

U.S. adds to Mideast forces

Deepens war drive against Iraq; massive new armada deployed

BY SELVA NEBBIA

As Washington counts down the days until its January 15 deadline for Iraqi forces to be withdrawn from Kuwait, the massive and speedy deployment of U.S. forces to the Mideast continues. On December 28, 16,000 U.S. sailors and marines left from several ports for battle stations in the Arab-Persian Gulf.

The troops were aboard a 17-ship fleet led by two aircraft carriers, the USS *Roosevelt* and the USS *America*, each carrying about 90 warplanes. They will join four other carrier groups already in or on their way to the Middle East, part of an overall deployment involving 430,000 U.S. military personnel which is expected to be completed by mid-February.

This is the first time since the Korean War that the navy has deployed six carriers in a single military operation. Each carries approximately 80 planes, about 30 of which are designated to attack targets on land.

January 15 is the date when the U.S.-led coalition against Iraq will have the United Nation's green light to launch war against that country. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein ordered his troops to invade neighboring Kuwait on August 2 and has occupied it since.

The U.S. State Department lists 54 countries that have made some kind of military or monetary contribution to the imperialist war drive against the Iraqi people.

On the same day the United States set out

for the Gulf, the British Ministry of Defense issued compulsory call-up papers for service in the Gulf. This was the first time the British government made such a move on any substantial scale since 1956 when Britain and France invaded Egypt over the Suez Canal.

The call-up affects more than 400 medical reservists and was necessitated by a lack of volunteers. Defense Minister Thomas King had earlier said that British forces needed 1,500 volunteers, mainly medical workers. Only about 750 have volunteered so far.

Those called up will begin training in early January and will serve the 35,000-member British contingent in the Gulf — about 11 percent of Britain's total military personnel.

The French government also announced it was raising the number of its troops in the Gulf from 6,200 to 9,500, and would also add tanks, fighter planes, and combat helicopters.

"France is ready, and is as ready as it's ever going to be," said French President François Mitterrand after stating chances of avoiding war were slight.

In the meantime the Pentagon has continued mobilizing all four wings of its armed forces for an all-out land, sea, and air war in the Middle East.

• The U.S. Air Force has been calling hundreds of reservists and members of the National Guard to active duty to fly and maintain combat planes in the Gulf. Sev-

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U.S. marines on maneuvers in Saudi Arabia desert

Actions against Gulf war slated for Jan. 15-26

BY KATE KAKU

As the U.S.-led war buildup in the Middle East intensifies, with the largest naval armada since the Vietnam War heading toward the Arab-Persian Gulf and the United Nations deadline of January 15 drawing near, opponents of Washington's war plans are stepping

up activities around the country.

In local and regional protest actions, teach-ins, and picket lines during December, thousands have called on Washington to "Bring the troops home now!" and have stated their opposition to a war for Big Oil.

Slated for January 15-26 are a series of local, regional, and national demonstrations aimed at increasing the numbers in the streets demonstrating against the U.S.-led drive to a massive and bloody war against the Iraqi people.

The National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East has called a national demonstration for January 26 in Washington, D.C., and in San Francisco. The demands are "No war in the Middle East," "Bring the troops home now," and "Money for human needs, not war."

The Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East has called another national demonstration in Washington D.C. a week earlier — on January 19. The slogans for the demonstration are "Stop Bush's war now," "Fight racism and poverty at home," and "Bring the U.S. troops home."

The literature put out by the Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East

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Socialist unionists to campaign with 'Militant'

BY RONI McCANN

Members of 10 industrial trade unions have embarked on an 11-week campaign to sell subscriptions to the *Militant*, single copies of the December *International Socialist*

Review published as a supplement to the *Militant*, and copies of the newly published Pathfinder book *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*.

At recent meetings, communists who are

members of these unions, which are listed on page 10, discussed why setting goals for sales of the socialist press and the book are essential to building working-class opposition to the blockade and war drive against Iraq by Washington and its imperialist allies.

The *International Socialist Review* features an article by Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes entitled "Working-class campaign against imperialist war drive." The article offers a communist perspective on the fight against the employers' war at home and abroad. It charts a course of action for working people to oppose imperialism and its war drive.

Everyone who subscribes to the *Militant* or purchases a copy of *U.S. Hands Off the*

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JOIN THE CAMPAIGN TO GET OUT THE FACTS!

U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations, also available in Spanish, is an irreplaceable tool in the fight against the accelerating U.S.-organized drive toward war. An introduction by Mary-Alice Waters outlines the stakes for working people in the coming war. The book contains a useful chronology of the U.S.-led war preparations since early August and 10 UN resolutions adopted on the Gulf crisis.

Featured in the book are statements by Cuban Ambassador to the UN Ricardo Alarcón and President Fidel Castro that rebut the pretexts and arguments used by Washington to justify its unilateral acts of aggression. Unionists, GIs, veterans, reservists, and other workers involved in struggles against the employers' offensive at home can use the facts and arguments it contains to arm themselves and help convince others to join in campaigning against the slaughter being prepared by the same employers, through their government, in the Mideast.

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Israeli regime steps up repression of Palestinians; scores killed, injured

BY PETER THIERJUNG

Israeli troops shot and killed four Palestinians December 29 in the Gaza Strip and wounded as many as 250.

The shootings began when two Palestinians refused to stop and submit to a search by Israeli troops. As word of the killings spread, tens of thousands of Palestinians took to the streets in angry protests. The troops opened fire on the demonstrators and killed two more.

The killings marked the sharpest escalation in the Israeli government's campaign of repression and terror against Palestinians since the massacre at the Al-Aksa Mosque in Jerusalem when Israeli security forces killed 17 Palestinians. This escalation comes as Washington and its allies have stepped-up their preparations for war against Iraq.

More than 900 Palestinians have been killed by Israeli forces since the *intifada*, or uprising, of the Palestinian people began in

December 1987. The uprising has continued for three years with daily, often massive protests by Palestinians in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip — and on occasion in Israel itself.

The uprising was spurred by the Israeli regime's denial of human and political rights to Palestinians and its military rule in the territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, areas grabbed by Israel after its 1967 war against Arab countries. Israel also occupied and later annexed the Golan Heights, a territory of Syria.

Widespread Palestinian demonstrations at the beginning of December commemorating the third anniversary of the uprising were met with tear gas, rubber bullets, live ammunition, and a larger military presence in the occupied territories. Curfews affecting more than a million Palestinians were imposed. Two Palestinians, including a 16-year-old schoolgirl, were gunned down by the Israeli army.

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Cuban envoy Adlum tours Ohio, widening discussion on Mideast

BY JON HILLSON

CLEVELAND — The "absolutely shameful and cowardly decision of the United Nations Security Council" authorizing the use of force against Iraq, Cuban diplomat Clinton Adlum told a standing room-only crowd here, places a "hard, very hard struggle" at the top of the agenda of all those who seek "real peace for all, not just peace for some."

"The five permanent, eternal members of the Security Council, each and every one collectively and individually, have shown they are incapable of identifying with the needs, desires, and hopes of the people of the world. They do not and cannot represent the interests of the people of the world," Adlum said, to the applause of more than 230 people.

U.S. farmers' group sets national meeting for mid-January

BY NANCY BROWN

The American Agriculture Movement, Inc., will hold its 1991 national convention in Little Rock, Arkansas, January 10-13.

The AAM Reporter of December 4 announced that topics of discussion include the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trades (GATT) negotiations held in December in Brussels, Belgium, and the 1990 Farm Bill. The GATT negotiations are being discussed and debated by farmers internationally.

The 1990 Farm Bill will have a devastating effect on farmers in the United States. At a November meeting in Missouri hosted by a number of farmers organizations called the Rural Strategy Summit, participants pointed to the growing economic crisis farmers are facing as fuel prices soar and the prices for corn, wheat, dairy, and other products decline. Members of the AAM, North American Farm Alliance, National Farmers Union, National Farmers Organization, and National Family Farm Coalition attended the event.

Farmers and farm activists have been discussing how to organize to fight the deepening crisis facing farmers.

Rural Strategy Summit participants tentatively set a farmers' demonstration in Washington, D.C., for March to protest the farm bill.

The upcoming AAM convention will also include seminars and workshops on the wetlands, sustainable agriculture, credit, and women farmers.

For more information on the 1991 AAM convention, call (202) 544-5750.

The meeting was held at the International Conference Center at Cleveland State University (CSU) December 1.

The event capped a three-day area tour coordinated by the Clinton Adlum Tour Committee, during which Adlum explained the Cuban government's opposition to Washington's drive to war in the Mideast. Meetings were held at CSU, Oberlin College, and Kent State University as well as receptions with labor, peace, Black, anti-apartheid, student, and Cuba solidarity activists. In all, he directly addressed some 600 people.

Two interviews with the diplomat, a first secretary in the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, and he spent an hour fielding questions on WERE, a major radio station.

The broadly sponsored city-wide meeting, co-hosted by the CSU Black student organization, drew high school and college students, unionists, political activists, and longtime defenders of the Cuban revolution. Almost 40 percent of the audience was Black.

Prior to the meeting, Adlum spoke with the parents of a young GI who has been ordered to Saudi Arabia, a Vietnam combat veteran, and others.

A war in the Middle East, the fruit of the "self-interests of these great powers," Adlum told the crowd, will kill "our brothers and sisters."

Cuba will pay a "very high price" from its enemies for taking its "consistent stand for peace," Adlum explained. "But we will maintain the course we have chosen."

In other talks during his tour Adlum elaborated on Cuba's positions on the Middle East crisis. "We reject the settling of disputes by force," he said, denouncing Iraq's invasion of Kuwait as a "blow to solidarity" and called for the "immediate withdrawal" of Iraqi, U.S. and foreign forces.

He condemned the UN Security Council resolutions sponsoring the embargo against Iraq as "submitting a whole nation to hunger." Referring to the U.S. government, Adlum said, "Those who invaded Grenada, who invaded Panama, who harass all those in the world who seek liberty and freedom have no moral ground on which to stand."

During the tour stop at Kent State University, hosted by the Progressive Student Network, Adlum visited the newly erected memorial for the four students slain by national guardsmen during a 1970 protest of the U.S. invasion of Cambodia.

In answer to a question about the overthrow of the Ceausescu tyranny in Rumania, the Cuban diplomat said the "workers have



Militant/Jon Hillson

Clinton Adlum told Ohio audiences that a war in the Middle East is the result of the "self-interests of the great powers." Above he speaks with students at Oberlin College.

the right to kick anyone out. The fact that they did this shows what a tremendous force the workers represent."

In a repeated theme, Adlum explained that capitalism, not socialism, is "in crisis and has failed. Cuba's undisputed achievements in medical and health care, advances in education, and the fact that we have won our independence and dignity convince us we should strengthen our socialism, not return to the horrors of capitalism we knew so well."

At a reception hosted by Harold Mitchell, president of Local 100 of the American Fed-

eration of State, County and Municipal Employees, Adlum urged two dozen local unionists and labor activists to press the fight for peace. The "working class of your country needs peace," he said. AFSCME Local 100 represents nearly 2,000 municipal workers.

Mitchell also was among those who welcomed Adlum at the spirited wrap-up meeting, along with state representative-elect, C.J. Prentiss; Bishari Constandi, director of the Palestine Relief Foundation; and Alice Hermann of the Interreligious Task Force on Central America.

'Militant' makes staff changes

Two members of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* Nicaragua Bureau will join the *Militant* staff in New York. The bureau, established in 1979, was closed in December.

Seth Galinsky and Cindy Jaquith have just returned from stints with the bureau. They will help the *Militant* meet the challenges ahead as Washington and its allies prepare to launch a war against Iraq and as the employers deepen their offensive against the rights and living standards of working people at home.

Galinsky, 34, who joined the bureau in September 1988, will become a staff writer for the *Militant*. He was a garment worker in Los Angeles, active in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and Central America solidarity activities, before taking on responsibilities with the bureau.

Jaquith, 43, twice a director of the bureau,

will join the staff as a copy editor. She has been on the *Militant* staff most of the last 19 years and has taken recent reporting trips to Panama, Cuba, and El Salvador. Jaquith co-authored the Pathfinder pamphlet, *Panama: The Truth about the U.S. Invasion*.

The third recent member of the bureau staff, Susan Apstein, will join the Pathfinder editorial staff, where she will participate in the completion of the next in a series of books on the Communist International during V.I. Lenin's time. Apstein is 37 years old.

Yvonne Hayes, 38, who has been a *Militant* copy editor for more than a year, will be leaving to become active in socialist activity in the Newark, New Jersey, area. She will join in campaigning among working people — in and out of uniform — and in the unions against the impending imperialist war.



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Chicago socialists go over top in ballot drive

BY JOHN VOTAVA

CHICAGO — "I want to welcome everyone here tonight to this victory rally," said Socialist Workers Party campaign director Don Davis. "We are celebrating the collection of 30,165 signatures needed to place SWP candidates on the ballot for the 1991 Chicago elections."

The December 22 meeting capped a three-week petitioning drive during which the socialist candidates and their backers fanned out to working-class communities, industrial workplaces, and college campuses to discuss the impending imperialist war in the Mideast and the need for working people to mount opposition to it.

The socialist ticket includes James Warren, a steelworker and member of the SWP national committee, for mayor; Estelle DeBates for city clerk; and Eric Matheis, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, for city treasurer. Members of the YSA came to Chicago from around the country to help out in the campaign effort.

"In the first week of the campaign that began December 1, we collected just over 7,000 names," Davis continued, "and the response got better as we went along. Supporters gathered more than 23,000 signatures in the last two weeks alone, finishing the drive in less than half the time originally planned."

Opposition to imperialist war

SWP mayoral candidate Warren was the featured speaker at the victory meeting. He explained the political axis of the petitioning effort — reaching out to working people, in and out of uniform, to debate and discuss the slaughter Washington is driving toward in the Mideast. Supporters discussed why working people have no interest in the war and why the blockade against Iraq should be ended and the troops brought home now.

"Everyone we signed up had at least this understanding of the candidates they were helping to place on the ballot," he said. "Our campaign is part and parcel of the rallies, picket lines, and teach-ins which have been organized to oppose the coming war. We are urging the broadest possible participation in future antiwar actions."

"The response we received," said Warren, "showed, in part, that many working people are willing to do something to show either they oppose the war drive, or think that a wider discussion is needed on Washington's aims in the Mideast."

Petitioner Jeanne Lawrence found this to be true as she approached working people in the subway cars on the final day of the ballot drive effort. She handed everyone a campaign leaflet that called for "U.S. troops out of the Mideast!" and outlined a program for international working-class unity: jobs for all, shortening the workweek; affirmative action quotas; and canceling the Third World debt. Lawrence then returned one by one urging workers to sign the petition — collecting some 50 names an hour.

Other petitioners reported that some people opposed the war drive but were slow to sign the petition because they doubted an election campaign could do

anything to stop it. Some became convinced when campaign supporters explained that building participation and support for antiwar actions was one of the activities of the election effort.

"Antiwar sentiment will not stop the ruling class from launching this war," said the mayoral candidate. "Action is necessary. However, our campaign, which explains the connection between the employers' offensive against workers and farmers here at home and the slaughter the imperialists are marching toward in the Mideast, can help lay a basis for building wider working-class opposition to the war."

During the petitioning drive, campaign supporters introduced working people and students to the *Militant* and newly published Pathfinder book *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*. One *Militant* subscriber, a steelworker in Gary, Indiana, read about the campaign in the paper, called to volunteer, and has become an activist in the effort.

Many young people were attracted to the political ideas put forward by the SWP candidates through the course of the petitioning effort. On regional college campuses four students decided to join the YSA and two youth joined in the city.

Not everyone agrees

When campaign supporters who are members of industrial unions took petitions to work and discussed the need to oppose imperialism and its wars, dozens of workers signed petitions.

Lively discussions ensued and workers expressed varying opinions about the war drive including support for Washington's actions. Socialist candidate Warren reported that one of the biggest concerns of his co-workers at a steel fabrication plant was the slowdown in the economy. This has meant fewer orders coming into the plant and many



Militant/Roni McCann
More than 30,000 signed to put socialists on the ballot.

supervisory personnel, as well as coworkers, cite the coming war as the reason no layoffs have occurred. Warren said most believe the war will revive the industry.

"While a war may bring enough orders to maintain the current workforce," he explained, "we must think about what it means for us as a class, not as individuals."

"We must think about the workers in uniform on both sides of the slaughter being prepared," he said. "The price of this war will be thousands of us dead and a further erosion of our rights."

Break from capitalist parties

Throughout the petitioning drive many campaign supporters met working people who were Black who would not sign to place Warren on the ballot because they felt his campaign effort would "split the Black vote." Many explained their support for the campaign of Danny Davis, an alderman seeking to win the Democratic Party nomination for mayor in the February 26 primary election.

HANDS OFF THE MIDEAST!

Campaigning worldwide against the imperialist war drive

Working people — in uniform and out — have been discussing and debating the accelerating buildup for an imperialist war in the Mideast led by the governments of the United States, Britain, Canada, France, and Australia.

In factories, mines, mills, on warships, and among those now stationed in Saudi Arabia, workers and farmers have discussed and expressed opposition to the massive military buildup aimed at the Iraqi people.

Rallies, marches, and conferences are being held with broad participation, especially from youth; action coalitions are being formed in cities around the world; veterans, GIs, and reservists are speaking out; antiwar buttons are being worn at work; and more antiwar actions are being planned. We encourage readers to contribute items to this column that will help campaign against and build visible opposition to the war preparations.

In Los Angeles, some 1,500 people turned out for a teach-in December 16 to discuss opposition to the U.S.-organized war drive in the Middle East. Speakers included former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, and Daniel Ellsberg, the former Defense Department official who made public the Pentagon Papers revealing secret U.S. plans during the Vietnam war. Herb Bradley, a member of the International Association of Machinists Local 2785 Executive Board, and on strike against Eastern Airlines also spoke.

Bradley, whose son is stationed in the Persian Gulf, explained, "working people in the United States have already been fighting a war of our own: a war against attacks on our wages and living conditions," and pointed to the strike at Eastern as an example.

"Now these same forces that are attacking us here at home are sending young men and women like my son to risk their lives in the Middle East. And for what?" Bradley asked. "To back Big Oil and the other corporations who want more control over the oil and other wealth in the area. To back the Frank Lorenzos and their friends who will benefit from this war, at the expense of working people." Bradley ended by urging working people to oppose a war in the Middle East. "We should not support corporate greed at home or abroad."

On December 7, the Sub-Committee on Peace and the Environment of the Auckland District Council affiliated to the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions (CTU), issued a resolution on the situation in the Middle East: "While we have condemned the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, we are firmly against any escalation which

At the SWP campaign meeting Warren explained there was a difference between splitting the Black community and splitting the Black vote. "The fact is we want to see the working people in this country, including the component of the working class that is Black, break from both the capitalist parties and fight to build a party of working people, a labor party."

