

Stop the war now!

U.S. assault on Iraq is an act of imperialist aggression

BY SELVA NEBBIA

U.S. President George Bush made it clear leading up to January 15 that Washington will do what it has been preparing to do since August: unleash a brutal, widespread, and devastating imperialist war of aggression against the people of Iraq.

U.S. forces are building up at a feverish pace. A U.S. cargo plane now touches down in Saudi Arabia every few minutes, laden with weapons or equipment. Air Force combat planes arrive in the Arab-Persian Gulf region at a rate of more than five a day, including new F-117A "stealth" fighter-bombers.

Nearly 2,000 U.S. soldiers and sailors disembark daily. A dozen U.S. cargo ships dock every day in the region's ports, bearing equipment for the war machine.

There are now 415,000 U.S. troops in the



December march against war in the Mideast held in Salt Lake City, Utah. Hundreds of thousands in cities around the world expressed their opposition to imperialist war in the Gulf in the days leading up to the assault.

Gulf and more than 140,000 forces from countries allied with Washington. U.S. and allied forces also include a total of 3,088 tanks, 2,008 aircraft, and 186 ships.

They face an Iraqi army of some 550,000 regular troops and 480,000 reserves, supported by 4,000 tanks, 2,700 armored per-

sonnel carriers, and 500 combat aircraft.

Washington has stated that its goal in the region is to enforce United Nations Security Council resolutions calling on Iraq to withdraw its forces from Kuwait. But Washington's real purpose has nothing to do with

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Socialist candidates: 'Stop the bombing, bring the troops home now!'

Below is a statement released on January 15 by 69 Socialist Workers Party candidates who are campaigning for public office in 21 cities.

Working people throughout the world should widely condemn the savage slaughter Washington and its allies have prepared step by step against the Iraqi people.

Since the August 2 invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, the U.S. government has steadily assembled its military forces — on a level not seen since the Vietnam War — in the Saudi Arabian desert in preparation for this day.

As part of its war offensive, Washington, with UN backing, imposed on Iraq the most severe economic blockade leveled against any country in this century. Backed up by military force, the sanctions even barred medical and food relief. Any nod to supporting sanctions as an "alternative" to war gives credence to the imperialist war effort.

In the final days leading up to the January 15 UN deadline for Iraq to withdraw, the Pentagon stated it would open a war by

For coverage of protests slated for January 19-26, and rallies around the world, see page 4

raining bombs on Iraq around the clock. This, U.S. military officials said, would "soften" the way for deploying ground troops in Iraq and Kuwait. At this moment 575,050 troops from the United States and allied countries are poised for battle. More than 3,000 tanks, 2,000 warplanes, and 186 military ships are in place.

At home another kind of war has been going on — an onslaught against the standard of living and working conditions of working people. With the advent of a recession and mounting layoffs, the effects of the employers' offensive are cutting even deeper, especially among the most impoverished layers of the working class.

Now, more than ever, it is essential to campaign as widely as possible to get out the truth about the predatory war the U.S. imperialists are unleashing in the Middle East. The key elements to this campaign are:

- Circulating the *Militant* newspaper, which every week offers a working-class perspective on the war effort, the central questions posed by it, and the fight against it. A major push is being made to get the *Militant* into the hands of fighting unionists, working farmers, reservists, and active-duty GIs.

- Getting out thousands of copies of the *International Socialist Review*, first printed in the December 21 issue of the *Militant*. It

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Cuban author winds up tour of France

Tablada explains it is capitalist system, not socialism, that is in crisis

BY CLAUDE DAUMAS

PARIS — Cuban economist and prize-winning author Carlos Tablada spoke before an audience of 250 here on December 14, concluding a 10-day, four-city tour in France. Tablada is the author of *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*, published in English by Pathfinder.

Tablada arrived in France following a speaking tour of the Nordic countries and Britain. He will visit Spain, Portugal, and Greece before returning to Havana in mid-February.

The Paris meeting, unprecedented in the breadth of endorers and participants, was held at the Bourse de Travail (Labour Exchange) made available by the country's main industrial union federation, the General Confederation of Labor (CGT).

The event was hosted by Pathfinder in collaboration with France-Cuba, an association that has organized solidarity with Cuba for more than thirty years. It was endorsed by some 20 organizations including the International Liaison Committee for Reunification and Peace in Korea; the Federation of African Workers in France; France-Latin America; the National Union of Students; the French Association of Friendship and Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa; the Communist Organizing Committee; Communist Youth; Revolutionary Communist League; French Communist Party; Revolutionary Communist Youth; Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN); Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN); French-language magazine *Coumbite*; the Party of the Social Democracy (PDS) of Burkina Faso; the Christian group Culture and Faith; and several Latin America solidarity organizations.

Among those present at the meeting were the Cuban ambassador to France, a delegation of representatives from the Polisario Front of Sahara, and members of organizations that endorsed Tablada's tour.

In his talk Tablada discussed the fight for socialism in Cuba and the world today, explaining that it is not socialism which is in crisis, nor communist ideas, but the international capitalist system. He said that the course followed by governments of many countries that call themselves socialist is one that "[Cuban president] Fidel [Castro] and Che had the audacity to criticize in the 1960s just after taking power."

Ernesto Che Guevara was a leader of the Cuban revolution who was murdered in 1967 in Bolivia while helping to lead a guerrilla struggle there. "After the victory of the Cuban revolution in 1960" Tablada said, "Fidel placed Che in charge of the economy."

"Che was the first Cuban leader to visit the Soviet Union and he returned very pleased. Many of the problems which all of

Latin America had not resolved under capitalism, the Soviet Union had resolved. But he also came back convinced that we should not apply the Soviet economic model," said the Cuban economist.

Create a humane society

"Fidel and Che explained that socialism is built to develop human individuality not individualism, to develop human solidarity not selfishness," Tablada explained. He said Che noted that these negative traits had developed in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet economic manuals, Tablada explained, taught that a material basis for socialism must be developed first, then the development of consciousness would follow automatically from the economic mechanisms in place.

"Che said no, that this was barbaric, and that we should simultaneously develop production and consciousness," said the Cuban author. "We're not going to develop socialism only to make a revolution in science, but fundamentally to create a humane society, something which capitalism couldn't do in hundreds of years."

