

Washington prepares bloody war as U.S.-led forces reach 580,000

Pentagon moves will restrict Gulf news

BY PETER THIERJUNG

The Pentagon is probing ways to curb press coverage of developments in the Arab-Persian Gulf and is drawing up censorship measures. The military brass is arguing that restrictions are necessary to shield military operations.

Censorship plans have apparently been under consideration for some time, but were not reported until January 4, when the *New York Times* made them public. U.S. Department of Defense officials had provided executives of major news organizations a tentative list of regulations in December.

The *Times* said the restrictions go further than those during the Vietnam War and asserted that some news executives felt "the



Part of massive U.S. and allied troop and heavy armor deployment in Saudi Arabia in preparation for a devastating imperialist assault on the people of Iraq.

See editorial on page 14 and coverage of Canadian security law on page 7.

restrictions appeared to be aimed at preventing politically damaging disclosures by soldiers and at shielding the American public

from the consequences of war."

Censorship measures include limiting battlefield coverage of a war in the Middle East to a specifically designated pool of reporters. The pool would not be allowed to travel

freely in combat zones and would be accompanied by U.S. military officials.

Another measure calls for news reports from the Gulf to be formally reviewed by military censors prior to their release. Impromptu interviews with the military brass would be prohibited and all interviews with GIs would have to be on the record, a move that some reporters complained would inhibit soldiers from speaking openly.

Battlefield coverage

The rules would also ban television coverage and photos of "personnel in agony or severe shock" or "imagery of patients suffering from severe disfigurement." The article notes that "Television broadcasts showing combat in Vietnam helped build opposition to the war in the United States."

Fred Hoffman, a former Associated Press reporter and a Pentagon spokesman during

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Massive bombing to open attack on Iraq

BY SELVA NEBBIA

A leading member of the U.S. Congress announced that the U.S. military will begin its assault on Iraq and Kuwait with widespread and prolonged bombing.

"Advocates of air power will likely get a full opportunity to see if air power can win by itself," said U.S. Representative Les Aspin. He predicted a U.S. victory over Iraq in less than a month, with 3,000 to 5,000 casualties, including 500-1,000 dead.

Aspin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, made his remarks at a January 8 press conference.

According to the Pentagon, there are now some 580,000 U.S.-led troops in the Arab-Persian Gulf. Positioned for war, they face 530,000 Iraqi soldiers.

"I am convinced that if we must go to war, we will fight a phased campaign," Aspin said, "one that begins with an air campaign against strategic and military targets in Iraq, then proceeds to a sustained air campaign against military forces in or near Kuwait, and ends with the commitment of ground troops."

Claims of few casualties

Supporting such a devastating bombardment of the populations of Iraq and Kuwait, Aspin claimed the bombing would enable Washington to deliver punishing strikes against Iraqi targets with relatively few casualties for U.S. troops.

"The U.S. military has made sure that sufficient ground force capability is available to do the job if air power does not force Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait," said Aspin.

Aspin judged "the risk of a bloody campaign, with casualties in the 10,000 to 20,000 range including several fatalities, to be small."

Aspin said his statement — clearly based on well-informed reports from U.S. govern-

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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.

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Both articles by Barnes are also available in Spanish in the January issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*. Single copies are \$2.50; \$1.75 each for bundles.

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Coalitions build January 26 protest to oppose U.S. war moves in Gulf

BY SETH GALINSKY

More U.S. troops are arriving in the Arab-Persian Gulf region every day. "Now is the time to intensify our efforts to demand there be a peaceful solution," says Leslie Cagan, coordinator of the National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East.

The campaign is organizing a national demonstration on January 26 in Washington, D.C., calling for "No war in the Middle East," "Bring the troops home now," and "Money for human needs, not war." A West Coast protest will be held in San Francisco the same day.

Referring to plans for a meeting between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz, Cagan states, "We hope — as everyone in their right mind hopes — the negotiations are serious. But we know that President Bush has a history of playing games."

While most campuses are still on winter break, the response from students has been

"impressive," says Betsy Esch, who is coordinating student work for the National Campaign. Esch estimates that 250 universities and community colleges are sending contingents to Washington for the march. She expects 2,000-3,000 to attend a national student meeting the following day to plan spring antiwar actions.

"The phone has been ringing off the hook," reports Ron Shuffler, a spokesperson for the Boston Emergency Coalition for Peace, Justice, and Non-Intervention in the Middle East. "It's been almost impossible for us to call out."

The Boston coalition is sending out an 8,000-piece mailing to promote the action. A labor letter signed by prominent area labor officials is also being distributed.

In Philadelphia, Action for Peace in the Middle East has chartered 40 buses for the demonstration.

Chicago activists are organizing a January 14 rally that will promote the national march. Coalition member Miles Mendenhall says,

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Labor federation in Québec backs defense effort

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who was framed by police on rape and burglary charges. He was convicted in September 1988 and is now serving a 25-year sentence in the John Bennett state prison in Fort Madison, Iowa.

Despite harassment by au-

on activities in support of Mark Curtis from your city or country, please send them to the *Militant*.

The Québec Federation of Labour (FTQ) is a new endorser of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. The FTQ represents more than 450,000 workers in Québec, including members of the United

The FTQ is the largest labor body in Canada to endorse the defense committee thus far. The Confederation of National Trade Unions in Québec is also an endorser.

Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee in Montréal organized a public meeting December 2 to hear Brigitte Groulx, who participated in a November delegation to the United Nations in New York that won new support for Curtis' fight. She also attended Curtis' November parole hearing in Fort Madison, Iowa, that same month.

The meeting, which attracted more than 30 people, was held at the headquarters of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) in Québec.

Christiane Malet brought greetings from the International Solidarity Committee of the Teachers Federation of the CSN. "The CSN supports Mark Curtis," Malet said. "It's through his case we can see how the bosses use any pretext to attack those who fight for socialism and justice."

Some \$650 was raised at the meeting to help the work of the defense committee.

Two of the most popular blues bands in Iceland, Tregasveitin and Blúsmenn Andreu, hosted a December 3 fund-raising concert for the Curtis defense effort. Some 75

people attended the event, called "Blues for Curtis," at the Púlsinn pub in Reykjavík. More than \$500 was raised at the door.

Pétur Tyrfinngsson, a longtime political activist and a leader of Tregasveitin, opened the concert by explaining Curtis' fight for justice. He said that blues is the music of oppressed working people, particularly Blacks in the United States. Curtis was defending people of color, he said, and that is why the case is of interest to blues artists.

Tyrfinngsson provided vocals and played guitar for Tregasveitin; Guðmundur Pétursson, lead guitar; Guðvin Flosason, drums; Sigurdur Sigurdson, vocals and harmonica; and Björn Þórarinnsson, bass guitar.

Members of Blúsmenn Andreu included singer Andrea Gylfadóttir; Halldór Bragason, vocals and guitar; Richard Corn, bass guitar; Guðmundur Pétursson, guitar; and Jóhann Hjörleifsson, drums. Singer Guðmundur Ingólfsson was a special guest accompanying Blúsmenn Andreu.

The International Youth Appeal being circulated to win support for Curtis' defense has a new signer. Han Ru Min of the Socialist Working Youth League from Pyongyang, the capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North), has endorsed the defense effort. Han is the deputy-chief of

the youth organization's international department. Copies of the appeal are available by writing the defense committee in Des Moines.

Burlington Northern rail workers in the Chicago area, members of United Transportation Union Local 620, voted at their December meeting to back Curtis' fight for justice after watching the video documentary *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis* by Hollywood director Nick Castle. On the spot, they also donated \$33 for the fight.

Local 620 members first learned about Curtis' frame-up when they heard about his fight for parole. They read copies of the defense committee brochure "Who is Mark Curtis?" distributed by Curtis supporters at the Cicero freight yard.

Outgoing Local Chairman Bill Torres wrote to the Iowa State Board of Parole asking that Curtis be released. UTU Legislative Director George Beck and John Parypinski, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Cicero Terminal committee representative, also supported Curtis' parole bid.

Torres sent a letter to 22 presidents and local chairmen of the UTU in Iowa urging them to study the facts in the case and get involved in the defense effort.

Carol Caron from Montréal, Judy Hall from Reykjavík, Iceland, and Jim Kendrick from Chicago contributed to this week's column.

DEFEND MARK CURTIS!



thorities, he continues to be politically active in prison and refuses to be isolated from the world beyond the prison walls.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee, based in Des Moines, is leading an international campaign to fight for justice for Curtis and to defend his rights in prison. More than 8,000 unionists, defenders of democratic rights, political activists, prominent officials, and others — from Korea to Sweden, from South Africa to Canada — have endorsed the committee's efforts.

For more information about the case or how you can help, write to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311; telephone (515) 246-1695. If you have news or reports

Steelworkers, Canadian Auto Workers, United Food and Commercial Workers, and other unions.

In a December 6 letter the general secretary of the FTQ, Fernand Daoust, stated that "Mark Curtis is a victim of injustice and harassment by the judicial authorities."

"Behind his individual fate, it appears that what is really involved are the causes he was defending," Daoust wrote. "Every breach of our rights as fundamental as freedom of expression, freedom of association, and the inviolability of the person can affect us in Québec and in Canada."

"It is in this framework, given the facts brought to our attention, that we support the Mark Curtis Defense Committee in its fight for his freedom," he said.

Federal program exploits immigrant farm workers

BY DAN FEIN

BELLE GLADE, Florida — The harsh living and working conditions of contracted sugarcane cutters here were graphically illustrated recently to a *Militant* reporting team that visited and spoke with the farm workers and their families.

Sugarcane is big business in this state and most of it is grown in the southern region. The labor is done manually with only the use of machetes. The overwhelming majority of workers who cut cane today are from Jamaica and Haiti. The Jamaican workers, unlike the cutters from Haiti who live in the United States, are contract laborers, part of the government H-2A program.

Jamaican cane cutter Burnell Hamilton described the H-2A system as a "slave labor program." He said the sugar growers, together with the U.S. government, decide on jobs to be filled by contract workers from outside the United States.

Governments of countries in the Caribbean islands, such as St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Barbados, and the Dominican Republic, once sent workers to the United States through the program. Now only the government of Jamaica participates.

In August of 1990 the Caribbean governments, except Jamaica, pulled out of the program to protest Washington's revoking of "green cards" given to workers. Green cards are identity cards issued by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service to immigrants who have been granted permanent resident status.

Hamilton, a contract worker from 1984-89, was issued a green card permitting him to live in the United States in early 1990. Two months later the immigration department took it back. The sugar growers oppose giving green cards to the contract workers, saying workers would then leave to look for better jobs.

Hamilton said not all workers who sign up in Jamaica to cut cane are allowed to come. Those that are, arrive in West Palm Beach, Florida, and are put on buses destined for their assigned labor camps.

The camps are similar to migrant barracks in South Africa that surround the diamond and mineral mines. Inside one housing complex, a three-story building, each floor has one big room with some thirty bunk-beds and two clothes lines. Each worker is given a small locker for their personal belongings, said Hamilton.

"One peep of protest over the pay or living conditions will get you sent home," he said.

Another cane cutter, Morti Moiwiliams, also from Jamaica, said the liaison officers and supervisors cheat the workers out of their pay. "We get paid by the row, not by the hour," he explained. "Sometimes we cut two rows, but the supervisor writes down only one."

"If you try to talk," said Moiwiliams,

"they call you a ringleader and send you home on the next plane." He explained that workers are also sent back if the supervisors say they do not cut the required minimum per day. Once workers are sent home, they can never return.

The cane cutters said that they work seven days a week, although Sunday is supposed to be optional. They are paid every two weeks. Twenty-one percent of their pay is sent to a bank in Jamaica; two percent goes to the U.S. government as part of the H-2A program; and \$96 goes for room and board. One worker said it is not unusual to receive almost nothing after the deductions and cheating.

Along with sugar growers in Florida, tobacco, apple, and vegetable growers from Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, and Virginia obtain workers through the H-2A program. Some cane cutters travel north in February or March to harvest these crops after the cane-cutting season is over.



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Haitians thwart coup attempt

Thousands mobilize to halt takeover

BY SETH GALINSKY

Hundreds of thousands of Haitians mobilized in the streets of Haiti's capital, Port-Au-Prince, and other cities January 7 to prevent consolidation of a coup aimed at stopping President-elect Jean-Bertrand Aristide from assuming office.

Protestors made barricades of burning tires and blocked access to the airport. Thousands chanted slogans and "the sounds of conches — huge seashells used as primitive horns to pass messages since the days of slavery — could be heard throughout the capital," according to a *Reuters* report. Haiti won independence from France in 1804 after a slave revolt.

Twenty-six demonstrators were killed outside the offices of Roger Lafontant, the leader of the coup attempt, when gunmen inside opened fire and tossed hand grenades.

Lafontant was interior and defense minister under deposed dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier and head of the hated Tontons Macoutes ("bogeymen" in the Haitian French Creole language), a paramilitary group responsible for killing, torturing, and abusing thousands of people.

When Lafontant returned to Haiti in July after five years in exile, political and labor leaders called for a general strike in protest.

Even though a warrant had been issued for his arrest on charges of treason, Lafontant announced his candidacy in the Dec. 16, 1990

presidential elections but was disqualified by the election council on a technicality. No attempts were made to arrest him, and police regularly attended his press conferences.

Lafontant declares 'martial law'

In the early morning hours of January 7, Lafontant took provisional president Ertha Trouillot hostage, proclaimed martial law, and declared himself president. "We have linked with the armed forces and the police to assume power and carry the country on the road to democracy," Lafontant said in a brief 3 a.m. televised statement. Trouillot also read a statement that was broadcast on national radio and television, saying she was "forced to resign."

But within hours, Lafontant was arrested by soldiers after a 30-minute battle to retake the Presidential Palace. Angry crowds sought out former members of the Tontons Macoutes and coup supporters, lynching several.

Crowds also destroyed the offices of the Haitian Roman Catholic Bishops Conference and the home of the Papal Nuncio. In recent days, statements by the church hierarchy have been critical of Aristide, a Catholic priest widely identified with the struggle against a succession of dictatorships in the country.

Aristide won by a landslide in the December 16 election against 10 other candidates. He played an important role in the popular movement that forced Duvalier into exile in 1986.

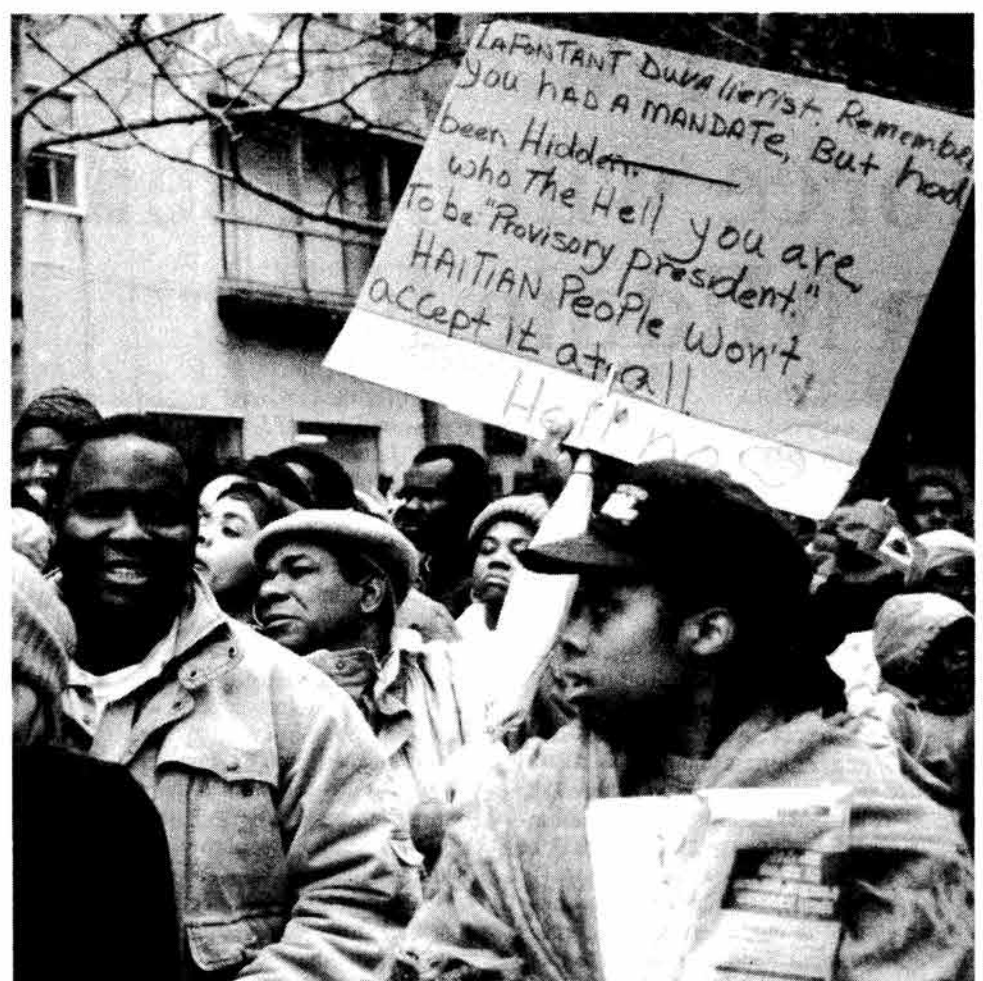
In 1988 the Tontons Macoutes attacked his church while he was saying mass, killing 13 members of the congregation. Aristide is scheduled to become president February 7, the fifth anniversary of Duvalier's flight from the island in the face of mass demonstrations.

In an October interview with the *New York Times*, Aristide pointed out that "the American Government has always supported dictatorships here." He ran on a platform calling for ameliorating social injustices through economic reform.

As it became clear he would win the elections, Aristide moderated his statements. According to the *Times*, in a December 17 meeting, Aristide told U.S. officials he was willing to cooperate with military officers, private business, and opposition political parties to unite the country.