The next stage of the fight to win ballot status for the socialist candidates is to get the city government to certify the signatures gathered. In recent years the Democratic and Republican parties have collaborated to further restrict access to the ballot and keep the debate on foreign and domestic policy within a framework acceptable to the ruling class and ensure that the interests of the working class on these matters do not find any public expression. For example, the signature requirement for the city of Chicago is 25,000 — equal to the requirement for state offices. Campaign supporters gathered 5,165 names over and above the requirements.

increases the danger of war, this includes New Zealand involvement by way of sending military aircraft and support staff into the Middle East war zone.

"The National government decision to do this is an underhanded way to involve New Zealand again in a military alliance with the gunboat diplomacy of a bygone era."

"We believe that the Middle East crisis should be resolved by peaceful political means — by sitting down and talking, not standing up and shooting. Notification has been sent to secretaries of affiliates and non-affiliates to call upon their members to support our resolution for a peaceful solution."

On the same day, 1,500 people marched in Auckland to oppose the drive toward war and protest the December 3 decision of the New Zealand government to commit military forces to the U.S.-led imperialist buildup. Sponsors of the demonstration received a letter of support for the antiwar activity from Ken Douglas, president of the CTU, which has some 400,000 members.

"Irrespective of the hardening views of a number of members on the Security Council in respect to the enforcement of the deadline," Douglas wrote, "our submissions to the New Zealand government have been to call for them to oppose in any way the participation in, or the sanctioning of, military activity."

"Consequently, I am able to advise you of the general support for the approach of your committee. I would on behalf of the CTU extend greetings and solidarity for your proposed activity to underline the shared concerns that we have on this question on the incoming government."

In addition, on December 10, branches of the New Zealand Seafarers Union approved a resolution which stated, "The New Zealand national government stands condemned for its acts of compliance with the war demands of the United States military and we call for the New Zealand contingent not to be sent and that New Zealand remain neutral and continue to pursue peace in the area."

In late November, some 1,500 people marched through Brussels, Belgium, demanding "Peace in the Mideast! No war for oil! All foreign troops out of the Gulf!" The demonstration coincided with threats by the Belgium government to limit democratic rights in the country, including increased governmental control of radio air time for immigrant groups.

Nelson Blackstock from Los Angeles; Mike Brown, Joan Phillips, Terry Lynch, and Ian Clarke from New Zealand; and Ludo De Witte from Belgium contributed to this week's column.

U.S., Canada groups call for continued anti-Iraq sanctions

BY RONI McCANN

"Mr. Bush has delivered 452,000 U.S. hostages to Saddam Hussein. Now he wants them to fight their way out."

This was the headline of a paid full-page statement published in the December 26 *New York Times* by the SANE/FREEZE organization addressed to U.S. President George Bush.

The ad is among a spate of editorials, union resolutions, and statements that back Washington's moves toward war while calling on Bush to hold off on initiating an all-out invasion.

SANE/FREEZE is an antinuclear organization that has endorsed protests against past U.S. military aggression. The public commentary began by stating the military buildup in the Mideast is "the largest deployment of armed forces since Vietnam, the most rapid escalation in U.S. history" all done, the ad complained, without a "constitutional mandate for war."

SANE/FREEZE called on readers to send

a coupon message in the ad to Bush that begins, "Support our troops. Bring them home. Alive." Referring to the inhumane economic sanctions imposed on Iraq by the U.S. government and its imperialist allies, the coupon states that "A 'new world order' worth having can't be built on brute force," and recommends Washington "give sanctions time." It advises Bush to "use the United Nations and the formidable coalition you have built to resolve this crisis peacefully."

As the imperialist governments march working people steadily to war a similar full-page statement appeared in the December 22 *Toronto Globe and Mail*. Quoting Joe Clark, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, the ad called for talks on the crisis: "... conversation is almost always better than conflict, and conversation leading to compromise is the best way to solve problems."

"Let's talk about it," the statement suggested, addressing "the effects of war, sanc-

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U.S. troop buildup in Mideast continues

Continued from front page

eral full fighter squadrons — scores of F-16, F-15, A-10 and other warplanes — from the reserves and National Guard are being sent to augment more than 900 Air Force and Navy combat planes already in the region.

The first air reserve units are expected to leave for bases in Saudi Arabia in early January.

- Two Air National Guard units are on alert and expected to be called up soon: a squadron of F-16 ground-to-air attack planes from the 169th Tactical Fighter Group in Columbia, South Carolina, and a squadron of F-16's from the 174th Tactical Fighter Wing based in Syracuse, New York.

- Since the beginning of December, marines from the 2nd Marine Division have been arriving in the Gulf region at a rate of 1,000 a day and will continue at that pace for the rest of the month, said Pentagon officials.

- The air force, which now has about 650 combat planes in the region, is expected to add about 300 more to its force, including additional Stealth F-117 bombers.

- The 100,000 soldiers of the U.S. Army's 7th Corps have begun arriving in Saudi Arabia from Germany and the United States. With three full tank divisions, the 7th Corps is a classic armored corps and differs significantly from the 18th Airborne Corps, the operational command that incorporates all the army fighting units currently in the Gulf.

"The 18th Corps includes two tank divisions and two airborne light infantry divisions," reported the *Washington Post*, "the shock troops who arrived in Saudi Arabia in August to deter Iraq from mounting an immediate invasion of Saudi Arabia. The presence of the 7th Corps demonstrates U.S. willingness to match armor with the Iraqis, underscoring the deepening offensive orientation of U.S. forces here."

- The army announced on December 31 that it was ordering to active duty 2,667 National Guard and Army Reserve members from 15 states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico.

More than 125,000 members of the army, navy, air force and marine corps reserves have been called to active duty for the Gulf so far since late August.

Debate over when to go to war

As imperialism steps up its war drive, heading toward a massive slaughter in the region the debate among U.S. rulers as to when to strike against Iraq continues.

The December 28 *Los Angeles Times* reported that senior administration officials said President Bush, after weighing the political and military consequences of further delay, decided that the United States should move quickly to launch a massive attack on Iraqi forces if their withdrawal from Kuwait was not complete by January 15.

"The officials said that Bush realized a war with [Iraqi president] Saddam Hussein's million-man army could last at least a month," reported the *Times*, "and probably cause tens of thousands of Iraqi casualties and perhaps thousands of American lives."

On the other hand, 110 House Democrats, led by Rep. George Miller of California, sent Bush a letter urging him to allow more time for the UN-imposed blockade against all trade with Iraq to continue for a period before launching into a military invasion.

Several military officials have told the press that the United States will not be ready for war until mid-February because the full deployment of troops and equipment assigned to the Gulf will not be in place until then.

However, one official said, "If war comes it will be long before mid-February. The longer the U.S. waits to attack, the more U.S. lives will be lost."

"You must remember," said another official, "That the president's position is that this will not be another Vietnam, there will not be a slow escalation while Americans die."

It will be important for the United States to defeat Hussein's forces quickly and decisively because, said another official, "if the war is extended over a long period of time — with all the television coverage and watching people get blown up — it could cause us serious problems."

Visiting U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia over the New Year holiday Vice-president Danforth Quayle echoed earlier statements by Bush and Secretary of State James Baker saying that U.S. military force against Iraq would be "quick, massive, and decisive."

Quayle also reiterated Washington's position of no negotiations with Hussein and told the troops: "Our message is simple: Saddam Hussein, either get out of Kuwait peacefully or leave by force."

While Quayle was in Saudi Arabia, Washington announced a possible visit by Baker to that country and others in the Gulf region before January 15.

Washington officials said, "military preparations were in place in case Mr. Bush decides to order an attack on Iraqi forces after January 15," reported the January 1 *New York Times*. "Thus they said, the purpose of Mr. Baker's trip would be political, a matter of what one official called 'touching the bases and crossing the t's'."

Washington's earlier projected meetings between Bush and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz in Washington, and between Saddam Hussein and Baker in Baghdad have been stalled. Although Bush originally offered to meet with the Iraqi representatives anytime before January 15, Washington rejected Hussein's proposal that he and Baker meet on January 12. Bush stated the date was too close to the January 15 deadline and insisted the meeting take place by January 3.

The Iraqi government has repeatedly stated that "Iraq alone has the right to fix dates for foreign officials to visit its president."

After a group of Iraqi ambassadors had

Weekly chronology of U.S.-led war drive in the Middle East

December 14 — The Pentagon considers doubling the maximum tour of duty for reservists from six months to one year.

December 15 — Senate majority leader George Mitchell on a tour to Saudi Arabia tells news media, "Should Iraq not withdraw from Kuwait, should other means not be sufficient to achieve that objective, then force may be necessary."

December 17 — U.S. troops from the 2nd Marine Division start arriving in Saudi Arabia at the rate of 1,000 per day. Lt. Gen. Walter Boomer announces that by January 15 two-thirds of all marine combat forces will be deployed in the Gulf region and will be ready for battle.

Iraq calls all men born in 1957 to active duty.

December 18 — Boomer says that a war against Iraqi forces is likely to be "fairly brutal" and will involve "significant casualties."

The foreign ministers of the 12 European Community countries cancel a meeting with Iraq's foreign minister. "We have a unified position [with the United States]," Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek says.

December 19 — French President François Mitterrand says Iraq must withdraw from "every square meter" of Kuwait and reaffirms pledge to increase French troops in the Gulf region from 6,200 to 9,500.

December 20 — The United Nations Security Council votes to condemn Israeli treatment of Palestinians in the occupied territories. Arab nations, however, allow the UN General Assembly to recess without making their annual challenge against Israel's membership.

December 21 — U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney tells troops in Saudi Arabia, "It looks like he [Hussein] doesn't have the message, and we may have to use force to get him out. . . . We may be coming to the moment of truth in this crisis."

More than 15,000 U.S. Air Force and Army personnel are placed on Condition Red, the military's highest state of alert, when Israel test-launches a missile into the eastern Mediterranean Sea.

A total of 1.5 million Iraqis participate in a mock evacuation of Baghdad as part of stepped-up civil defense activities.

December 23 — Twenty U.S. sailors are killed and one is reported missing when a ferry capsizes in the bay in Haifa, Israel.

December 24 — The U.S. Air Force calls



U.S. marine trains in Saudi desert as part of overall U.S. deployment that will involve 430,000 troops by mid-February.

been recalled for a week of consultations in Baghdad, Hussein sent them back to their posts on December 27 with the message that Iraq wants "serious and constructive" dialogue with the United States.

But while Washington insists there will be no negotiations, and that Baghdad must immediately withdraw all its troops from Kuwait, there is no indication that the Iraqi regime will pull out of that country.

The December 31 official English-language paper, the *Baghdad Observer* carried a joint statement issued by the Iraqi ruling council and the ruling Baath party entitled, "Iraq says reports on pullout from Kuwait baseless."

to active duty hundreds of reservists and members of the National Guard — several full fighter squadrons.

December 26 — In response to Hussein's threat to make Tel Aviv his first target in a war, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir says, "Whoever will dare to attack us will be attacked seven times more."

An Iraqi cargo ship carrying some 50 peace activists and tons of food bound for Iraq is seized by U.S. and Australian naval forces.

The Pentagon reports that U.S. forces in the Middle East now number 300,000: 180,000 from the army, 50,000 marines, and about 35,000 each from the air force and navy. The total U.S. deployment will reach 430,000 by February 1.

The U.S. State Department orders more than 200 U.S. dependents and nonessential personnel to leave Jordan and Sudan "well before January 15."

December 27 — Iraqi ambassadors earlier recalled to Baghdad are dispatched back to their posts with instructions to seek a "dialogue" with the U.S. government. Hussein, however, insists that a resolution to the U.S.-Iraq conflict should be linked to a settlement of the Palestinian issue.

December 28 — Some 16,000 U.S. sailors and marines aboard two aircraft carriers and 15 other ships leave East Coast ports for the Gulf. The departure is unrivaled in size since deployments in the early stages of the Vietnam War.

December 29 — The *Washington Post* reports that Germany is considering sending troops, ground attack aircraft, and support technicians in response to an earlier request by Turkey, which borders Iraq, to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for military aid. The move would be the first significant deployment of German forces outside the country since it joined NATO in the mid-1950s.

December 31 — U.S. Vice-president Danforth Quayle tells troops in Saudi Arabia that a U.S. assault on Iraq would be "quick, massive, and decisive."

The U.S. Army announces that it is ordering to active duty 2,667 National Guard and army Reservists from 15 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. More than 125,000 reservists from the army, navy, air force, and marines have now been called to active duty.

"All believe in that fact that Kuwait is the 19th province and its combat field is no longer an Iraqi battle zone but has become a symbol of everything that is honest, aspiring and sincere in the nation's spiritual and cultural values now and in the future," the statement said.

Turkey requests NATO forces

Officials of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) reported that Turkey had asked NATO members to send a multinational force of air units from NATO countries to bolster Turkish defenses along its border with Iraq.

The 16 NATO countries formally affirmed last August that they would honor the NATO treaty's commitments to defend Turkey, a fellow member, if it comes under attack. If the request is formally approved, as expected, one squadron will be sent by Germany, another by Belgium, and a third by Italy.

Turkish territory already serves as a base for 14 U.S. F-111 bombers, 24 F-16 fighters, and an undisclosed number of F-15 fighter-bombers at the Incirlik Air Base in southern Turkey. There are 100,000 Turkish troops deployed along its border with Iraq. In response Iraq is adding military equipment to the eight army divisions, roughly 120,000 troops, that it is keeping near the border.

Pentagon officials estimate that Iraq has 300,000 soldiers inside Kuwait backed by some 2,000 tanks, 1,700 artillery pieces and more than 1,500 armored troops carriers and antitank vehicles.

In southern Iraq, just behind the northernmost line in Kuwait, are another 210,000 troops with 2,000 more tanks, 1,000 artillery tubes, and 1,000 armored carriers and other vehicles. At least another 90,000 Republican Guards, Iraq's best trained and equipped forces, have been deployed in the region west of Kuwait and near the northern Saudi border.

With more than half a million imperialist-led troops surrounding it and more on the way, Iraq has been mobilizing its population for the event of war. "Tens of thousands of poor Iraqis from one of Baghdad's largest Shiite Muslim suburbs clambered into cars, buses and cattle trucks at dawn" on December 21, reported the *New York Times*, "for an evacuation drill that was part of stepped-up civil defense efforts in the Iraqi capital." Iraq has a population of 18 million.

Interior Minister Samir Abdul Wahab told reporters that a total of 1.5 million people living in the Saddam City suburb had been evacuated for part of the day.

Over the last month many of the Iraqi men born between 1957 and 1960 and called back to army service in the last month are getting a couple days of respite before they are dispatched to Kuwait. There is a rumor that those born in 1956 will be called up by early January.

Since the deployment of U.S. troops began, several dozen U.S. soldiers have died as they prepare for war in the Mideast. On December 23, some 20 sailors drowned when a ferry carrying them back to their ship capsized. The sailors were returning from a leave in Israel.

The Pentagon announced December 31 that five other members of the U.S. military had died in five incidents in the Arab-Persian Gulf in recent days, including two who were killed by M-16 gunshots.

Reports show impact of blockade of Iraq

BY SAMAD SHARIF

Early in the morning the day after Christmas, U.S. and Australian sailors boarded and seized an Iraqi ship in the Arabian Sea carrying food and medicine for Iraq. The trip had been organized by the Arab Women's Union, which announced its intention of delivering milk and medicine to Iraqi children.

Two days earlier John Pastore, a Boston cardiologist who recently visited Iraq as part of an International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War tour, reported that the United Nations trade embargo against Iraq is having serious effects on the health and medical care of civilians, both children and adults, in that country. The international physicians' group also visited Jordan, where it was told by UN officials that malnutrition was developing.

These reports highlight the extent of Washington's air, land, and sea blockade of Iraq, and the severity of its consequences on the populations of that country, Kuwait, and Jordan.

In a December 24 *New York Times* interview, Pastore said that a shortage of equipment, drugs, and other medical supplies; malnutrition, and infections had led to serious problems and contributed to deaths among Iraqi children. Many with infections cannot be adequately treated because of a lack of intravenous penicillin and injectable forms of other antibiotics. Dehydration and malnutrition result from a lack of intravenous forms of vitamins and other nutritional substances. Pastore said that members of the international team had seen such patients in a Baghdad hospital.

Rise in infant deaths

The administrator of Saddam Pediatric Hospital said that the infant death rate at his hospital had doubled. Doctors at Saddam Medical City said they were performing only emergency surgery due to the lack of anesthetic agents and other supplies.

The team of international doctors met with Iraqi officials to inform them that the medical supplies in the Middle East would be inadequate to treat the casualties that would result from chemical, nuclear, and other forms of war. The team found that there were even insufficient medical facilities to deal with severe burns.

Guarding health has also become extremely difficult due to shortages of basic necessities and escalating prices. Most families need to supplement government rations of subsidized bread and other basic foods, which can only be done by buying from the open market. There the prices have risen as much as 700 percent. A 100-pound bag of flour has gone from 3.5 Iraqi dinars last summer to 200 dinars this winter. In the same period the price of rice and sugar have increased tenfold. Iraq imports 60 percent of its food requirements.

'Gate guard' in the Red Sea

A multinational force, led by U.S. warships, has established a "gate guard" at the

entrance of the Gulf of Aqaba, passageway to Jordan's port of Aqaba, which is the primary docking point for Iraq's sea trade. All passing ships are questioned by the warships on patrol. Ships that refuse to stop are fired upon or forcibly boarded by navy SEAL (Sea-Air-Land) commando teams. Merchant shipping in the Red Sea has shrunk 80 percent since August, when the warships began enforcing a UN embargo.

According to Pentagon officials, in the last five months about 5,830 ships in the Red Sea and Arab-Persian Gulf have been ordered to identify themselves and describe their cargoes and destinations. SEAL commando units have been dropped to search some 713 of those ships, and only six of the vessels

contained shipments bound for Iraq.

Once the teams board the vessels, "a lot of the crews are offended by the weapons drawn on them. They say, 'We are not prisoners; you can't treat us like this,'" related the head of a boarding team to a *Washington Post* correspondent.

Seizure of Iraqi ship

The Iraqi ship, *Ibn Khaldoun*, seized by the U.S. Navy on the morning of December 26, did not voluntarily stop to be searched, according to the Pentagon officials. Shots were fired across its bow, and a boarding party using helicopters landed on the ship, firing stun grenades, which emit smoke and a loud blast. Pentagon officials said the ship

was found carrying tons of rice, milk, sugar, and cooking oil — all of which are prohibited for export to Iraq under the UN embargo. According to one Pentagon official it also carried a relatively small amount of medical supplies, which are exempted from the UN sanctions.

The December 19 edition of the Tehran daily *Kayhan* reported that on December 15 four Iranian fishing boats were fired at by a U.S. warship near Port Dayre in the Arab-Persian Gulf, but they were not hit. Then two helicopters took off from a warship and conducted aerial surveillance of the fishing boats. The paper added that there have been no reports of the reaction by the Iranian government.

January actions to oppose Gulf war

Continued from front page

says, "On October 20, tens of thousands demonstrated in over 25 U.S. cities and in eight other countries to demand an end to the U.S. war in the Persian Gulf. . . . At that time the coalition called for national action to coincide with the birthday commemoration of Dr. Martin Luther King."