Tablada explained that in Cuba, beginning in 1975, "we put the ideas of Che and Fidel aside and copied the Soviet economic model." For ten years "this model functioned in Cuban society and the problems Fidel and Che foresaw started to appear." Corruption developed within the working class and among heads of different enterprises. Privileges appeared, he recounted, and the bureaucracy became stronger.

"Fortunately, two things enormously aided us," he said. "First, the African people requested aid and the Cuban people responded. In 1975 thousands of Cubans went to fight in Angola. In the past ten years more than 300,000 Cubans have gone to Africa."

"Secondly, beginning in 1980, we changed our view of defense. No longer was defense solely the business of the army but of all our people."

Cuba's internationalism

A lively discussion followed Tablada's presentation as members of the audience sharply attacked Cuba's course while others took the floor to defend it. In response to one speaker who charged that Cuba had abandoned support for revolutionary movements in Latin America and elsewhere, a representative of the Polisario Front spoke forcefully about Cuba's solidarity with the struggle of the Saharan people: "On several occasions, Moroccan fighter planes have bombed our villages. Those of our people who were able to escape were then chased by French Jaguar planes stationed in Dakar. These people have found that fraternal Cuba gives support and international solidarity unconditionally."



Militant/Margrethe Siem

Carlos Tablada speaking in Stockholm during six-city tour of Sweden last November. He spoke in the Nordic countries, Britain, and France. Tablada will also visit Spain, Portugal, and Greece. All tours have been sponsored by Pathfinder.

"We benefited from the aid of Cuban teachers who volunteered and came without taking any diplomatic precautions," he said. "You should know that the Eastern bloc countries don't agree with the Polisario Front."

"Today, hundreds of young Saharans are benefiting from an entirely free education in the universities and schools" in Cuba, he said.

Imperialist war in Mideast

Another participant asked about Cuba's position on the impending imperialist war in the Mideast.

"From the beginning we have unambiguously condemned the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait," Tablada responded. "Our policy is one of principle. We defend the sovereignty of all countries. But we oppose the hypocrisy of the United Nations Security Council."

Tablada explained that the Cuban government doesn't just defend the idea of peace between the "great powers." "When the Soviets advanced the theory of peaceful coexistence in the 1960s," he said, "Fidel said he agreed if it was for both the large and the small countries."

Unfortunately, this has not turned out to be the case, said Tablada.

At the end of the meeting participants donated 4,000 francs (US\$800) to help cover the costs of Tablada's tour.

Successful tour

Tablada's activities during his stay in Paris included attending a meeting of leaders of

Christian organizations, speaking at two campuses, and addressing a group of 30 Chileans organized by GREC, a Chilean study group.

He was interviewed by four radio stations and six newspapers including *La Croix*, a prominent Catholic newspaper in France and *Révolution*, the magazine of the French Communist Party.

Tablada also spoke at meetings organized in collaboration with France-Cuba in Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Lyons.

The largest of his campus meetings took place at the University of Lyons-II where he spoke to an audience of 120 students. Also in Lyons, 40 people came to hear Tablada at the Institute of the Rights of Man.

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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 Alarcon 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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U.S., British governments move to restrict rights

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

In the final weeks leading up to the opening of a brutal war against Iraq, the U.S. government initiated a series of steps aimed at harassing and intimidating immigrants from the Middle East.

Under the guise of "security" against "terrorism," FBI agents began interviewing some 200 Arab-Americans throughout the United States. According to the *Washington Post*, Deputy Attorney General William Barr said the interrogations are intended to "solicit information about potential terrorist activity and to request the future assistance of these individuals."

In addition, on January 10, the U.S. Justice Department directed immigration authorities to start photographing and fingerprinting anyone entering the United States with an Iraqi or Kuwaiti passport. The department is also considering a proposal to have the 8,500 Iraqis estimated to be living in the United States re-register with immigration authorities, and the FBI has ordered increased scrutiny of the Iraqi Embassy in Washington, D.C.

Nadzih Baydia, Washington, D.C. regional director for the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, was interviewed by the FBI. She told the *Washington Post*, "They asked if the Palestine community is supportive of Saddam Hussein, if the Iraqi community thinks the invasion of Kuwait is right."

Objecting to the interviews and line of questioning, Albert Mokhiber, president of the organization, said, "This is shades of the Japanese-American experience of World War II. It is, in effect, being dubbed a suspect class." During World War II, Japanese-Americans were rounded up and detained in internment camps in the United States.

"It's not acceptable. When the long arm of government reaches into your living room, it creates a political chill and silences political debate," pointed out James Zogby, director of the Arab-American Institute.

Institute officials voiced concern that these policies could be a prelude to implementing the INS "contingency plan" for "Alien Terrorists and Undesirables," drawn up in 1986. The plan included invalidating the visitors' visas of particular nationalities — forcing them to re-register. It also included jailing, without bond, people suspected of terrorism. When the tentative policy became public in 1987, the INS claimed the proposals had been abandoned.

Taking Washington's lead, the British and Canadian governments have conducted similar actions.

On January 3, the British government expelled 75 Iraqis, including seven diplomats from the Iraqi Embassy in London, and gave them 24 hours to leave the country. This followed the expulsion of 31 Iraqis last September.

Socialist Workers in Chicago and New York file election petitions

Socialist Workers Party candidates in two cities held news conferences January 15.

At city hall in Chicago, the SWP filed 30,197 signatures with the Board of Elections to place its candidates on the ballot in the April elections. James Warren is running for mayor, Estelle DeBates for city clerk, and Eric Matheis for city treasurer. The petitioning requirement is 25,000.

Although the deadline for filing is January 22, Warren said the socialists had chosen the January 15 date to underscore their opposition to the coming war in the Middle East.

"What could the mayor of Chicago do about this war?" asked one reporter.

"A lot," replied Warren. "I would keep on doing what I'm doing now — organizing a campaign against the employers' war in the Mideast and against their war on working people at home," he said.

"The socialist candidates will help give a voice for the broad opposition to this war and

Britain's Scotland Yard has some 5,000 Iraqi people under surveillance. And the January 13 *Independent on Sunday* reported that Scotland Yard is considering additional measures, which include rounding up and detaining Iraqi immigrants. Those arrested could be sent to camps staffed by the Royal Military Police.