Army pledges to back constitution

The army rejected the coup and pledged in a statement to "remain faithful to the



Militant/Margrethe Siem

January 7 protest in New York denounced right-wing coup attempt in Haiti. Demonstration became a celebration when news of coup leader's arrest was announced.

mission entrusted to it by the constitution" and said it would "take the necessary measures to control the situation and call upon the people to give us their support."

In a message broadcast over Radio Haiti Inter, Aristide congratulated the army, the people, and the diplomatic corps for thwarting the attempted coup. He appealed to Haitians to "stand firm."

U.S. State Department deputy spokesman Richard Boucher applauded "the Haitian army for its strong action in support of a constitutional government. We also applaud President-elect Aristide for his radio appeal

to the Haitian people in which he called for support of the constitution."

More than 2,000 Haitians demonstrated at the United Nations in New York City January 7 in response to the coup attempt. The action was built between 2:00 a.m. and 4:00 a.m. over Haitian radio stations based in New York and through phone calls immediately after news of events in Haiti reached here.

By the time the demonstration began, Lafontant's arrest had been announced. Protestors demanded that Aristide be sworn in immediately. There were also chants of "No U.S. intervention."

HANDS OFF THE MIDEAST!

Campaigning worldwide against the imperialist war drive

Working people — in and out of uniform — have been discussing and debating the accelerating buildup for an imperialist war in the Mideast led by 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.

A "National Student and Youth Meeting" has been set for January 27 in Washington, D.C. It is organized by the National Student and Youth Campaign for Peace in the Middle East. The one-day meeting "has been called in the hopes that we can unite our energies to expand the student and youth movement within the antiwar struggle," states a letter being circulated by the youth coalition.

Coalition organizers are building support for the upcoming January 26 national demonstration in opposition to war in the Middle East scheduled for Washington, D.C. They urge a strong turnout from students and other young people for the action and meeting the following day. "The National Student and Youth Campaign for Peace in the Middle East, a coalition of national and regional organizations, has

come together to mobilize for the Washington march on January 26th," the letter explains. The youth group has set up a number of work committees to organize participation in the Saturday protest and Sunday meeting. For more information, call (202) 234-0041.

The Emergency Coalition for Peace, Justice, and Non-Intervention in the Middle East, which organized a December 1 protest of 10,000 people in Boston, has mailed an appeal to more than 1,000 trade unionists in New England urging participation in the January 26 demonstration.

"Labor has a huge stake in this urgent effort since it is we and our families who are being called upon to fight in this war," the letter points out. "We in the labor movement have been the target of more than a decade of attacks against working people in the U.S. We should not now have to sacrifice our sons and daughters for the same people who have been attempting to bust our unions and drive down our standard of living. And you can bet that the employers will use the threat of war to deny wage increases and to prevent us from fighting for better working conditions."

The letter is signed by 10 area union officials, including Edward W. Clark, Jr., international vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, and Bob Murphy, vice-president of the Massachusetts Teachers Association. It states the goal of "having as many organized labor contingents in Washington as possible."

Follow-up calling is being organized by the coalition's labor task force.

Russell Davis from Boston contributed to this week's column.



Militant/Susan LaMont

Haiti president-elect Jean-Bertrand Aristide

North Korea calls UN action on Iraq danger signal for war

The following is a December 3 news dispatch by the Korean Central News Agency of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The dispatch reported the views on the Mideast conflict presented in *Rodong Sinmun*, the official daily of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea. The Workers' Party of Korea is the governing party in the northern part of that divided country. The English translation is by KCNA and has been edited by the *Militant*.

PYONGYANG — The United Nations Security Council adopted a resolution November 29 approving the use of all necessary means if Iraq failed to withdraw from Kuwait by January 15 of next year.

This is virtual approval of the use of arms by the multinational forces, including the U.S. forces, in the Gulf region.

Sunday's *Rodong Sinmun* warns that the adoption of the resolution approving the use of armed force against Iraq — under conditions of sharp confrontation and involving ultramodern means of war and huge armed forces massed in the Gulf region — cannot be but a danger signal that a war might break out in the region.

The news analyst says:

"We have consistently maintained the stand that encroachment upon the territorial integrity and sovereignty of one country by another must not be allowed in any part of

the world and to anyone, and that disputes must be settled not by armed force, but by peaceful means. Hence, we have opposed the intrusion into, and annexation of, Kuwait by Iraq and have denounced the United States for its schemes of total military intervention, amassing of large armed forces, and taking advantage of the Gulf crisis.

"We continue to hold that Iraq should withdraw from Kuwait. The presence of the U.S. forces and their military intervention in the Gulf region must be terminated. Thus, the Iraq-Kuwait dispute can be settled in a peaceful way within the Arab framework.

"If outside forces get themselves involved in the dispute — which should be resolved peacefully between the related parties or on a regional scale — and it develops into a war, it will not only do grave harm to the interests of the related parties and the region, but will also have a serious effect on the development of the overall international situation.

"Should a war break out in the Gulf region, an irrevocable situation will be created in the region, and it will pose a serious danger to the peace and security of the world.

"Therefore, no one must take the resolution of the UN Security Council as a green light for the use of armed force.

"We strongly oppose the attempt to resolve any disputes by use of arms.

"The Gulf crisis must be defused at an early date in a peaceful way."

Baker warns Iraq: force will be used in Middle East

BY SELVA NEBBIA

Moving a step closer to war, Washington told the Iraqi government: "Withdraw from Kuwait unconditionally and immediately, or face the terrible consequences."

This, said U.S. President George Bush during a radio address January 5, is the message U.S. Secretary of State James Baker will deliver to Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz January 9 in Geneva.

Far from negotiations, the Geneva meeting's purpose is to reiterate U.S. demands, Bush has stressed.

Baker told reporters January 6 that if Baghdad does not "comply with all of the United Nations resolutions and withdraw from Kuwait" by January 15, "force will be used against them."

The Baker-Aziz talks were proposed by Washington after Bush rejected a proposal by Iraqi President Saddam Hussein to meet in Baghdad January 12. Bush, who originally said talks could take place anytime before January 15, refused to send Baker to Iraq, claiming January 12 was too close to the United Nations deadline. Bush agreed to the Geneva meeting after pressure from Congressional critics and imperialist allies mounted for at least a token session that could help boost public support for the imperialist war drive.

January 15 is the date set by a November 29 UN Security Council resolution that gives a diplomatic cover for Washington to begin bombing or to invade Iraq if Hussein has not complied with UN resolutions. A series of UN measures adopted since Iraqi troops occupied neighboring Kuwait August 2 demand that Baghdad withdraw troops from and rescind its annexation of Kuwait, release citizens of other countries without harm, and take other steps to restore Kuwaiti sovereignty.

With additional forces on the way, the total

strength of the U.S.-led forces amassed in the region will reach 650,000 soon. A sophisticated, lethal, and concentrated arsenal — missiles, tanks, aircraft, warships and other equipment — has been assembled by the imperialists and their allies in preparation for a widespread war.

Washington seized on Hussein's invasion of Kuwait as an opportunity to shift the relationship of forces in the region to the benefit of imperialism. Through their war drive the U.S. rulers hope to impose a subservient regime in Iraq that can act as a cop against struggles of workers and farmers in the region. To accomplish this the U.S. led-military forces must decisively defeat the Iraqi army and overthrow the regime of Saddam Hussein.

Washington has put together the coalition that includes the governments of some 54 countries that have either contributed financially or with troops and war matériel. U.S. forces outnumber by far those of any other imperialist powers in the coalition.

335,000 U.S. troops in Gulf

The 335,000 U.S. troops account for more than half of the forces deployed in the Gulf region, more than 10 times the number pledged by Britain and 22 times the number of French troops. Britain and France are the two other imperialist countries with the largest number of troops in the operation. There is a total of 245,000 allied troops in the region.

By mid-February the U.S. troop buildup will reach 430,000.

The fact that U.S. imperialism is the only power capable of deploying extensive forces shows that only Washington is capable of sustaining the kind of mobilization necessary to defeat Hussein's armed forces.

As the prospect of a major war and the possible benefits U.S. imperialism would accrue from it become clear, interimperialist



U.S. soldiers in Saudi Arabia. U.S.-led forces in region will soon reach 650,000.

rivalry has increased.

Fearing that it will be edged out of the spoils in the Mideast, the French government has been pursuing its own line of diplomacy.

On January 4 French President François Mitterrand said France was a "loyal friend" of the United States. "I have respect for Mr. Bush," he said, "but I do not feel I am in the position of a second-class soldier who must obey his commanding general." The following day, French legislator Maurice Vauzelle, a close associate of Mitterrand's, traveled to Baghdad for talks with Hussein.

The French government had earlier urged the European Community to open an independent dialogue with Baghdad. French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas argued that the 12-nation body "cannot sit with our arms folded."

The French government also proposed another UN Security Council meeting before any military action is taken against Iraq. Bush indicated January 4 that he did not back such a meeting.

While Paris has sent 9,000 troops and 14 warships to the Gulf, French forces — unlike those from Britain — are not under a joint U.S.-led command.

The European Community voted to invite Aziz to meet with its representatives in Europe. The governments of Britain and the Netherlands voted against the proposal. Aziz later refused the invitation.

"This is a very anxious time. In the next few days, Britain will have more than 35,000 troops in place in the Gulf," said British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd. "But the message is becoming clearer that nothing less than the Security Council resolutions will do."

Baker rejected a French plan adopted by the European Community January 4. The plan said that if Iraq withdraws from Kuwait, it will not be attacked by the U.S.-led forces. The plan promised an international conference on outstanding conflicts in the Middle East including the plight of the Palestinian people.

Since the beginning of the Mideast buildup, Washington has rejected Baghdad's linkage of Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait to the demand that Israel withdraw from the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

"You cannot make promises that would constitute linkage," said Baker, speaking of the European Community plan. "We think that is a terrible mistake."

Referring to the upcoming meeting with Baker in Geneva and echoing the position held by Baghdad all along, the state-run Iraqi News Agency quoted Aziz as saying the talks must address issues of "peace and security in the whole region."

Continuing an attempt to cloak Iraq's reactionary invasion of Kuwait with the mantle of the struggle of the Palestinian people, Aziz said "the Palestinian people's right to establish their free, independent states on the land of Palestine, with Jerusalem as its capital, come at the top of the issues which require the application of justice and equality."

Speaking to Iraqi troops in Kuwait on January 6, Hussein stated that the battle in which Iraq is "locked today is the mother of all battles." Hussein indicated the Iraqi rulers are firm in their annexation of Kuwait, as he told the troops: "In one battle you had pre-

pared a historical opportunity for which our forefathers had longed and died without witnessing it. That was the return of Kuwait to its Iraqi motherland — a reality, not a wish or a claim, that made it the 19th province of the treasured political map of Iraq for the present and future times."

Washington's propaganda campaign

Washington is pressing its campaign to win public support from working people here and abroad for the devastating war being prepared. In his January 5 radio address Bush blamed the Iraqi regime for the economic crisis faced by the peoples of the Third World and Eastern Europe, and for the recession in the United States.

"The struggling newborn democracies of Eastern Europe and Latin America already face a staggering challenge in making the transition to a free market," said Bush. "But the added weight of higher oil prices is a crushing burden they cannot afford. And our own economy is suffering, suffering the effects of higher oil prices and lower growth stemming from Saddam's aggression."

Bush again raised the specter of Iraqi use of biological and nuclear weapons as reasons to go to war. "Each day that passes brings Saddam Hussein further on the path to developing biological and nuclear weapons and the missiles to deliver them," said the U.S. president. "If Saddam corners the world energy market, he can then finance further aggression, terror, and blackmail. Each day that passes increases Saddam's worldwide threat to democracy."

"At stake is not simply some distant country called Kuwait," said Bush. "At stake is the kind of world we will inhabit."

Leader of House says massive bombings will open attack on Iraq

Continued from front page

ment and military officials — was issued to influence Congress to approve the launching of a war against Iraq.

The Wisconsin Democrat made his announcement the same day as U.S. President George Bush asked Congress to formally back Washington's course toward war in the Gulf. In a letter sent January 8 to Senate and House leaders, Bush appealed for "unity," endorsement of the "UN position," and "the use of all necessary means" against Iraqi forces.

"Anything else," said the U.S. president, "would risk detracting from the international coalition arrayed against Iraq's aggression."

Endanger 'vital interests'

Bush wrote that if Congress did not vote to back his course, it would "encourage Iraqi intransigence" and endanger the "vital interests" of the United States.

"I am determined to do whatever is necessary to protect America's security," said Bush. "I ask Congress to join with me in this task. I can think of no better way than for Congress to express its support for the President at this critical time. This truly is the last best chance for peace."

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

January 1 — President Bush meets with top advisors to discuss military and political strategies for final push leading to January 15 deadline.

President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt issues New Year statement warning that "seas of blood" will flow if Iraq fails to comply with the United Nations January 15 deadline to leave Kuwait.

January 2 — NATO announces that Germany, Belgium, and Italy will send 42 jet fighters and at least 470 supporting personnel to Turkey, a NATO member bordering Iraq.

Britain combines its armored brigades in Saudi Arabia and moves them 60 miles closer to the Kuwaiti border for intensive training.

U.S. military commanders in Saudi Arabia say Iraqi forces show no sign of leaving Kuwait and are building up defenses.

January 3 — President Bush offers to send Secretary of State James Baker to Switzerland to meet Iraq's Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz.

The U.S. Congress convenes. "There's no question of the use of force in the Gulf," says House Speaker Thomas Foley. But "the question is the appropriate time for that debate" in Congress, says Foley.

The Pentagon drafts rules for press coverage during a war that are far more restrictive than the guidelines used in Vietnam.

Iraqi government officials announce that key government ministries and foreign diplomatic missions will be moved 60 miles west of Baghdad.

Citing "public threats" and national security, the British government announces it is expelling 7 Iraqi diplomats and 67 other Iraqis.

January 4 — Baghdad accepts Washington's offer for a meeting in Geneva between Aziz and Baker. The meeting, set for January 9, will be the highest-level exchange between the Iraqi and U.S. governments since the August 2 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

In an emergency meeting in Luxemburg, the 12-member European Community issues a statement saying "Iraq should receive the assurance not to be subject to a military intervention" once it has withdrawn its troops from Kuwait.

The European Community invites Tariq Aziz for talks on January 10, the day after he is scheduled to meet with Baker.

The *Wall Street Journal* reports the U.S. Air Force has moved its most lethal ground-attack jets to a new airfield hundreds of miles closer to the Iraqi border.

British authorities are told to prepare halls and schools for emergency blood donor sessions to get ready for war in the Mideast. They are instructed to get ready for the "worst case" scenario of 20 plane loads of casualties being received in Britain each day.

January 5 — The Iraqi government rejects the invitation to meet with representatives of the European Community.

During a radio address Bush warns that "time is running out" for Iraq.

January 6 — Iraqi President Saddam Hussein tells Iraqi armed forces that they are prepared to go to war to keep Kuwait part of Iraq.

Israel Airport Authority announce that the Scandinavian Airlines System; LOT, the Polish national airline; Cyprus Airways; South African Airways; and Pan American World Airways temporarily suspends service to Israel, blaming skyrocketing insurance rates based on fears of war.

Sweden and Germany advise their nations to leave Israel well before January 15.

Baker says Washington does not support the French government's plan for resolving the Gulf crisis because it linked an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait to a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The plan was endorsed by the European Community.

Eighteen German Alpha Jet ground-attack planes leave for Turkey.

Action coalitions build January 26 antiwar protests

Continued from front page

"One woman called up and said she couldn't go but wanted the group to send 'two young, articulate demonstrators' in her place." She donated \$100.

On December 19, more than 100 activists, including representatives of 27 peace, civil rights, religious, women's, and student groups, formed the Cleveland Campaign for Peace in the Middle East to back the January 26 action. They plan a January 15 picket line at British Petroleum, where they will sell bus tickets to the national march.

The January 26 action in Washington will assemble at noon at the west side of the Capitol and then march down Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House, ending at the Ellipse for a rally. Speakers have not yet been announced.

The mobilization in San Francisco will assemble at 10:30 a.m. at Embarcadero and Market streets and march to the Civic Center for a 1:00 p.m. rally. Endorsers include the central labor councils in San Francisco, Alameda County, San Mateo, and Santa Clara.

More information on the January 26 protests can be obtained by calling the National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East at (212) 727-3069.

Another national march on Washington, D.C., and San Francisco has been called for January 19 by the Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East. According to Brian Becker, a coalition spokesperson in Washington, backers of the January 19 action are organizing in 80 cities across the country.

Demonstrators will assemble at 11:00 a.m. at Lafayette Park in Washington. A noon rally will be followed by a march through the city, ending at the plaza next to the Martin Luther King, Jr., Library. Speakers will include British Labour Party leader Tony Benn, radio personality Casey Kasem, Dick Gregory, Ramsey Clark, and rapper Queen Latifa.

For more information on the January 19 action, readers can call (212) 777-1246.

King Day activities

Celebrations of Martin Luther King, Jr., are also taking up the fight against the war.

The National Coalition of Conscience, which includes the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Clergy and Laity Concerned, and Coretta Scott King, has called for local protests on January 15. "While we condemn the invasion and occupation of Kuwait by Iraq, we are convinced that United States military action would create more problems than it can resolve," the group said. "It is so ironic that the Security Council chose January 15... the birth date of Martin Luther King, Jr., as a line in the sand appropriately called *dead line*."

A 10-point program issued by the Coalition of Conscience includes a call for an end to the embargo on food and medicine to Kuwait and Iraq, "so that innocent men, women, and children will not suffer."

In Cleveland, the SCLC is organizing a January 15 event around the theme "We need a war against economic injustice, racism, and discrimination, not a war in the Middle East."



Militant/George Buchanan

December 1990 antiwar demonstration in Auckland, New Zealand.

Speakers include spokespeople for the NAACP and SCLC along with a rabbi, a priest, and union and high school activists. Cleveland antiwar activist Jon Hillson reports that 25,000 leaflets are being printed to promote both the King commemoration and the January 26 march.