The literature continues, "To build the largest possible action on January 19, the coalition held discussions with many organizations, including the Campaign for Peace in the Middle East. . . . Somehow, at the December 1 meeting of the Campaign for Peace, a meeting with almost no representation from people of color, another date a week later was chosen."

December 1 meeting

A letter, signed by the National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East's coordinator Leslie Cagan, says, "On Dec. 1, 1990, nearly 300 people representing over 160 church, student, labor, anti-intervention, environmental, women's, veterans, peace, and community groups from around the country met to map out our united efforts to prevent a war in the Middle East." It continues, "Three possible dates for a national mobilization in Washington, D.C., were put forth, January 12, 19 and 26. . . . After a thorough and open discussion, the body overwhelmingly voted for January 26."

Several organizations are urging that the two coalitions agree on a single date for a unified national action. The Coalition for Peace in the Middle East at State University of New York at Stony Brook has issued a statement that says, "As students and activists who have been battered by this split . . . we feel that the antiwar movement should force the two groups to mediation and agree upon one date for a January march on Washington."

The New York University U.S. Out of the Gulf Coalition has issued an open letter to both organizations calling for a single national action and ends by saying, "If the coalition and the campaign refuse to heal the split, we will be forced to choose one demonstration or another. . . . We will decide based on the need to maximize student participation in a national action. We recommend that every antiwar organization join with us in working for united actions in the future."

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, endorsers of the January 26 action, are also urging the leaderships of both antiwar organizations to meet and come up with a plan for a joint demonstration.

Raise political costs of war

Ernie Mailhot, a leader of the SWP, said in an interview, "The division can only result in a weakened turnout for both protests, gives an excuse for those looking to opt out, and demoralizes others who want to show their opposition to the U.S. war drive. A single action would have the biggest impact in raising the political costs for Washington of its drive toward war."

Actions across the United States have shown the potential to mobilize broad numbers for a national march. On December 8 more than 1,000 marched in Salt Lake City, 500 in Rochester, Minnesota, and 2,000 in Washington, D.C. On December 9 more than 2,000 people demonstrated in New York City.

A demonstration is scheduled on January 15 in Atlanta in response to Southern Christian Leadership Conference President Joseph

Lowery's call for a national day of action on King's birthday in opposition to military action in the Middle East. The event will be followed by a candlelight march to commemorate King's birthday.

Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has withdrawn as the grand marshal of the King Day parade in Atlanta due to heavy criticism against him by prominent civil rights leaders.



Militant/Dave Wulp

December 8 antiwar protest of 1,000 in Salt Lake City, Utah.

Groups back Iraq sanctions

Continued from Page 3

tions, security, and peace." The statement said, "A war would polarize the region, destabilize moderate governments, undermine the prospects for negotiation, multiply the demand for arms, and promote future wars."

Security conference

"Security" in the Mideast could be achieved by convening a "security conference" that would impose "reductions in military forces" and "limits on arms shipments to the region."

It called for readers to "place a light in your window until the crisis is over and the peace process begins" and to "talk peace with Joe Clark."

The message was sponsored by Project Ploughshares, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies. The organization describes itself as a "peace, research and advocacy project" that "proposes alternative, nonviolent measures to build peace and real security." The advertisement had the backing of more than 100 organizations including religious, antinuclear, pacifist, Central America solidarity and other groups. Six major Canadian trade unions, the Canadian Federation of Labor, and the Ontario Federation of Labor added their names to the statement.

Both of the public statements echoed positions held by government officials painted as being opponents of Washington's course. U.S. Senator Edward Kennedy has proposed continuing the blockade against Iraq for a full year as the best way to achieve Washington's objectives in the region. If Hussein has not pulled his troops out of Kuwait by August, then Kennedy says an invasion should be launched. The Liberal party in Canada shares this view — a party spokesperson stated in the newspaper *La Presse* that sanctions are already having a real impact and need more time to work.

A paragraph in the Canadian ad states that the economic sanctions that the imperialists have implemented against Iraq "can save lives." It asserts these sanctions are "tools for peace" that "create incentives" for negotiation.

Editorial in 'The Nation'

A December 24 front-page editorial in *The Nation*, headlined "Choose Peace", begins by calling the Republican Party the "party of death" that "sees sanctions as a kind of ritualistic foreplay to the violent penetration of an entire region of the globe."

Complaining that Bush is "running out of 'patience' after four months," the liberal weekly says that "sanctions have a much better chance of forcing Iraqi concessions in a shorter time and with much less misery than war."

The edit urges "those opposed to war" to keep Bush from "acting the war party animal. The party of peace must demand that he stick to sanctions, start talking about settlements and moderate the military buildup. Such a course might take six months, a year or longer to 'work.' But if peace is not worth waiting for, nothing is," the edit concludes.

A similar stance was taken by the Wisconsin South-Central Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO in a resolution adopted December 17. Reported in the *Guardian*, a liberal weekly published in the United States, under the headline "Laboring Against A Gulf War," the resolution "opposes any unilateral action by the president" and calls for an international conference on the crisis.

No demand is made for a U.S. troop pull-out, and the statement calls on the U.S. government to pay only 25 percent of the cost of the massive deployment. The U.S. share, the resolution says, should be paid for by taxing oil companies, defense contractors, and the rich.

Perspectiva Mundial

Special issue for working-class antiwar campaign

The January issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language socialist monthly, will feature the articles "Working-class campaign against the imperialist war drive" and "War and the communist movement" by Socialist Workers Party leader Jack Barnes. The articles appeared in the December *International Socialist Review*, a supplement to the *Militant*.

Distributors of the socialist press should order special bundles of the January *PM* to distribute among unionists, farmers, GIs and reservists, students and working-class youth, and others. This issue of the magazine will be a valuable tool for campaigning against the coming imperialist war in the Middle East.

To place your order, write *PM* at 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014 or call (212) 243-6392.

W. Virginia steelworkers fight company lockout

This week the *Militant* begins a column dedicated to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on living standards, working conditions, and the unions.

Throughout the country work-

gle for union recognition, and decent wages and working conditions.

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

Alloys, and other unions joined 500 Local 5668 members and their families for the event. The rally at the local's union hall turned into a victory celebration when it was announced that workers had won their fight for unemployment benefits. Initial claims by the workers were denied by the state in November, but an appeals review supported the union's position that RAC had locked out the workers and has refused to negotiate.

After the rally the unionists held a 3-mile long car and truck caravan past RAC. Called "Fort RAC" by the strikers, the company spent \$3 million prior to the lockout putting up barbed wire fences, steel shields in front of electrical equipment, video cameras, and boards over the windows.

Women have been a visible force in this fight from the beginning. On December 5, 1,000 supporters turned out for a Women's Solidarity Rally called by the 30 women members of Local 5668 and the wives of other workers.

Declaring an "impasse" in negotiations in early December, the company has now hired some 350 scabs as "permanent replacement workers." Less than a dozen union members have complied with RAC's demand they return to work or face permanently losing their jobs.

A "Rally in the Valley," called by

the Kanawha Valley Labor Council, will be held at the Charleston Civic Center December 30 in support of the continued struggle.

ST. LOUIS — Striking member of the International Association of Machinists Glen Moss was the keynote speaker at the December 1 meeting of the Missouri American Agriculture Movement. Some 35 farmers attended the meeting.

Moss, on strike against Eastern Airlines, said the battle has been more than a strike just to defend the union members' standard of living or the union's existence. "It is a strike for humanity and dignity," he said. "We all have the right to be treated like human beings and Eastern treated us like animals."

Moss said the solidarity received from other working people has been the reason the strike outlasted Frank Lorenzo. "When auto workers, coal miners, steelworkers, and others started coming out to our picket lines, management knew they were in it deep."

Farmers at the meeting pointed out that major farm groups have asked their members not to fly Eastern. "It's time we small farmers got rid of this myth that we are independent business people, when really we're just working for the banks, the food companies, and the govern-

ment," one AAM member said. "Seeing our situation for what it is will show us our only allies are fellow working people like the union brother here today."

LOS ANGELES — Hundreds of strikers and their families from Eastern, Greyhound, and Quality Hardware turned out for a solidarity Christmas event here December 16. The fund raising event, hosted at the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-128 union hall was jointly organized by strikers at the three companies.

Many strikers, especially those at Quality Hardware who were locked out by the company after going on strike, expressed the importance of solidarity from fellow workers.

"Today I've had a chance to meet teachers, bus drivers, McDonnell Douglas workers — people I would never have come in contact with," said Quality Hardware striker Mitchell Floyd. "I found out that we are facing the same problems. I would never have realized this except for the strike."

Mary Nell Bockman from Charleston and Jim Rogers from St. Louis contributed to this week's column.

ON THE PICKET LINE

ing people are involved in skirmishes over speed-up, forced overtime, layoffs, or attacks on health and safety benefits. Unionists faced with steep takeback demands, lockouts, or union-busting moves by the employers have gone on strike to force the bosses to back down.

For example unionists at Eastern Airlines struck to block the company's moves to break their union and impose concessions. Workers at New York's *Daily News* are fighting a lockout by the newspaper's owners and are receiving solidarity from working people throughout the area. Union coal miners are waging struggles to prevent the coal barons from imposing a less-than-safe work situation, and extending solidarity to miners organizing unions and other struggles. Farmworkers in rural communities continue to strug-

from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines to let other *Militant* readers know about what's happening at your workplace or in your union. If there's an interesting political discussion going on at work, we'd like to hear about that, too.

RAVENSWOOD, West Virginia — Steelworkers from up and down the Ohio River valley brought food, money, and solidarity December 21 to 1,800 workers locked out by Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation (RAC) here.

Members of the United Steelworkers of America Local 5668 have spent seven weeks on the picket line since the company ordered them out of the mill November 1 following the union's rejection of a concession contract.

USWA members from Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel, Consolidated Aluminum, Ormet, Armco Steel, Inco

Political, economic, social crisis deepens in USSR

BY RONI McCANN

As the political, economic, and social crisis deepens in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, including the accelerating break-up of the federation itself, President Mikhail Gorbachev presented proposals for, and won approval of, moves to centralize executive powers in his hands at a 10-day Congress of People's Deputies that closed in Moscow December 27.

The congress, the USSR's supreme constitutional authority, also discussed and debated a national budget and a desperate move to head off demands by the republics and oppressed nationalities in the Soviet Union for independence and self-determination.

As head of the ruling bureaucracy, Gorbachev's moves are an effort to keep the massive privileged layer in command and stave off strikes, struggles, and protests by workers and farmers in the country of 300 million.

Demands for national rights and independence that have swept the Soviet Union's

15 republics over the last year continue to deepen.

Every republic, except Kirghizia in Central Asia, has declared some form of autonomy or independence. Several have begun to use government bodies in their regions to draw up social and economic policies, instead of following dictates by the central government.

For example, on the closing day of the congress, the parliament in Russia — the largest of the republics — voted to slash payments to the federal government. In the past, the Russian republic's contribution accounted for nearly half of the federal budget. The republic will now contribute only one-tenth of the total. Gorbachev denounced the move, which he said left the Soviet Union without a budget four days before the start of fiscal year 1991.

In the face of the spreading nationalist rebellions throughout the republics and moves by regional governments to determine

their own course the ruling stratum has resorted to increased force and violence in an attempt to hold the disintegrating union together.

On November 27 Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov announced that Gorbachev authorized Soviet soldiers in the republics to use their weapons if they came under attack from civilians.

Soviet troops with submachine guns have been patrolling the Lithuanian city of Klaipeda, making spot checks of peoples' documents. The mayor of the city called the patrols an "open provocation." The central government has also used economic sabotage and blackmail against governments in the republics in an attempt to stall moves toward independence.

No longer a "voluntary association"

The massive protests, rallies, strikes, and other actions demanding national self-determination and rights come as masses of the oppressed refuse to continue to submit to the government police apparatus. This is an inevitable outcome of the reversal of the communist course led by V.I. Lenin and the Bolshevik party in the opening years of the Soviet republic in 1917. That leadership guaranteed the right of national self-determination to oppressed peasants and workers and set the course for the USSR becoming a true union of freely united workers' and farmers' republics. This course was reversed in the late 1920s and 30s by the counterrevolutionary faction headed by Joseph Stalin.

Since then, what began as a voluntary union became a prison house of nations kept together by a massive police apparatus.

Recent congress

It was against this backdrop of rising nationalist struggles that Gorbachev placed a treaty plan before the deputies' congress to keep the republics in place. The treaty would give more economic power to the republics while keeping the military, foreign policy, transportation, and other key industries under the control of the center. He also proposed dropping the name "socialist," and inserting "sovereign," in the name of the USSR. Even before the congress opened, five republics ruled out signing the treaty, saying it did not give them enough say over their own affairs.

Gorbachev warned that the plan was the "last trench" and "beyond this lies the disintegration of the state." During the congress he proposed referenda be held on the treaty in each of the republics. "The most important thing today is to overcome the crisis and restore law and order," said the president.

Deputies from several republics rejected



Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev

the idea of a referendum as federal meddling with their prerogatives. Gorbachev accused the republics' representatives of "guerilla-style" behavior.

Gorbachev gets new powers

Gorbachev's second biggest proposal to the congress was approved December 25. The deputies voted to give the Soviet head more direct control over the executive branch by making cabinet members directly responsible to him and creating the post of vice-president.

Gorbachev wanted to set up a "Supreme State Inspectorate" which would be a presidential police force to ensure official decrees are implemented, but this was rejected.

The congress also voted to approve a new Federation Council, which the Soviet President proposed, with the heads of the 15 republics to be included. The body also includes representatives of several smaller nationalities, despite objections by Gorbachev.

In the middle of the congress, on December 20, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze resigned, warning that "a dictatorship is on the offensive."

Shevardnadze said he backed the policies of Gorbachev, but hoped his resignation would spark "reformers" into action to halt the onset of a more powerful central authority in the country.

Order your bundle of special 'Militant' antiwar supplement

Join the working-class campaign against the imperialist war drive! Order a bundle of the December *International Socialist Review* supplement to the *Militant* and help distribute it to unionists, farmers, GIs, veterans, reservists, students, and others at your workplace, on your campus, or in your community.

The supplement contains two articles by Socialist Workers Party leader Jack Barnes, "Working-class campaign against the imperialist war drive: Fighting the employers' offensive at home and abroad" and "War and the communist movement." Barnes outlines the stakes for working people in the impending war in the Mideast, the fight being waged by Cuba against this war, the changes in the U.S. working class that make it possible to carry out an effective campaign to mobilize unionists and other working people against imperialist war, and the prospects for building the communist movement today.

Bundles of the supplement may be ordered for \$1.05 each for 10 or more, a 30 percent discount. Single copies are \$1.50 each. Shipping is included. Just send in the coupon below.

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Nicaraguan meat-packers see Curtis video

BY SUSAN APSTEIN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Seventy-five workers at the biggest slaughterhouse and meat-packing plant here, Carnic, attended a November 28 video showing about the frame-up of Mark Curtis, a meat-packer, unionist, and political activist in the United States.

Unionists at Carnic won permission from management to show the video at the plant during their lunch hour. The workers waited out a 40-minute power blackout to see the film. When noise from the plant made it hard to hear, one worker dashed off to find a megaphone and another held it up to the TV speaker.

The video, *The Frame-up of Mark Curtis*, was directed by Nick Castle. Originally in English, the soundtrack was recently translated into Spanish by Curtis supporters in Managua.

The film tells the story of the 1988 frame-up of Curtis. He was arrested on rape and burglary charges after speaking out at a protest meeting in defense of 17 Latino coworkers jailed in an immigration raid at the meat-packing plant where he worked. Curtis was sentenced to 25 years in prison.

Because of the delay caused by the power outage, many workers had to return to their jobs before the video ended. Several of those able to watch the entire film commented they were amazed that evidence of the police beating of Curtis, the FBI file on him, and the record of lying by the arresting police officer were not allowed as evidence in the trial. "He never stood a chance," one young worker remarked.

"Why do they always say things are so democratic in the United States? This guy clearly didn't get any justice," one woman said. "I'm never going to the United States," she added.

'A whole new way to win support'

On November 16 the video was launched at a showing to trade unionists from several factories in Managua and activists from Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast. That led to a discussion about how to broaden support for Curtis in Nicaragua.

David Moraga, a member of the health workers' union Fetsalud, introduced the video noting that "frame-ups happen all the time in the supposedly democratic United States." He had helped translate the video into Spanish and record the soundtrack.

Moraga introduced filmmaker Mark Coplan, a Veterans for Peace activist, who produced the Spanish soundtrack.

Salvadora Sandoval, a leader of the communications workers' union, opened up a discussion after the showing on the politics of the frame-up. "In my union," Sandoval explained, "we've been Curtis supporters for a while now. But the video opens up a whole new way to win support."

"What you see in the video is Curtis as a leader of workers, Curtis in defense of his Latino coworkers, and his solidarity with struggles in other countries — El Salvador and Nicaragua in particular," Sandoval said. "These were the weighty factors in the frame-up against him, in the campaign to silence him."

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"The young generation of whites, Blacks, browns — you're living at a time of revolution, a time when there's got to be a change. People in power have misused it, and now there has to be a change and a better world has to be built."

This new collection includes an interview with Malcolm X and four speeches given in Ghana, Britain, and the United States during the last months of his life. More than half the material appears in print for the first time. 110 pp., \$9.95.

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Workers at Carnic, the largest slaughterhouse in Nicaragua, view *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis*, a video documentary about Curtis' fight for justice.

Sandoval said that by using the video, the communications workers' union "can build stronger solidarity in the workers' sector." She proposed organizing showings to locals in her union, and recommended others do the same. In addition, she suggested a campaign to ask workers to become supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee by signing committee endorser cards. Others agreed with Sandoval's proposals.

Yadira Morales, a worker from the Enaves garment plant, asked how many countries the

video has been seen in. "It's important that it be distributed worldwide," she said.

Exploitation of Latino workers

Several participants talked about the exploitation Latino workers face in the United States.

"We go to the United States in search of paradise," said one participant who grew up on the Río Coco on Nicaragua's North Atlantic Coast. Explaining he had lived and worked in the United States, he said, "They

Israeli troops gun down four Palestinians

Continued from front page

The stepped-up repression and terror has also included jailing Palestinians without trials, issuing identity cards limiting the right of Palestinians to travel in Israel, banning travel abroad, imposing draconian curfews and mass roundups, expelling Palestinians from the occupied territories and Israel, keeping universities and schools closed, and other measures.

Massive detentions

Following the killing of three Israelis on December 14, Israeli authorities closed off the Gaza strip and conducted an intensive search for suspects. They arrested as many as 1,000 Palestinians, the largest roundup in three years. Officials claimed that all were members of an outlawed Islamic terrorist organization.

Israeli authorities also ordered the expulsion of four Palestinians and threatened further expulsions. It was the first time such

orders have been issued since international condemnation 16 months ago forced Israel to halt earlier deportation moves. Some 61 Palestinians have been issued expulsion orders by the Israeli regime since 1987.

