive a 10 percent increase over the life of the contract. Union officials reported that the new wage structure was designed to bring all district teachers to 95 percent of the median pay for teachers in southeastern Michigan. The contract grants a 20 percent increase for school supplies and lowers class size in kindergarten through third grades in 44 schools. This is the first time that the Detroit school system has agreed to any guaranteed class reduction, but many teachers see this as a token because more than 260 public schools are overcrowded.

The union made some concessions. Teachers now face disciplinary action if they use more than eight unexcused sick days a year. Under the last contract teachers could use all the sick days they had accumulated over their years of service. Teachers also face tougher requirements to move through the steps in the salary scale.

Henry Hillenbrand, a member of USWA Local 185 in Cleveland, and John Sarge, a member of UAW Local 900 in Wayne, Michigan, contributed to this column.

proved by the workers in Charlotte for the first time includes cost-of-living raises. Actually previous contracts have had a COLA, and the new agreement retains it at the level of 60 percent of the rate of inflation. However, by the end of the new agreement, the COLA increases to 100 percent of the rate of inflation, a notable improvement over the old contract. Floyd Fowler
Atlanta, Georgia

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.

Former GIs: U.S. military ordered massacre of civilians in Korean War

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

"You can't begin to imagine the pain and anger I have felt all these years," Jeon Eun Yong told a rally of 50 people demonstrating October 1 in front of the U.S. Army base at Yongsan, south Korea. The protesters condemned the massacre of at least 400 civilians by U.S. troops in 1950, during the early days of Washington's war against the Korean people.

News of the slaughter was reported Sept. 29, 1999, by the Associated Press, which interviewed 130 ex-GIs, a dozen of whom commented on the incident. Six veterans said they shot civilians who were trapped under the No Gun Ri railroad bridge in south Korea. Others said they shot over the civilians' heads.

For nearly 50 years Washington and Seoul had tried to cover up the facts about the three-day carnage. Last year the south Korean regime rejected claims for compensation by survivors and relatives of the victims.

Jeon, a 77-year-old retiree whose two children were killed at No Gun Ri, is among at least 30 Koreans who have fought for decades to force the U.S. and south Korean governments to acknowledge the massacre. He was separated from his family as they fled from the imperialist onslaught. His wife, Park Sunyong, was wounded while taking cover under the bridge with her children during the assault.

"My children's lives were taken away so unjustly," said Park Sunyong. "They died such vicious deaths — their bodies were ripped apart right in front of my eyes." She said her daughter and the child's grandmother were killed when they walked outside in hope of appealing to the U.S. invaders.

The demands of the Korean protesters included compensation for the relatives of those who were killed, prosecution of soldiers who participated in the attack, and a special commission established by Seoul to investigate the incident. Many of them assert that violence by the U.S. military occupation force in their country continues today, including murder, theft, and assault.

U.S. military prepares for massacre

The Korean War began on June 25, 1950, as troops from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea marched past the 38th parallel to drive the U.S. occupation force from the southern part of the peninsula. The Seventh Regiment, which was part of the U.S. First Cavalry Division, had dug in at No Gun Ri. On July 26 south Korean workers and peasants in two nearby villages were forced from their homes by U.S. troops under the pretext that north Korean soldiers were advancing.

After U.S. army officers ordered the peasants to walk on railroad tracks U.S. warplanes swooped in and rained bombs and bullets on the area where the peasants had been resting. As hundreds of people died,



Above, GIs fire on peasant village in Korea during raid May 21, 1952. The center hut caught fire from explosion detonated by U.S. military forces acting under banner of United Nations. Twenty-five Koreans were seized in the assault. Right, hundreds of youth at a 1993 demonstration in south Korea calling for re-unification with north Korea, which was outlawed by the U.S.-backed regime in Seoul. They were among some 7,000 south Korean students who rallied on the campus of Seoul's National University that year.

the survivors scrambled for cover under a nearby bridge. The Koreans who survived the onslaught said a plane had circled the area just before the assault began.

For three nights, U.S. soldiers in foxholes and other positions fired on the tunnel where the peasants, many of them women and children, were trying to hide. "People pulled dead bodies around them for protection," recalled survivor Chung Koo Ho, who said his mother died on the second day of the attack.

"We ended up shooting into there until all the bodies we saw were lifeless," said former GI Edward Daily.

U.S. officials attempted to explain away the massacre of civilians, claiming concerns that north Korean soldiers were disguised as peasants. But retired Col. Robert Carroll, who was a second lieutenant at the time, said, "There weren't any north Koreans in there the first day... It was mainly women and kids and old men."