Scores of actions have taken place across the country since President George Bush ordered U.S. troops to the Gulf.

On New Year's Eve, more than 100 members of the Puerto Rican community marched on the state capitol in Hartford, Connecticut, protesting the U.S. war drive.

A Rally for Peace in the Middle East will take place in Portland, Oregon, on January 12. Sponsors include the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, Oregon SANE, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Pentagon move restricts press coverage, censors war news

Continued from front page

the Reagan administration, told the *Times* January 6 that the "Pentagon intends to establish de facto field censorship without calling it that. A security review is prior restraint. It is censorship by the government and could be abused to protect the military from criticism or embarrassment."

Executives from the *Times* and some other major news organizations expressed their opposition to the Pentagon's plans. "The Pentagon should scrap the entire system of prior restraint and security review," said Andrew Glass, the Washington Bureau chief of the Cox newspaper chain.

The criticism by the press has caused Defense Department officials to backpedal, dropping many of the proposals for now. The *Times* reported that the military brass, however, is intent on creating the press pools and

the review of articles prior to their release.

Responding to a request for copies of the proposed regulations, a Pentagon spokesman told the *Militant* that "no rules have been promulgated yet and no copies are available." The spokesman said the Department of Defense had no further comment on the issue.

This is the first time since August 1990, when Washington initiated its mammoth military buildup in the Arab-Persian Gulf, that the big-business media has objected to censorship by the Pentagon. Reporters are already prohibited from disclosing exact numbers of troops or weapons, their locations, and the names of enlisted personnel.

British censorship

The British government is also moving to restrict the media with "ground rules" covering 14 categories of information which may not be released. These include specific details regarding troop numbers, equipment supply — including non-military items — and even information about cancelled or possible future operations. Details of the rules of engagement — circumstances in which troops are allowed to open fire — are also to be kept secret.

The concluding statement in the "ground rules" says that in case of "operational necessity" more "guidelines" will be issued.

According to the January 6 London *Independent*, senior editors at the three British news broadcasting companies have agreed to a request from Thomas King, defence secretary of state, for a "military veto on all pictures screened from the Gulf in the event of war."

"All material filmed in a Gulf conflict would be pooled by news organisations," the newspaper said, "with MoD (Ministry of Defence) personnel in the Gulf inspecting every item before it is sent home." Pictures of injured servicemen are likely to be censored.

The censorship moves received sharp criticism from deputy general secretary of the National Union of Journalists, Jacob Ecclestone. "There will be a massive campaign to manipulate what ordinary people see and hear and know about, which fundamentally contradicts what democracy is about," he said.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS IN ACTION

The Young Socialist Alliance is a revolutionary organization of students and young workers across the United States. YSA members seek to organize other young people in the fight against the wars, economic devastation, racism, and sexism bred by the capitalist system.

At the center of YSA members' political activity today is fighting against imperialism and its war drive in the Mideast. They are engaging in the debates and discussions taking place on college campuses, in factories, and among GIs on Washington's war aims. They are active in coalitions building street protests and other actions against the U.S.-led war drive.

The YSA seeks to advance the worldwide fight against apartheid in South Africa, defend the Cuban revolution, and back the struggle to reunify Korea.

We encourage members of the YSA, and members of the Young Socialists in Canada and New Zealand, to contribute items to this column.

A leaflet distributed by YSA members in Boston invites young people to join them in reading and discussing the article "Working-class campaign against imperialist war drive," by Jack Barnes, in the December *International Socialist Review* supplement to the *Militant*.

The first of the three-part class series begins January 10 and will focus on the roots of the U.S.-led imperialist war drive. Two more classes will take up the employers' and their government's war at home and abroad and the socialist campaign against the imperialist war. All classes will be held at the Pathfinder bookstore. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

YSA members in Minneapolis/St. Paul have announced an eight-week class series on "The Fight Against Imperialist War from World War I to Today."

"As the U.S. government moves toward war in the Mideast," said YSA member Evan Roberts, "we want to encourage young people to read and study past imperialist wars and the opposition to them."

The classes will have a presentation based on material in Pathfinder books including *Teamster Bureaucracy: The Trade Union Campaign against WWII*; *Out Now! A Participant's Account of the Movement in the U.S. against the Vietnam War*; and *Fighting Racism in World War II*.

Beginning January 9, the classes will be held every Wednesday at the University of Minnesota campus, Coffman Union, Room 308 at 5:00 p.m.

Thirty students from Illinois State University in Normal, Illinois, turned out for a December 6 forum featuring Aaron Ruby, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Ruby was invited by the Progressive Student Union at ISU to kick off a discussion on the imperialist military buildup and march toward war in the Arab-Persian Gulf. Ruby explained the aims of the U.S.-led war drive and the stakes for working people around the world. For most of the students, this was the first time they had heard a socialist speak.

One of the students had just served four years in the U.S. Army. The army now wants to put him on active duty and deploy him to Saudi Arabia. He said his buddies in the desert have no access to news of any kind except what is in the army newspaper, *The Stars and Stripes*. There was a discussion about the need to reach out to citizen-soldiers in campaigning against the coming war, and defending the right of soldiers to speak out against the war.

Recently 200 students at ISU held an antiwar demonstration. Another is planned for January 15.

A new YSA T-shirt and sweatshirt featuring the slogans "No Blood for Oil!" and "U.S. Troops out of the Middle East Now!" are selling well. Heather Randle, a member of the YSA National Executive Committee, reported that the group will have to restock for the upcoming antiwar marches slated for January 15-26. "So far we have received orders for 202 T-shirts and 127 sweatshirts," she said. "Wearing the shirts is a good way to show opposition to the war drive led by the U.S. government in the Mideast and its criminal blockade of Iraq."

The new T-shirts can be ordered for \$10 each or \$8 each for five or more. The sweatshirts are \$18 each or \$15 for five or more. Send prepaid orders to the Young Socialist Alliance, P.O. Box 211, New York, NY 10011.

Kari Sachs and Evan Roberts from Twin Cities, Minnesota, and Rick Young from Chicago contributed to this column.

from Pathfinder Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism by Carlos Tablada

A comprehensive look at the theoretical contributions to building socialism by Ernesto Che Guevara from 1959 to 1966, when he shouldered wide-ranging duties in the Cuban revolutionary government, with extensive citations from his writings and speeches. **\$20.95**

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12, or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$1 for postage and handling.

War drive sharpens tactical divisions among U.S. rulers

BY JAMES HARRIS

Sharp tactical divisions over how to proceed in pressing the imperialist war drive against Iraq have resulted, at least for now, in a major political crisis within the U.S. ruling class. Since the early November decision by President George Bush to increase the deployment of troops in the Gulf to 430,000, members of congress and other ruling class representatives have voiced increasing hesitations about the administration's course.

This conflict is growing as the prospects of a massive ground war in the Gulf, that would result in tens of thousands of U.S. casualties in the first weeks of battle, nears. Such bloody battles have not been prepared by the imperialists since World War II.

A wing of the ruling class fears that a prolonged war would have a destabilizing impact on politics in the United States as well as in the Gulf. While sharing common goals of extending imperialist domination in the region, they point out that even a "victory" in a U.S.-led war could damage long-term imperialist interests by unleashing forces that could rob it of even short-term gains.

"The question is not whether military action is justified; it is. The question is whether military action is wise at this time and in our own national interest," said Sam Nunn, the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Nunn reflects the nervousness of some wings of the ruling class and their wish to slow the administration.

"Is it in our vital interest to liberate Kuwait through military action by a largely American military force?" he asked at congressional hearings. "Will economic sanctions force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait? How long can we sustain over 400,000 American troops in Saudi Arabia?" Nunn asked.

All sections of the U.S. ruling class fear the rise of opposition to a prolonged war in the Gulf.

The agony of Vietnam

Bush has declared that the war "is not going to be another Vietnam. The agony of Vietnam is still with us and [public] support would erode" if there is a protracted war in the Gulf.

An official in the Bush administration stated that, "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." Bush promises a brief war through the massive use of military force.

Others are not so convinced of a quick defeat of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's forces. "I think getting bogged down in a ground war there is the last thing we want, and plays right into Saddam Hussein's hands and makes our logistics difficulties, which are already present, much more difficult," said Nunn.

Nunn is in favor of using the "viable military option" against Iraq. This "option" focuses on the massive bombing of Iraqi cities and troops to minimize U.S. losses in a ground assault.

The major tactical considerations of the debate in the ruling class is whether the sanctions can be used as a way of "squeezing [Saddam Hussein] to his knees" as Nunn puts it.

Nunn and other outspoken critics of the Bush administration in Congress such as Senator Edward Kennedy propose continuation of the sanctions against Iraq. Later, if the measures prove unsuccessful, massive U.S. bombing raids should be unleashed to minimize U.S. casualties. Their argument is that the sanctions need time to work.

"Time is working on our side," said Nunn during hearings of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

Others, such as Henry Kissinger, former secretary of state under presidents Nixon and Ford, told the *Wall Street Journal* that, "I believe that many of those who advocate sanctions are using it as a cop-out. . . . [Sanctions advocates] are saying that they think in 12 to 18 months sanctions will work. They have produced no evidence that this is true. . . . I have said from the beginning that time wasn't on our side. I said from the

beginning that we would have to choose between sanctions and military options somewhere along the line."

The wing of the ruling class that Kissinger speaks for fears that anything short of total military victory would be a defeat.

If the U.S. does not use its military force "it will be perceived that the radicals faced us down, that 1,000 American hostages were taken without any consequence, that the moderate governments who bet on us would be discredited," he said.

"If the U.S. leaves under conditions that are a disguised Iraqi success — that is to say, where Iraq gains something in Kuwait even if it is given to them by the Kuwaitis, or by an Arab summit — and if the military preponderance of Iraq remains unaffected, then I think we will have suffered a defeat," said Kissinger.

'Messy compromise'

Fueling the debate is the fear that Hussein may comply with the demand of the U.S.-led imperialist alliance and withdraw from all or part of Kuwait before an assault can be launched. Administration officials call this the "messy compromise." Such a move would

Good start for 'Militant' campaign

BY RONI McCANN

The special effort by members of 10 industrial trade unions to sell subscriptions to the *Militant* and copies of the newly published *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations* is off and running. Socialist workers have also taken goals to sell hundreds of single copies of the December *International Socialist Review*, published as a supplement to the *Militant*, by February 1.

In addition to the campaign launched by union members, supporters of the socialist press in cities throughout the country will be adopting goals to distribute the supplement to even wider numbers of working people over the next several weeks. They will reach GIs at military bases and transportation centers, workers involved in strikes and struggles, and working farmers and rural toilers. Supporters are making special plans to distribute the socialist press and Pathfinder books at the upcoming January 19 and 26 national marches in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco.

The *International Socialist Review* features an article by Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes entitled "Working-class campaign against imperialist war drive: Fighting the employers' offensive at home and abroad." The article outlines the enormous stakes for working people around the world in the impending war against Iraq. It offers an explanation of imperialism's goals in waging this war and the changes in the U.S. working class that make it possible to carry out an effective campaign to mobilize workers and farmers, in and out of uniform, to oppose the coming slaughter.

Socialists in many cities are holding educational series to study the antiwar supplement in order to better discuss its political perspectives with working people and youth. Selling the supplement is also one of the central activities of socialist candidates and their supporters in the coming weeks.

Francisco Picado, a garment worker in Philadelphia and a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union reports that ACTWU members set a goal of selling 36 *Militant* subscriptions and 42 copies of *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*. Two of Picado's coworkers have purchased copies of the Spanish edition of the book so far.

In Cleveland four members of ACTWU who work in a men's suit factory have sold three *Militant* subscriptions, three copies of the supplement, and one copy of *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*.

ACTWU member Dean Athans explained that they are also building upcoming antiwar



U.S. aircraft carrier in Middle East. Prospect of prolonged, bloody war has deepened debate in ruling class.

weaken the U.S. government's case for invading Iraq, defeating the Iraqi armed forces, and establishing a protectorate in the country.

Bush told a recent news conference that a "return to where we were before Saddam invaded his neighbor is unacceptable, because I think you're going to see a cry for stability and order there, security and stability that cannot be met simply by a return to the pre-invasion borders or the status quo there."

Those who fear an Iraqi withdrawal wish to move in quickly, preventing the "murky solution" that the prolonged use of sanctions might permit.

Making the case for an invasion soon,

Bush said, "Each day that passes brings Saddam Hussein further on the path to developing biological and nuclear weapons and the missiles to deliver them. . . . Each day that passes, Saddam's forces also fortify and dig in deeper into Kuwait. We risk paying a higher price in the most precious currency of all — human life — if we give Saddam more time to prepare for war," he said.

Even with the division on the war drive, however, House Speaker Thomas Foley announced that he expected Congress to vote in support of a resolution similar to that adopted at the United Nations giving Bush a green light to launch a massive war.

actions, especially the January 26 national demonstration in Washington, D.C. Several coworkers are interested in participating in the march to show their opposition to the war drive.

One worker, who subscribes to the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, has attended several citywide meetings to organize participation in the event and plan other actions. She recently decided to get the *Militant* regularly and bought a copy of the supplement. After reading half the article, she discussed it with Athans during a break at the garment shop.

"She said she appreciated the explanation of what imperialism is trying to do in the Mideast and its aims in the coming war,"

Athans explained. She had always wondered how and why the U.S. government did what it did to peoples around the world, he added. Athans said his coworker helped convince another to read a copy of the *Militant* as well.

In Los Angeles members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union set a goal of selling 40 copies of the antiwar supplement. Socialists who are members of the United Auto Workers in Detroit plan to get out 100 copies of the supplement; United Food and Commercial Workers members, 30; and St. Louis members of the United Steelworkers of America, 20. The *Militant* will report on the progress of the sales campaign each week, and participants are encouraged to send in their results.

Socialist workers campaign to sell

Militant subscriptions International Socialist Review U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!



2128
TOTAL

SCOREBOARD

Union	Total %Sold	Militant Sold (Goal)	Mideast Book Sold (Goal)	ISR Sold (Goal)
IUE	18%	4 (25)	19 (40)	3 (77)
ACTWU	12%	3 (36)	7 (42)	7 (60)
OCAW	8%	3 (50)	12 (100)	2 (57)
IAM	8%	5 (170)	13 (170)	23 (183)
ILGWU	7%	1 (23)	3 (47)	5 (57)
UTU	6%	6 (72)	3 (100)	8 (84)
UAW	5%	3 (100)	6 (50)	3 (70)
UFCW	2%	4 (85)	1 (70)	0 (89)
USWA	2%	1 (68)	2 (66)	1 (62)
UMWA	1%	0 (22)	0 (28)	1 (25)
Total	7%	35 (651)	66 (713)	53 (764)
Should be	16%	72	78	191

Unions listed are ACTWU, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; IAM, International Association of Machinists; ILGWU, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; IUE, International Union of Electronic Workers; OCAW, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; UAW, United Auto Workers; UFCW, United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA, United Mine Workers of America; USWA, United Steelworkers of America; and UTU, United Transportation Union.

*Also includes subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* and *Lutte ouvrière*.

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WEEK 1

Cuba publishes facts on 'missile crisis'

Rejects charge by Soviet official that Castro favored nuclear attack on U.S.

BY PETER THIERJUNG

The November 23 *Granma*, the official daily of the Cuban Communist Party, featured confidential correspondence between Cuban President Fidel Castro and the late Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, exchanged at the height of the October 1962 "missile crisis."

The Cuban government took the unusual step of making the correspondence public to counter a growing anti-Cuba slander campaign by the capitalist press. The campaign stems from the publication of excerpts of more than 100 hours of tape-recorded memoirs by Khrushchev.

The U.S. weekly magazine *Time* carried excerpts in its October 1 issue and Little, Brown and Co. published them as a book, *Khrushchev Remembers: The Glasnost Tapes*. The Cuban government's release of the messages exchanged by Castro and Khrushchev coincided with the book's appearance in the United States and Europe.

Khrushchev asserted in his memoirs that Castro had called on the Soviet Union to launch a pre-emptive nuclear strike against the United States during the crisis.

"My comrades in the leadership and I realized that our friend Fidel totally failed to understand our purpose. We had installed the missiles [in Cuba] not for the purpose of attacking the U.S. but to keep the U.S. from attacking Cuba," Khrushchev said. Further on he added "Castro was hotheaded."

In an October 10 editorial, the *New York Times* stated that "Americans owe a double debt to Nikita Khrushchev, who could also be impulsive. First, he resisted the insane advice of his headstrong Cuban ally. And second, he left a candid memoir of the world's closest brush with a nuclear holocaust."

'Granma' sets record straight

Granma accompanied the letters it published with a full-page article explaining the Cuban government's decision to release them, the political and historical context, and the Cuban leadership's decisions during the events. The daily also provided readers with a day-by-day chronology of the crisis.

Following the 1959 overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictator by Cuba's working people, the Cuban revolution became the target of Washington's unremitting hostility.

In April 1961 the U.S. government organized an invasion of the country by counter-revolutionary Cubans at the Bay of Pigs. It was quickly defeated by Cuba's revolutionary armed forces. Washington then prepared to attack Cuba directly, *Granma* said.

Under these circumstances, the Soviet and Cuban governments entered into a military pact that included the deployment of 40,000 Soviet troops in Cuba and, at the suggestion of the Soviet government, 42 medium-ranged nuclear missiles. The Soviets said the missiles would be an effective deterrent to attacks against Cuba.

"Comrade Fidel and the Cuban leadership realized from the start that the presence of Soviet missiles in our territory could affect our country's image in the political field and increase the dangers of a confrontation of another sort with the United States," *Granma* said.

"Nor did they fail to understand the true nature of Khrushchev's proposals, which was to improve the balance of forces between the USSR and the socialist community on the one hand and imperialism on the other."

The daily explained how in the early 1960s the USSR had only 300 nuclear warheads and a few dozen intercontinental missiles, while the United States had 5,000 warheads and 500 missiles. Moreover, Soviet military doctrine was defensive, while that of the United States was offensive.