The Police Ministry announced at the beginning of December that every policeman will be required to carry a gun or Uzi sub-machine gun at all times. It is also considering issuing guns to public bus drivers.

Raids against Palestinian workers

Some Israeli officials have called for banning all Palestinians from working in Israel, a call that is gaining wider political support. In the last several months thousands of Palestinians from the occupied territories who work in Israel have been fired and replaced by recent immigrants from the Soviet Union.

Israeli labor inspectors raided businesses throughout the country in November, detaining thousands of Palestinian workers and fining employers. Officials said that the Palestinians were working illegally, a practice openly tolerated and even encouraged by the government for many years. The government claims that an estimated 70,000 Palestinians from the occupied territories are illegal workers.

The raids have been accompanied by vigilante actions in Jerusalem organized by supporters of Zionist Meir Kahane, who was assassinated in New York in October. The vigilantes are demanding employers fire Arab workers.

The stores of two merchants who refused to give in to their demands have been fire-bombed. Another shopkeeper and his Arab worker were attacked and stabbed. Signs saying "No Arabs employed here" are now being posted in shops.

Travel bans imposed

On November 18 Israeli authorities began steps that would effectively bar thousands of Palestinians from entering Israel. Special restrictive identity cards, or "green cards," are being issued to Palestinians and permanent roadblocks are being set up.

Israeli government officials said these actions will keep some 2,400 Palestinians out of East Jerusalem and Israel, but according to *Al-Fajr*, a Jerusalem Palestinian weekly, as many as 10,000 will soon be banned.

just treat us like animals. You see some of that in the video.

"Curtis was convicted because he spoke for all races and countries. That's the heart of it," he said.

The Atlantic Coast activists present at the showing requested a copy of the video to show to audiences of Miskito Indians.

Vidal Cruz, Sandinista National Liberation Front political secretary at the People's Metallurgical Industries plant, requested donations to help cover the production costs of the Spanish soundtrack.

"I know there's not much left of our paycheck by the end of the week, but it's important that everybody make a contribution in solidarity, no matter what the amount," Cruz said.

The artists' union UNAP invited Curtis supporters to organize a showing of the video at the Praxis art gallery on November 30. Prominent Nicaraguan artists attended, including well-known Salvadoran artist Camilo Minero.

Two well-known Nicaraguan painters, Arnolfo Guillén and Carlos Montenegro, have been sponsors of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee for some time. After the showing, Roger Pérez de la Rocha, Frank Somarriba Soto, Jorge Tablada Vanegas, Gonzalo Mozeiza Guadamuz, and María Elena Pineda Sequeiro, all from UNAP, became endorsers.

The video has also been seen by activists from the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers and workers from the Polymer plastics and Rolter shoe factories and the Toña brewery. It was also presented at a reception of the Managua bureau of the *Militant* newspaper.

At every showing, donations were accepted to help cover the costs of producing the Spanish soundtrack. Participants contributed a total of \$115.

Palestinian workers, employed in Jerusalem or Israel, will be hardest hit by the travel restrictions.

Also in November, Israeli forces arrested three Palestinian leaders from the occupied territories. Radwan Abu Ayyash who heads the Arab Journalists Association; Ziad Abu Zayyad, editor of the Palestinian Hebrew-language weekly *Gesher* (the Bridge); and Dr. Ahmad al-Yaziji, a member of the administrative board of the Gaza Medical Association, have been jailed without trial as threats to the "security" of Israel. No evidence has been presented against them.

United Nations resolution

On December 20 the United Nations Security Council adopted a resolution criticizing "the dangerous deterioration of the situation of the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem." It also condemned the Israeli government's plans to deport Palestinians.

The resolution was accompanied by a non-binding statement by the council's current president, the representative of Yemen, backing an international conference to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The Security Council resolution was passed after weeks of negotiations and maneuvers by Washington to dilute an earlier resolution following the October 8 massacre at the Al-Aksa Mosque. That resolution had been submitted by several members of the council at the behest of the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

Afraid that a veto might complicate relations with Arab allies in its drive toward war with Iraq, Washington sought to get a resolution more to its liking.

The day before the vote Cuba, Malaysia, Colombia, and Yemen tried to end the negotiations and force a vote on the earlier draft that the United States found unacceptable. China and France supported the move. But Britain, the Soviet Union, Rumania, Canada, Finland, the Ivory Coast, Ethiopia, and Zaire backed Washington.

Israel's representatives reacted angrily to the U.S. vote in favor of the December 20 resolution. They accused the Bush administration of unfairly criticizing Israel to appease Arab allies and accused the United Nations of practicing "political apartheid."

Socialists discuss steps in campaign against imperialism and its war drive

BY JAMES HARRIS

NEW YORK — A two-day leadership meeting of the Socialist Workers Party held here December 15-16 discussed the progress of the party's campaign against the imperialist war drive. The SWP leaders mapped out the next steps in organizing vanguard fighters in the working class to deepen resistance to the war being waged by the employers and their governments against working people at home and abroad.

The gathering was a special meeting of the SWP Political Committee, newly elected organizers of the party's trade union work, the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, and leaders from the Communist League in Canada.

The meeting reviewed the discussions, debates, and accomplishments of 10 well-attended conferences of SWP members who are active in industrial trade unions. Participating in the conferences, held November 17-December 9, were socialist workers in the auto, mining, garment, textile, rail, oil and chemical, meat-packing, steel, electrical, airline, and aerospace industries.

The communist unionists discussed the resistance to the employers' decade-long anti-labor offensive and how to reach out broadly in the labor movement and among its allies with a working-class campaign against the U.S.-led war drive in the Arab-Persian Gulf. (See *Militant*, Dec. 21, 1990.)

Discussion at the 10 conferences showed that through their campaign against Washington's war drive, SWP members and supporters are already involved in valuable experiences and debates with coworkers, farmers, and workers in uniform.

The December 15-16 expanded Political Committee meeting brought together the lessons of these initial experiences and set goals for advancing the working-class antiwar campaign.

In a report to the gathering, SWP National

Secretary Jack Barnes noted that the party is in a good position to carry out this campaign because its cadres are already rooted in the industrial trade unions. The main task for those attending the meeting would be to continue to prepare the party for the reality of imperialist war, he said.

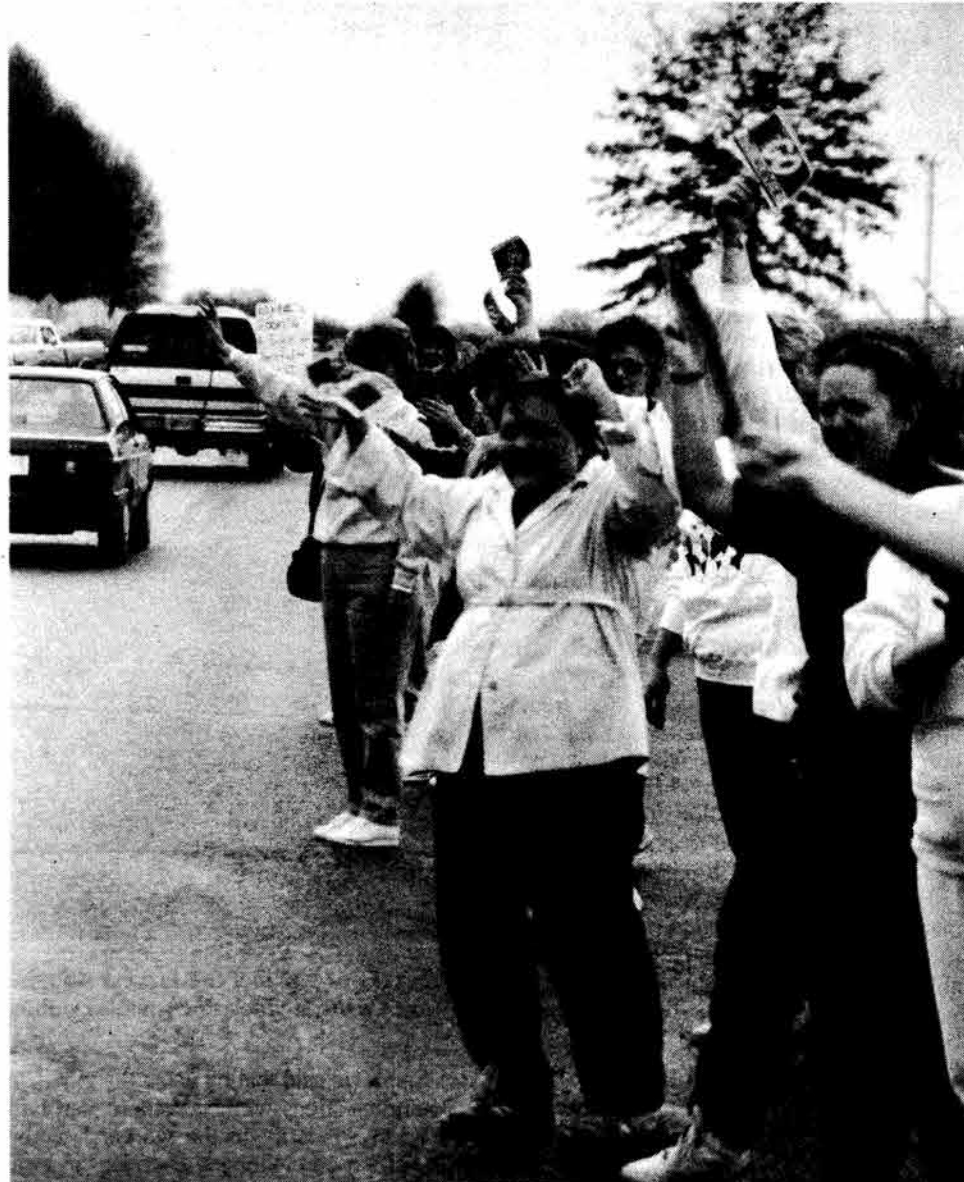
Briefly tracing the history of the communist movement from World War I through the recent experiences of the SWP, Barnes pointed out that imperialist war has historically led to splits and political differentiation in the working-class movement.

Challenge to the party

If the party and its supporters are not prepared for the onset of war and the changed conditions it will bring, the party will shatter, he said. Communist parties that are prepared for the conditions of wartime move deeper into working-class resistance and continue to carry out communist work, as the SWP did during World War II. But organizations and individuals who are unprepared will be disoriented and confused as the ruling-class pressure to support the war builds in the factories, assaults are made on democratic rights, and the government more and more scrutinizes activities of opponents of its war, attempting to harass, intimidate, or silence them.

"Communist parties are not revolutionary parties in 'peacetime' and 'peace' parties in wartime," Barnes said. "The purpose of a communist party is not to win peace, but to organize and lead working people to defend their interests and wrest power from the employers and their government."

With its massive buildup of heavily armored forces, warships, aircraft, and ground troops aimed at Iraq, Washington is preparing a war on a massive scale in the Mideast. If a prolonged shooting war unfolds, working-class opposition to the employers' assaults at home and the imperialist slaughter abroad can accelerate rapidly. Through this struggle,



Militant/Illona Gersh

December 21 caravan of striking steelworkers and supporters pass Ravenswood Aluminum Corp. plant in Ravenswood, West Virginia. At recent meeting socialists discussed progress in the campaign against imperialism and its war drive and organizing vanguard fighters to deepen their resistance to employers' war at home and abroad.

the party aims to strengthen the working-class vanguard and recruit to and build the communist party.

For the past half-decade, Barnes noted, communists in the labor movement have not had the opportunity to bring big, world-historic developments in the class struggle, outside the limits of trade union fights, to fighting workers.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, party members were able to point to, educate about, and seek to mobilize labor in defense of the revolutions in Grenada, Nicaragua, and Iran. The workers' and farmers' governments in Grenada and Nicaragua, and the victory over the U.S.-backed dictator in Iran helped show a working-class road forward in the struggle against imperialism and its wars. But by the mid-1980s, the revolution in Grenada had been defeated, the leadership in Nicaragua had begun a deep retreat, and a bourgeois regime had been consolidated in Iran. Today, for the first time in more than half a decade, communists can now shift the central focus of their political work in the industrial unions to a gigantic question in the world class struggle.

Antiwar sentiment

A feature of the discussion at the Political Committee meeting was the need to accurately assess the extent of antiwar sentiment today in the working class and among its allies.

Several participants made the point that statements such as "all my coworkers are against the war drive" exaggerate and misinterpret reality. Most working people support aspects of Washington's drive to war. Not recognizing this fact is an obstacle to doing the job communists have before them.

Margaret Jayko, organizer of the party's work in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, pointed out, "Many coworkers will say 'I'm against war. That's why I'm for giving the embargo a chance to work.' Are these workers then to be counted among those who are against war?"

"When a worker says something like this, it means we must begin the work of talking to them about taking a class position against the war," she explained. "It means lot of work and discussion is before us."

No 'working-class public opinion'

The meeting's participants also noted that the positions workers, farmers, soldiers, and others take prior to war being launched are often quite different from the positions they take as war gets under way.

Today there is no "working-class public

opinion." There are just various reflections of the lines and opinions of sections of the ruling rich — bourgeois public opinion. These range from letting sanctions work for a while longer, to launching massive bombing raids against Iraq, to going to war soon and getting it over with quickly.

Many workers, who for now oppose a U.S. and allied invasion of Iraq, are taken in by these patriotic, prowar positions. As with the troops now stationed in the Mideast, many workers are fatalistic and resign themselves to war, hoping for a quick U.S. victory and "peace" — even at the expense of immense bloodshed.

Most working people do not yet see the enormous potential power and strength of the working class and its ability to have an impact on politics, to chart its own independent political course, and have its own foreign policy.

But positions will change as thousands are killed or maimed, and the aims of the imperialists become clearer to broader numbers. In earlier imperialist wars, growing consciousness about the rulers' war aims also coincided with working people rejecting the employers' demands for "class peace" at home.

Understanding the limitations of antiwar sentiment today is essential for building a working-class campaign against the imperialist war drive that will not buckle under the initial pressures, the SWP leaders noted. Antiwar sentiment has never stopped ruling classes from going to war. They are affected only by the actual mobilization of sentiment. It is the weight of the working class in action that they most fear.

A leader of socialist workers in the oil and chemical industries, pointed out how the pressures of the war drive can appear in unexpected ways. He recounted the discussion at the conference of oil and chemical workers on whether to participate in plant collections for the troops in the Gulf. Pressure builds for communists, who regard GIs as fellow workers in uniform, to take part in these patriotic, thinly veiled, prowar activities.

Campaigns such as these are similar to the attempts in the plants during World War II to get workers to buy "liberty bonds" to support that war effort. Then, as now, communists do not participate in such campaigns.

A misleading slogan

In the meeting of workers in the oil and chemical industries there had also been a discussion around using the slogan "Support

Continued on Page 12

Books for working-class campaign against war drive

Pathfinder publishes a number of books and pamphlets that are valuable weapons for working people opposed to the imperialists' march toward war in the Mideast. Below is a selection of titles documenting earlier opposition to imperialist war, and assaults on the unions and democratic rights at home since the 1930s.



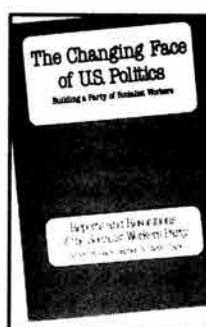
Panama: The truth about the U.S. invasion
by Cindy Jaquith et al., 44 pp., \$2.50



Out Now!
A participant's account of the movement in the U.S. against the Vietnam War
by Fred Halstead, 759 pp., \$29.95



Teamster Bureaucracy
The trade union campaign against World War II, by Farrell Dobbs, 304 pp., \$17.95



The Changing Face of U.S. Politics
The proletarian party and the trade unions, by Jack Barnes, 346 pp., \$18.95

Also from Pathfinder:

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The communist campaign against wartime repression, by James P. Cannon, 362 pp., \$19.95

Fighting Racism in World War II
by George Breitman et al., 376 pp., \$19.95

Socialism and Man in Cuba
by Che Guevara and Fidel Castro, 44 pp., \$2.50

Malcolm X: The Last Speeches
189 pp., \$15.95

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S. Korea rejects North's unification plan

Seoul meeting takes place as South Korea, Soviet Union deepen ties

BY DOUG JENNESS

SEOUL, South Korea — At a meeting between the prime ministers of North and South Korea, held here December 11-14, the South Korean delegation rejected proposals by the representatives from the North to move toward reunification of the country. Korea was divided in 1945 as the result of an agreement between the U.S. and Soviet governments.

The meeting was the third between the two prime ministers in the past four months. The first meeting was held in Seoul in September; the second in Pyongyang, North Korea's capital, in October. A fourth meeting has been scheduled for February 25-28 in Pyongyang. The meetings are being held amid mounting support on the Korean Peninsula and internationally, for the North Korean government's long-standing proposals for reunification.

Yon Hyong Muk, prime minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in the North, called for "adopting a nonaggression declaration between the north and south, concluding a peace agreement between the DPRK and the United States, reducing the armed forces of the north and south drastically, and withdrawing the nuclear weapons and U.S. troops from south Korea."

Since the end of the Korean War in 1953, the U.S. government has never signed a peace treaty with the North, and the two countries are officially still at war. Washington continues to maintain 43,000 troops on Korean soil and has added some 1,000 nuclear weapons to its arsenal in that country.

Yon said that his government had been apprehensive about the prospect for the third round of talks since the first prime ministers' meeting in September. He said several issues "to be settled immediately, are still facing us," among them finding some formula for Korea to enter the United Nations as one member rather than as two members, suspending the U.S.-South Korean annual Team Spirit military exercises, and releasing from jail people from the South who have visited the North.

Under South Korea's National Security Law, any citizen who visits the North or has a meeting with somebody from the North without official authorization is subject to stiff jail terms. According to a leader of the Tokyo-based Minkenkyo (Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in Korea), 1,400 political prisoners are currently in South Korean jails, at least a third of them victims of this law.

South Korean demands, charges

In his address, South Korean Prime Minister Kang Young Hoon contended that before constructive discussion can begin on ending political and military confrontation and signing a nonaggression pact, "it is indispensable to effect exchanges and cooperation."

After accusing the government in the North of continuing "to slander and revile our side," Kang proceeded to raise some old charges aimed at casting suspicions on the North's willingness to abide by a nonaggression pact. Following a 1972 joint communiqué pledging nonaggression between the South and North, he charged, the North built "invasion tunnels" in the Demilitarized Zone and organized terrorist bombings against officials of the Republic of Korea in the South.

The South Korean prime minister presented drafts of two documents: one to improve contacts between the two countries and another on implementing a nonaggression agreement to be discussed by a subcommittee later.

Yon responded that "even though you emphasize peace in general terms, you neglect it in actuality, never considering it as a realistic task whose solution brooks no delay."

"We agree," he said, "to your proposal on solving the humanitarian affairs and the problem of exchange, but we can never agree on postponing the settlement of the military affairs and the problem of peace, which are most urgent."