The Canadian Security Intelligence Service has started to interview Iraqi people living in Canada. Some 10,000 Iraqis reside there. "I trust that the sad experiences of internment Japanese, German, and Italian Canadians will not be repeated," said Dr. Baki Abdullah, president of the Iraqi Community Center.

In addition, in Germany it was reported that police forces had conducted raids at the homes of Arabs, which included searches and the arrests of two Arab people. The German parliament called a special session for January 14 to discuss the Gulf situation and steps for increased security.

To justify these undemocratic policies, Washington and its allies seized on statements made by Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, who in the days leading up to the January 15 UN deadline, threatened worldwide retaliation in the event of war.

Under this pretext the U.S., British, Canadian, and Australian governments introduced these and other "security" measures aimed at instilling public fear and whipping up patriotic sentiment, while attempting to intimidate opposition to imperialist war.

Recently, security officials, top level executives of war materiel contractors, and other U.S. and European corporations held a "Terrorism Roundtable." They predicted terrorist attacks at government installations, facilities, airports, schools, and businesses. They listed New York, Los Angeles, Chi-

Kremlin launches crackdown in Baltics

BY PETER THIERJUNG

Soviet military forces have begun a brutal crackdown against independence forces governing the Baltic republics of Lithuania and Latvia.

These two republics and Estonia, the third Baltic republic, were forcibly annexed by the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin in 1939. Independence forces in all three have pressed Moscow to recognize their sovereignty.

In Lithuania, 14 people were killed and 230 injured in a military takeover. Some people were killed as Soviet army tanks advanced on crowds of thousands of Lithuanians January 13. The protesters were attempting to prevent the seizure of the main television and radio station in Vilnius, the republic's capital.

explain it is not in the interests of workers and farmers in the United States or anywhere else in the world," stated Warren.

The news conference was attended by reporters for the *Tribune* and *Sun-Times*, Chicago's major dailies, the *Southtown Economist*, two TV stations, a wire service, and a radio station.

At Brooklyn City Hall in New York, SWP candidate Angela Lariscy filed petitions to place her name on the ballot in a special city council election. She and her supporters gathered 3,348 signatures in three days, double the 1,663 required.

Lariscy, 25 years old, is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee and an activist in the New York-area coalitions building the January 19 and 26 national marches against a U.S.-led war in the Middle East. She is also a member of the International Union of Electronic Workers.



Secret Service agents in a show of force at Iraqi embassy in Washington. Government propaganda on terrorism is cover for attacks on civil liberties.

cago, Detroit, and Washington, D.C., as high risk cities.

A similar meeting of some 200 private security directors from major New York businesses with New York City police and FBI officials was held January 11. The meeting discussed setting up a joint task force to work with private security officials on how to beef up company security systems.

The Louisiana Chemical Association, which represents some 60 manufacturers at 80 plant sites, met with FBI officials.

Unocal Corporation said it had contacted the FBI because of "the threat of terrorism at all our facilities."

In a number of factories and plants, workers report a step-up in "red alert" security measures instituted by their bosses. These include requiring workers to wear identification badges, introducing restricted work areas, and installation of barbed wire fences and video surveillance cameras.

On January 11, the Federal Aviation Administration announced it would tighten security at U.S. airports.

In Britain, the government announced it

was preparing to ban entry at Heathrow airport to anyone who does not have an airplane ticket. Authorities have already stepped up security at Gatwick and Stansted airports, and at Heathrow there has been an increase in armed patrols and the X-raying of luggage.

In Australia, the government has stepped up security at airports, nuclear power plants, refineries, and U.S. and British businesses operating there.

The U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission told power plant and other nuclear site officials to "keep a heightened sense of awareness," and the U.S. Coast Guard told its personnel to "remain alert for anything that might be suspicious."

The U.S. State Department raised "serious concern" of terrorism, and warned U.S. diplomats to watch out for "suspicious people." They also warned U.S. citizens traveling abroad to "exercise caution." Officials at U.S. military installations reported signs of "casings" at their facilities. In Washington, D.C., the U.S. Capitol Police staged "a show of force" on the Capitol grounds.

the Soviet Union.

The crackdown is the sharpest action by Moscow since thousands of Soviet troops were used to impose martial law in the republic of Azerbaijan in January 1990.

You're invited to Socialist Campaign Open Houses after Jan. 19 protests

The Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers 1991 Campaign invite you to attend January 19 open houses in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco after the demonstrations against the U.S. war in the Mideast.

Washington, D.C.

Place: Days Inn, 12th and K streets North West

Time: 3 p.m. to 7 p.m.

Speakers: Cleve Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for Detroit City Council, and Angela Lariscy, SWP candidate for New York City Council and national leader of Young Socialist Alliance.

San Francisco

Place: Pathfinder Bookstore, 3284 23rd Street

Time: 3 p.m. to 6 p.m.

Speakers: Jim White, SWP candidate for mayor of San Francisco, and Heather Randle, national secretary of Young Socialist Alliance.

Protest actions build, rallies hit war drive

BY SETH GALINSKY

Hundreds of thousands around the world protested the coming war in the Arab-Persian Gulf over the January 12 weekend.

Building on these events, U.S. antiwar action coalitions are urging all-out participation in national demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco slated for January 19 and 26. The marches are demanding "Bring the troops home now" and money for human needs, not war.

On January 27, following the two marches, young people will participate in national conferences to organize future protests. The conferences are sponsored by the National Student and Youth Campaign for Peace in the Middle East.

Monica Moorehead, spokesperson for the Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East, which is building the January 19 marches in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco, said interest in the actions is growing.

"The U.S. government was never serious about negotiations or a peace settlement," Moorehead said. "Their main concern is to control oil along with their imperialist allies and redistribute the world's wealth."

While some people are for war, "there is a lot of room for friendly discussions," she

noted, "room to explain what this war is all about and the reasons behind it."

Norma Becker is a leader of the National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East, which is organizing the January 26 protests in Washington and San Francisco. She called the January 12 vote by the U.S. Congress to support the unleashing of a war against Iraq "unreal."