The superiority of the U.S. nuclear arsenal was generally known at the time, but the facts about the extent of the imbalance between U.S. and Soviet forces were not fully known, even by the Cuban leadership, *Granma* said.

Cubans rejected self-interest

"But it would have been a cowardly act of national selfishness to have rejected" the Soviet proposal, *Granma* said. "As Comrade Fidel has often said in private conversations, he felt that if at the time we expected the USSR to struggle to defend Cuba in case of

an attack by the United States... then we were also unavoidably bound to take risks for the Soviet Union."

According to *Granma*, the Cuban leadership urged that the military agreement and the existence of the nuclear weapons in Cuba be made public, but Khrushchev insisted on keeping the matters secret.

On October 22, 1962, the U.S. government charged that there were "offensive missiles" in Cuba. U.S. President John Kennedy ordered a full military blockade of Cuba, placed U.S. armed forces on alert, and threatened military action against Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Castro's October 26 letter to Khrushchev shows that the Cuban leadership was convinced an assault, either an air attack or an invasion, on Cuba was imminent. "If the United States invaded Cuba it wouldn't stop to await a Soviet reaction and would launch a nuclear attack" against the USSR, *Granma* said.

In this context, Castro warned the Soviet Union that it should never allow "circumstances in which the imperialists could launch the first nuclear strike against it." This would have been "an act of rightful defense," *Granma* said.

After reaching an agreement with Kennedy on October 28, Khrushchev ordered the missiles withdrawn from Cuba in exchange for "promises" from Washington to lift the blockade and not invade Cuba. The Cuban government was not, however, consulted.

In an October 31 letter to Khrushchev, Castro "expressed sorrow and bitterness over the manner in which the USSR and the United States reached a settlement behind



1962 photograph of U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, weeks before October "missile crisis." Nuclear-powered U.S. carrier is anchored in bay. Recent *Granma* counters anti-Cuba slander that has surfaced around events.

Cuba's back," *Granma* said.

"I did not suggest to you, Comrade Khrushchev, that in the midst of this crisis the Soviet Union should attack, which is what your letter seems to say," Castro wrote. "Rather, that following an imperialist attack, the USSR should act without vacillation and should never make the mistake of allowing circumstances to develop

in which the enemy makes the first strike against the USSR.

"Moreover, I spoke not as a troublemaker, but as a combatant from the most endangered trenches," Castro told the Soviet premier.

The exchange between Castro and Khrushchev was also carried in the December 2 English-language *Granma Weekly Review*.

Security law targets Iraqis in Canada

Some Iraqis living and working in Canada are now under surveillance

BY ROBERT SIMMS

The Canadian government has prepared extensive plans for political victimization of Iraqis who live and work in Canada. The existence of these plans, and surveillance that is already under way, was made public by a report in the December 30 *Toronto Sun*.

Sun reporter Lee Lamothe wrote that senior strategists in the Defense Department, Canadian Security and Intelligence Service (CSIS), and other police agencies have been working on these plans since the start of the imperialists' drive toward war in the Arab-Persian Gulf region last August.

Lamothe quoted several sources in the federal government in Ottawa, who spoke on condition that their names and agencies not be used. One government source stated: "Many people today don't realize what it is to be at war, the measures that must be taken for protection against terrorism and actions against the government. We're prepared and ready to do whatever needs to be done and to do it very quickly."

Some Iraqis living and working in Canada are already under surveillance, Lamothe's sources said. Also, liaison on these questions with U.S. agencies, like the FBI and CIA, has been stepped up.

In a follow-up report appearing in the December 31 *Sun*, Lamothe noted that CSIS spokesperson Gerry Cummings refused to confirm whether CSIS was targeting particular Arab groups. However, the *Sun* quoted a source "close to the Canadian intelligence community" as saying that the Arab-Canadian press and known demonstrators are being monitored.

The Emergencies Act, passed by the Canadian Parliament in 1988, gives the federal cabinet sweeping powers to declare a "war emergency" and to adopt any measures and orders it deems "necessary and advisable."

The Emergencies Act grants the cabinet essentially the same powers as the former War Measures Act passed in 1914, under which Canadians of German origin were interned in World War I and worker and socialist organizations banned.

In World War II, the act was used to ban more than a dozen organizations, including the Socialist Workers League, a forerunner of today's Communist League; the Communist Party; and the Jehovah's Witnesses. More than 100 people — trade union militants, Québécois, the mayor of Montréal, and others — were jailed or interned.

Some 20,000 Japanese-Canadians as well as Canadians of German and Italian origin were also interned during the war.

The War Measures Act was used to crack down on a broad upsurge in the Québec nationalist movement and in working-class political activity in 1970. Using the pretext of the kidnapping of a diplomat and a government official by a tiny group known as the Québec Liberation Front (FLQ), Canadian army troops were sent into Québec and more than 450 Québécois labor and nation-

alist leaders were arrested.

The War Measures Act was discredited by the political resistance that later developed from trade unions and civil liberties groups. It was replaced by the Emergencies Act.

Under the Emergencies Act, the cabinet can declare "public order" and "international" emergencies, which could be used against strikes and social revolt by Native peoples and Québécois nationalists; prohibit public assembly; restrict travel within and outside Canada; and authorize searches and seizures.

Commenting on the repression those from Arab countries could face in Canada, James Kafieh said the Canadian-Arab Federation has "warned our community about a change of climate if shooting breaks out. If it happens, it's going to be a nightmare." Kafieh is president of the federation.

'International Socialist Review' sales in Britain spur war debate

BY PETE KENNEDY AND HELEN ARTHUR

MANCHESTER, England — Militant supporters here made a special effort to distribute the year-end issue of the paper containing the *International Socialist Review* article, "Working-class campaign against the imperialist war drive."

At the Schlumberger manufacturing plant, Militant supporters sold 24 copies among the 450 workers. "I'm interested in this," said one woman. "I have three sons between 19 and 22 years old, and I don't want them to be sent to the Gulf." Another woman worker, encouraging the sellers to keep up the good work, said, "My son has been sent to the Gulf, but I'm dead against it."

The British government has dispatched heavy armored divisions and warships and planes amounting to some 35,000 troops to the Arab-Persian Gulf as part of the U.S.-led imperialist war drive.

Of those who said they did not want to get a copy of the paper, one was a young reservist who agreed the war was not in the interests of working people in Britain or Iraq. But, he said, "If I have to go and fight, then it's best that I don't buy a copy. It is best to know nothing about it." Some others who did not buy copies were in favor of military action

against Iraq to "stop this Hitler."

At Colman Fordsmiths, a small production plant, the lively discussions with Militant supporters included one young worker who said, "My father fought in the Korean War. He never wants to talk about what really happened there. I'd be interested in finding out," about the situation in the Mideast.

"Bring them home. Bring the lads home," was a response encountered from many co-workers, especially those with relatives already in the Gulf. Others expressed support for the buildup, stating, "Saddam [Hussein] has got to be stopped."

At a street sale in the coalfield community of Earlstown the same week, Militant supporters sold 17 copies. Many of those who bought single copies explained their concern for relatives and friends who might be sent to fight in the region. "I've tried to keep it out of my mind, but know I shouldn't anymore," said one woman whose son is in Saudi Arabia. Teenagers, some with friends on call-up, were among those who expressed the most interest in reading the socialist press and the *International Socialist Review* article.

"It'll be workers killing workers, like in World War I," said a young woman who is studying that war in school.

Socialist meeting in Canada charts fight against war drive

BY JOHN STEELE

MONTREAL — The second convention of the Communist League of Canada, held here December 29-January 1, focused on how socialist workers can step up their efforts against the impending imperialist war in the Mideast. "Today's meeting is one of many that communists have held around the world to discuss organizing an international working-class campaign against the aggression that is being prepared with the most powerful military machine put in place since World War II," said Steve Penner, executive secretary of the Communist League.

One hundred and two delegates and observers attended the convention. Observers included communist workers from the United States, Britain, Sweden, and New Zealand. Sixty-two percent of those attending were members of industrial unions, including the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), the International Association of Machinists (IAM), the Canadian Auto Workers union (CAW), and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

Members of the Young Socialists in Canada, the Young Socialist Alliance in the United States, and the New Zealand Young Socialists also participated.

Penner's report to the convention explained why class-conscious workers must demand the complete withdrawal of U.S., Canadian, British, French, and all other imperialist and foreign troops from the Middle East; and an immediate end to the criminal embargo against Iraq, especially of food and medicine.

"This campaign needs to politically arm working-class fighters on the stakes for our class in this battle; its political, social and economic roots; and its interconnection with the resistance of working people to the accelerating attacks by this country's capitalist rulers against our standard of living, democratic rights, and trade unions," he said.

"The class war being waged by the ruling rich against the people of Iraq and Kuwait is also aimed at deepening the oppression and exploitation of working people around the world — including in Canada — in order to shore up the crisis-ridden capitalist profit system," Penner continued. For these reasons, he said, the antiwar campaign must be based among working people who are resisting the attacks of the bosses and their governments: unionized and unorganized workers, employed and unemployed, exploited farmers and farm workers, the oppressed nationalities and national minorities, and workers, farmers, students, and young people in uniform.

An imperialist war

Pointing to the debate in bourgeois circles and between the politicians and the generals, Penner said their discussion is not if, but when, the war should be launched.

"The only government that has consistently and courageously condemned the imperialist war drive is that of revolutionary Cuba," he said. "While condemning the illegal invasion and annexation of Kuwait by Iraq, Cuba's communist leadership has pointed out that the real danger for working people is the imperialist military intervention under way using the pretext of defense of Kuwait's sovereignty."

This war is an imperialist war like the Korean and Vietnam wars, Penner explained, and has nothing to do with the defense of sovereignty or democratic rights. The use of United Nations authorization, as was the case in Korea, is simply a cover for the imperialist character of the aggression.

"Canada's capitalist rulers have big stakes in the war against Iraq," said Penner. "They have sent their armed forces into every imperialist war since the beginning of the century, except the Vietnam War, which they supported by other means," he said.

Penner stressed the need for working-class fighters to oppose the imperialist embargo against the people of Iraq and Kuwait. He cited an advertisement published in the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, a major daily, calling for support for sanctions against Iraq, claim-

ing they are "tools for peace." The ad was sponsored by the Canadian Labour Congress; the Ontario Federation of Labour; the USWA, CAW, and other unions; as well as church and pacifist organizations.

"Far from being 'tools for peace,' the embargo and sanctions are an act of war aimed at the working people of Iraq," said Penner. "Cuban medical volunteers in Iraq report that the sick, the old, and infants are dying from malnutrition and lack of medical supplies."

"A sharp line between the embargo and a massive shooting war does not exist. One is leading to the other," he pointed out.

Ottawa no 'peacekeeper'

Many who support sanctions also propose the Canadian government play an "independent peacekeeping" role in the Mideast, said Penner. This promotes a dangerous illusion. Ottawa is already following its own independent course to defend the interests of Canadian imperialism. It will fight just as hard as any other imperialist power, and will shed the blood of working people at home and abroad just as readily, in order to do so. This course would be followed whether the government in Ottawa were led by the Conservatives, Liberals, or the New Democratic Party (NDP).

The sending of the armed forces to the Middle East this summer at the same time that thousands of troops were sent against the Mohawk nation at Kanestake and Kahnawake near Montréal, said Penner, "shows the mailed fist behind the velvet glove of Canada's imperialist ruling class."

Canadian nationalist propaganda pushed by the capitalist parties, the NDP, and the trade union bureaucracy argues Canada is a "caring and sharing" society worth defending. The Communist League leader said this blurs the reality of a class-divided society and a prison house of oppressed nationalities and peoples — Natives, Québécois, Blacks, and immigrants from Third World countries. The ruling class, backed by social patriotic layers, "has tried to win working people to support each one of its wars for plunder through such reactionary propaganda," Penner explained.

"Working people have to reject the false idea that there is such a thing as 'our' country, 'our' government, or 'our' company. They're not ours," continued Penner. "They are controlled lock, stock, and barrel by a handful of millionaires and billionaires who are our real enemies right here at home — not the Iraqi people."

"Fighting the imperialist war drive means fighting to replace the government of the warmakers with a government of workers and farmers that will lead the fight for socialism. It is around this perspective that communist parties based in the working class can be built in the coming years," Penner explained.

Resistance to the war at home

Michel Dugré, a member of the Communist League Political Committee and a steelworker, presented a report reviewing the resistance of working people in Canada to the employers' offensive, and the deepening struggle of Native people and Québécois against national oppression.

"The resistance of working people to the 15-year offensive by the employers against our unions, rights, and working conditions has laid the basis for a working-class struggle against the bosses' war," said Dugré.

He described the one-week strike at Ford Motor Company last fall by members of the Canadian Auto Workers union. While limited in its scope, the fight waged by more than 10,000 strikers prevented some of the concessions imposed on auto workers in the United States, such as joint worker-boss committees to police absenteeism.

"However, like all other strikes during this period," Dugré said, "it was a defensive battle. The unions remain in the class-collaborationist framework of the trade union bureaucracy, accepting the defense of 'our' company's profits and competitive position as the bottom line."

Dugré said the Ford contract settlement,



Militant/Jim Upton

Communist League leaders Steve Penner (left), and Susan Berman (right). Convention was attended by some 100 people, 62 percent of whom were members of industrial unions.

like the recent auto settlements in the United States, sought forms of job or income "security" for a layer of relatively privileged workers with five to 10 years seniority at the expense of lower-paid, lower-seniority workers. Backing away from a fight to defend the jobs of those workers threatened by layoffs from contracting-out, compulsory overtime, and back-breaking speedup, he said, is a further retreat for the union.

The three-month strike against the Steel Company of Canada (Stelco) also illustrates resistance by rank-and-file workers who find ways to fight despite big obstacles, Dugré explained. The strikers' hard-fought battle successfully defied court injunctions against secondary picketing and blocked Stelco's efforts to ship stockpiled steel. Unionists were able to defeat most of Stelco's concession demands.

"But the bosses were able to achieve their goal of forcing the Stelco locals across the country to settle separately," Dugré said. As a result, they succeeded in breaking the decades-long system of chain bargaining.

"Through these kinds of struggles, despite the obstacles, rank-and-file leaders will step forward and lead a fight to transform our unions into effective weapons of class struggle," the socialist steelworker said.

Struggles against national oppression

As the imperialists drive toward war, Dugré continued, resistance to employer as-

saults will mesh with struggle against national oppression.

"The fight by Mohawks for land and sovereignty this past summer strengthened the unity of Native people across the country," said Dugré. It also strengthened resistance by working people to the employers' offensive, deepening the crisis of Canada's rulers.

"The specter of hundreds of thousands of workers discussing the merits of Native demands for land and sovereignty and their right to defend themselves against cop and army attacks is a nightmare for the ruling class," he said.

"So too is the growing resistance of Québécois to their national oppression as a French-speaking minority in Canada. Their fight today is reflected in their unprecedented support for Québec's sovereignty, threatening the breakup of Canada," said Dugré.

By pushing a "national unity" campaign, the ruling class hopes to blunt the fight for national self-determination and deepen divisions among working people, Dugré pointed out.

Class-conscious workers can counter these divisive and anti-democratic moves by reaching out to working people in the unions with a perspective of fighting all forms of national oppression and chauvinism. This includes language discrimination, low wages, and inferior social services and education suffered by French-speaking workers,

Continued on Page 9

A BOOK FOR WORKERS WHO WANT TO KNOW 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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Mail to: Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Outside the United States contact Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12.



S. Korean activists discuss reunification

U.S. forces stationed in South are main obstacle to struggle for one Korea

Continued from Page 16

The third round of talks between the prime ministers of the North and South, held here December 11-14, ended with no agreement. A fourth meeting has been set for February 25-28 in Pyongyang, the North's capital.

Lim stated that the aim of the antinuclear organization he is helping to lead is to "educate the Korean people that the United States is using southern Korea as their nuclear base in East Asia."

"We know that between 600 and 1,100 nuclear weapons are stationed in South Korea," Lim added. "Their locations are officially secret but the sites — about 18 of them — are known."

Lim said about 180 U.S. military installations, including smaller communication centers and hospitals, are located in South Korea. The main base is in the center of Seoul. Washington has had troops in Korea since 1945, and currently 43,000 are stationed here.

"We guess there are between 800,000 and 1 million troops in the North," Lim said, "and fewer in the South. But the South's fighting power is obviously greater. It is spending much more on its military than the North is. The North would have to be much stronger than it is now to launch and win a war."

The Korea Peace Research Institute and many other groups are affiliated to the National Democratic Alliance of Korea (NDAK-Chunminryun), the leading opposition organization in South Korea. NDAK is a broad umbrella organization that includes labor, farmers', women's, Buddhist, Christian, and student groups. It was formed in January 1989.

Kwon Huing Taek, general secretary of NDAK's national reunification committee, pointed out another side of the South Korean government's stance in the prime ministers' talks. The government in the South, he said, contends that greater cultural, athletic, and other forms of "people's" contact should come before any agreement on military questions.

At the same time, Kwon said, "The government in the South insists that there should be only one channel of communication with the North — at the top governmental level. They do not allow people to contact each other; in fact they repress people who contact North Korea."

"Exposing the government's fake reunification policy" is a central aim of NDAK, he said.

National Security Law

Kwon explained that contact with the North is forbidden under the National Security Law of South Korea. Some form of this law has been in force since 1948.

After Roh Tae Woo became president of South Korea in February 1988, he promised to investigate abuses of democratic rights by former presidents Choi Kyu Hah and Chun Doo Hwan. But under Roh's administration, arrests under the National Security Law and other police-state legislation have sharply increased. Roh himself was the commander of the military forces that suppressed a popular revolt in the city of Kwangju in 1980.

With the significant rise in sentiment and activity in favor of reunification, many activists have been attempting to break the quarantine against meeting and holding discussions with people from the North. Those arrested for unauthorized contact have included journalists, students, unionists, and clergymen. Even individuals who assist others in making trips to the North have been jailed.