Yon also referred to the 1972 joint statement. He said that one of the key principles of that document was that national reunification "should be achieved independently without relying on or allowing the interference of outside forces."



North Korean Prime Minister Yon Hyong Muk, left, and South Korean Prime Minister Kang Young Hoon, center, in Seoul for third meeting on reunification. South Korean delegation rejected proposals from North.

However, he continued, even now, 45 years after the country was divided, "your side has not yet abolished the attitude of relying on outside forces."

North's willingness to sign pact

Yon said the main reason Seoul objects to adopting the nonaggression agreement is "mainly because you want to keep the U.S. troops stationed in south Korea." He pointed out, however, that to help advance the process toward reunification, the North was willing to sign a nonaggression accord even short of the withdrawal of U.S. troops.

Yon criticized what Seoul is doing with its "north policy," which is aimed at cementing closer relations with the Chinese and Soviet governments. In accordance with this policy, he said, "your high authorities visit different countries and ask them to help you in 'guiding' us towards 'openness.' This cannot be considered but as an extremely impure and provocative act of forcing us to change our institutions on the strength of others. This act is a glaring manifestation of a brazen challenge to the other side's system and a glaring manifestation of the partitionist stance of rejecting the settlement of the reunification problem through dialogue with the other side."

BY FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK — Nguyen Ngoc Hung, an army veteran who fought U.S. occupation forces in Vietnam, spoke here December 15 at a meeting sponsored by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. The meeting closed Hung's six-week tour of the United States organized by the Indochina Network. As on other stops, many of those who came to hear Hung were U.S. soldiers in Vietnam.

Hung talked about his efforts to further reconciliation and normalization of diplomatic and other relations between the United States and Vietnam. The U.S. government's continuing embargo against trade with Vietnam is a "symbol of hatred and resentment toward the Vietnamese." Many of the veterans present — some of whom had visited Vietnam in recent years — expressed interest in going there. Hung offered to facilitate this after his return home.

In 1969 Hung was inducted into the People's Army of Vietnam, the army of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam or North Vietnam. Serving in the 309th Regiment, he saw combat in Quang Tri and Thua Thien provinces in the northern part of what was then South Vietnam. On May 1, 1975, Hung was among the liberation fighters who marched into Saigon, later renamed Ho Chi Minh City, after the U.S.-dominated regime surrendered and the last U.S. forces were pulled out.

"But you must understand," Yon continued, "that your entreaty diplomacy will only aggravate confrontation and increase distrust, that it can never affect our immutable, thoroughly independent position and our own type of socialist system, which is most superior and stable, and that your wish for any change on our part is a mere illusion."

Roh's trip to Moscow

Even before the prime ministers' meeting was over, South Korean President Roh Tae Woo, along with other top government officials and the heads of 20 major companies, were on an airplane for Moscow. Roh's visit, coming after Seoul and Moscow established diplomatic relations on September 30, was the first to the USSR by a South Korean president. It was played up in a big way here by the media, overshadowing coverage of the prime ministers' meeting. Special newspaper supplements and television documentaries were prepared on the Soviet Union, many of them hailing what they perceive to be social and economic advances of that country. Soviet flags were hoisted along the streets of this city to celebrate the visit.

Roh's visit had two purposes. One was to solicit Moscow's help in lessening "tensions" in the region, which in reality means putting

pressure on the DPRK. The second was to seek opportunities for investment and trade for South Korean capitalists.

With respect to the first, a joint declaration was issued December 14 by Roh and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. It stated that the development of Seoul's ties with Moscow "deepens the processes leading to the removal of confrontational mentality and to the elimination of the Cold War in Asia, contributes to regional cooperation, and facilitates the relaxation of tension and the establishment of a climate of trust for the eventual reunification of South and North Korea."

On the following day, at a news conference in Moscow, Roh announced that Gorbachev had reaffirmed that he would back South Korea's position that both Koreas should join the UN at the same time but separately. The North Korean government argues that separate admission will further institutionalize the acceptance of two Koreas rather than point to reunification. It proposes that the North and South share one seat in the UN until reunification can be achieved.

Up until this year Moscow and Peking, both permanent members of the UN Security Council, have supported this position, thus blocking recognition of a separate seat for South Korea. The five permanent members of the Security Council, which also includes Britain, France, and the United States, must all approve admission of a new member.

Diplomatic ties with China

In addition to Moscow's shift, there is mounting evidence that the Chinese government, which is the only one of the five that does not have diplomatic ties with South Korea, may change its stand on the Korean membership issue before it comes to the next UN session. Economic and political relations between Seoul and Beijing have been steadily improving in the past year. During the September Asian Games in Beijing, for example, the South Korean companies poured \$15 million into China in promotions and donated 400 cars to Beijing's secret police. In early December South Korea opened a trade office in Beijing and appointed a top foreign policy official as its head.

The Korea Trade Promotion Corp. announced December 13 that shipments from South Korea to China are estimated to exceed \$1.6 billion this year, a 9.5 percent increase over 1990.

On December 15 the Korea, China, USSR Association was set up to promote exchanges in the economic, social, and cultural fields.

While China expands trade with the South, the December 14 issue of the Japanese financial daily *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* reported, it plans to reduce shipments of crude oil to

Continued on Page 10

Vietnamese veteran ends six-week tour

BY FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK — Nguyen Ngoc Hung, an army veteran who fought U.S. occupation forces in Vietnam, spoke here December 15 at a meeting sponsored by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. The meeting closed Hung's six-week tour of the United States organized by the Indochina Network. As on other stops, many of those who came to hear Hung were U.S. soldiers in Vietnam.

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After the war Hung became an English teacher. He now teaches at the Foreign Language Center in the capital city of Hanoi where he makes \$10 a month. "In Vietnam today," he said, "everyone must work very, very hard to survive."

During his tour, Hung said that the issue of U.S. combatants who are still recorded as "missing in action" in Vietnam and neighboring Laos was very intense. "There is no arguing with people who are caught up in claims that some U.S. soldiers are still being held prisoner in Indochina," he said. "Instead, I took down the names of missing soldiers provided by family members who spoke to me and will seek information about them when I return."

"There are no U.S. soldiers being held in Vietnam," he explained. Continued U.S. government claims about soldiers "missing in action" have "created a real obstacle to reconciliation and normalization of relations," he said.

Hung said he has met with Vietnam veterans in every city he has visited. "I have seen former soldiers who are still living in the jungle, still fighting the war in their minds. Many others were hostile or suspicious at first, but become more relaxed as we discussed our experiences and the facts about Vietnam today. There are those who distinguish between the Vietnamese government and the Vietnamese people, and very much

want reconciliation and closer ties with the people of Vietnam. Others see that the U.S. war was wrong and want to help undo the damage done to both sides."

Hung was asked what he thought about the escalating U.S. war moves in the Arab-Persian Gulf. He explained that 16,000 Vietnamese workers are trapped in Iraq today. After the U.S. war against Vietnam ended in 1975, the Iraqi government extended loans to Vietnam. When Saddam Hussein demanded immediate payment, the hard-pressed Vietnamese government agreed to send laborers to Iraq to work off the debt.

Now, Hung said, Hussein won't let them leave. "Some of the Vietnamese workers have died of hunger and disease as the embargo has tightened and tension has increased," Hung said.

"I believe there are other ways than war to resolve this," he continued. "In every city I have visited, I have seen the many unemployed, disabled, and homeless veterans. I would hate to see more veterans coming home with such problems from a war with Iraq. And I think of the Iraqi people. It is they and not Saddam Hussein who will face destruction and death."

Hung said he believed that "international pressure can force Saddam Hussein from Kuwait but this will take patience."

British meeting discusses farmers' fight

BY CRAIG HONTES

STONELEIGH, ENGLAND — More than 100 people, including 25 farmers, attended a conference at the National Agricultural Centre in Warwickshire, England, in November to discuss "Farm Policy and the Environment." The impact on working farmers of current negotiations by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was one of the central discussions at the meeting. Sponsored by the Farmers World Network, an organization in Britain that brings together farmers, agronomists, environmentalists, and specialists involved in the development of agriculture in the Third World, the conference provided an opportunity for a broad discussion of some fundamental problems facing farmers today.

The largest workshop was entitled "Cuba and Latin America: Farming, the Environment, and the GATT Talks." It was addressed

by Carlos Tablada, Cuban economist and author of *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*. Ernesto Che Guevara was a leader of the Cuban revolution.

More than 50 conference participants attended the two workshops given by Tablada. He reviewed the development of agriculture since Cuban workers and farmers came to power in 1959, and how farmers worldwide can join together to overcome growing economic problems.

Tablada also explained how the U.S. rulers have prevented land reform from taking place in Latin America. He gave the example of the 1954 CIA-backed coup against Jacobo Arbenz, then president of Guatemala, and the subsequent reversal of a land reform program begun during his administration.

"Capitalism in my country had not given land to those who worked it," Tablada said.

"But with the revolution in 1959, land was distributed free to the peasants who were farming it, special banks were established for cheap credit, peasants gained access to farm implements, and brigades were organized to teach the peasantry to read and write."

Tablada also explained that on large capitalist-owned estates, which were worked primarily by farm workers, agricultural production was reorganized into state farms. "Through 30 years of revolution, Cuba has made huge advances in agricultural production and technology, developing disease-resistant crops that don't require ecologically destructive inputs," Tablada said.

Throughout the conference, there were many discussions and debates on the meaning of the December GATT trade talks in Brussels. Since the current round of talks opened in Uruguay in 1986, there has been extensive disagreement on government-sponsored

farm subsidy programs and tariffs among representatives of 107 participating countries.

Tablada was asked in the workshop if he supported the proposal in the GATT negotiations by the United States and a coalition of 14 agricultural exporting countries known as the Cairns Group. The group includes Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, the Philippines, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

This proposal calls for a 75 percent reduction in farm programs and a 90 percent reduction in export subsidies. For the countries signing the agreement, the price received by farmers for agricultural products would drop to the level of the world market price.

Tablada responded by referring to a 1964 speech by Guevara at the UN Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva. Guevara characterized the GATT, the International Monetary Fund, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development as examples of organizations in the service of U.S. imperialism. They work to the detriment of peasants in the Third World and farmers in the advanced capitalist countries, he said.

Tablada said that Che had noted the absence of these peasants and farmers at international forums on trade and financial policies. This situation has not changed over the last 25 years. "The passage of the GATT proposals put forward by the United States will mean devastation for farmers in the United States, Europe, and the Third World," Tablada said. "What I propose is an international conference where farmers in Europe and North America sit down directly with farmers of the Third World and work out a just, equitable solution to the problems in world trade that farmers face," Tablada said. "I feel confident that without the grain corporations and multinationals in the way, farmers would be able to work out a mutually beneficial solution."

A lively debate around the GATT was touched off after Guy Trehane, a farmer from Dorset, England, presented the view that support for the GATT proposals would benefit both the Third World and the environment. Others disagreed, saying that the proposals would lead to farmers being driven off the land in both advanced capitalist and Third World countries as prices of basic farm commodities on the world market plummet.

At the conference, 10 British farmers presented a slide show on their recent visit with farmers in France. The farmers said they discovered they held more in common with each other than they had imagined. Participants expressed the hope that exchanges could be organized with farmers in other countries as well.

S. Korea rejects unification proposals

Continued from Page 9

North Korea because of payment delays. Beijing is demanding payments in hard currency. The Soviet government had already announced that it will require North Korea to pay in cash for oil and other goods beginning Jan. 1, 1991.

During Roh's trip to Moscow, accords were signed granting tax relief and other concessions to South Korean firms investing in the USSR. At the same time, a meeting of science ministers from South Korea and the Soviet Union adopted a protocol agreeing to collaborate on atomic energy projects. South Korea generates half of its electricity using nuclear power, ranking third highest of any country in the world in dependence on nuclear energy.

The Soviet government also explicitly agreed not to aid any atomic energy projects of the North and to join with the South in pressuring Pyongyang to comply with the safeguard agreement of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The DPRK, which signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1985, refuses to sign the safeguard provision until Washington withdraws its nuclear weapons from the South.

When Moscow reestablished diplomatic relations with South Korea three months ago, North Korean authorities characterized it as a "betrayal" of the fight to reunify Korea. An editorial in the October 5 *Rodong Sinmun*, the daily of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, noted that this move was "an offspring of covert Soviet-U.S. collusion."

"From this," the paper stated, "the implications of the 'new thinking' and 'ideology-free international relations' ardently advocated by the Soviet Union are evident."

"They mean, in essence, making 'friends' with Uncle Sam, meekly accepting whatever he demands, and winning his favor in order to preserve peace."

The editorial noted that Moscow does not want "to stand against the United States in support of its 'ally,' the DPRK, concerning the Korean issue, but rather subordinates the DPRK to its strategic plan, hand in hand with its 'companion,' the United States."

As the process of the prime ministers' discussions has unfolded, cultural and athletic exchanges have increased. Inter-Korean soccer matches have been held and the two sides have agreed to field a single Olympic team for the 1992 Summer Games in Barcelona, Spain, as well as for the 41st World Table Tennis Championship in 1991, the Winter Asian Games, and other major international sports events.

A 17-member delegation of South Korean musicians performed in a series of concerts in Pyongyang in October.

On the eve of the December prime ministers' meeting, a group of 29 North Korean musicians participated in three concerts in Seoul with South Korean musicians, two of them open to the public and one for the delegates to the prime ministers' meeting. Tickets for both public performances were sold out within minutes after being made available. Each concert was televised later on the evening that it was held.

The singers and instrumentalists played primarily traditional Korean music, with one troupe playing the first half of each concert and the other the second. At the end of the final public concert, the musicians from both sides joined together to sing a rendition of "Our Wish Is Unifica-

tion," a song highly popular among activists for reunification on both sides of the border. It was the first time that musicians from North and South shared the stage in Seoul since Korea was divided.

Fifty North Korean reporters also came with the delegation to the prime ministers' meeting from Pyongyang. During the talks, several reporters left the Hotel Shilla, the site of the meeting, and visited Dongguk University and the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, interviewed people on the street, and visited the family of imprisoned student activist Rim Su Gyong. Rim is in jail for an unauthorized trip to the North in 1989.

At Hankuk University the reporters met with leaders of the student association and were given a banner-sized photo of Rim.

The journalists' activities were sharply protested by South Korean spokesman Kim Hyong Ki at a press briefing.

The *Han-Kyo-Reh Sinmun* (*One People's News*), a mass circulation daily here founded in May 1988 by fighters for democratic rights, however, ran a prominent front-page article and photograph of the students presenting the photo of Rim to the reporters.

The North Korean press delegation won praise from foreign correspondents when it released the text of Yon's speech at the prime ministers' meeting in Spanish and French as well as in Korean and English.

Campaign to sell 'Militant' launched

Continued from front page

Mideast! during the campaign can get a complimentary copy of the *ISR*. Members of the Young Socialist Alliance will join with socialist workers in their efforts to reach out to strikes, struggles, and battles of unionists, as well as working farmers and GIs at military bases.

"The *International Socialist Review* and the weekly *Militant* provide the facts, analysis, and political direction needed today by fighting workers. They effectively arm us to act in our interests in defending ourselves against the assaults on our rights, standard of living, and unions that will sharpen as Washington's war drive deepens," said Meryl Lynn Farber.

Farber, an assembly worker at Air Techniques in New York and member of the International Union of Electronic Workers, is the elected National coordinator of the socialists' work in the IUE.

Farber reported that socialists in the IUE decided on a goal of selling 15 *Militant* subscriptions and 35 copies of *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!* However, because of their success during the first two weeks, they raised the goal to 25 subscriptions and 40 books. So far they have won three new *Militant* subscribers and sold 17 books.

Kaethejean Bleicher, a member of IUE Local 416 working at the Delco-Remy car battery plant in New Jersey, said six socialists

in the New York - New Jersey area took a goal of 10 subscriptions and 20 books. During the first two weeks, Bleicher sold eight copies of the antiwar book and two *Militant* subscriptions. "One coworker, a Korean War veteran, bought a copy of *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!* and said none of the U.S. wars were in the interest of the common people," she reported.

Militant supporters who are members of the United Transportation Union and work on the railroad adopted a goal of selling 50 subscriptions to the paper and 100 copies of *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!*

UTU member Jeff Hamill, an assistant conductor at Amtrak out of Oakland, California, reported that recently, as one of his coworkers was reading the *Militant*, a passenger asked about the paper and informed them he used to subscribe. "He decided to renew on the spot," said Hamill, "and after looking over the book, *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!*, decided to buy it as well."

Each week the *Militant* will report on the progress of the campaign and feature a scoreboard of results. Participants are encouraged to send in news on their experiences during the effort. Readers who would like to join in the effort can order a weekly bundle of *Militants*, a supply of *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!* books, and bundles of the *International Socialist Review* by writing the *Militant* business office at 410 West Street, New York, N.Y., 10014.

Campaign to sell *Militant*, *International Socialist Review*, and *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!*



1330
TOTAL

1210

1090

970

850

730

610

490

360

240

120

UNION

GOALS

	'Militant' Subscriptions	Mideast Book
Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union	36	42
International Association of Machinists	170	170
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union	27	30
International Union of Electronic Workers	25	40
Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers	50	100
United Auto Workers	100	50
United Food and Commercial Workers	85	70
United Mine Workers of America	22	28
United Steelworkers of America	68	66
United Transportation Union	50	100
Total	633	696

*The total subscriptions sold will include those to the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*, the French-language *Lutte ouvrière*. Goals for the *International Socialist Review* will be announced next week.

Women's status declines in Nicaragua

Eight women workers discuss jobs, abortion, and political opportunities

BY SUSAN APSTEIN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — A change noticeable here in recent years is the decline in women's standing in society — from the decrease in women's participation in political life to the barrage of advertising presenting women as sexual objects.

Typical of such ads is a TV and radio spot that suggests drinking Victoria beer will net you an attractive girlfriend. "A blonde for you — with gusto," it promises.

This degrading image of women is in contrast with the early years of the 1979 Nicaraguan revolution that overthrew dictator Anastasio Somoza and established a government of workers and farmers. Led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), the government gave a strong impulse to the struggle of Nicaraguan women for equality and against oppression.

Nicaraguan women who work in industrial jobs are some of the strongest defenders of the early gains on women's rights. They also have many observations about how the retreat in their fight for liberation unfolded.

Blanca Guerrero and Socorro Flores work at the El Triunfo garment plant. They view the fact that their wages are equal to men's, as well as women's participation in the union and other political organizations, as big gains brought by the revolution.

'Considered human beings'

Flores is 42 years old and began working at El Triunfo when she was 14. With the revolution "we began to be considered human beings at work," she says. Maternity benefits and leaves to tend to a sick child were also part of this.

Guerrero began working at the factory seven years ago. Before that, her main political activity, along with that of many women who worked in the home or marketplace, was through participation in the Sandinista Defense Committee (CDS) in her neighborhood.

The CDSes were units of a mass organization that politically mobilized working people in their communities to defend against counterrevolutionary attacks and advance the social goals of the revolution. Guerrero led reconstruction efforts in her neighborhood, hard-hit by Somoza's bombing during the insurrection, organizing 200 CDS members. Later she helped lead in the formation of a massive educational health campaign that actively involved hundreds of her neighbors.