"It's so outrageous," said Becker. "The cities are falling apart and they're spending billions of dollars for a massacre in the Middle East. It's sheer lunacy."

Many of the international demonstrations on the January 12 weekend were larger than organizers expected. A quarter of a million marched in 130 cities in Germany. In Istanbul, Turkey, 40,000 chanted antiwar slogans at a rally organized by the opposition Social Democratic Populist Party.

In France, 200,000 demonstrated in Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, Lille, and Toulouse.

At least 60,000 demonstrated in Paris on January 12. The action was called by a coalition of 75 prominent people around the slogan "No to the war." Large contingents from the French Communist Party, the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), and working-class neighborhoods marched.

The most common button worn by march-

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.

One hundred sixty people marched December 21 through central Christchurch, New Zealand, in the first public action called by the newly formed Gulf Crisis Peace Committee Otautahi/Christchurch.

The march took place the day after the first contingent of New Zealand air force personnel left for the Arab-Persian Gulf. Their departure followed an announcement that the government would begin brutal cuts in social programs. Many participants at the march were quick to draw links between the two events. One placard read: "Benefit cuts . . . the poor pay for the war."

"This government — so recently elected — has no mandate from the people of New Zealand to go to war in the Gulf," said Jim Consedine, a prison chaplain and one of the speakers at the rally. "Tonight we're gathering to say we want no part of it," he added.

During the day, an information table was staffed in Cathedral Square, located in the center of Christchurch, drawing hundreds of passersby.

Several members of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local Lodge 568 in Utah have been campaigning against the war drive. Five members, including the local's president, attended a protest march and rally in December in Salt Lake City. Several union members have been sporting "U.S. out of the Arab

East" buttons.

Another action is planned for January 19. IAM members are discussing how to build the event at work and reach out to other members, including those at other worksites.

In addition, one of the union's bulletin boards has become a place where people can give the steward articles and cartoons they feel express their opinion on the war drive — pro or con.

Ellen Berman, a Northwest Airlines maintenance worker and IAM member in Atlanta, reports that a discussion has broken out at work about the war drive.

Among a group of eight workers, Berman writes, many different opinions were expressed. There was some discussion about whether a ground war would occur or whether the U.S. military could destroy the entire country with air power, or perhaps, as one suggested, a nuclear bomb. Another worker pointed out that a nuclear bomb would destroy the very resources the U.S. government is trying to get its hands on.

One worker talked about someone on TV who suggested that all the homeless people be sent to Saudi Arabia. "Everyone is just one paycheck away from homelessness," another worker responded.

Send some "white collar" criminals over there to fight, like Michael Milken or James Baker, suggested a third worker.

"There's no way I'm going over there to become a statistic. They can't even run a training mission without someone getting killed," said another.

"War is inevitable," this same worker said. He expressed skepticism about how effective workers protesting the war drive could be. He said it would take a massive protest in Washington to get any kind of media attention. Told about a demonstration planned for Washington, D.C., on January 26, he thought that would be "too late."

When he learned that various religious and civil rights groups were calling for a march and rally in Atlanta on January 15, as an antiwar celebration of Martin Luther King's birthday, he responded, "I'll definitely be there. I can't believe they picked Martin Luther King's birthday as the deadline for war."

Joan Phillips from New Zealand and Barbara Greenway from Salt Lake City contributed to this week's column.



Militant/Margrethe Siem

Young Koreans United members march in December antiwar protest in New York

ers said "A war is such stupidity."

The CGT, in a call for a 15-minute work stoppage on January 15, stated, "It is intolerable to maintain the fatal date, January 15. We need to exercise maximum pressure to push back this date and win peace."

An estimated 30,000 people protested the war drive in 32 cities and towns across Canada in sub-zero weather January 12-13.

The demonstrations were organized by the Canadian Peace Alliance, along with a number of unions, churches, pacifist groups, and political organizations.

Five thousand packed Nathan Phillips Square in Toronto. More than 1,000 took to the streets in Halifax, Saskatoon, and Ottawa.

In Montréal, 6,000 rallied on January 13. Demonstrators and speakers expressed a range of views on the fight against the war. Representatives of the Canadian Peace Alliance, Liberal Party, New Democratic Party (NDP), and some trade unions urged Ottawa to adopt an "independent" foreign policy centered on "making the sanctions work" and to play its "traditional peacekeeping role."

In Vancouver more than 2,000 demonstrated. Svend Robinson, an NDP legislator, told the crowd, "We will not fight a war for the American way of life."

Some 700 people protested outside the U.S. embassy in Stockholm on January 12. Two days later 1,000 joined a torchlight march. Demonstrators carried signs saying "No to a U.S.-led UN"; "Yes to sanctions — No to war"; and "U.S. military out." Speakers criticized the Swedish government's decision to send a military hospital to the Gulf.

There were also demonstrations in Mexico, Britain, Belgium, Spain, Italy, Norway, and the Philippines.

In the United States, actions to protest Washington's plans for war were held on

Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday January 15.

The largest U.S. demonstration yet against the impending Mideast war — 60,000 people — took place in Seattle, Washington, on January 14. The mostly youthful marchers carried signs saying "U.S. troops out"; "Peace now"; and in a few cases, "Sanctions, not soldiers." A contingent from Young Koreans United held a banner reading "U.S. out of the Middle East and Korea."

Some 15,000 people marched in Portland, Oregon. At one point the demonstration completely encircled the downtown area.

The most common banners said "Bring the troops home now." A few people held hand-lettered signs saying "Give sanctions a chance."

Some 10,000 protesters gathered at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis on January 13.

Picketing with drums, banners, and chants of "No blood for oil," more than 3,000 people, including many high school and college activists, filled the Federal Building plaza in Chicago on January 14.

Three hundred students at Pierce College near Los Angeles marched through campus January 10. "We are being led down the path to a war that has no end," Vietnam veteran Ron Kovic told the crowd.

The march was briefly interrupted by individuals who identified themselves as members of the Pierce football team. They blocked the path chanting "U.S.A., U.S.A.," and attacked some of the marchers. "The soldiers over there need our support, not people bad-mouthing them," said counter-demonstrator Joe Quintos.

For information on the January 19 and 26 national actions see page 8.