Recently students in the South have been showing North Korean films on their campuses, flouting government bans. Riot cops mobilized to try to prevent the showings.

To underline its serious intent to discourage contact with the North, the government recently charged two Korea Broadcasting Ser-



U.S. soldiers in Demilitarized Zone between North and South Korea.

vice journalists, following the airing of a documentary program they did on Mongolia. While in Mongolia last summer they met with North Korean diplomats. They reported their contacts to the South Korean government following their return, as the law demands.

At first the government did not charge the journalists, Lee Jin Cheol pointed out. But it later decided to do so. "They want to threaten people against talking to the other side," he said, "by showing that no one is immune."

On November 30, police arrested three

delegates from South Korea who were returning from a reunification conference in Berlin 10 days earlier. They are being held at police headquarters in Seoul until their trial, which is expected to take place this spring. They are charged with meeting delegates from North Korea without government authorization.

The Berlin conference set up the Pan-Korean Alliance for Reunification, which unites Koreans from the North, South, and overseas in a common organization to fight for reunification. This is the first such organization since Korea was divided by agreement between the U.S. and Soviet governments in 1945.

The delegates, arrested on their return to Seoul are: Cho Yong Sool, cochairperson of the Pan-Korean Alliance's South Korea branch and a protestant minister; Lee Hae Hak, chairperson of the steering committee of the Pan-Korean Alliance, South Korea branch; and Cho Sung Woo, general secretary of the South Korea branch of the Pan-Korean Alliance, temporary chairperson of NDAK's International Solidarity Committee, and director of the Korea Peace Research Institute.

Chung Mok In, also a leader of NDAK's national reunification committee, explained that the Pan-Korean Alliance plans to hold its second conference here in August 1991. It will follow a conference for peace and a nuclear-free zone in Korea to be held in Seoul in June.

The August reunification conference is also linked to two marches that are planned. One will depart from Mount Paekdu, the highest peak on the Korean peninsula, located on the North Korean-Chinese border.

The other will begin from Mount Halla on Cheju Island located off South Korea's southern coast. Both will head toward Seoul.

Organizers hope that international figures, plus Koreans from the North, South, and abroad, will participate in the two marches. If conference delegates and marchers are not allowed into the South, the conference will be held in Tokyo.

NDAK leader Kwon said the Pan-Korean Alliance is an example of the type of common national organization that NDAK is trying to promote on the road to reunification.

"Our reunification can only be won by our own decisions and our own power," he said. "It cannot be achieved by foreign intervention, whether from the United States, Japan, the Soviet Union, or China."

He saw major differences between the situation of Korea and Germany, beginning with the fact that "when Korea was freed from Japanese imperialism, North Korea was based on the fighters against Japanese imperialism, while the South Korean government was based on the collaborators with Japanese imperialism. The South Korean government cannot wipe out this legacy; it remains antagonistic to the people of South Korea."

"The country's division," he stressed, "is not a problem of capitalism versus communism. We must work toward a single national organization of the country, whether it be communism or capitalism. The problem is that the governments of the South and the United States do not want reunification. The real maker of our division is the United States," Kwon concluded.

Canada meeting sets fight against war drive

Continued from Page 8

Dugré continued. Giving unconditional support to the fight for Québec's sovereignty, which is currently supported by a large majority of Québécois working people, is decisive to unifying the working class, he said.

Mounting an effective struggle means fighting against the reactionary bourgeois nationalism promoted by the powerful layer of capitalists who are Québécois and have emerged over the past two decades.

"Proposals around sovereignty advanced by this class in the Québécois nationality have little to do with the fight against national oppression," said Dugré. "They are out to defend their class interests by establishing new power-sharing arrangements with the rest of Canada's ruling capitalist families. They too profit from the national divisions among working people."

"Working people need our own independent working-class policy on the fight against national oppression," Dugré said, "just like we need our own foreign policy."

"We need our own party — a fighting labor party. A party built through the resistance of working people to the employers' war at home and abroad."

Subscription campaign

A report by Political Committee member Susan Berman made proposals on the next steps communist workers and others can take in the working-class campaign against the war drive.

Berman proposed that the Communist League and its supporters, in collaboration with communists around the world, go on a drive through March 1 to sell subscriptions to the *Militant*, copies of the December *International Socialist Review*, and the Pathfinder book *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*.

"We can take the explanation of this war to fighting workers and farmers," said Berman. "Sell the communist press at plant gates and union meetings, go onto the campuses with the Young Socialists, and set up literature tables to win young fighters against the war to a communist perspective." Berman also stressed the need to get the *Militant* and other communist publications into the hands of soldiers.

She explained that reaching working people with the *Militant* would also be a fight to extend the political elbowroom for working people to speak out and organize against the war.

Meeting launched drive

to sell socialist press and Pathfinder book, *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!*

"The rulers will try to limit this political space," Berman warned, citing investigations and interrogations of IAM members about their political views by the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) and CSIS programs to spy on and round up workers of Iraqi origin.

"Communist election campaigns are another way to advance the struggle to defend democratic rights in the course of the imperialist war drive," said Berman. She reported that the Communist League branch in Van-

couver had taken the initiative to field three candidates in the upcoming provincial elections.

Convention delegates also discussed how from within the industrial unions they would participate fully in antiwar action coalitions in Canada.

"Communist workers can help these coalitions organize protests that can educate working people about the war and draw them into action against it," said Berman. "This is why we need to do all we can to build the upcoming actions in Toronto, Montréal, Vancouver, and other cities against the war, including actions to coincide with the January 26 actions scheduled in the United States."

During the convention, three people asked to join the Young Socialists and one asked to join the Communist League. Nearly \$500 of Pathfinder books was sold to participants.

Books for working-class campaign against war drive

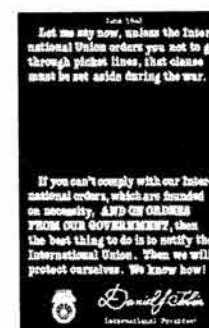
Pathfinder publishes a number of books and pamphlets that are valuable weapons for working people opposed to the imperialists' march toward war in the Mideast. Below is a selection of titles documenting earlier opposition to imperialist war, and assaults on the unions and democratic rights at home since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



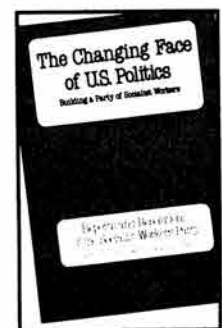
Malcolm X Talks to Young People
Speeches in the U.S., Britain and Africa, 110 pp., \$9.95



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



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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

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12. Or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$1 for each book for postage and handling.

Correction

In last week's issue, the identification of the prime ministers of North and South Korea was reversed in the photo that accompanied the article "S. Korea rejects North's unification plan." North Korean Prime Minister Yon Hyong Muk is in the center of the photo and South Korean Prime Minister Kang Young Hoon is on the left.

Nicaragua's North Atlantic Coast and struggle for autonomy today

BY CINDY JAQUITH

(Last in a series)

PUERTO CABEZAS, Nicaragua — In the early 1980s Nicaragua's North Atlantic Coast was engulfed in full-scale war. Many of the region's residents, primarily those peasants who were Miskito Indians, had taken up arms against the revolutionary government led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The Miskitos had originally welcomed the 1979 overthrow of dictator Anastasio Somoza by a popular revolution led by the FSLN. Decades of Somocista rule had meant nothing but superexploitation, underdevelopment, and racist discrimination for the Indians and Blacks who make up a little less than half the population of the Atlantic Coast. The rest of the Coast's inhabitants are Spanish-speaking, or mestizo, as are the overwhelming majority of Nicaraguans in the remainder of the country.

Embracing the revolution as the road to tearing down the walls of racial prejudice and political isolation they had suffered, Miskitos demanded the new workers' and peasants' government recognize their right to use their native language and establish their own organizations, protect the communal land and natural resources of Indian communities, and bring Miskitos into the decision-making on how the revolution would be carried out in the region.

The FSLN leadership initially failed to understand the revolutionary character of the Miskitos' struggle, viewing their demands as "separatist" and therefore "counterrevolutionary."

Detentions of Miskito rights activists by the Sandinista army and State Security on charges of "counterrevolutionary activity" became more and more common. Capitalist forces in Nicaragua, along with Washington, moved quickly to establish a base of support among Miskitos and provoke sharper confrontations with the revolutionary government. By 1981, a significant number of Miskitos had gone into exile in Honduras, where they took up arms against the Nicaraguan government.

Uriel Vanegas, one of the commanders of the Miskito armed groups in Honduras, concedes that they had a "military-strategic alliance" with the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), which was commanded by former officers of Somoza's National Guard and armed, trained, and financed by Washington.

But the Miskitos had frictions with both the FDN and the CIA officials working in Honduras, insists Vanegas, who today heads



Militant/Roberto Kopec
Participants in April 1987 Multiethnic Assembly in Puerto Cabezas. Some 2,000 residents from Atlantic Coast gathered to approve final draft of autonomy law.

the North Atlantic Autonomous Regional Council. "The CIA pressured us to join the FDN before they would give us aid," he explains. The U.S. government funded the Miskito groups nevertheless, although the groups maintained organizational separation from the FDN.

The war on the North Atlantic resulted in widespread destruction of clinics, schools, homes, and roads and bridges. Many Miskito insurgents, Sandinista soldiers and police, and civilians were killed. Roughly half the region's population lost their homes.

Evolution of Sandinista policy

Up until 1983, the Nicaraguan government maintained that it had no choice but to respond militarily to the Miskito insurgency.

Then-Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge said in an interview in December 1982:

"When the revolution came to the Atlantic Coast, it knew nothing of the Indians. . . . It made blunders.

"The Miskitos rebelled; some of them took up arms against us. We were forced to repress them. It was neither in the nature nor in the intentions of the revolution to repress them, but we had to do it."

It became increasingly clear, however, that repression was simply deepening the crisis and that the Miskito rebellion had extensive popular support on the North Atlantic.

The uprising simply could not be explained away as "the fruit of imperialist manipulation," said William Ramírez, the Sandinista leader who headed the early North Atlantic government. "The very fact of the Indian struggle prompted a deeper questioning of its causes," he pointed out.

In December 1983, the government began reversing its disastrous course on the North Atlantic. It decreed a general amnesty for all Miskitos who had taken up arms as well as for those jailed in Nicaragua on charges of counterrevolutionary activity. Hundreds were freed from the prisons.

Then in late 1984, the government made the decisive change. It came out for autonomous rule of the coast by the ethnic groups living here — the same demand many of the armed Miskitos were fighting for.

Officials who had been sent in from the Pacific to govern the North Atlantic began to be replaced by officials from the region who were Indian or Black.

A national commission was appointed to prepare a draft law guaranteeing autonomous rule of the coast. Among its members were both FSLN leaders and Coast residents, including Miskito leaders who had earlier been jailed by the Sandinistas.

Return to Río Coco

These measures were followed in 1985 by a government agreement that all the Miskitos the Sandinistas had forcibly evacuated from

the Río Coco, the river separating Nicaragua and Honduras, could return to their homes.

Borge pointed out that the decision to let people go back to the Río Coco brought "to a close the most critical stage in the revolutionary government's relationship with the ethnic communities of the Atlantic Coast."

The Sandinistas had gone from "not confronting the ethnic problem to confronting it militarily," he said. "The Miskitos who were settled on the banks of the Río Coco were the first victims of that."

Autonomy a 'taboo'

FSLN leaders acknowledged that they had been opposed to demands for autonomy up to this time. As Ramírez put it, "In 1981 these things . . . were taboo and we didn't touch them. We were terrified to speak of autonomy because we did not understand it."

In endorsing autonomy the Nicaraguan government rejected the view that the struggles of ethnic groups within a nation oppressed by imperialism are divisive and a threat to the workers and peasants.

"Our experience shows that it is essential to incorporate the specific struggles of the indigenous peoples into general class demands," explained Borge in 1988. "In a number of concrete situations in the Americas — situations that are abundant and explosive — the class struggle and the indigenous struggle are intertwined and reinforce one another."

Moment of truth

The change in line on autonomy opened up a popular movement on the Coast, as the Nicaraguan government and FSLN, Coast leaders who had not left the country, wives of the men who had taken up arms, and others began organizing assemblies in the villages to discuss what should be in the new autonomy law. They put pressure on those in exile to cease their military attacks, return home, and join the discussion.

The autonomy process also inspired revolutionary-minded fighters throughout the continent, especially those who were Indian or of African descent. It gave an impulse in particular to indigenous struggles in other Latin American countries, virtually all of which have significant Indian populations.

The FSLN's decision to champion autonomy also made it possible to negotiate an end to the fighting with the armed groups of Miskitos, contributing in an important way to the defeat of the U.S.-sponsored contra aggression.

Once the autonomy proposal had been made, Uriel Vanegas explained, the Miskito armed groups were "weakened" and "divisions accelerated among the leaders."

It was a moment of truth for those who had genuinely taken up arms to fight for Miskito rights and those who had merely waved the banner of autonomy to cover up

their desire to reimpose a pro-U.S. capitalist government on Nicaragua.

In 1985, the first detachments of armed Miskitos returned to Nicaragua and were brought into the autonomy discussion. They were allowed to keep their weapons and function as an indigenous militia in the villages they came from.

Autonomy law adopted

Military attacks on Nicaragua by those Miskitos still in Honduras and Costa Rica diminished sharply, while in other parts of Nicaragua the contra troops continued their assaults. The Sandinista army adopted a policy of refraining from confrontation with armed Miskitos and cease-fires with them were established in parts of the North Atlantic.

Finally, in April 1987, 2,000 coast residents — peasants, fishermen, miners, ministers, and professionals — gathered in Puerto Cabezas for a Multiethnic Assembly. The largest single group of delegates were Miskitos — including some who had previously taken up arms. A final draft of an autonomy law was approved.

On Sept. 2, 1987, Nicaragua's National Assembly adopted the law (see summary of its contents on next page).

The historic passage of the autonomy law occurred just shortly after the five Central American presidents signed accords for a negotiated settlement to end the contra war, registering the failure of the mercenary groups to overturn the Nicaraguan government.

The FSLN could now mobilize the toilers to rebuild the war-torn country and deepen the struggle to end class exploitation and uproot all forms of oppression. It could draw on the lessons of the autonomy experience. In rejecting the approach of viewing the toilers as a problem to be administered rather than as the makers of history to be drawn into government and remaking society, the process on the Atlantic Coast had pointed the way forward for the Nicaraguan revolution as a whole.

With the autonomy victory, the basis existed to forge a Nicaraguan nation for the first time, on a voluntary basis and with respect for Indian and Black rights. This opened the possibility of building a worker-peasant alliance that truly extended from the Pacific to the Atlantic Coast.

But as the months went on, the government shrank back from organizing the workers and peasants to advance the revolution. The FSLN leadership increasingly turned to reliance on the capitalist market system. More and more measures were enacted favoring big landowners and industrialists, increasingly shifting the burden for the economic crisis onto the backs of workers and peasants.

The autonomy process still had momentum. But it could not continue to advance while the workers' and farmers' government as a whole was being undermined.

An early warning sign of the retreat on autonomy by the government was a statement by then-President Daniel Ortega on Sept. 26, 1987. Under Somoza, said Ortega, "we cannot state that there existed any racial discrimination in Nicaragua against the Miskitos; there was economic discrimination suffered equally by the Nicaraguan with the white skin who was unemployed or exploited as a worker and by the Miskito, Black, or Mestizo Nicaraguan."

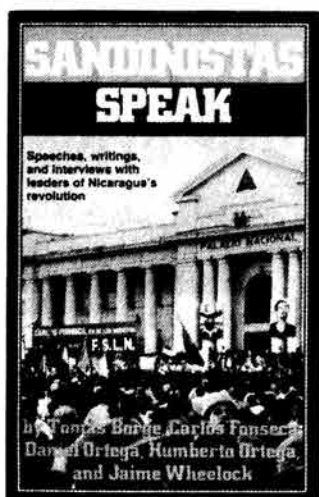
Over the next three years, conditions for working people in Nicaragua sharply deteriorated. On the North Atlantic, the economic crisis hit especially hard given the region's greater backwardness and the devastation incurred during the war. Many workers and peasants on the Atlantic, as in the rest of the country, lost confidence in the FSLN's willingness to govern in their interests.

Yátama-UNO relations

In the election campaign for president of Nicaragua in February 1990, most parties in opposition to the FSLN joined the U.S.-financed National Opposition Union (UNO) coalition, whose candidate was Violeta Chamorro. The political configuration was slightly different on the North Atlantic.

In September 1989 Steadman Fagoth and Brooklyn Rivera — the two most prominent leaders of the Miskito armed groups — had

From Pathfinder



Sandinistas Speak

Documents, speeches, interviews. Contains the 1969 Historic Program of the Sandinista Front. Published in 1982. 160 pp., \$12.95

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returned to Nicaragua. With them began a stream of tens of thousands more Miskitos returning from Honduras. They launched an electoral bloc called Yátama, the same name as their coalition of armed groups in exile, to challenge the FSLN slate.

The Yátama forces initially refused to endorse Chamorro's campaign, which did not include autonomy among its planks. Instead, Yátama focused on campaigning for its own candidates for regional council in the North Atlantic.

In early February, two weeks before the elections, UNO finally adopted a plank in support of autonomy, recalled Francisco González, Yátama political coordinator. Yátama then endorsed Chamorro for president, while urging a vote for its own local candidates, not the UNO ticket, in the North Atlantic region. Chamorro received 48 percent of the North Atlantic vote, compared to 38 percent for the FSLN, and 8 percent for the Social Christian Party, which came in third.

A 48-member regional autonomous council was elected by separate vote. It is composed of 30 Miskitos; 3 Sumu Indians; 3 Creoles — Blacks who speak English; and 12 Mestizos.

Twenty-two of the council members are from Yátama, 21 from the FSLN, and 2 from UNO.

A rocky start

Relations between the regional government and Managua got off to a rocky start. President Chamorro immediately appointed Brooklyn Rivera to head a ministry for the Atlantic Coast. Both the North and South Atlantic autonomous governments strongly opposed the new ministry as a violation of the powers of the elected regional councils on the coast.