Guerrero continued to help lead the work of the CDS after she began working at El Triunfo, but in 1986 stopped participating because the demands of work and care of the household and her four children became too great.

'Our world was the home'

Rosa María Lagos has worked at El Triunfo for three years. She explains the revolution made it possible for her to seek work.

"It was a liberation for us," she says. "Before, our world was the home. And you simply did what the man ordered you to do. Then we discovered we had a contribution to make not just there, but at work and in defense of the country."

"I think this was the only good thing the revolution did, but I'm grateful to it for that," Lagos says. "I was never a big supporter of the FSLN," she adds, noting her support for Violeta Chamorro in the February 1990 presidential elections.

Lagos is angry about the big layoffs in workplaces and factories carried out by the FSLN-led government in 1988 and 1989 as part of an austerity program. Known as the *compactación*, or "consolidation" of the work force, it hit many plants hard; El Triunfo went from 350 to 120 workers.

"It was done to give less value to the women who were laid off," Lagos charges. "They didn't even get other jobs."

Lagos believes that many people have either forgotten or now reject the view of women as equal, productive members of society. "At least for some time after the revolution we had the government's support," she remarks.

"But if we're conscious of our subjugation



Militant/Susan Apstein

Worker at state-owned Carnic meatpacking plant. With Nicaraguan revolution, women were able to get jobs at Carnic plant.

as women, I don't understand why we are letting this happen," she says.

Debate on abortion rights

Lagos talks about the debate on abortion rights that began under the FSLN-led government.

"That discussion was never finished," she says, referring to a public debate initiated in 1985 by the FSLN daily *Barricada* on whether to legalize abortion. The discussion included a series of reports on the hundreds of women dying each year from illegal, botched abortions.

The exchange of views continued over several months, including articles and opinion columns in the country's two other dailies as well. Then it abruptly ended.

Lagos believes that abortion should have been legalized so that a couple isn't forced to have a child when they are not prepared to and so that women do not have to resort to back-alley abortionists.

The discussion begun in the pages of the newspapers continued in many workplaces, rural areas, and schools throughout the country.

Ramona Vargas, a union leader at Enavés, the largest clothing factory here, describes the debate in her plant.

"Every time the power in the plant would go out and we stopped work, the discussion on abortion would start up," she says. "Most argued against making it legal because contraceptives are available. But those who were for legalizing said, how can you be in favor

of bringing an unwanted child into the world?"

"My own opinion," Vargas adds, "is that abortion should have been legalized, but only during the first two months of pregnancy."

Women mechanics

Vargas was one of the first women mechanics in the textile industry. Along with 15 others, she was trained in 1986 by Enavés in a pilot program.

"It was a big victory for us," she says, "proving we could do a job they said only a man could do."

As of 1989, however, only two of the women mechanics were still working at Enavés. Vargas says some found jobs at other factories, but that by 1989 the majority were no longer working as mechanics, having been laid off, or having quit work because of the pressures of household work and care of the family.

Rail union leader Marlene Caligaris describes problems confronted in a training program several years ago for women railroad workers. Fifteen women trained for jobs held exclusively by men, including engineer, conductor, brake mechanic, and welder.

"The program didn't work out," Caligaris says, "because the women always had problems at home, with their children, and weren't able to maintain participation in the classes."

"The key thing was child care. I think we could have done it if we had had that available here for the women," she added, "and better transportation to work."

Jobs in meat-packing plant

María Theresa Cano works in the deboning department at Carnic, the state-owned meatpacking plant, and is one of a few women who worked there before the revolution. She says that with the revolution, women were able to fight to get jobs at the plant, including jobs only men had performed. Over a period of several years, 100 women were hired out of a work force of 420.

The women also put an end to the constant sexual harassment by bosses they had been subjected to at Carnic, Cano says. "I'm going to run you out of here if you don't do what I say," is what they'd tell you, she describes. "There are now laws and the Constitution that protect our rights as women," Cano explains.

Another fight waged by women beginning in 1980 was to participate not just in militias organized at the workplace, but also in reserve battalions that trained in the mountains for weeks at a time. Young women, students, housewives, and working women were reservists.

Socorro Mejía, who works at the Agrotex textile plant in Granada, was mobilized in the reserves for seven months in Puerto Cabezas on the North Atlantic Coast in 1986. Her unit of 200 included 40 women. In addition to carrying out military duties, the

reservists built a school and installed electricity in communities in the area.

Many women, Mejía says, had to fight to win acceptance from their families and from male reservists.

"In my case, when I got back from serving, my husband divorced me," she says.

But serving in the reserves, Mejía says, "gave me the confidence I can do just about anything."

Radical changes

Mabel Aguirre is also a woman whose life changed radically because of the revolution. In 1979, she was a domestic worker, having begun working at the age of 12. In the first years of the revolution she took classes to learn how to read and write and to get a job as a sewing machine operator. At the Agrotex plant, Aguirre trained to become a mechanic.

She was a leader of her CDS and later of her union.

Aguirre says the women mechanics' training program got off to a good start "but never became generalized." A big limitation, she says, was the lack of child care facilities at the factories.

"Many women pushed themselves hard in those first years after the revolution to do everything — work, take care of the home and the children, and participate in the revolutionary organizations," Aguirre recounts. "But we needed more child care centers. Some were built in factories and in the countryside. But not enough."

In addition to objective limitations on women's ability to participate, another factor, Aguirre said, was the campaign by the Catholic church hierarchy to win women away from the revolutionary organizations.

"The church's campaign against the FSLN, which got going in a big way in 1983 and 1984, had an effect in the CDSes," she says. "The church mainly used the issue of the military draft and got a response among many women afraid of losing their sons."

Aguirre believes another limitation women faced was not having enough access to, and education about, contraceptives. She also believes that abortion should have been legalized.

"I know that many people are opposed to abortion for humanistic reasons and I respect that," Aguirre says, "but I think that women have to be valued more highly."

The pervasive portrayal of women as sexual objects in advertising, absent in the early years of the revolution, is something that has disturbed Aguirre. She says the return of beauty contests to Nicaragua in 1988 was a turning point.

"I'm against these so-called 'beauty' contests," she says, "because we're telling young women they're just objects on display for men."

"I'd rather see valued what's truly beautiful in a person — their moral values, convictions, their humanity."

Team works with Puerto Rican artist to restore paintings hit by vandals

BY MERYL LYNN FARBER

NEW YORK — A team of volunteers is working to restore a collection of political paintings by Puerto Rican artist Robert Coane. The paintings were slashed during or after a burglary of his studio in September. Photographs of Coane were also vandalized. Paintings by Coane's studio mate and photos of other subjects were not destroyed.

Coane had been working on the paintings for a year. They were being prepared for consideration in art shows at the Museum of Contemporary Hispanic Art (Mocha) and for the Alternative Museum here. Coane missed both museums' deadlines as a result of the attack.

One of the slashed works was a self-portrait, entitled *Portrait of the Artist with Donors*, depicting Coane gagged with a U.S. flag. Around the self-portrait are newspaper clippings covering the fight against art censorship and the images of three censorship proponents — Sen. Jesse Helms, Sen. Alphonse D'Amato, and Christina Orr-Cahall, who was

the director of the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C., when the Robert Mapplethorpe photo exhibit was canceled in 1989.

In another of Coane's paintings, honoring the Nicaraguan revolution, the eye of a figure was cut out. In addition, a large work depicting threats to the voting rights of minorities was slashed.

"The restoration process is long and painstaking, with each work being pasted together first and then retouched," the artist explained.

Coane was one of the 80 artists who participated in the Pathfinder mural project. He painted the several portraits on the six-story mural in Manhattan, including Puerto Rican independence fighter Lolita Lebrón, Cuban revolutionary Celia Sánchez, and Haitian independence fighter Toussaint L'Ouverture. When the mural was vandalized in December 1989, a month after it had been unveiled, Coane was among those who condemned the attack and defended the right of the mural to exist.



Militant/Selva Nebbia

Portrait of Lolita Lebrón, one of several by Coane on Pathfinder Mural.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Korea: The Fight for Reunification. Video Korea: *The Unknown War* Speaker: Dave Paparello, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America Local 9226. Sat., Jan. 5, 7:30 p.m. 111 21st St. S. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

Blacks in America's Wars: From World War I to U.S.-Led War Drive in the Middle East. Speaker: Pat Hunt, Socialist Workers Party, member United Transportation Union Local 847. Sat., Jan. 12, 7:30 p.m. 111 21st St. S. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Panama: One Year After the U.S. Invasion. Video and speaker: Eric Castillo, UCLA student, Empowerment Project, participant in Havana Film Festival. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 5, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

The Drive Toward War in the Middle East. Discussion with students, workers, veterans. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 12, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

FLORIDA

Miami

Antiwar Activist Tours Jordan and Iraq: Eyewitness Report and Slide Show. Speaker: Ilana Bakal, participant, Fellowship of Reconciliation December tour. Sat., Jan. 5, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Racism on Campus. Speaker: Eric Matheis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city treasurer, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Jan. 12, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

Military Personnel Against the War. Sat., Jan. 19, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Panama: One Year Later. Speaker: Neil Callender, Boston Young Socialist Alliance chairperson. Sat., Jan. 5, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Cuba's Role in World Politics Today. Speaker: Joanne Murphy, Socialist Workers Party, United Food and Commercial Workers Local 26. Sat., Jan. 5, 7:30 p.m. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

Workers View Coming War. Discussion with auto workers, machinists, meat-packers, others. Sat., Jan. 12, 7:30 p.m. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

Romulus

The Eastern Strikers Holiday Fund-Raiser. Speaker: Charles Bryan, president District 100 International Association of Machinists; music and refreshments. Fri., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. United Auto Workers Local 157, 29841 Van Born Rd. Donation: \$10 to IAM EAL Strike Fund. For more information call IAM Local Lodge 141, (313) 946-5335.

MINNESOTA

Austin

The International Farm Crisis Today: Report-Back on Farm Conferences and Discussion of New Challenges Facing Family Farmers. Speakers: Don Gooden, farmer, member Community Organizations Acting Together; Terry Cunningham, farmer, member Land Stewardship Project; Jerry Nash, member Iowa National Farmers Union, Prairie Fire, Iowa Family Farm Unity Coalition; Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers, participant in October Emergency Summit Conference of the American Agriculture Movement and "Farm Policy and the Environment" conference in England. Sat., Jan. 5, 7:30 p.m. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (507) 433-3461.

St. Paul

The Fight Against Imperialist War: World War I to Today. Every Wed., Jan. 9 - Feb. 27, 5 p.m. University of Minnesota, Room 308, Coffman Union. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Stop the Death Penalty. Speakers: Del Roper, Nebraskans Against the Death Penalty steering committee, St. Luke United Methodist

Church associate pastor; Paul Farrand, Nebraskans Against the Death Penalty steering committee; Lee Oleson, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 271. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 5, 7 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

Cuba's Role Against the War in the Middle East. Speaker: representative, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 12, 7 p.m. Translation to Spanish. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

The Struggle of Workers and Toilers in Haiti Today. Speakers: Meryl Lynn Farber, Socialist Workers Party, member International Union of Electrical Workers Local 485; representative, *Haiti Progrès*. Sat., Jan. 5, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (212) 675-6740.

U.S. Hands Off the Middle East! Speaker: James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago. Sat., Jan. 12, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. 2nd floor. Donation: \$4. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (212) 675-6740.

UTAH

Price

"No U.S. War in the Middle East! No Blood

Socialists discuss campaign against war

Continued from Page 8

our troops! Bring them home now!" in a working-class campaign. The slogan had confused workers when it was used on a placard at a table set up by antiwar activists at a union gathering. Workers didn't know what side the activists were on. They were confused by the placard.

Those gathered at the Political Committee meeting concluded that this slogan obscures some of the very questions that it is necessary to talk out with fellow workers. It disarms vanguard workers, who above all need clarity on which class benefits from this war and which class loses. It bends to the pressure of the right wing, while doing nothing to advance understanding among working people that they are the class brothers and sisters of the Iraqi workers and farmers, who are also victims of the war drive.

The army is not "ours"; that is, not the army of the working class, participants noted. It is the army of the imperialists. As with employer efforts to get workers to identify with "our" company, the "support our troops" slogan is used by the rulers to deepen patriotic, prowar attitudes.

The union bureaucracy

"Our efforts have to be directed toward our coworkers and the ranks of the union movement. They are the ones that we must be the most concerned about. They are the only solid bases on which to build a consistent opposition to the employers' war at home and abroad," said Jeff Powers, organizer of socialist workers in the automobile industry.

Powers remarked that one of the obstacles communists will confront in building a campaign in the trade unions against the war will be illusions in the antiwar sentiments of the union bureaucracy and petty-bourgeois rad-

icals who function in and around the union movement.

These forces easily speak against the war drive now, circulating and signing petitions against the outbreak of armed conflict. However, they assiduously avoid pointing out the class origins of the war drive. Their limited opposition will quickly dissipate with the outbreak of war.

But worse than simply disappearing, many of them will use their credibility as union leaders and radicals to lead workers into support of the war effort. This will disorient those who look to them for leadership.

Communists set goals

The expanded Political Committee meeting decided on several goals for the work of trade union members and supporters of the SWP over the next several months.

Priority was given to organizing and upgrading the level of workers' correspondence that is sent into the *Militant*. Leading up to the expanded Political Committee meeting socialist workers were involved in many union fights and other struggles that were not reported in the *Militant*. Writing up these experiences of working-class resistance and the discussions taking place in the plants, mines, refineries, and among working farmers for the *Militant* will help generalize the lessons of these struggles for a wider layer of the working class.

Socialists in each union are also taking goals for selling *Militant* subscriptions, the Pathfinder book *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*, and the December *International Socialist Review* supplement to the *Militant* that contains the article by Barnes on "Working-class campaign against imperialist war drive." Sales of subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* and *Lutte ouvrière* will also be counted, but the

major emphasis of the sales effort will be to encourage workers to buy subscriptions to the *Militant* so they can get the paper every week. The campaign will last through March 1.

Communist unionists will take steps to strengthen participation in weekly financial contributions to the party and special fundraising efforts.

They will also deepen their work in the labor movement to organize and build participation in national and local mobilizations against the imperialist war drive; reach out to other unionists, farmers, and to GIs and reservists at various bases and transportation centers around the country with the antiwar campaign; and run communist candidates in local and state elections.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

Concert Against the Gulf War. Featuring: Kantuta; Beaver; Johnny Come Lately; David Parkyn. Wed., Jan. 16, 7:30 p.m. Freemans Bay Community Centre. Donation: \$10.

Wellington

March Against War in the Middle East. Tues., Jan. 15, noon. Assemble: Pigeon Park. March to Parliament. Sponsor: Committee on the Gulf Crisis. Meetings every Sun., 4:30 p.m., St. John's Church, Willis and Dixon streets. For more information call (4) 828-129.

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find Pathfinder books and distributors of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International*, *Nouvelle Internationale*, and *Lutte ouvrière*.

UNITED STATES

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

ARIZONA: Phoenix: 1809 W. Indian School Rd. Zip: 85015. Tel: (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** 3702 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 420-1165. **San Francisco:** 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

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

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

GEORGIA: Atlanta: 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd Floor. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

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

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NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: 2219 E Market. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

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UTAH: Price: 253 E. Main St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** 147 E 900 South. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

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London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 71-401 2293.

Manchester: Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Postal

code: M4 4AA. Tel: 061-839 1766.

Sheffield: 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St., Sheffield S3 8GW. Tel: 0742-729469.

CANADA

Montréal: 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Postal code: H2S 3C6. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Toronto: 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400. Postal code: M5V 1S8. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

Vancouver: 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Postal code: V5V 3C7. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

ICELAND

Reykjavik: Klapparstíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Tel: (91) 17513.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: 157a Symonds St. Postal Address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 793-075.

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

Wellington: 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Postal address: P.O. Box 9092. Tel: (4) 844-205.

SWEDEN

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

Role models — A bank in Marlboro, Massachusetts, was robbed by a man wearing a Richard Nixon mask. And in Olathe, Kansas, a res-



Harry Ring

taurant was held up by a man wearing a George Bush mask. (He got caught when his getaway car wouldn't start.)

A trip — A Senate survey found that drug companies are spending

some \$165 million a year in gifts, trips and cash to influence doctors to prescribe their products. Perhaps the most creative was the company which offered air travel frequent flier points for each prescription written.

Frequent fliers — Over the past decade, the reported inflation rate totalled 58 percent. During the same period, prescription drug prices increased 152 percent.

He's working — "I don't think it's the end of the world even if we have a recession. We'll pull out of it again. No big deal." — Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady.

Tough situation — In Boston,

overextended commercial property owners can barely squeeze another dime out of the banks. Harold Brown, one of the city's top commercial landlords, who may go bust, says, "there is very little capital available right now unless it's a small loan, \$1 million or \$2 million."

The Israeli Goliath (I) — As the Palestinian *intifada* entered its fourth year, Israeli soldiers in the West Bank and Gaza added a new weapon to their arsenal — an anti-graffiti gun which sprays black paint over Palestinian freedom slogans.

The Israeli Goliath (II) — In the West Bank, an Israeli military

court sentenced Hijazi al-Tameizi to three months in jail or a \$1,000 fine. He was accused of distributing balloons to children on Palestine Independence day.

Rapid service — GTE, the California phone company, held seminars to disabuse their customer service reps of the odd notion that speed comes before customers. But, reports the *Wall Street Journal*, "the message got muddled: While employees now believe that the customer comes first, they remain confused by GTE's continued emphasis on speed, which includes timing how long workers talk to each caller."

Like, "better you than me" —

Pay cuts may provoke workers to rip off company property, but a good presentation on the cuts can minimize the problem, according to Prof. Jerald Greenberg of Ohio State University. The trick, he says, is to explain to the workers in a "socially sensitive" way "why it was necessary for them to suffer this inequity."

U.S. wins again — The Census Bureau said that the gap between U.S. rich and poor widened in the past decade and this was also true of four other countries studied — Canada, West Germany, Sweden and Australia. Among these, the U.S. rich/poor gap was the greatest, with Canada second.

U.S. war drive disrupts the Philippine economy

BY RUSSELL JOHNSON

"The Philippine economy is inching toward disaster in a stunning reversal of a four-year expansion" since Corazon Aquino replaced dictator Ferdinand Marcos in 1986, Manila correspondent Rigoberto Tiglao wrote in the November 8 *Far Eastern Economic Review*. "The most immediate threat is of a foreign-exchange crisis that could force Manila to default on either commercial bank or official debt before the end of the year."

At the center of this crisis is the impact of the soaring world price of crude oil. This threatens to add more than \$1 billion onto Manila's oil import bill this year. The Philippines depends on imported oil for transportation, cooking, and at least 40 percent of electricity generation. Twenty percent of that oil came from Kuwait and Iraq, now cut off since Washington imposed an embargo as part of its war drive against Iraq.