Tens of thousands march in London against war drive in Middle East

BY IAN GRANT

LONDON — Tens of thousands marched in Britain on January 12 to voice their opposition to the imminent U.S.-led war in the Arab-Persian Gulf and British participation in the war drive.

More than 50,000 joined a London demonstration called by the Committee to Stop War in the Gulf, a broad coalition of peace groups, political parties, trade unions, and student organizations.

More than 4,000 marched the same day in Manchester. In Glasgow, Scotland, a march of 6,000 included contingents from the Scottish area of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). Workers who staged a series of strikes last year against the North Sea oil companies also participated. Other demonstrations took place in Birmingham, Leeds, and Bristol.

Notable on the London march were the many young people chanting, "No blood for oil; troops out now" and "War: what is it good for? Absolutely nothing."

More than a dozen trade unions were represented by contingents marching behind banners of their branches.

Many local groups of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament carried placards calling for Iraq to pull out of Kuwait and "Sanctions, not war."

Prominent among the trade union contingents was a group of 110 members of the NUM led by the union president, Arthur Scargill. He and other miners' leaders have taken a public stand against the war drive.

Bill Etherington, vice-president of the

NUM's Durham area, and Dave Hopper, general secretary of the Durham NUM, were also on the march. Etherington said in an interview that the rest of the union movement should take a stand against the war. The idea had been raised by some that the impact of the war on oil supplies would benefit coal miners in Britain. Etherington stated, "No decent person could see bloodshed as good for the coal industry!"

At the rally at London's Trafalgar Square, Barbara Switzer, the deputy general secretary of the MSF union, also spoke. She called for sanctions to be "given time to work." The MSF union is a predominantly white-collar union in the manufacturing industry.

A speaker for the Iraqi Democrats Against War in the Gulf explained that those who had borne the brunt of political repression in Iraq over many years were the ones to suffer from sanctions. But he was heckled when he said that if war broke out, Iraqis would fight to defend their country.

Bernie Grant, a member of the Labour Party parliamentary Black Caucus, told the crowd he had changed his views since visiting Iraq. Grant proclaimed, "No sanctions; withdraw the troops. There must be an Arab solution." Earlier in the week at a meeting of its National Executive Committee, the Labour Party voted to support British forces in the Gulf.

Labour member of Parliament Tony Benn was enthusiastically greeted when he got up to speak. "Millions in the Third World will starve," he said, "when oil prices rocket after the war begins."

Blow dealt to lawsuit against Curtis

BY CHRIS REMPLE

DES MOINES, Iowa — "Even though the judge ruled against Mark Curtis, the size of the monetary award and the judge's ruling protecting Mark's defense committee from financial attack are important blows to efforts to further victimize him," said John Studer.

Studer is coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, organized on behalf of the imprisoned union and political activist. He was commenting on the ruling issued January 9 by Iowa District Judge Arthur Gamble. The judge awarded \$80,000 — \$60,500 in compensatory damages and \$19,500 in punitive damages — to Keith and Denise Morris, to be paid by Curtis.

Curtis was framed by Des Moines police in 1988 for the rape of the Morris' daughter and is now serving a 25-year jail term in an Iowa state prison on a rape and burglary conviction.

Curtis' frame-up stemmed from his political activities, particularly his defense of Latino coworkers arrested during a raid by immigration agents at the slaughterhouse where he worked.

The January 10 *Des Moines Register* reported the financial judgment against Curtis and interviewed Stuart Pepper, the attorney representing Keith and Denise Morris. Pepper expressed disappointment with the ruling.

"I don't know how the judge came to this figure, but I have a vastly different idea of what a woman's body is worth," he told the *Register*.

According to the *Register*, "Pepper said he believed Gamble also erred when he ruled earlier that money raised by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee should not count among Curtis' assets. Pepper said... the committee's assets could have increased the punitive damages."

Mark Curtis was interviewed in the January 11 *Register*. "I shouldn't have to pay any money for what happened to this woman because I didn't assault her in any way," Curtis told the paper.

The Morris' filed their suit against Curtis in 1989. In pretrial motions, Judge Gamble ruled that Curtis' guilt had been established by his 1988 criminal conviction. The court's action prevented Curtis from challenging that conviction as a frame-up. It also limited the trial and the judge's ruling to the issue of determining the amount of damages to be awarded the Morris'.

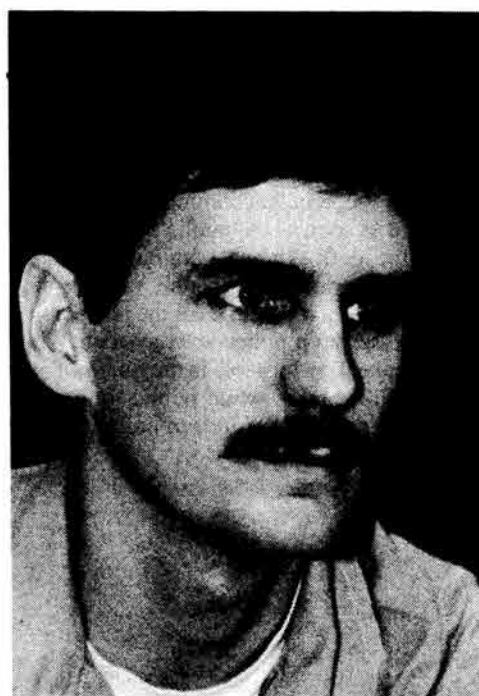
In July 1990, on the eve of the trial, the

judge denied Curtis the right to attend. The ruling came after the state attorney general's office intervened, asserting that the court had no authority to allow Curtis, a prisoner, to attend the legal proceedings against him. Curtis was instead limited to submitting a videotaped statement, taken after the trial was over.

The Morris lawsuit was also used to attempt to silence supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Attorney Pepper charged that the committee served as a private "bank" for Curtis and his wife, Kate Kaku. He asked the court to pry into the financial records of the committee. Judge Gamble ruled in favor of Pepper's motion.

Defense committee activists launched an international campaign to protest this court attack on the constitutional rights of freedom of association and the right to privacy. Noted Iowa civil liberties attorney Mark Bennett represented the defense committee in court. He argued that opening the committee's records to court scrutiny would have a chilling effect on the exercise of these rights.