The North Atlantic regional government, which is wholly dependent on funding from Managua, received no such funds for the first three months of the Chamorro regime. The municipal governments still had received no money as of November, according to regional governor Leonel Pantin, a Yátama leader.

"The UNO-Yátama coalition is over," he asserted.

Not all Yátama leaders blame the central government for the lack of aid. Waspám Mayor Máximo Pantin argues that Chamorro can't provide more funds because "she's being pressured by the mobs in Managua" — a reference to Sandinista trade unions that have carried out some strikes.

Here in Puerto Cabezas hundreds of war refugees line up outside the offices of the regional government each morning seeking aid. They have no jobs, nor land, and are entirely dependent on government aid and international donations to survive.

Their situation led to rebellions at food warehouses here in October involving several hundred Miskitos. The police suppressed the protests.

William Chow, the regional delegate of the social security ministry, says that from June to October 1990, 10,000 refugees returned from Honduras under the auspices of the UN High Commission on Refugees (ACNUR). They are supposed to receive food from the UN for six months.

But another 15,000 people are "spontaneous" refugees, returning to Nicaragua on their own. ACNUR does not give these families anything.

Chow expressed concern at the continued emigration of war refugees into Puerto Cabezas. "I've noticed them building little houses. I think they should go back to where they came from," he said.

'Too old to fight for food'

The crisis of jobs and land is not limited to those who have just returned from Honduras. Mercedes Ebel, 64, lives here with her daughter and granddaughters. The family was evacuated from the Río Coco in 1982 and lost all its possessions. No one in the house has a job today.

Ebel described going out each morning to various churches, international agencies, and government offices to see if they have any food to give away. "Things are harder now with the new government," she said. "Everything is more expensive."



César Páez (left), FSLN leader on North Atlantic Coast, and Uriel Vanegas, Yátama leader and president of North Atlantic Autonomous Regional Council



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Tension is high at the food warehouses, she added. "I'm too old to go in there and fight for food."

Governor Pantin says that the road to economic recovery lies in attracting capitalist investment from abroad. The Sandinistas failed to develop the region "because they centralized the economy and the whole society through the government," he argues.

Pantin says two foreign fishing companies have agreed to build processing plants in the region. "This won't be like the transnationals under Somoza," he promises. "Our people will participate directly."

Pantin says the regional government will demand 25 percent of the companies' profits, which he says will go to build schools.

Uriel Vanegas, also a Yátama leader, says, "I don't agree or disagree with the capitalist model. If the USSR couldn't achieve socialism in 70 years, then it seems clear that's not the model. But judging by the United States, capitalism just makes the rich richer, so it's no answer either."

The FSLN favors capitalist investment, states César Páez, the party coordinator for the Puerto Cabezas-Río Coco department. The anticapitalist course of the early years of the revolution — based on the FSLN's

Historic Program — was a mistake, he says. "Some in the FSLN think we should have stuck with that course and others think we should have dropped it earlier. I think a revolutionary has to adapt to reality."

"The Historic Program was obsolete once Somoza was overthrown," he continues. "We would have changed it even if we had won the elections."

FSLN retreat

The Sandinistas have pulled back from political activity in the region since their electoral defeat. William Watler, FSLN head on the Río Coco, said the party's main focus now is on the 1996 elections.

Sandinista activists argue that little can be done to fight for autonomy now that the FSLN is out of office. From the standpoint of winning support for the FSLN's 1996 electoral bid, they believe, it is more effective to concentrate on the current government's inability to improve the economy, an issue on which there is wide agreement.

A major FSLN document assessing the party's February electoral defeat, adopted last summer, registered the political retreat on the fight for Indian rights. It reduced the issue of autonomy to a question of how many votes

autonomy netted for the FSLN in 1990. The document concluded that autonomy "did not modify in any basic way the attitude of the indigenous peoples toward our government, as was demonstrated in the recent elections."

Alta Hooker, a Creole leader of the FSLN executive committee here, says that in her view the high vote for Yátama reflected "racism," which she defined as "Miskitos voting for Miskitos."

Columbus Day protest

On Oct. 12, 1990, the central government in Managua organized celebrations of Columbus Day. It ignored the fact that many Indian groups in the Americas have opposed celebrating Columbus' arrival in the Americas as a "civilizing" advance for the continent and have called instead for attention to be drawn to the genocidal effects of the Spanish conquest on Indian societies and cultures.

In protest of the official celebrations, the North Atlantic regional council adopted its own resolution October 12.

"For 500 years the indigenous peoples of America have maintained a just struggle for the preservation of their own interests and identity," the resolution stated, against "the exploitation and indiscriminate plunder of the riches of our peoples, the shoving aside of our traditions and customs, and the imposition of foreign cultures."

"In order to give a historic response to the just aspirations of the millions of Indians of the Americas and the world, and especially of our own multiethnic nation, the North Atlantic Autonomous Regional Council proclaims October 12 the Day of Dignity and Resistance of the Indigenous Peoples," the resolution continued.

"It further reiterates its pledge to deepen the application of the autonomy law, advancing in the search for answers to the aspirations and interests of the peoples of the Atlantic Coast."

Nicaragua's autonomy law was drafted by Indians, Blacks, and Mestizos of Coast

BY SUSAN APSTEIN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Drafted by the Indians, Blacks, and Mestizos of the Atlantic Coast, Nicaragua's autonomy law was passed by the National Assembly on Sept. 2, 1987.

At that time, living on the coast were 182,000 Mestizos, who speak Spanish; 70,000 Miskito Indians, with their own language; 26,000 Creoles and 1,500 Garífonos, two groups of Blacks who speak English; 7,000 Sumo Indians, with their own language; and 700 Rama Indians, who speak English. Since the end of the U.S.-sponsored contra war, tens of thousands of Coast residents who left Nicaragua, especially Miskitos, have returned.

The preamble to the autonomy law states that in "Latin America and other regions of the world, the Indian populations, subjected to impoverishment, segregation, marginality, assimilation, oppression, exploitation, and extermination demand a profound transformation of the political, economic, and cultural order in order to effectively attain their demands and aspirations."

It explains that the "revolutionary struggle of the Nicaraguan people to build a new, multiethnic, multicultural, and multilingual nation" will "guarantee equality amidst diversity and strengthen national unity and the territorial integrity of the nation."

The fight for autonomy, the preamble states, shows that a genuine solution can be achieved "only insofar as the struggle for specific demands by different ethnic communities remains indissolubly linked to those of the nation's workers and other exploited and oppressed sectors."

Among the provisions of the statute are the following:

- Repudiation of all forms of discrimination.
- Atlantic Coast residents have "absolute equality of rights and duties" regardless of the size of their ethnic group or its level of

development.

The right to develop their own languages, religions, and cultures, including the right to "organize themselves and live in ways that correspond to their legitimate traditions."

- A bilingual education "in their native language and Spanish" through "programs that include the historical heritage, value systems, traditions, and characteristics of their environment."

- Both Spanish and the languages of the communities of the Atlantic Coast "will have official status in the autonomous regions."

- The land, water, and forests that have traditionally belonged to the Indian communities cannot be given away, sold, taxed, or seized by the government. All inhabitants of a given community have the right to work a part of the communal land for their own benefit.

- The right of the communities to benefit "in just proportion" from the wealth produced on communally owned land, through "rational use of the mining, forestry, fishing and other natural resources of the autonomous regions."

- Residents of the Atlantic Coast will elect their own regional governments, one in the north and one in the south. Each of the six ethnic groups is to have representation on both the governing autonomous regional councils and their executive boards.

The regional governments will be responsible for "the preparation and execution" of political, social, and economic "plans and programs for national development within the region," seeing to it that these are carried out respecting the traditions and aspirations of coast residents. They will also "promote their own economic, social, and cultural projects."

Among the other responsibilities of the regional councils is promoting the "integration and participation of women in all aspects of the political, social, cultural, and economic life of the region."



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

A Miskito youth who took up arms against Sandinistas but returned to join autonomy discussion.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

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

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.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose. Video: *Abortion Denied: Shattering Young Women's Lives.* Speaker: Marla Puziss, Socialist Workers Party, member American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Local 1644. Sat., Jan. 12, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

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.

IOWA

Des Moines

The Struggle against Police Brutality in Des Moines. Speakers: Patricia Rincon, victim of police attack at United Mexican American Community Center; Héctor Marroquín, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists; representative, Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Sun., Jan. 13, 6 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

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.

Who Killed Jim Crow? Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights Movement. Video excerpts: *Eyes on the Prize.* Sat., Jan. 19, 7:30 p.m. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

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 Struggle for the Reunification of Korea. Video. Speaker: Brian Kendall, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers. Sat., Jan. 12, 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

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

U.S. Hands Off the Middle East! Socialist Candidates Speak Out against the Imperialist War Drive. Speakers: Angel Lariscy, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York City Council, District 29, Brooklyn; Don Mackle, SWP candidate for New Jersey State

Assembly, District 33; Estelle DeBates, SWP candidate for Chicago city clerk. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., Jan. 12, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. 2nd floor. Donation: \$4. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (212) 675-6740, (718) 398-6983, (201) 643-3341.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

The Struggle for Korean Unification. Video. Speaker: Jane Roland, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Jan. 13, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Blacks in America's Wars. World War II to the Arab-Persian Gulf. Kibwe Diarra, Socialist Workers Party, member United Transportation Union, Vietnam-era veteran. Sat., Jan. 12, 7:30 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

UTAH

Price

No U.S. War in the Middle East! No Blood for Oil! Speaker: Paul Mailhot, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America Local 4413, activist Utah Coalition Against a U.S. War in the Mideast. Sat., Jan. 12, 7 p.m. 253 E Main. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (801) 637-6294.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

March and Rally against War in the Middle East. March: Sat., Jan. 19, 10:30 a.m. U.S. Consulate, Park and Sydney Streets. Antiwar Concert: Sun., Jan. 20, Marquee Club, Camperdown. Sponsor: Bring the Frigates Home Coalition.

BRITAIN

Cardiff

The Fight for a Unified Korea. Speaker: Martin Hill, Communist League, member Amalgamated Engineering Union. Sat., Jan. 19, 7 p.m. 9 Moira Terrace, Adamsdown. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 0222-484677.

A Working-Class Campaign against the War — End the War, Feed the World. Speaker: Brian Edwards, member Farmers Union of Wales. Sat., Jan. 26, 7 p.m. 9 Moira Terrace, Adamsdown. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 0222-484677.

London

U.S. and Britain Out of the Gulf. Speaker: Tony Hunt, Communist League, recent participant in U.S. antiwar activities. Fri., Jan. 18, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 71-401-2409.

Sheffield

The Employers' War at Home and Abroad. Panel of trade unionists from National Union of Mineworkers, Amalgamated Engineering Union, Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. Fri., Jan. 18, 7:30 p.m. 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 0742-729469.

CANADA

Vancouver

Help Stop the War in the Middle East. Demonstration: Sat., Jan. 12, 1 p.m. South side of Robson Square. Emergency Conference: 9:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m. Christchurch Cathedral, 690 Burrard. Tel: End the Arms Race, (604) 736-2366. **Open House. Building an International Working-Class Campaign against the Imperialist**

England

DEMONSTRATIONS

Stop War in the Gulf!

SAT. JAN. 12

LONDON

Assemble: noon, Speakers Corner. March and rally: 3 p.m. Trafalgar Square. Sponsor: Committee to Stop War in the Gulf.

OPEN HOUSE hosted by the **Militant** following demonstration. 3:30 p.m.-6 p.m. Pathfinder Bookshop, 47 The Cut. 15 minutes from Trafalgar Square. Refreshments, books on working-class campaign against war drive.

MANCHESTER

Assemble: 12:30 p.m. Albert Square. Sponsor: Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

OPEN HOUSE. The Employers' War at Home and Abroad. Bring the Troops Home Now! Speakers: Tim Rigby, recently on strike at Manchester Piccadilly; Ken Ward, member Amalgamated Engineering Union. Hosted by the **Militant** following demonstration. 3:30 p.m. Pathfinder Bookcentre, Unit 4, 60 Shudehill.

War Drive in the Middle East. Speaker: Robert Demorest, Communist League candidate in provincial elections. Sat., Jan. 12, 4 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (604) 872-8343. **Campaign Rally. Bring the Troops Home Now!** Speakers: Maggie Trowe, Robert Demorest, Nancy Walker, Communist League candidates in British Columbia; Socialist Workers Party candidate from Seattle. Sun., Jan. 20, 3 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

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.

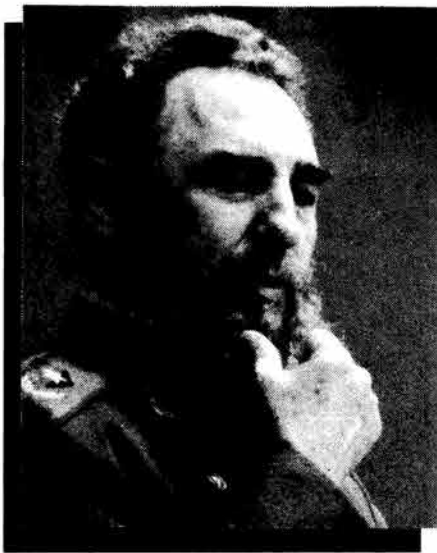
Wellington

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. Tel: (4) 828-129.

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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.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: 523 8th St. SE. Zip: 20003. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: 1586 E. Washington St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 5398. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 19 Terry St., Surry Hills, Sydney NSW 2010. Tel: 02-281-3297.

BRITAIN

Cardiff: 9 Moira Terrace, Adamsdown. Postal code: CF2 1EJ. Tel: 0222-484677.

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

Reykjavík: Klappartíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavík. 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.

What could be better — “Economic downturns are natural and inevitable... and that’s probably a good thing... Downturns correct



Harry Ring

imbalances... Workers, for example, become more dedicated, businesses more productive.” — Associated Press.

Financing the Gulf war — The new federal budget eliminates the

government’s contribution toward headstones for deceased war veterans and the \$150 allowance toward a burial plot. Burial benefits are restricted to vets who die in government hospitals or those who had “in the line of duty” disabilities. Also, in some cases, to indigent vets whose remains are unclaimed.

Just bar the doors — The concept of crime in the workplace should be expanded to include the theft of time, says Dennis Challenger, former assistant director of Australia’s Institute of Criminology. Under his amended criminal code, workers who are late, chew the fat on company time, or take undue toilet breaks, would be prosecuted.

Under capitalism, who takes out the garbage? — Washington requested that its extensive military installations in Japan no longer be billed for garbage removal or telephone use, suggesting that the amount saved be regarded as a Japanese contribution to maintaining the U.S. forces there. The request was rejected.

Bill of (some) Rights — Reversing themselves, officials in Winter Park, Florida, permitted a peace march and even provided a police escort. The police also said they were filming the march by Citizens for Peace and Justice in the Middle East and reserved the right to file charges against organizers if they deemed the procession obstructed traffic.

War casualty — High Point College in High Point, North Carolina, cancelled two slated courses by Daniel Berrigan, the antiwar priest. The college president said part of the reason for the cancellation was the possibility of war in the Mideast.

Freedom of choice — A Swedish study found that men who regularly ate fish from the Baltic sea had higher levels of dioxin than Vietnam vets exposed to Agent Orange (dioxin). A Swedish researcher recommended continued consumption of the fish because, he said, the health benefits of fish oil outweighed the risk of cancer. Besides, he added, if you switch to beef you get the chemicals now found in cattle.

It was only for poor people — Recent tests found radioactive contamination in a Schenectady, New York, building once used by GE in experiments on making fuel for nuclear bombs. Later, the building was used as a food-distribution warehouse.

He’s right behind them — Major Gen. Boyd Eddins supervises some 6,000 Air Force reservists. Earlier, he dispatched some of them to Grenada and Panama and now, of course, to the Persian Gulf. He does his dispatching by computer from his ranch in Wyoming. “I have a great life,” he says. “I enjoy the outdoors. I do lots of riding, fishing, hunting.”

USX, steelworkers union open new contract talks

Current contract was signed after a six-month lockout by the company.

BY BETSY FARLEY AND HOLLY HARKNESS

USX Corporation and the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) have begun negotiating a new contract for 18,000 steelworkers nationwide. The current contract, which expires January 31, 1991, was signed after a six-month lockout by the company and includes deep concessions from the steelworkers. When the current contract was signed, the union also agreed to set the contract expiration date a year or more after that of other big steel companies. Industry-wide bargaining in steel ended in 1986.

USX is one of the largest and most profitable steel companies in the world. In 1989 the company reported its best year ever with profits of \$965 million, a 27.6 percent increase over 1988. The diversified corporation’s steel segment has operated at a healthy profit for several years. This is due in large part to the massive concessions won by the company in the last two contracts as well as their success in slashing excess capacity by closing or selling off mills across the country. USX’s Marathon Oil subsidiary enjoyed windfall profits this fall when the price of oil skyrocketed after Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait.

Company Chairman Charles Corry and his predecessor David Roderick have repeatedly stated that USX could not afford a contract similar to those negotiated at their competitors. At Bethlehem Steel, for example, workers got an average hourly wage increase of \$1.47 plus another \$1.50 spread out over the life of the contract. Three additional holidays and a weak cost-of-living payment called Inflation Recognition Payments were also added. These steps, though, come nowhere near restoring the massive concessions in

wages, vacation time, work rules, safety, and jobs given by the USWA over the past decade.

The union leadership’s strategy at USX is to ask the company for a better package than those secured at other big steelmakers such as Bethlehem. They call this “Pattern Plus.”

In October, the union and USX announced negotiations would begin early in hopes of settling by November 10 “to avoid loss of orders and loss of work.” Negotiations broke off November 10 when the company’s offer was rejected by the union as “wholly unacceptable.” Negotiations will resume January 7.