The Arab-Persian Gulf crisis has also disrupted one of the major sources of foreign exchange to pay the oil bill — remittances from 500,000 Filipinos working in the Gulf oil states. Up to 100,000 of these workers have been displaced from Kuwait and Iraq and are trying to return home, lengthening already long unemployment lines.

Pressure from IMF, banks

In addition, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other banking agencies are withholding from Manila more than \$700 million in new loans, as part of their pressure on the Aquino government to remove subsidies on fuel prices, devalue the peso, and carry out other harsh austerity policies.

Aquino is especially reluctant to remove fuel subsidies, because previous steep rises in oil prices in 1987 and 1989 spurred massive social unrest, throwing the government into political crisis and opening the door to rightist military putsches.

In both September and October of last year, labor unions led by the May 1 Movement (KMU) staged major strikes against fuel price increases, paralyzing transport in Manila and other cities.

Even before the oil price crisis, both houses of the Philippine Congress had passed bills calling on Aquino to impose a moratorium on servicing the \$30 billion foreign debt in order to free up funds to rebuild parts of the country devastated by earthquakes and monsoon storms in July.

Inflation, running at more than 15 percent a year threatens to go still higher because of ballooning government debt. The debt is "feeding on itself," Finance Secretary Jesus Estanislao said, with the government issuing

new bonds at 30 percent interest just to pay the interest on the existing bonds.

By November, however, the government had capitulated to the IMF demands. New price rises were expected to bring gasoline prices to double what they had been in August. The official value of the peso was cut a further 8 percent, meaning that the currency has been devalued 50 percent in relation to the dollar since 1986, two-thirds of that in the past year alone.

Meanwhile, Washington has been using its military buildup in the Gulf to increase the pressure on Manila to agree to retain the massive U.S. military bases in the Philippines after September 1991, when the treaty authorizing their presence is set to expire.

The Pentagon is especially keen to hold on to the Subic Bay naval base. Subic was the center of Washington's naval operations in the Gulf in support of Iraq during the Iran-Iraq war, and would play a major role in any prolonged assault on Iraq.

Opposition to the U.S. military presence continues to grow, fueled in part by fears the Philippines will be dragged into the war Washington is preparing against Iraq, as it was during Washington's wars against the Vietnamese and Korean peoples. In September, on the eve of the new negotiations with the U.S. government, Aquino came out publicly for the first time against retaining the bases, calling for an "orderly withdrawal" by Washington and establishment of Philippine sovereignty over the facilities.

Washington responded by writing a pri-



Residents of a slum in the Philippines. Strikes have been held to protest fuel price hikes. Militant/Russell Johnson

vate letter to the Philippine negotiators, said the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, accusing them of grandstanding and striking a discordant note at a time when the United States faces war in the Middle East. Publicly, however, it announced the withdrawal of its combat squadrons from Clark air base, while renewing its demand to retain the Subic base and access to Clark into the 21st century.

Soaring crude-oil prices are also hitting

other Asian and Pacific countries hard, accelerating recessionary trends in major Asian economies dependent on imported oil like Japan and Taiwan, according to the *New Zealand Herald*. The *Pacific Islands Monthly* reports a sharpening impact on the island economies of the South Pacific, because of their nearly total dependence on imported fuel for electricity generation and because of air and sea transportation costs for goods.

Australia rally launches campaign to protest jail sentence of framed-up political activist

BY KATE BLAKENEY

SYDNEY, Australia — A campaign has been launched here to protest the frame-up conviction of political activist Tim Anderson. He was accused of the murder of three people who died when a bomb exploded outside the Sydney Hilton Hotel in 1978. The conviction has met with widespread opposition in Australia.

On November 12 Anderson was sentenced to 14 years in jail. This is the second time he has been framed on criminal charges related to the "terrorism" scare that erupted after the hotel bombing.

In 1978 Anderson was the Australian public relations spokesperson for Ananda Marga, an India-based religious group, which was demanding that the government of India release an imprisoned Ananda Marga leader. Ananda Marga and other groups had organized demonstrations outside a meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government at the Sydney hotel.

A bomb exploded outside during the meeting, killing two garbage collectors and a policeman. Ananda Marga was widely smeared by the police and news media as being responsible.

In this atmosphere three Ananda Marga members, including Anderson, were framed and convicted on an unrelated charge — a conspiracy to murder the leader of the National Front, a small rightist group. They were sentenced to 16 years.

After a lengthy defense campaign the three were pardoned by the New South Wales government in 1985. In 1987 they received \$100,000 each in compensation.

Following his release from prison, Anderson remained in Sydney where he became involved in a range of political activities including the fight against apartheid in South Africa, Aboriginal rights, and prison reform. He is no longer a member of Ananda Marga.

The new frame-up rests on the testimony of former Ananda Marga member Evan Pederick and of a long-term prisoner, Raymond Denning.

Denning, who turned police informer after he was recaptured following a prison escape in 1988, said Anderson admitted to organizing the bombing.

The day after Anderson was arrested Pederick claimed that he had made and planted the bomb in 1978 under Anderson's influence.

Pederick became the prosecution's star witness. Records of his interviews with police indicate that Pederick's testimony was moulded considerably by police questioning. He was coached on such key points as the size and nature of the bomb and the day it exploded.

The defense alleged that Pederick's testimony was pure fantasy. In fact, key points came apart under cross-examination during the trial.

In sentencing Anderson to 14 years the judge described him as a "fanatic" who had been "brainwashed" by the Ananda Marga. He would not give Anderson the "martyrs crown" of a life sentence, he said, but would take into account the seven years he had wrongly spent in prison on the quashed 1978 conviction.

More than 400 people gathered at a meet-

ing at the Glebe Town Hall in Sydney on November 7 to protest the conviction. The event was sponsored by the Campaign to Expose the Frame-up of Tim Anderson (CEFTA). Speakers included Joan Cox-hedge, a member of the federal Lower Chamber from Victoria; Aboriginal activist Gary Foley; and Kerry Carrington from Academics for Justice, which has been circulating a petition in Anderson's defense. A video on the case, *Frame-up Take II*, by well-known filmmaker David Bradbury, was shown.

Messages of support were received from Irena Dunna, a federal senator from New South Wales; Pete Bradley, the Communist League of New Zealand candidate for mayor of Auckland; and from supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee in New Zealand and Australia.

CEFTA can be contacted at PO Box A365, Haymarket, NSW 2000, Australia.

Where to send items for 'Great Society'

Harry Ring is now living in Los Angeles and the "Great Society" is being written from there. Clippings for the column sent to the *Militant* editorial office will be forwarded. But to expedite their use, they should be sent, when feasible, directly to Los Angeles. Mail to: Harry Ring, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2546 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90006.

By Malcolm X

By Any Means Necessary	\$13.95
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Iraq sanctions: step toward war

As the U.S.-led imperialist coalition marches humanity toward a bloody war in the Arab-Persian Gulf, fighting workers, GIs, reservists, working farmers, and young people should reject positions advocated recently in statements by the SANE/FREEZE organization, an editorial in *The Nation* magazine, and resolutions by various union federations. (See article on page 3.) Posed as advancing an antiwar course, the statements press for continuation of both the barbaric imperialist blockade against the Iraqi people and the U.S. military presence in the Gulf region. They mouth rationalizations for the right of imperialism to intervene in the affairs of other nations.

Accepting as a given the imperial prerogatives of Washington, London, Paris and Ottawa to impose their will through force and violence on the people of the Gulf, SANE/FREEZE and other forces are advancing plans and ideas that simply reflect the tactical positions of a wing of the ruling class, in effect resigning themselves to the war drive.

Tactical disagreements being aired today in Washington by members of the "peace party" of various Democrats and Republicans boil down to how best to achieve the war aims of imperialism. These tactical prescriptions range from continuation of the sanctions, to a massive bombing raid on Iraqi cities, to launching an invasion soon after the U.S.-imposed January 15 deadline. The leading member of the "loyal opposition" in the Senate, Edward Kennedy, proposes a full year of the blockade before commencing the slaughter. The Liberal party in Canada holds a similar view.

Sanctions, painted as the road to peace, are in reality an act of war — a method of forcing the Iraqi people to submit, which is the true content of the phrase "give the sanctions a chance to work."

Sanctions against Iraq are not a step toward peace, but the first brutal stages of the war drive — imposed by warships, commandos, and military threats. The first victims of the sanctions have been the young and the sick.

Moreover, sanctions now play an essential role in the preparation of public opinion for the next steps in the war drive — bombing raids or the all-out unleashing of the massive imperialist forces. The death toll and suffering in Iraq is deemed unimportant or simply the fortunes of war.

Opposing the war drive means standing up against the war moves that are already taking place now — the deployment of troops and the criminal blockade. In campaigning against imperialism and its drive to war, class-conscious workers should explain to others why they must not give an inch to the rationalizations of imperialism. They must work to explain that working people in imperialist countries share common interests with workers and farmers in Iraq, not with the capitalist rulers in their own countries.

Working people, including those in uniform, have no

interest in maintaining any foreign troops in the Gulf — even if sanctioned by the United Nations. Throughout the crisis the United Nations has acted only as a rubber stamp for the actions of imperialism, approving each escalation by Washington, giving cover for its aggression against Iraq.

The war being systematically prepared by Washington, Ottawa, London, and the other imperialist powers will result in the deaths of tens of thousands of civilians and soldiers on both sides. Washington seeks to reassert imperialism's economic, political, and military domination of the region, shore up its declining empire, and shift the relationship of forces in the region in favor of imperialism.

A victory for imperialism will fuel every reactionary trend at work under capitalism. It will strengthen the hand of the employers who are waging war against the living standards, working conditions, and unions of workers at home.

Working people have no interest in seeing any of these goals achieved. Bending to the arguments of the imperialists disarms opponents of Washington's policy and makes it more difficult to clarify the issues involved.

To defend themselves against the employers' war at home and the bosses' government's drive to war abroad, working people need to set a course independent from that of the capitalist rulers and their parties. Getting out the facts of the war drive, the struggles of working people worldwide, and how an effective course can be charted against the wars and economic crises of capitalism is essential today.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party have launched a broad working-class campaign against imperialism and its war drive. They seek to reach out broadly to working people, in and out of uniform, with these facts and political perspectives, urging them to also join in campaigning to bring the troops home now, end the blockade, and for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Mideast.

This campaign is open to everyone who rejects the liberal framework of ceding to imperialism the right to police the world — whether it be through sanctions, the United Nations, "peace" conferences that dictate rules to oppressed nations, or outright invasion.

In this campaign the *Militant*, the Pathfinder book *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*, and the December 1990 *International Socialist Review* containing the article "Working-class campaign against imperialist war drive" are invaluable tools.

Reading, discussing, and distributing as widely as possible the December *International Socialist Review* is what socialist workers and others will be doing in the month of January. Order a bundle today, along with the *Militant* and the book, to get out to those who want to discuss, debate, or join actions protesting the U.S.-led war drive.

For a united antiwar action

In the face of the U.S.-organized blockade against Iraq, and the accelerated imperialist drive to war in the Mideast, forces opposed to the devastating slaughter Washington is preparing need to be united.

A series of local, regional, and national demonstrations against the war drive are planned for January 15–26. The numerous protests in December show the potential to bring tens of thousands out in a public display of opposition to the imperialist war preparations.

The National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East has called for national marches in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco on January 26. The Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East is building a national demonstration for January 19 in Washington. Both actions place similar demands on the government — bring the troops home now and money for human needs, not war.

However, building two nationally-coordinated demonstrations within one week of each other in effect makes the actions counterposed. It weakens the ability to turn out the largest number of people possible.

Public protests are an effective means to counter the bipartisan war drive and help open the fight that is needed to get the troops withdrawn.

Street actions are also important because the ruling class wants working people to believe they have no voice, are powerless, and should leave the question of war to the halls of Congress and the White House.

United protests, backed by the widest number of organizations possible, will help draw in the forces that are crucial to mounting an effective campaign against imperialism and its war drive — workers and farmers, both in and out of uniform. Organizations building antiwar actions must have their eyes on those who are resisting the employers' offensive at home and the half-million citizens soldiers in the Mideast.

United street actions help stimulate the discussions and debates in workplaces and on warships, and they make bigger union participation in protests possible.

Placing narrow self-interests ahead of unity for a single, broad-based protest hurts the overall fight against the U.S. war drive. Continuing to insist on two separate demonstrations weakens the impact of both actions. It gives a handle to others who prefer to stand aside altogether, to abstain from endorsing and building either march.

Those who want to show their opposition to the coming war in the Gulf should do their utmost to seek a single day for the national action. The organizations, groups, and individuals should join together to resolve the divisions so a single demonstration can be built.

Until such a common date is agreed upon, unionists, students, GIs, reservists, farmers, and others should build the local and regional protests slated for this month and the January 26 action to demand: Bring the troops home now!

'Please don't take photographs looking north'

BY DOUG JENNESS

SEOUL, South Korea — "Please don't take any photographs when we pass military installations," the bus driver told us as he pulled out of Seoul on the highway toward the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ). The tour bus was headed for the military checkpoint eight miles south of the DMZ.

The DMZ was created by the armistice agreement signed by Washington and North Korea in 1953 at the end of the Korean War. It is a strip about one and a quarter miles on each side of the Military Demarcation Line that divides Korea roughly along the 38th parallel.

During the hour-long drive to the checkpoint, we passed Fort Edwards and several smaller military outposts. Altogether there are some 43,000 U.S. troops stationed throughout South Korea. Yongsan U.S. Army Garrison, the largest

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

U.S. installation, is located in downtown Seoul. Washington also has 1,000 nuclear weapons positioned on Korean soil.

When we reached the checkpoint, the driver explained that we couldn't take photographs facing north. East, west, and south were alright, but not north. Looking north across the Imjin River, we could see the highway we were on continuing to wind across a flat plain to some hills. Nearby was an abandoned railroad track where trains once traveled between Seoul and Pyongyang, North Korea's capital. In the distance we could hear South Korean loudspeakers, pointed north, urging people to pack up and move to the South. Far away we could make out small mountains located on the North Korean side of the DMZ.

The checkpoint marked the boundary of an eight-mile strip that the U.S. and South Korean armed forces maintain on their side of the DMZ. No one can enter this area without authorization from military officials.

It's possible to sign up for a seven-hour tour through the DMZ to Panmunjom, located on the Demarcation Line. The flier for that trip says children under 10 are not allowed. Neither is making any gestures toward the other side. "Casual clothing such as jeans" and "shaggy or unkempt hair" are also no-no's. The flier doesn't say, but I'd bet that taking photos is severely restricted on that trip too.

All of these restrictions are part of the general atmosphere of imminent invasion from the North that Washington and the government in Seoul try to foster. On the return to Seoul, for example, a siren started blaring, and all the vehicles on the highway stopped for about 10 minutes. This was part of the nationwide civil defense drill that occurs on the 15th of every month. Hotel rooms have instruction sheets in English and Korean stating that the people indoors are to stay there until the drill is over. The aim of the drills, it says, is "to help protect life and property in case of emergency."

When asked about the concrete wall that U.S. and South Korean authorities have built on the southern side of the DMZ and that runs its entire length, the tour guide echoed the government's line. There isn't any wall, he asserted, only a few antitank barricades. Moreover, he said, the North has the same thing.

But contrary to these allegations, the wall does exist. I can testify to this as can other *Militant* reporters who have seen the wall from a vantage point inside the DMZ on the North Korean side. It's a massive concrete structure, and it's continuous, unlike most antitank barriers. Moreover, although I've entered the DMZ in two places in the North, I've seen nothing like this concrete wall on the northern side.

Incidentally, officials in the North imposed no restrictions on visitors taking photographs inside the DMZ, including in Panmunjom.

Construction of the concrete wall inside the DMZ, along with many other military installations, is a flagrant violation of the 1953 agreement, which explicitly specified that the zone was to be demilitarized. In addition to numerous guardposts, the U.S. forces, which still operate under the United Nations flag, have placed their latest operational military equipment and artillery in the DMZ.

The military buildup on the border, including the concrete wall; the civil defense drills; the National Security Law, which bars all unofficial contact of South Koreans with their countrymen and women in the North; and all other efforts to convince people that North Korea is preparing an invasion of Seoul are designed to institutionalize the 45-year division of the peninsula.

Washington maintains the two-Koreas policy and keeps its troops in the South, not because it fears an invasion from the North, but because it is worried about the potential political momentum in the South if a massive movement for reunification develops. Any serious motion toward reunification will unleash a revolt of the country's workers, farmers, and students. Moreover, the highly touted "economic miracle" in South Korea was built on sand, and working people in both urban and rural areas will fight against the effects of a deepening economic crisis of capitalism in the southern half of the divided country.

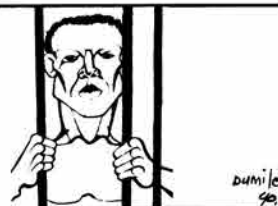
An unusual hearing before the Iowa parole board

BY MARK CURTIS

FORT MADISON, Iowa — My hearing before the Iowa Board of Parole was held here November 20. This was my second time before the board; the first was at the Iowa Men's Reformatory in Anamosa where I was incarcerated a year ago.

The hearing was held in the visiting room. Three members of the parole board sat at a long table; I sat directly across from them. Board members Walter Saur, the chairman, and Joanne Lawrence had both met with me last year.

BEHIND PRISON WALLS



The other board member, Wanda Average, was not present at my first hearing. Of the five members of the Board of Parole, only three attend each hearing, a duty they rotate.

At issue was my release or continued incarceration. According to the law as stated in the Code of Iowa, the parole board shall release any person when, in its opinion, "there is a reasonable probability that the person can be released without detriment to the community or to the person. A person's release is not a detriment to the community or the person if the person is able and willing to fulfill the obligations of a law-abiding citizen, in the board's determination."

I was prepared to discuss whether or not I was "able and willing" to fulfill such an obligation, based on the two years I have served, on my past and present conduct, and on the community support that exists for my release. However, the first question I heard from the board was, "Do you still consider yourself a political prisoner?" I replied that I've never used that term to describe myself; it best describes those who are jailed for charges such as speaking out or writing against government policy.

This was the beginning of an unusual hearing where the

main question became not my eligibility for parole, but the legitimacy of my conviction.

Keith Morris, the father of the woman I was charged with assaulting, spoke along the same lines. He read from a long statement, arguing that because I continue to explain that I was framed up for a crime I didn't commit, I should be kept in prison. While I don't deny that his daughter may have been assaulted, I had nothing to do with it.

This discussion shifted the focus off my parole and onto the issue of my guilt or innocence. No questions were asked about my plans for employment, living arrangements, or anything else about my return to society as a free man.

The hearing ended with a board member pointing out that I have not served the average time for someone sentenced to 25 years in prison. I was denied parole. A few days later, I received a letter from the board that said the reason for the decision was "that a parole at this point in time would not be in the best interest of society."

My hearing was different in another way: there was very heavy security. At least four guards, members of a special unit, the Control Emergency Riot Team, were present at the hearing. Wearing fatigues tucked into black combat boots, their presence was intimidating. The Iowa State Penitentiary treatment director and the security director at the John Bennett unit where I am imprisoned, along with several additional regular officers, were also present.