Judge Gamble responded by limiting the scope of the inquiry into the committee's affairs. He ruled in September 1990 that the defense committee's funds were not assets that belonged to Curtis. The funds could therefore not be considered in a financial judgment against the imprisoned unionist.



Militant/Stu Singer

Mark Curtis in Anamosa prison in 1989

This victory helped set the stage for Gamble's final ruling.

"The judgment against Curtis was a foregone conclusion," John Studer said. "From the beginning, Mark was denied his rights.

These moves opened the door to the attack launched against the defense committee.

"But the suit was fundamentally aimed at Mark Curtis, not the defense committee," Studer continued. "They hoped to further smear Mark. They failed. In fact, by trying to attack the rights of supporters of the defense committee through the suit, they exposed themselves as opponents of political rights."

"The suit was part of the effort by the authorities to break Mark. This ruling will now be used to attempt to pressure him and his family," Studer said. Curtis currently earns 24 cents an hour at his prison job and has no other assets.

'Mark remains political activist'

"We continue to win support for Mark's fight for justice," Studer continued. "And Mark isn't broken. He is now involved in Project Harmony, a discussion group in prison. The first couple of discussions were about the coming war in the Middle East. Even though he is behind bars, Mark remains an outspoken political activist."

In other legal proceedings, U.S. District Court Judge Charles Wolle set November 25, 1991, for the trial in Curtis' civil suit against the Des Moines police. The unionist was beaten by Des Moines cops after his arrest. They shattered his cheekbone and 15 stitches were required to close a wound under his eye.

Campaign to sell 'Militant' takes off

BY RONI McCANN

Members of 10 industrial trade unions took a big leap forward this week in their campaign to sell copies of the *International Socialist Review* supplements, as well as more than 1,000 subscriptions to the *Militant* and copies of the Pathfinder book, *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*, to coworkers and other unionists. Supporters of the *Militant* are also campaigning against imperialism and its war drive in the Mideast among GIs, reservists, farmers, students, and other youth.

From the Business Manager

Doug Jenness reports that *Militant* issue #2 sold out by January 14. The stock of *International Socialist Reviews*, published in December as a supplement to the *Militant*

that features "Working-class campaign against imperialist war drive" by Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes, shrunk from 1,900 on hand to 400 in four days, he said.

"We have reprinted 15,000 supplements to ensure supporters have plenty on hand to distribute to coworkers, farmers, GIs, and at protest events as the U.S. government opens its war against the Iraqi people," said Jenness.

Mark Friedman from Detroit ordered 50 more supplements. "We need them for a whole series of events happening this week," he said. Robbie Scherr called in from Seattle: "We sold out of our bundle of *Militants* over the weekend. Please send 50 more of this issue."

Just off the Fax

Each week socialist workers who are members of industrial unions send in their results. Members of the *International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union* took the biggest jump of the week from having sold 7 percent of their goal to 26 percent. *United Auto Workers* members also climbed the chart from having sold 5 percent of their goal to 21 percent, including 25 copies of the *International Socialist Review*. Members of the *International Association of Machinists* (IAM) sold 38 copies of the supplement along with nine *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!* book.

Achievements of the Week

Militant supporters in 12 cities also set goals this week to reach out even wider to workers, GIs, students, farmers, and rural toilers with the *International Socialist Review*.

In **Oakland, California**, two sales teams hit the road to meet farm workers and farmers in the Salinas Valley and GIs and their families at a shopping center next to the Fort Ord military base. *Militant* supporters also have sales planned at Fairfield air base, three area university campuses, and the Alameda Naval Station. They set a goal of selling 100 copies of the supplement.

Socialist workers from around the **Midwest** talked to more than 100 working farmers at the American Agriculture Movement, Inc. 1991 convention in Little Rock, Arkansas, January 9-13. There, participants bought 10 *Militant* subscriptions, four copies of the Marxist journal *New Internationalist*, and 12 copies of the *International Socialist Review*.

Socialist workers in New York sold 104 *International Socialist Review* supplements during a four-day petitioning effort to get a socialist candidate on the ballot.

At the Plant Gate

Ilona Gersh from Charleston, West Vir-

ginia, called to report on a portal sale at a **United Mine Workers of America**-organized mine in nearby Logan County on January 14: "Eleven miners bought copies of the *International Socialist Review* and 12 picked up a copy of the *Militant*. We're going back tomorrow and we'll sell all the supplements we have, so we need to order more."

Militant supporter Pat Nixon from Los Angeles, a member of the **Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union**, described her efforts to talk to every coworker at the refinery where she works about the imperialist war in the Mideast: "I ask everyone what they think of the war drive and explain what I think too — that neither working people here nor in Iraq have anything to gain from this."

"Many coworkers of mine didn't even vote for [President George] Bush and yet they are now being asked to pull together as 'Americans' to back the oil companies and their government's war in the Mideast. So far 10 workers, including three veterans, have gotten copies of the *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!* book or *Militant* subscriptions."

IAM member Ernie Mailhot, on strike at Eastern Airlines, said that on the picket line at New York's La Guardia airport, "Three strikers and I discussed our opposition to the war drive in the Mideast. One said the coming war made no sense to him and I explained why it made perfect sense for them, the capitalist class, and not for us. One striker bought a *Militant* subscription and an *International Socialist Review* and another bought a supplement."

Michael Pennock, a member of the **United Steelworkers of America** union in Pittsburgh wrote a note accompanying a *Militant* subscription from one of his coworkers: "He decided since the U.S. was going to war he wanted to do something about it."

From Our Mailbag

A few of the 21 readers who renewed their subscriptions to the *Militant* or Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial* this week, including four union members, sent in notes and comments.

A student from Ohio wrote: "Without any doubt this is an informative newspaper that reports extensively on international as well as local events. Unfortunately, because of my student status, without any source of income, I have run out of money, hence, I can not continue my subscription. I will resubscribe as soon as my finances allow it. I have really enjoyed reading your newspaper. I wish you all the best."

J.B. from Portland, Oregon, renewed for two years and wrote: "I read your paper mainly for its foreign coverage and analysis of imperialism. Keep up the coverage of the U.S. intervention in the Mideast."