Another factor in the current negotiations is the company’s stated plan to “spin off” the steel segment as a wholly owned subsidiary. Union officials have expressed concern that USX would use this maneuver to load some of their debt onto the new company, jeopardizing pension plans, health insurance benefits and jobs.

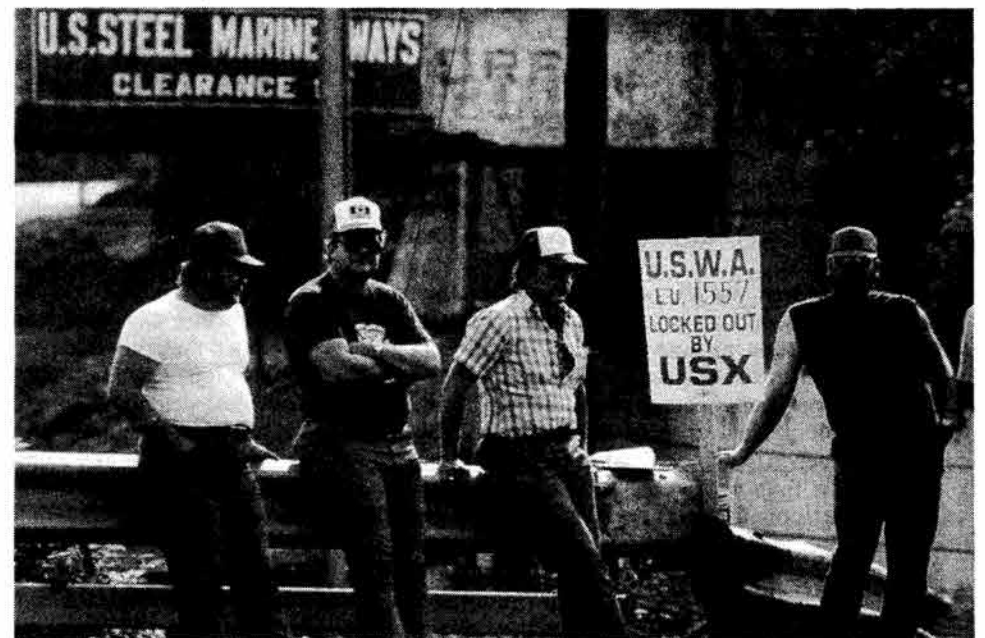
Many steelworkers feel the union should be making preparations now for a possible strike on January 31. “We ought to be calling up the TV stations and newspapers right now to get the truth out about what USX is trying to do to us, not just sitting around until they lock us out again,” said one steelworker at USX’s Fairfield Works in Alabama. He explained that few people realize USX workers make an average \$2 an hour less than other union steelworkers.

“In 1986 we let them work us like dogs to

get all the orders out so they could lock the gates and leave us to picket an empty warehouse,” another said. “This time we should hit them while their orders are backed up and the warehouses are full, not wait until the contract expires.” Many workers lost a full year of work due to layoffs for an additional

six months past the lockout.

Betsy Farley is a member of USWA Local 1131 and works at USX in Fairfield, Alabama; Holly Harkness is a member of USWA Local 2227 and works at USX Irvin Works in West Mifflin, Pennsylvania.



USX workers picketing in 1986 at company’s Clairton Works near Pittsburgh. Industry-wide bargaining in steel ended in 1986. Current USX contract expires on January 31.

Civil rights group joins Delta Pride strikers

BY VIRGINIA O’RILEY

ATLANTA — Chanting “Take that catfish off the shelf!” 80 union workers and civil rights activists filled the entrance to a Winn-Dixie supermarket here November 9. Winn-Dixie is the only supermarket chain in the city that has refused to remove Delta Pride Catfish, Inc., products from its shelves in support of striking workers in Indianola, Mississippi.

Evelyn Lowery, speaking for Southern Christian Leadership Conference Women, noted it is mostly female heads of households, supporting families on less than \$4 an hour, who went out on strike September 13.

Frank Dininger, an international vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) from its southeastern Region 7, introduced Mary Green at the protest. Green is a striker who, while peacefully picketing in Indianola, was beaten by a cop. A television station videotape of the attack has been reportedly lost or stolen. “It is no exaggeration to say that Delta Pride’s owners operate the plant with the same mentality that their forefathers operated plantations,” said Dininger.

Until September 13, Green was one of 1,200 workers skinning and filleting catfish at two Delta Pride processing plants in Mississippi. Before the strike Green had witnessed hundreds of workers suffer crippling injuries caused by the repetitive motion of the arm and wrist involved in filleting five catfish per minute — 300 per hour. In December 1989 the Occupational Safety and Health Administration fined Delta Pride \$33,000 for numerous safety violations, including the “improper medical management of employee injuries.”

“The only thing Delta Pride cares about is

their catfish,” said Green. “I want what’s best for my coworkers and myself. We’re going to fight and keep fighting!”

At Delta Pride, which opened in 1981 and is now the largest freshwater fish-processing plant in the country, workers start at \$3.80 an hour. That rises to only \$4.50 after five years for most semiskilled jobs. In its final offer to UFCW Local 1529, whose contract at the plant expired September 5, the company proposed a wage increase that averaged six and a half cents an hour per year. Union members, who were seeking

an immediate raise to \$7.50 an hour for workers with 18 months seniority, voted 410-5 to reject the offer and walked off the job.

Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said at the protest that if Winn-Dixie fails to remove the frozen fish within a week, the unions and civil rights activists may converge on the Delta-Pride plant in Indianola. “Or maybe,” he said, “we’ll just conduct prayer sessions at the cash registers” in Winn-Dixie stores.

Canada meeting notes Cuba’s role in opposing imperialist war drive

Cuba’s role in opposing imperialism’s war drive and exposing the aims of imperialism’s Middle East intervention was one of the themes at a meeting organized by the Canada Cuba Cultural Interchange November 22 in Toronto.

More than 130 people turned out to hear a report back on the CCCI’s 1990 summer tour to Cuba in which 38 participants from Canada toured factories, farm co-ops, met community and labor leaders, and did voluntary work on farms or in construction. Several of the tour participants described the impact Cuba has made on them.

Cuba’s stand in the United Nations Security Council opposing the imperialist war plans in the Middle East and the need to build opposition to the war drive became an important part of the meeting. Cuban Consul General in Toronto Alfredo Armenteros explained that while the Cuban government

condemns the invasion of Kuwait, Cuba is also opposed to the blockade against Iraq because Cubans know what it means to suffer under an aid and trade blockade.

Margaret Manwaring, a member of the Canadian Auto Workers and a participant in the 1990 tour, spoke, adding in her remarks that “we must demand the withdrawal of Canadian troops from the Mideast. Cuba is at the center of the fight against the war, a war that will change the face of world politics. The best solidarity with Cuba today is to make this truth known,” she said.

A video on the tour was shown and other speakers included Loreta Carusi, a York University student on the tour, and Reuben Blazer, an executive member of the Canadian Cuban Friendship Association. A similar tour is being organized for August 4-18 in 1991. Those interested in going can contact CCCI at 416-533-1225.

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.

Censors, spying, and war drive

Working people, in and out of uniform, should protest the recent attacks on democratic rights by governments in the United States, Canada, and Britain. These initial moves, made under cover of war preparations and "national security" interests, will be followed by wider restrictions as the imperialist war drive deepens.

The U.S. and the British governments, seeking to limit knowledge of the horror they are willing to unleash in the Mideast, are placing stringent restrictions on press coverage of the war. In Canada, the government is planning repressive moves against Iraqis living and working there, reminiscent of the jailing of 20,000 people of Japanese descent, and others of German and Italian descent in Canada during World War II. Thousands of Japanese-Americans were also jailed in the United States during that war under a similar program. In Britain the government is already expelling Iraqi diplomats and students from the country.

Through such assaults the employers and their government hope to blunt resistance to their attacks on working people at home. The ruling rich will attempt to whip up patriotic sentiment to divide working people and justify widened use of government spying and secret police operations in unions and other organizations. This would have a chilling effect on the self-confidence and determination of working people to engage in union activity and strikes.

These moves are also aimed at intimidating GIs from discussing, debating, or voicing disagreement with the

slaughter Washington is preparing. Limiting news reports of the effects of a war and statements by GIs on the conflict denies working people at home facts needed to fight the war drive.

An effective counter to these assaults are the local, regional, and national protests slated for January 15-26 in the United States and Canada. Joining in reading, discussing, and distributing the *Militant*, the December *International Socialist Review*, and the Pathfinder book, *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*, is an invaluable part of building a working-class campaign against imperialism and its war drive.

Through getting out the truth about the employers' war at home and abroad, and mobilizing the broadest numbers possible in the streets, working people can fight to defend democratic rights and political elbowroom to discuss, debate, and meet others that wish to protest the policies of the employers and their government.

It is in the interests of the tiny handful of ruling families that benefit from war to make it as difficult as possible for working people to learn the truth about the war drive and mobilize against it. A unified, informed, and mobilized working class is their greatest fear.

The January 26 national demonstration in Washington, D.C., should be supported and built in the broadest possible manner by workers and farmers — in the union movement, in farm organizations, on campus, and elsewhere.

Defend gains of Haitian people!

Working people in Haiti won an important victory by mobilizing in the tens of thousands to end the coup attempt aimed at preventing President-elect Jean-Bertrand Aristide from taking office.

Workers, farmers, and all those who defend democratic rights around the world can join in this victory by defending the right of Aristide to assume office and the political elbowroom won by the Haitian people.

This is an important aspect of the battle being waged by working people in Haiti to secure the democratic liberties they need to deepen their mobilization and organization and to continue the fight against the enormous economic and social ills that capitalism and decades of U.S. imperialist exploitation have brought them.

Since the mass mobilizations in Haiti brought down the U.S.-backed Duvalier dynasty in 1986, working people in rural and urban areas have fought to secure democratic rights and prevent subsequent military regimes from consolidating themselves. They used the hard-won gains of the struggle against Duvalierism — and the pride and consciousness won in the process — to begin to organize

unions, neighborhood groups, peasant organizations, and political parties. Despite fierce government repression Haitian workers and peasants fought for better working conditions in the fields and factories, and for land reform and union rights.

The fact that Washington and the Haitian army condemned the coup attempt, calling for respect of the overwhelming Aristide vote, is recognition of the Haitian peoples' determination to never return to the old days. Having lost the puppet Duvalier regime, the U.S. capitalist rulers know that any attempt to reimpose a dictatorship in Haiti will be met by wider mobilizations and deeper rebellions, threatening imperialist interests in the country.

The mobilizations strengthen the self-confidence of Haitian working people and serve as inspiration to tens of thousands of Haitians in North America, some of whom also took to the streets to protest the coup attempt. The struggle in Haiti boosts the confidence of working people around the world who see an example of the power of mass mobilizations and the potential to fight against employer and government assaults.

Condemn Israeli repression

The recent wave of attacks against the Palestinian people by the Israeli regime, including sniper assaults by government troops, mass roundups, deportations, curfews, jailings without trials, and expulsions of Palestinians from the territories occupied by Israel, should be condemned by working people throughout the world.

Far from being an aberration, these criminal acts are the stock-in-trade of the Israeli government. Such repressive actions are a necessary component of the continued denial of the basic political rights and self-determination of the Palestinian people. It is a long-term course that has left thousands of Palestinians dead or injured over the last few years.

However, the most recent actions, which are particularly harsh, indicate the repression is escalating. The Israeli government's policy allows their army the right to simply open fire on youths wearing masks. They have recently arrested as many as 1,000 Palestinians. Despite warnings by the U.S. government, a staunch backer of the Israeli regime, deportations for political activity are under way. The Israeli air force has conducted bombing raids in Lebanon, killing scores of Palestinians. And Israeli warships are patrolling the Lebanese coastline. These acts alone should be met with worldwide outrage and opposition. But

because of the imperialist war drive against Iraq, there is little response. And the acceleration toward a war has pushed the Palestinian struggle out of the center of political attention in the region.

Israel has seized on the massive U.S.-led military mobilization in the Mideast as a pretext for deepening its repressive measures. These measures are aimed at curtailing democratic rights in Israel, and directly affect the struggle of the Palestinian people.

At the same time, Saddam Hussein is attempting to use the progressive struggle of the Palestinian people as cover for his reactionary invasion of Kuwait. Far from helping the fight of the Palestinian masses, the Iraqi regime's invasion and occupation of Kuwait has set back the Palestinian struggle for national self-determination.

But Washington is no friend of the Palestinian struggle either. It has politically, economically, and militarily backed the Israeli government for decades. For example, Israel receives a record \$3 billion a year in U.S. aid.

We should demand an end to the undemocratic and deadly actions of the Israeli government. Working people have no interest in the brutal repression Israel has unleashed. Rather, renewed solidarity with the Palestinian struggle for self-determination is needed.

More discussion on the Sanders' victory

BY DOUG JENNESS

On the facing page three readers express disagreement with the article in the November 30 *Militant* on the recent election of Bernard Sanders to Congress from Vermont. All three say that the article took either a sectarian or ultraleftist stance towards Sanders' victory.

The letter from Stormville, New York, writes that Sanders' victory is "a blow to the capitalist two-party system."

Actually, the opposite is the case. Sanders has formally run independent of the Democrats and Republicans in Vermont. Yet, he has urged supporters to back Democrats in national elections. This approach helps snare backing for the Democrats from forces that might otherwise be more hesitant to do so and helps reinforce the two-party system.

But the main problem with the argument raised by the reader from Stormville, which I attempted to address in the

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

earlier article, is that breaking up the two-party system isn't the key question working people in this country must tackle. When the twin-party set-up shatters, as it will under the impact of a massive working-class revolt, many other forms of capitalist politics — the formation of new capitalist parties, popular fronts, mass reformist-led parties with a working-class following, and so on — will emerge as obstacles to working people organizing our own independent political movement.

Many countries don't have two-party frameworks, but have a broader spectrum of capitalist and middle-class parties. In this situation workers and farmers are still confronted with the problem of capitalist politics.

Working people need our own organizations, including our own political party, to chart a course that most effectively fights for workers' interests on all fronts. By simply opposing "two-partyism" we can overlook the necessity of this task and also open ourselves up to being disoriented by the many capitalist and petty-bourgeois formations that are paraded as "independent."

None of the three readers have presented evidence that Sanders' victory helps to move the struggle of working people toward independent working-class political action. If we use program as a criterion, Sanders clearly flunks. The Vermont legislator professes to be a "socialist." But so do British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, and French President François Mitterrand. As the antiworking-class policies of these figures show, espousing socialism doesn't necessarily reflect a break from capitalist politics and an advance toward independent working-class political action.

With Sanders we have the ample record of nearly a decade of administering the city government of Burlington, Vermont, by trying to make capitalism work better. From his elected position, he did not help lead a fight by working people to break out of this framework of capitalist politics — in Vermont, nationally, or internationally.

Grupper, in his letter, argues that if we want "to be effective in changing capitalism, you have to get dirty with capitalist politics." But the job of socialists isn't to help organize workers to "change capitalism." It is to help build a movement that can get rid of this historically outmoded system of exploitation.

Yes, we live in a world dominated by capitalism and that is the context in which we must struggle to defend our livelihoods and to open the road for the full emancipation of humanity. But we can't uncompromisingly fight for our interests as workers if we limit ourselves to the illusion of what we think we can achieve in this crisis-ridden system and not, at all times, have in front of us the goal of building a movement to overturn capitalist rule.

Another criterion for judging Sanders' campaign is, whether in spite of his reform-capitalism outlook, his political machine serves as a vehicle through which fighting workers are attempting to move in the direction of independent working-class politics. If this is the case, urging a vote for Sanders in the elections might have been considered. Going through an experience of this sort with a layer of militant workers could be an effective way of getting their ear for explaining what's wrong with Sanders' political perspectives.

Our three readers, however, didn't offer any evidence that Sanders' campaign was an expression of this kind of development. Moreover, we will need evidence of this kind if we are going to support unionists, who our reader from Stormville correctly predicts are going to run in elections.

Finally, reader Kabat says I erroneously put words in Sanders' mouth with the reference to "imperialist Sweden." I didn't mean to give that impression. I simply thought referring to Sweden as "imperialist" was a statement of fact. Kabat doesn't present any facts to the contrary. There's not space here this week to take this up. Perhaps, a reader from Sweden can contribute a letter or article on this question in a coming issue.

Final \$8,349 in contributions needed by Feb. 1

BY JAMES HARRIS

The Socialist Workers Party-Building Fund now has \$162,782 on hand — \$8,349 less than the \$171,131 pledged. A February 1 deadline is set for collecting outstanding pledges and completing a successful drive.

When the fund was launched in early August at the party's 35th Convention in Oberlin, Ohio, an initial goal of raising \$150,000 by Decem-

ber 1 was adopted. In an enthusiastic response, \$137,000 was pledged at the opening rally.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY-BUILDING FUND



\$171,131

\$162,782 collected

ber 1 was adopted. In an enthusiastic response, \$137,000 was pledged at the opening rally.

Collecting the entire amount pledged is an important component of deepening the party campaign against imperialism and its war drive in the Mideast. The fund makes it possible for the communist movement to reach out among working-class fighters in the United States and worldwide.

By helping to finance the publication and distribution of the communist press — the *Militant*, Span-

ish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*, Pathfinder books and pamphlets, and special sales teams and reporting trips — the fund strengthens this working-class antiwar campaign.

As part of the need to arm communist workers and other working-class fighters with the tools needed to campaign against the employers' war at home and abroad, Pathfinder rushed into print a pamphlet, and then a book in English and Spanish

entitled, *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*. The book has been distributed at work places, to GIs and reservists, at antiwar demonstrations, and to unionists on strike.

A newly released selection of speeches by the revolutionary leader Malcolm X, *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, is another contribution to deepening working-class resistance to capitalism's wars, racism, and economic breakdowns.

Since the imperialists launched their war drive in the Arab-Persian

Gulf last August, the *Militant* has sought to publish the facts, news, and analysis of Washington's war aims. It has encouraged discussions and debates on the crisis, and promoted street actions around the world against the coming war. The paper has continued to report on working-class resistance to the employers' offensive against their unions, standard of living, and rights.