Since no one else had this kind of security at their hearing, the appearance was created that extra security precautions were needed in my case.

Right after the hearing, several fellow prisoners asked me what happened. Most shook their heads in disgust when I told them what the board said and its decision. Everyone is interested anytime the parole board is here for its monthly meetings, and we encourage each other to do our best and wish each other good luck. Most people are glad to see anyone get out. While all nine men from the minimum security farms were given paroles or work releases, nobody at the medium security unit here got anything from the board this time around.

The media coverage of my hearing was seen by several prisoners. One of them was recently on the phone with a

friend of his in Des Moines who asked if he "was in there with Mark Curtis?" On a trip with others to the University Hospital in Iowa City, another guy heard a report on the van radio about the 30 people who attended my hearing to support my release. This man, a disabled veteran of the Vietnam War, understood my case well from his own experience of being falsely charged with a crime more than 10 years ago.

Hundreds of messages and letters were sent to the parole board asking that I be set free. All of the men I shared copies of these letters with were extremely impressed at the broad support for my release. "They're gonna have to let you out soon, Curtis," one said.

There was one reaction from a friend here who is serving a long sentence that was at first puzzling to me and later made me realize the importance of this fight to everyone who is locked up. At the time of his last hearing, he refused to see the board, rather than hear the expected bad news. This next time, though, he wants to appear. When I asked him why, he said, "Because I want to fight like you are."

Many ask me how I think my release will come about. I believe that more people will be won to the fight for my release in today's changing world political situation. This fact will make it harder to justify keeping me behind bars.

War and economic crisis are approaching. Opposition by working people to these two catastrophes will develop. As we organize to defend our wages and to put a stop to the slaughter Washington is driving toward in the Mideast, more working people will become involved in political action. In each of their wars, the U.S. government has used the police and courts to jail those who might organize opposition to their war. In other words, there will be more frame-ups, beatings, and government spying to try to disrupt working-class resistance to the employers' war at home and abroad.

These fighters will look to the example of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and the fight it has carried out. My fight will be strengthened by those new forces who enter politics and seek a strategy to defend democratic rights.

Mark Curtis, a political and union activist, has been in prison since his September 1988 conviction on frame-up rape and burglary charges.

LETTERS

Spain

On November 16, 10,000 marched in a working-class neighborhood of Barcelona called El Turó de la Peira to demand that their blocks of flats be inspected and repaired. A week earlier, in a torrential rain, a roof beam collapsed through four stories of a building, killing one woman and injuring others.

"Do we have to stand in the street each time it rains?" asked one resident. A spokesperson for the march made the point that the city council should not spend another cent on its prestigious Olympic installations until it has rebuilt this housing.

The neighborhood was constructed in 1954 to house immigrants escaping famine in Andalusia. In addition to defective construction, the flats are often small and windowless.

Millions of inhabitants of industrial suburbs around Spain's major cities were forced to move off the land in the 1950s and '60s in order to find work. Most found houses in developments like El Turó de la Peira.

The firm that was responsible for the construction says that it sympathizes, but cannot be held responsible for rebuilding the whole area.

*Mike Eade
Barcelona, Spain*

Canada immigration

Brother Ali Siddiqui was invited to speak at a Peace Conference in Montréal on November 23. He traveled from Los Angeles but was detained by Canadian immigration. His host in Montréal was also investigated.

All night on November 22, Siddiqui was kept in immigration lockup, although he had been told he would be taken to a hotel. He was not given anything to eat that evening or the next morning and was repeatedly searched. The next day he was put back on a plane to Chicago.

Some pro-Zionist groups had prepared immigration authorities for his arrival.

The peace conference was held and participants condemned Sid-

diqui's detention. Canada seems to be a free country, noted the main speaker, but its freedom is being taken away by Zionists.

The keynote speaker also condemned the airlift of the U.S. armada to Saudi Arabia.
*Jamaat al Muslimeen
Baltimore, Maryland*

Great

The *Militant* is great! I would like to see more on the woman question, however.
*F.C.
Minneapolis, Minnesota*

Salman Rushdie

I would like to comment on the November 23 "Learning About Socialism" column.

First, Salman Rushdie is a British citizen; thus he speaks, in the eyes of the Muslims, on behalf of Britain.

Second, he is protected by the British government, the imperialist country that enslaved most of the Muslim countries in the early part of this century. Since all Muslim countries are part of the Third World, they feel this offensive wind is coming from the former colonialists.

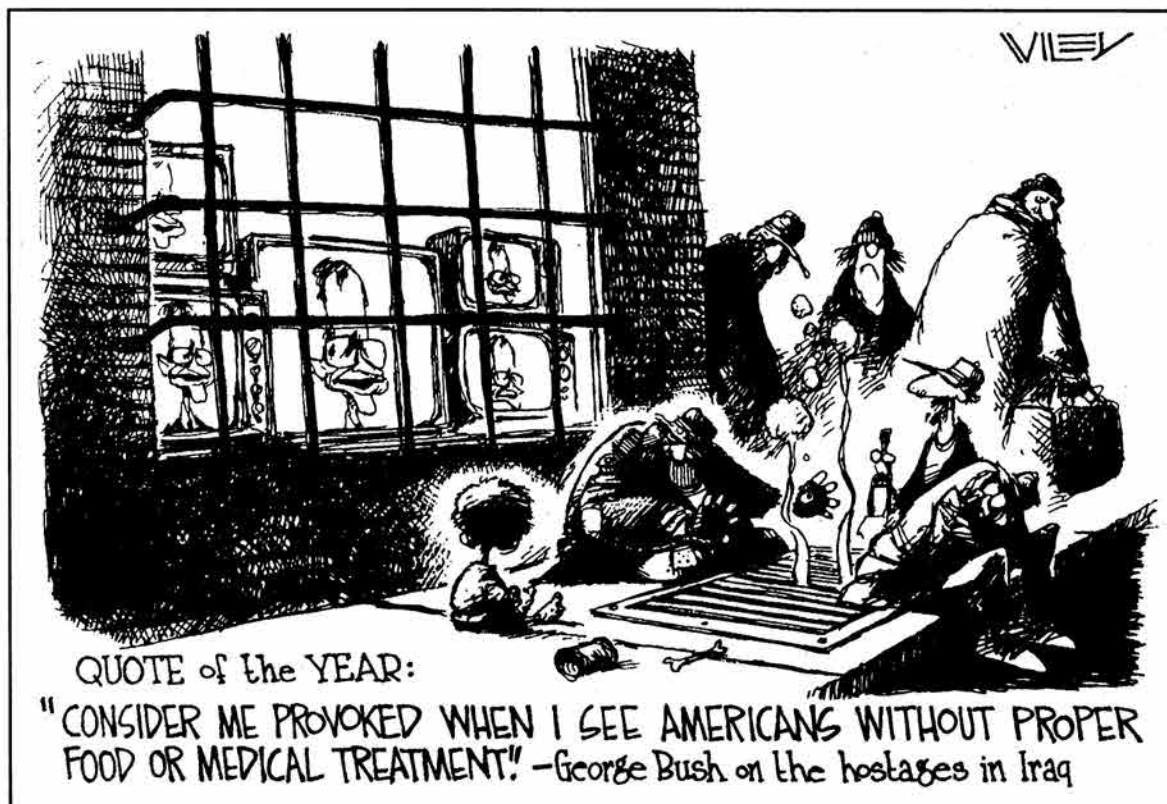
Therefore, they condemn Rushdie as condemnation of Britain.

Rushdie has attacked the Muslim faith of almost 1 billion people. He distorted the story of the prophet Mohammed and also gave a false characterization of Islam for the purpose of his own interests and profit.
*Mohamed Chikha
Greensboro, North Carolina*

Class justice

Mark Curtis has served more than two years on frame-up charges and on November 20 the parole board refused to grant his release despite his good record in prison. As one of the board members blurted out, they don't want him to walk picket lines with other workers and fight for social justice.

Then there is the case of "junk bond king" Michael Milken. We are supposed to think that the justice system is fair and even-handed be-



cause he got 10 years for six felony counts of securities and tax fraud and conspiracy.

Not true. If he goes to jail, it will probably be to the white-collar prison in Danbury, Connecticut, where prisoners are called "campers" and roam around 348 "picturesque acres" with virtually no security, according to a news report. In store for Milken are salad bars, tennis courts, college courses, and gymnasiums — no fences or guard towers.

He might have to mow grass or clean toilets for 46 cents an hour, but that would be on top of the \$250,000 a day he will earn from interest on the billions he has stashed away in the bank.

Capitalist justice at its best just underlines why the growing international campaign to free Mark Curtis has to get bigger.

*John Steele
Montréal, Canada*

Margaret Klitzke

Margaret Klitzke, a friend of the Socialist Workers Party, passed away in Baltimore on October 6.

She and her husband Ted had been fighters for social justice for more than 50 years.

Margaret was born into an Irish working-class family in Indiana. In her youth she worked in a shoe factory under sweat-shop conditions. She was always glad to hear that some union had won a victory over the bosses.

Margaret and Ted lived in Alabama during the height of the civil rights movement and were active in the struggle. Even though their lives were threatened — they would not be deterred from their principles.

The Klitzkes got a subscription to the *Militant* several years ago and from that point on became friends of the Baltimore branch of the SWP. They were regular forum-goers and contributed to the often lively political discussions.

Margaret and Ted became enthusiastic supporters of the Pathfinder Mural, donating resources and helping set up meetings on the mural here. They closely followed the frame-up and conviction of Mark Curtis and were always among the

first to send protest letters or contributions when called upon to do so.

Margaret was an ardent supporter of women's right to choose abortion and was a follower of the Irish struggle against British occupation.

We miss Margaret, but we are inspired by the life she led, fighting to make a more humane and just world for everyone.

*Edwin Fruit
Baltimore, Maryland*

Released

I wish to have my name removed from your mailing list due to my upcoming release. Thank you for all the editions of the *Militant* I have received and fully enjoyed.

*A prisoner
Albion, New York*

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.

'Daily News' strike gets support from New York City unionists

BY NANCY ROSENSTOCK

NEW YORK — A December 27 meeting of the newly formed support committee for striking *Daily News* workers outlined plans for the next stage of the fight.

Locked out October 25 by the paper's management, some 2,300 members of nine unions and their backers have been waging a hard-fought struggle against the union-busting moves by the company.

Some 50 people from several unions attended the recent support committee meeting, held at the offices of the Newspaper Guild, one of the nine striking unions. Juan Gonzalez, the strike coordinator, outlined plans for a "conference of striking *Daily News* workers to plan a national corporate strategy against the Tribune Co." to be held January 8 at the New York City Technical College in Brooklyn. The Chicago-based Tribune Co. owns the *Daily News*.

Strike supporters are also urged to get involved in picket duty, phoning, leafleting and fund-raising. Every Friday morning at 7:00 a.m., for example, members of the Transport Workers Union Local 100, which organizes subway and bus workers, fan out in teams to busy subway stops to counter *Daily News* hawkers' efforts to distribute the strike-bound paper. Unionists pass out strike leaflets and urge commuters not to buy the *Daily News*. Many strikers join in these Friday morning teams.

Since the lock out began, the company has been able to publish the paper every day with management personnel and some 800 other scabs. In the months prior to the wholesale assault on the unions, the company spent some \$30 million preparing to run the paper during a walkout. It has used gun thugs and violence-baiting of the union in its attempts to break the determination of the strikers.

On December 8, three armed men riding in a *Daily News* truck were arrested on gun charges after being pulled over for speeding.

Recruiting among homeless

Management also has recruited more than 1,700 hawkers who receive free bundles of the *Daily News* and pocket the receipts. Many of these people are among the thousands of homeless working people living in New York.

The actions being promoted by the strike support committee come on the heels of a successful rally of 6,000 strikers and their supporters outside the Manhattan building of the *Daily News* December 10. Prominent Democratic Party politicians and religious figures addressed the rally.

Cardinal John O'Connor said, "To lose unionism would be to go back to the days worse than slavery." Jesse Jackson also addressed the crowd. "Replacement workers is a strike-busting, union-busting tactic. It is immoral. It is illegal. It is wrong. Don't use the homeless to make somebody else homeless," he said. New York Gov. Mario Cuomo spoke at the rally as well.

A subsequent *Daily News* editorial, also run in the *New York Times* as a paid advertisement, accused Cuomo of throwing "himself, body and soul, on the side of the men of terror," and condoning "life-threatening criminal violence that is being used to wage open war against the *Daily News*' lawful and proper efforts to continue business."

Cuomo responded that he "neither took sides nor came out for violence" at the rally, saying he deplored "the intimidation and the violence on both sides."

In a series of meetings in December the company indicated its determination to continue their union-busting course. At a Tribune Co. Board of Directors meeting December 11, company officials voted to continue operating the paper. "The *Daily News* situation is not going to be settled in a week or a month," publisher James Hoge said prior



December 10 *Daily News* strike support rally in New York

to the meeting. "It will be here [in six months], it will have a lot more circulation, and it will have its advertisers back."

In a meeting with a federal mediator in Washington, D.C., shortly afterwards, management refused to bargain with the nine unions, demanding separate negotiations with each one. Although offering to return to work, the unions rejected the individual negotiations.

Daily News management admits it lost some \$85 million in 1990, and that it failed to anticipate not being able to sell the paper in the New York area due to the strike solidarity of tens of thousands of working people.

Company claims that the paper's circulation has risen to over 600,000 have been discredited by most outside studies. According to a report written by the Committee of

Daily News Business Writers and Editors and released by the Newspaper Guild, circulation is down to one-third of the pre-strike level of 1.1 million.

Newsstands, where 80 percent of the papers were sold prior to the lock out, now account for less than 20 percent of the total. A survey by the *New York Newsday* of 30 newsstands still taking the paper in Queens found fewer than 200 copies a day had been sold — 21 percent of the distributed amount.

Like many dealers, Jimmy Dimos told *Newsday*, "I don't sell it. The *News* is on strike. Simple."

Maria Ali, whose stand was listed by the *Daily News* as selling 25 papers one week said, "They keep delivering it, and I keep throwing it away." Only a few dealers said they were being billed for the paper.

Tens of thousands of Haitians take to streets celebrating Aristide's election as president

BY DAN FEIN

MIAMI — Tens of thousands took to the streets of Haiti's capital city, Port-au-Prince on December 17, singing and dancing, honking car horns, and blocking traffic in celebration of the election of Jean-Bertrand Aristide as the country's president.

But at midday, police wearing gas masks fired into the jubilant crowds, killing a 44-year-old woman.

One of 11 candidates on the ballot, Aristide garnered 67 percent of the vote, according to the country's Electoral Council. Candidates also stood for local office and seats in the 110-member National Assembly.

A Roman Catholic priest, Aristide is a proponent of "liberation theology." He used his pulpit to denounce the brutal and undemocratic regime of the Duvalier family, which ruled for three decades until 1986, and subsequent military governments. Three attempts were made on Aristide's life by the Tontons Macoutes, a paramilitary hit-squad organized by the Duvaliers. In 1988 assailants with guns, machetes, and spikes burst into the priest's church during mass, killing 13 and wounding 70. Three months later the church's Salesian Order expelled Aristide for his continued denunciation of the military regime.

A widespread struggle by working people in Haiti forced the Duvaliers out of government in February 1986.

After nearly two years under the military government of Lieut. Gen. Henri Namphy, a November 1987 election was called off when

assassins protected by the army killed 34 voters and confiscated ballot boxes.

Even army-controlled elections in January 1988 were nullified by June of that year when troops overthrew the new president and re-instated Namphy. Extensive protests forced a subsequent military government under Gen. Prosper Avril to resign in March 1990. Avril himself fled the country.

Determined to exercise their rights, win some political elbowroom, and further isolate elements of the dictatorial regimes, working people in Haiti refused to give in to the repression unleashed against them. By the time of the Dec. 16, 1990, elections, the military repression and open intimidation of political activity had dropped off considerably.

Although Aristide announced his candidacy late in the campaign, tens of thousands of working people turned out for support rallies around the country. At one rally, five people were shot to death and 43 wounded in an attack by unidentified assailants.

Worried about a social explosion if an election again was not permitted, the United Nations and the Organization of American States sent some 1,000 observers to Haiti. Former U.S. president James Carter was one of the election certification officials. The White House also sent a bipartisan delegation.

With the first returns, Bernard Aronson, assistant U.S. secretary of state for inter-American affairs, moved quickly to congratulate Aristide.

"We fully respect him as the apparent

Given the drastic decline in circulation the paper's biggest advertisers — Macy's, Alexander's, and A&S — have withdrawn their ads. These companies account for more than \$20 million a year in advertising revenues. Fewer than 30 of the 750 display advertisers remain with the paper.

The Allied Printing Trades Council, the umbrella group of the nine striking unions, released a new leaflet countering the company's campaign. Titled "Hustling the Homeless — *Daily News* Style," the leaflet exposes the hypocrisy of management.

"The *Daily News* won't even permit the homeless into its big 42nd street office building to keep warm. It never wanted homeless hawkers or distributors before its workers went on strike. Now, it's given the homeless papers for free to sell. Did *Daily News* management sprout a new heart overnight? No, its owner — the giant Chicago-based Tribune Co. — is cold-bloodedly using New York's homeless to break a strike by 2,300 loyal employees, a strike which management provoked in order to destroy the labor unions at the newspaper."

The new strike committee, which will be meeting weekly, hopes to garner much of the support from working people that exists in New York. This support continues to worry and surprise *Daily News* management and other employers. A December 23 *Times* article, entitled "The *News* finds, to its cost, that it's still a union town," says that "while representatives of the Tribune Company of Chicago, which owns the *News*, have argued that the only factor they didn't anticipate was the level of violence and harassment at distribution points, others say the company misread additional aspects that complicated its position, especially the strength of unions here."

To volunteer to help on the strike call the strike office at (212) 819-0137, or stop by the Newspaper Guild office at 133 W. 44th St., New York City.

president-elect of Haiti and look forward to closely working with his government."

Following a meeting with Aristide, a U.S. State Department spokesperson said "It was important to send a signal to the Duvalierists and the army that there was no wink and a nod" for them to undercut the president-elect. Aristide is scheduled to take office February 7.

The poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere, the standard of living of Haitian working people has continued to fall under the succession of military regimes. Exports shrank from \$223 million in 1985 to only \$153 million in 1989. Even the Haitian Central Bank in its recent annual report warned of the "growing pauperization of the Haitian people."

Sugar, once a major export, is now imported. Long electrical blackouts and shortages of gasoline have become commonplace. In August, when negotiations stalled with Washington on providing oil, the country was virtually without petroleum supplies for 10 days.

In Miami, even before the elections took place, Haitians were celebrating the expected victory of the widely supported candidate. They packed into a baseball stadium here in November to hear and raise money for Aristide. Blue posters of the priest could be seen on windows of taxis, minibuses, private cars, and windows of businesses across Little Haiti — a section of Miami where the Haitian population is centered.