"The command looked at it as getting rid of the problem in the easiest way. That was to shoot them in a group," Daily added.

Pentagon officials denied the annihilation

of the Korean peasants as recently as one week prior to the Associated Press story. "The U.S. Army Center for Military History has found no information that substantiates the claim that United States Army soldiers perpetrated a massacre of South Korean civilians at No Gun Ri," declared army spokesman Col. Ed Vega September 22. Two days after the AP story broke, however, U.S. secretary of defense William Cohen called for a "full investigation" and review of compensation claims.

The editors of the *Washington Post* dismissed the slaughter, saying "any flaws shown in the American military's performance must be measured against rescuing South Korea from Communist aggression." The killings don't warrant "a showy guilt trip," they chided.

The AP story printed in the September 29 *New York Times* claimed the bloodbath at No Gun Ri was one of "only two known cases of killings of civilians by U.S. ground troops," including the 1968 My Lai massacre in Vietnam of more than 500 Vietnamese. But throughout the war U.S. military forces adopted a "free fire zone against anything that moved," wrote Bruce Cumings in *The Origins of the Korean War*.

The truth about U.S. intervention

The Japanese colonial masters left Korea in 1945 following their defeat in World War II. Their surrender sparked a massive social rebellion throughout Korea. The Korean Peoples Republic was established in Seoul September 6, based on "people's committees" forged in the anticolonial struggle. It called for independence, radical land reforms, and nationalization measures that attracted support of the exploited toilers.

In agreement with the government of Joseph Stalin in Moscow, however, U.S. military forces arrived in Seoul two days later.

Washington set up a puppet regime in the southern half of the country, using the apparatus left by Tokyo, which included Korean officers who served in the Japanese military.

The government established by the U.S. occupation army was based on maintaining the domination of landlords in the countryside and capitalist ownership of industry. The resistance of workers and peasants in the south to this continued imperialist domination did not cease. A major rebellion in 1946 included strikes of railway workers and miners, as well as peasant protests.

Moscow accepted Japan's surrender in the north of Korea, and Soviet troops occupied the country north of the 38th parallel. There, landlord domination was broken and land redistributed to tenant farmers and other toilers in the countryside who needed land. The mines and other industrial enterprises were nationalized. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea was established in 1948.

The division between the northern and southern parts of the Korean peninsula became institutionalized as two governments based on clashing social systems emerged.

The massive involvement of U.S. military forces on the Korean peninsula came in response to the movement of north Korean troops launched on June 25, 1950, that swept through the south and the mobilization of workers, peasants, and youth who rose up against Korean landlords, usurers, capitalists, and their cops and political agents.

In September 1950, U.S. and other capitalist forces fighting under the banner of the United Nations began a drive to smash the north Korean government and lay the groundwork to bring the entire peninsula under imperialist domination.

Despite the Associated Press's suggestion of the Pentagon's supposed benevolence toward Korean civilians, Washington's saturation bombing of northern cities, factories, and mines was devastating. From November 1950 until the end of the war, the U.S. rulers aimed to create a wasteland in the north.

Napalm was used extensively on civilian centers. Napalm is a mixture of naphthenic and palmitic acids, ignited by phosphorous to make it burn slowly and into the skin. The combustion sometimes lasts up to 15 days inside wounds.

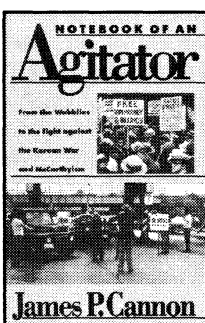
On Aug. 29, 1952, the U.S. Air Force dropped nearly 700 tons of bombs and 10,000 liters of napalm on Pyongyang, the largest city in north Korea. Two years earlier, in addition to napalm, U.S. forces hit the city on December 14-15 with 175 tons of delayed-fuse demolition bombs, which explode at odd moments, such as when people are trying to rescue the injured and dead from napalm fires.

On several occasions the U.S. rulers considered using atomic weapons against the workers and peasants in north Korea and China.

The saturation bombing caused an astronomical number of Korean deaths — 2 million north Korean civilians, 1 million civilians in the south, and 500,000 north Korean soldiers died out of total population of 30 million. Some 5.7 million U.S. troops were involved in the war and 54,000 were killed.

The Korean peninsula remains divided, but Washington's stalemate in Korea was a sharp blow to the "indispensable nation." The U.S. rulers' brutal policies in the region were a foretaste of their war against and eventual defeat by farmers and workers in Vietnam two decades later.

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