Socialist workers campaign to sell

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

SCOREBOARD

Union	Total %Sold	Militant* Sold (Goal)	Mideast Book Sold (Goal)	ISR** Sold (Goal)
IUE	28%	4 (23)	19 (41)	15 (72)
ILGWU	26%	1 (22)	14 (45)	18 (61)
ACTWU	24%	4 (38)	9 (41)	22 (67)
UMWA	22%	0 (22)	11 (28)	10 (45)
UAW	21%	5 (75)	18 (75)	29 (100)
OCAW	18%	3 (50)	28 (100)	22 (150)
IAM	16%	9 (170)	22 (170)	61 (225)
UFCW	16%	7 (85)	10 (70)	33 (163)
USWA	10%	1 (90)	6 (77)	26 (171)
UTU	9%	6 (77)	5 (105)	18 (127)
Total	17%	40 (652)	142 (752)	254(1181)
Should be	35%	145	167	590

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*.

**Goals are taken for a four-week campaign ending February 1 and include those copies given free with purchase of subscriptions or books.



2585 TOTAL

436 WEEK 2

'Oppressed masses are crying out for action against the oppressor'

The following are excerpts from a speech by Malcolm X at the London School of Economics on February 11, 1965. The speech is printed for the first time in the newly released Pathfinder book, *Malcolm X Talks To Young People*. By way of introduction to the book, a portion of the preface by the editor, Steve Clark is printed below. A short introductory note is also included. All material is reprinted by permission of Pathfinder and is copyright © 1991.

The book is available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12, or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. \$9.95 (Plus \$1.00 shipping).

PREFACE

"When you get into a conversation on racism and discrimination and segregation," Malcolm X observed in January 1965, "you will find young people more incensed over it — they feel more filled with an urge to eliminate it."

With this in mind, Malcolm X seized every occasion to talk with young people. "It is the teenagers abroad, all over the world, who are actually involving themselves in the struggle to eliminate oppression and exploitation," he said.

Five such discussions during the last year of Malcolm X's life are presented in this book.

These talks were given following Malcolm X's March 1964 break with the Nation of Islam. Malcolm X had already long been a revolutionary advocate of Black rights and an intransigent opponent of the U.S. government and its imperialist policies. During the final months of 1964 and early 1965 he expressed an increasingly anticapitalist and, then, prosocialist point of view as well.

The speeches and the interview in this collection reflect how his political outlook was evolving, a process still under way when he was assassinated in February 1965.

Most of the material in this book is printed here for the first time. That is the case with the speeches at Oxford University and the London School of Economics, only a few paragraphs of which have previously been in print. Excerpts from the talk to the students from McComb appeared in the Pathfinder pamphlet previously published under the title *Malcolm X Talks To Young People*. The speeches in Oxford and London and to the McComb students have been transcribed by Pathfinder from audiotape.

The speech at the University of Ghana was transcribed from audiotape by Ed Smith. It first appeared in Smith's *Where To, Black Man? An American Negro's African Diary* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1967) and has long been out of print.

Two other items in this book are taken from the pamphlet version of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*: the interview Malcolm X gave in January 1965 to the *Young Socialist* magazine, and a tribute to him shortly following his death by Jack Barnes, then national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

A central theme of Malcolm X's talk was the U.S. intervention against liberation forces in the Congo (today Zaire). The Congo had declared its independence from Belgium June 30, 1960.

The first independent government of the Congo was headed by Patrice Lumumba, who had led the liberation struggle there. Washington and its allies moved swiftly to destabilize this government, sending Belgian and United Nations troops into the capital, Léopoldville (today Kinshasa). They also backed a proimperialist breakaway regime set up by Moïse Tshombe in a southern province.

The U.S.-led intervention succeeded by late 1960 in winning over a faction within the Congolese government, and Lumumba was deposed. He was later arrested and handed over to Tshombe's forces, who murdered him in January 1961.

* * *

That element is the one that controls or has strong influence in the power structure. It uses the press skillfully to feed statistics to the public to make it appear that the rate of crime in the Black community, or com-

munity of nonwhite people, is at such a high level. It gives the impression or the image that everyone in that community is criminal.

And as soon as the public accepts the fact that the dark-skinned community consists largely of criminals or people who are dirty, then it makes it possible for the power structure to set up a police-state system. Which will make it permissible in the minds of even the well-meaning white public for them to come in and use all kinds of police methods

So that anything that is done to them is done with justification. And the progressives, the liberals don't even make any outcry. They sit twiddling their thumbs, as if they were captivated by this press imagery that has been mastered here in the West also.

So to get towards the end of that, what it has done, just in press manipulation, the Western governments have permitted them-



Portrait of Malcolm X by Carole Byard. The work forms part of the six-story Pathfinder Mural in New York.

to brutally suppress the struggle on the part of these people against segregation, discrimination, and other acts that are unleashed against them that are absolutely unjust.

They use the press to set up this police state, and they use the press to make the white public accept whatever they do to the dark-skinned public. They do that here in London right now with the constant reference to the West Indian population and the Asian population having a high rate of crime or having a tendency toward dirtiness. They have all kinds of negative characteristics that they project to make the white public draw back, or to make the white public be apathetic when police-state-like methods are used in these areas to suppress the people's honest and just struggle against discrimination and other forms of segregation.

Another example of how this imagery is mastered, at the international level, is the recent situation in the Congo. Here we have an example of planes dropping bombs on defenseless African villages. When a bomb is dropped on an African village, there's no way of defending the people from the bomb. The bomb doesn't make a distinction between men and women. That bomb is dropped on men, women, children, and babies. Now it has not been in any way a disguised fact that planes have been dropping bombs on Congolese villages all during the entire summer. There is no outcry. There is no concern. There is no sympathy. There is no urge on the part of even the so-called progressive element to try and bring a halt to this mass murder. Why?

Shrewd propaganda

Because all the press had to do was use that shrewd propaganda word that these villages were in "rebel-held" territory. "Rebel-held," what does that mean? That's an enemy, so anything that they do to those people is all right. You cease to think of the women and the children and the babies in the so-called rebel-held territory as human beings.

selves to get trapped, in a sense, in backing Tshombe, the same as the United States is trapped over there in South Vietnam. If she goes forward she loses, if she backs up she loses. She's getting bogged down in the Congo in the same way.