A special year-end issue of the paper featured the article by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, "Working-class campaign against the imperialist war drive," in the *International Socialist Review*. Unionists, members of the Young Socialist Alliance, and others are using this article as a central part of their campaigning during January.

Building a communist party and the broader fighting vanguard of the working-class movement around the world is the goal of the party's antiwar campaign. It is through revolutionary struggle against the system of capitalism that victories for the rights and living conditions of working people have been won and imperialism's bloody wars ended.

There is no better time to make your contribution to this fund and complete the goal of collecting all \$171,131.

Please send remaining pledges or new contributions to the Socialist Workers Party-Building Fund, 406 West St. New York, N.Y. 10014.

James Harris is the director the Socialist Workers Party-Building Fund.

Where We Stand

Area	Goal	Paid	% of Total
Salt Lake City, Utah	4,050	5,004	124
Seattle	6,300	7,124	113
Atlanta	6,236	6,736	108
Greensboro, N.C.	1,622	1,733	107
Phoenix	1,480	1,574	106
Miami	1,850	1,874	101
Austin, Minn.	1,750	1,766	101
Kansas City	1,915	1,920	100
Price, Utah	1,750	1,750	100
Morgantown, W.V.	3,878	3,863	100
Houston	5,225	5,160	99
Los Angeles	16,981	16,756	99
Cleveland	5,350	5,255	98
Charleston, W.V.	3,860	3,784	98
Detroit	7,000	6,855	98
New York	10,383	10,136	98
San Francisco	5,355	5,225	98
Oakland, Calif.	10,305	10,038	97
Pittsburgh	6,600	6,422	97
St. Louis	8,000	7,775	97
Brooklyn	6,525	6,209	95
Twin Cities, Minn.	5,300	4,865	92
Birmingham, Ala.	5,945	5,405	91
Newark, N.J.	7,370	6,511	88
Philadelphia	5,380	4,738	88
Chicago	8,140	6,975	86
Des Moines, Iowa	1,600	1,370	86
Washington, D.C.	3,330	2,837	85
Boston	4,645	3,810	82
Omaha, Neb.	2,455	1,918	78
Baltimore	3,800	2,475	65
Other U.S.	4,822	2,990	62
International	1,929	1,929	100
TOTALS	171,131	162,782	95

LETTERS

Sanders I

I disagree with Doug Jenness' assessment of Bernard Sanders' election to Congress as the first open socialist in 40 years. The headline on the November 30 article, "Sanders' win: no victory for workers," is contradicted in the first sentence, "Vermont's representative-elect will be the first avowed socialist, elected on a ticket independent of the Democrats and Republicans, ... since 1939-51."

Jenness turns this victory into its opposite. While you are entitled to your differences with Sanders, not to recognize his victory as that of another socialist current leading toward independent working-class politics is the height of sectarianism.

The U.S. left is just too small and too fragmented for any left group to think it's going to accomplish very much on its own. Left unity must become more than a slogan.

Your final criticism of Sanders — that he "operates totally within the framework of the capitalist system and accepts the limits it imposes" — makes no sense. I don't know what system you're operating in, but the last time I looked we were still living under capitalism.

Socialism will emerge out of the mud of capitalism. If you want to be effective in changing capitalism, you have to get dirty with capitalist politics.

Lewis Grupper
New York, New York

Sanders II

Doug Jenness' article about newly elected Congressperson Bernard Sanders was a real disappointment to me. I found it to be socialist sectarianism at its worst.

I would have hoped the *Militant* would rejoice that at least one avowed socialist made it to Congress. Maybe a *Militant*-type socialist will win somewhere in 1992 and we can rejoice at that event. Sour grapes from the *Militant* should have been left in the editorial offices.

As an active member of the North American Farm Alliance, I would also like to see more American farmers (so few are left) turn to some

form of socialism to return to traditional family farms and labor-intensive, sustainable agriculture. We have not been very successful.

So I am pleased to see small successes such as the election of Sanders, as flawed as he may be. I was also pleased to see the election of Paul Wellstone in Minnesota, but was saddened by the defeat of James Hightower in Texas.

Also, I doubt Sanders "stated that his model for 'socialism' is imperialist Sweden's social welfare program." He really used the word "imperialist"? Such editorializing does none of us any good.

I wish the *Militant* had carried a simple objective news article about Sanders' victory and left the editorializing to the editorial page.

Paul Kabat
Scheller, Illinois

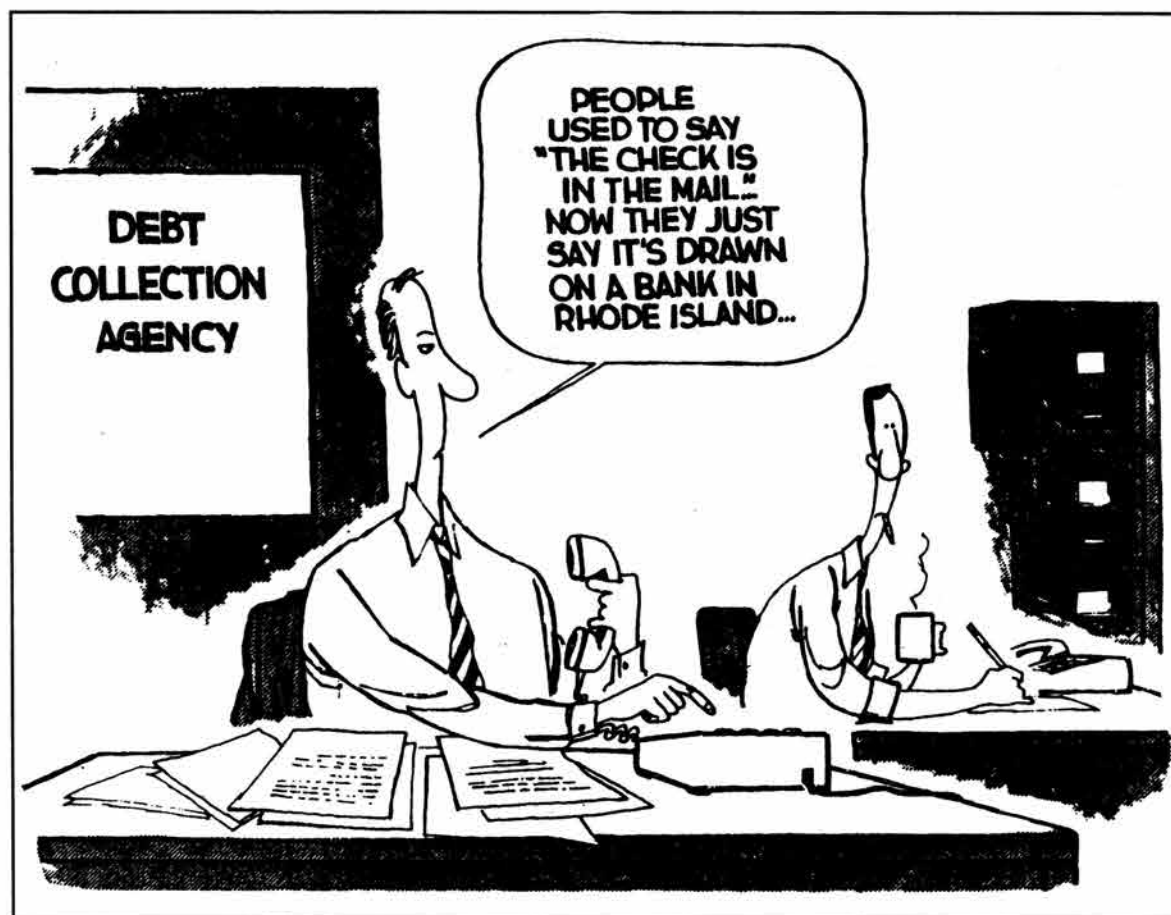
Sanders III

Bernie's election may be "no victory for workers," but it sure as hell is a victory for all of us who are trying to get people to listen when we talk about socialism.

Your article may be theoretically correct, but it is very one-sided and may turn off readers whose only knowledge of socialism is their interest in Bernie's campaign. The fact that a candidate calling himself a socialist can run against a Republican and a Democrat and win is a blow to the capitalist two-party system. It should encourage all other candidates, especially from the labor unions.

Of course Bernie's present goal is "to make capitalism work more decently for the majority." When people in the labor unions start running for office, that's going to be their program, too. Read V.I. Lenin's *Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*. It applies in full force to the United States today. And read Leon Trotsky's criticisms of the communists in Germany and their ultraleftism before Hitler came to power.

It is not the order of the day to establish socialism in America. The order of the day is to stop war in the Middle East, get back the "peace



Steve Kelley

dividend," protect the Cuban revolution, and rebuild the labor movement. In all this, people like Bernard Sanders will be our allies if we let them.

A prisoner
Stormville, New York

Want to join

I would like to join the revolution for political, social, economic, religious, and environmental freedom and the fight to overcome this modern-day segregation, depression, and recession. Unfortunately I'm financially unable to subscribe to various Pathfinder books and pamphlets, but believe these windows of knowledge will lead me to a better understanding.

I would like to receive the *Militant* and any free books you can send.

A prisoner
Pine City, New York

Mohawk struggle

I have read with interest over the past few months your excellent coverage of the persecution of the Mohawk people by the governments of Québec and Canada. I applaud the struggle of the Mohawk people to preserve their sacred burial grounds.

However, I have also read with disappointment a report that a contingent of Mohawks traveled to Northern Ireland to join the annual parade by the Orange Lodge through the streets of Belfast.

If this is true, I sincerely hope the Mohawk people will censure these individuals for their actions. If the Mohawks wish to express solidarity with the Irish people, as an oppressed race themselves, they should have aligned with the Irish republican cause instead of marching alongside Protestant extremists and terrorists. Such actions only discredit the Mohawk people as a whole.

Like the Maori of New Zealand,

I wish the Mohawks every success in their struggle to regain control of what has always been rightfully theirs.

Peter Addison
Auckland, New Zealand

Released

This letter is to thank you for having sent me this marvelous magazine without any cost and your understanding of my living situation. However, I will soon be leaving prison and will want to subscribe.

A prisoner
Anamosa, Iowa

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.

Pentagon unprepared for massive GI casualties in a Mideast war

BY RONI McCANN

Hundreds of thousands of U.S. GIs and other soldiers stationed in the Arab-Persian Gulf face the possibility of massive and bloody battles in the reactionary war the imperialists are preparing against Iraq. The meager medical facilities set up by the Pentagon in the Saudi Arabian desert are far from what will be necessary to care for the wounded among their ranks in the event of war.

The U.S. government has kept details about medical staff and equipment cloaked in secrecy. Col. Benjamin Knisely, second-in-command medical officer in the Mideast, simply said the military hospital system has been "postured for combat operations."

The December 13 *Wall Street Journal*, Asian edition, reported, however, that less than half of the necessary doctors and beds have been shipped to Saudi Arabia. By the army's standard practice, the article stated, some 11,000 hospital beds are called for. Only 4,000 are there or en route so far. The U.S. Army, which had some 120,000 troops in the region at the time of the article, has the fewest beds per unit. The navy and air force, the report asserted, are slightly better off.

Aside from doctors, nurses, technicians, battlefield medics, and two 1,000-bed navy hospital ships, U.S. commanders said Saudi hospitals could be used and advised them to keep about 10 percent of their beds available.

Hospitals understaffed

U.S. officers also came up with the idea of evacuating as many wounded GIs as possible to U.S. military hospitals in Germany, which would require an eight-hour plane ride. One former government official said that if the "bulk of the medical care is in Europe, a lot of the guys aren't going to make it." If casualties are particularly heavy, soldiers will be shipped back to the United States.



U.S. GIs during a mock evacuation in Saudi desert. Pentagon can require soldiers to use experimental drugs for effects of chemical and biological warfare.

But many military and other hospitals in the United States are already understaffed because large medical reserve units have been called to active duty. This has created a shortage of doctors and nurses — not only on bases but in cities and many rural areas as well.

Army base hospitals, including those at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and Fort Campbell, Kentucky, are critically short of general

surgeons, nurse anesthetists, and other specialists. In the past month two army medical reserve units were called to active duty in Salt Lake City, depleting hospitals within a 60-mile radius. The Department of Veterans Affairs Medical Center in Charleston, South Carolina, has lost 10 percent of its doctors. In Eastern Montana only five ear, nose, and throat specialists serve some 350,000 people and one of them has already been called to

active duty.

The army has exempted only five medical personnel because of hardship cases. Two of those, forensic pathologists near Houston, were among five pathologists that served some 2.5 million people.

Veterans' care worsened

Veterans' hospitals are also in poor condition. Since the U.S. military mobilization in the Mideast began in August, more than 300 VA hospital doctors, nurses, dentists, and other personnel have been called to active duty.

Richard Schultz, an official of the Disabled American Veterans, said that over the past decade Veterans Administration hospitals "have been whittled away."

"They don't have proper staff, wards have been closed down," he said. "If there was war in the Persian Gulf and heavy casualties," the veterans' leader continued, "they could handle the casualties, but they'd have to get rid of some [other] patients."

Over the next five years, the Veterans Administration will lose \$3.7 billion in federal monies earmarked for pensions, vocational rehabilitation, home loan guarantees, and health care, because of budget cuts.

After placing them in harm's way, Washington is harping about the possibility of GIs being victims of chemical warfare should shooting start in the Mideast. A representative of the American Legion said the group has spent years fighting to compensate Vietnam War veterans injured from poisons such as Agent Orange, which Washington sprayed over Vietnam.

If the U.S. government did not take care of troops it sprayed, "why should we be confident they'd take care of them after another country sprayed them?" said American Legion spokesperson John Minnick. The budget cuts make it even less likely, he added. Minnick said the government also ignored World War I victims of mustard gas and World War II victims of atomic radiation.

The U.S. Defense Department announced it would "vaccinate" U.S. GIs with experimental drugs intended to protect them against toxins that might be used by Iraq. The department obtained a special waiver that can mandate that troops take the experimental drugs in case of combat or "threat of combat." Before now, troops had to accept standard medical treatments but were not required to accept experimental ones.

New York socialist in city council race

BY JUDY STRAHAN

In the first week of January, 15 socialists announced their candidacies for public office. They join 38 other candidates from the Socialist Workers Party who announced their candidacies in December as part of the SWP's working-class campaign against imperialism's war drive in the Middle East.

In New York, a special election has been called to fill a vacancy on the city council. The vacant seat is in Brooklyn.

Angel Lariscy, 25 years old, is the SWP nominee. A member of the International Union of Electronic Workers, Lariscy works at an electronics factory. She is also a national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, a revolutionary organization of young workers, high school and college students, and other youth.

In order to secure a spot on the February ballot, Lariscy's campaign needs to collect 1,663 signatures. "We aim to exceed the petition requirement and file 2,500 signatures by the January 15 deadline," explained Marea Himelgrin, socialist campaign manager.

"This petitioning effort is a great opportunity for socialists to be out on the streets of New York in the final days leading up to January 15," Lariscy pointed out. January 15 is the United Nations deadline that gives a green light to Washington and its allies to open up a war against Iraq.

"We'll be explaining to working people and youth why our fight is here at home against the bosses' attacks on our wages and living conditions, not against the working

people of Iraq," Lariscy continued.

In Minnesota, Henry Zamarrón is the party's candidate for state legislature from District 32-B — a rural area near Austin. In order to be on the ballot, his campaign needs to file 500 signatures.

The SWP in Los Angeles is fielding a slate of candidates for the April elections. Elizabeth Stone, John Evenhuis, Ben Fiering, and Juan Villagómez are running for the board of trustees of Los Angeles Community Colleges. Eli Green is a candidate for Los Angeles City Council, and Margarita Mejia is the party's nominee for Los Angeles Board of Education. Evenhuis and Mejia are also members of the YSA.

Socialists in Utah are fielding five candidates. In Salt Lake City, Greg Rosenberg is campaigning for mayor. Rosenberg is an oil worker, and a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union. He is also a member of the YSA, and is of draft age. He is joined by Dave Salner and Nancy Boyasko, both members of the United Steelworkers of America, who are running for city council.

There are two SWP candidates in Price, Utah, a coal mining area: Tony Dutrow, a member of the United Mine Workers of America who works in a mine-related factory; and Sherrie Love, who works in an unorganized coal mine, are running for city council.

Don Mackle is the SWP's candidate for general assembly in District 33 and Karen Kopperud is running for state assembly in New Jersey. Mackle is a garment worker

and a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Kopperud is a member of the United Transportation Union and works on the railroad.

Earlier, the Communist League of Canada had announced three candidates for legislature in the province of British Columbia: Nancy Walker, Robert Demorest, and Maggie Trowe.

S. Korean activists discuss stakes in struggle to reunify country

BY GEORGE BUCHANAN AND DOUG JENNESS

SEOUL, South Korea — During and after the latest round of talks between the prime ministers of South and North Korea, fighters for reunification here explained that the presence of U.S. troops in the southern part of the country is the main obstacle to reuniting Korea.

Lee Jin Cheol, general secretary of the Korea Peace Research Institute, explained in an interview, "The North calls for a nonaggression pact. It says, 'Let's agree that neither of us will start a war.' Why can't the South accept that?"

Lee was referring to the North Korean government's main proposal in the series of talks that began in September.

Lim Jin Taek, a leader of a new antinuclear organization, added, "There is a hidden rea-

son for the stance of the South Korean government. And this reason is the U.S. military stationed in Korea."

Lim is also a prominent folk musician, play producer, and spokesperson for the National Korean Artists Alliance. He explained, "The South Korean government is afraid that if they accept North Korea's proposal, then the U.S. army will have to be withdrawn from the South. The reality is that there are not even any discussions taking place between the South Korean government and the U.S. government about U.S. withdrawal from Korea and the disarmament of Korea."

"This makes it clear why there cannot be progress in the North-South talks," Lim said. "As long as there is no solution to the problem of the U.S. military presence, there is no way the reunification problem can be solved."

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