Because no African troops win victories for Tshombe. They never have. The only war, the only battles won by the African troops, in the African revolution, in the Congo area, were those won by the freedom fighters from the Oriental province. They won battles with spears, stones, twigs. They won battles because their heart was in what they were doing. But Tshombe's men from the central Congo government never won any battles. And it was for this reason that he had to import these white mercenaries, the paid killers, to win some battles for him. Which means that Tshombe's government can only stay in power with white help, with white troops.

Well, there will come a time when he won't be able to recruit any more mercenaries, and the Western powers, who are really behind him, will then have to commit their own troops openly. Which means you will then be bogged down in the Congo the same as you're bogged down over there now in South Vietnam. And you can't win in the Congo. If you can't win in South Vietnam, you know you can't win in the Congo.

Just let me see. You think you can win in South Vietnam? The French were deeply entrenched. The French were deeply entrenched in Vietnam for a hundred years or so. They had the best weapons of warfare, a highly mechanized army, everything that you would need. And the guerrillas come out of the rice paddies with nothing but sneakers on and a rifle [Laughter] and a bowl of rice, nothing but gym shoes — tennis shoes — and a rifle and a bowl of rice. And you know what they did in Dien Bien Phu. They ran the French out of there. And if the French were deeply entrenched and couldn't stay there, then how do you think someone else is going to stay there, who is not even there yet. [From the audience: "You'll have it happen again."] We'll get to you in a minute.

[Laughter] I'm going to sit down and you can tell all you want to say. You can even come up here. [From the audience: "Yes, I was just making the point that it was Chinese —"] Make it later on. [Laughter]

Yes, all of them are brothers. They were still — they had a bowl of rice and a rifle and some shoes. I don't care whether they came from China or South Vietnam. [The person from the audience continues interrupting; someone else responds, "Shut up!"] And the French aren't there anymore. We don't care how they did it; they're not there anymore. [Malcolm laughs; laughter from the audience] The same thing will happen in the Congo.

'Bigger stakes' in Congo

See, the African revolution must proceed onward, and one of the reasons that the Western powers are fighting so hard and are trying to cloud the issue in the Congo is that it's not a humanitarian project. It's not a feeling or sense of humanity that makes them want to go in and save some hostages, but there are bigger stakes.

They realize not only that the Congo is a source of mineral wealth, minerals that they need. But the Congo is so situated strategically, geographically, that if it falls into the hands of a genuine African government that has the hopes and aspirations of the African people at heart, then it will be possible for the Africans to put their own soldiers right on the border of Angola and wipe the Portuguese out of there overnight.

But by 1959 all of the fear had left the African continent and the Asian continent. And because this fear was gone, especially in regards to the colonial powers of Europe, it made it impossible for them to continue to stay in there by the same methods that they had employed up to that time.

So it's just like when a person is playing football. If he has the ball and he gets trapped, he doesn't throw the ball away, he passes it to some of his teammates who are in the clear. And in 1959, when France and Britain and Belgium and some of the others saw that they were trapped by the African nationalism on that continent, instead of throwing the ball of colonialism away, they passed it to the only one of their team that was in the clear — and that was Uncle Sam. [Laughter] Uncle Sam grabbed the ball [Laughter and applause] and has been running with it ever since. [Laughter and applause]

The one who picked it up, really, was John F. Kennedy. He was the shrewdest backfield runner that America has produced in a long time — oh yes he was. He was very tricky; he was intelligent; he was an intellectual; he surrounded himself with intellectuals who had a lot of foresight and a lot of cunning. The first thing they did was to give a reanalysis of the problem. They realized they were confronted with a new problem.

'Philanthropic imperialism'

The newness of the problem was created by the fact that the Africans had lost all fear. There was no fear in them anymore. Therefore the colonial powers couldn't stay there by force, and America, the new colonial power, neocolonial power, or neoimperialist power, also couldn't stay there by force. So they come up with a "friendly" approach, a new approach which was friendly. Benevolent colonialism or philanthropic imperialism. [Laughter] They called it humanitarianism, or dollarism. And whereas the Africans could fight against colonialism, they found it difficult to fight against dollarism, or to condemn dollarism. It was all a token friendship, and all of the so-called benefits that were offered to the African countries were nothing but tokens.

But from '54 to '64 was the era of an emerging Africa, an independent Africa. And the impact of those independent African nations upon the civil rights struggle in the United States was tremendous. Number one, one of the first things the African revolution produced was rapid growth in a movement called the Black Muslim movement. The militancy that existed on the African continent was one of the main motivating factors in the rapid growth of the group known as the Black Muslim movement, to which I belonged. And the Black Muslim

Continued on next page

10,500 nurses strike across Manitoba, Canada

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

Working people around the world are involved in skirmishes over speedup, forced overtime, layoffs, and attacks on health and safety benefits. Unionists faced

decent wages and working conditions.

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines to let other *Militant* readers know about what's happening at your work-

place or in your union. If there's an interesting political discussion going on at work, we would like to hear about that, too.

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ON THE PICKET LINE

with steep takeback demands, lockouts, or union-busting moves by the employers have gone on strike to force the bosses to back down.

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

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'The oppressed masses are crying out for action'

Continued from previous page

movement was one of the main ingredients in the entire civil rights struggle, although the movement itself never... [Gap in tape]

So to bring my talk to a conclusion, I must point out that just as John F. Kennedy realized the necessity of a new approach on the African problem — and I must say that it was during his administration that the United States gained so much influence on the African continent. They removed the other colonial powers and stepped in themselves, with their benevolent, philanthropic, friendly approach. And they got just as firm a grip on countries on that continent as some of the colonial powers formerly had on that continent. Not only on the African continent but in Asia too. They did it with dollars.

They used a new approach on us in the States, also. Friendly. Whereas formerly they just outright denied us certain rights, they began to use a new, tricky approach. And this approach was to make it appear that they were making moves to solve our problems. They would pass bills, they would come up with Supreme Court decisions. The Supreme Court came up with what they called a desegregation decision in 1954 — it hasn't been implemented yet; they can't even implement it in New York City, where I live — outlawing the segregated school system, supposedly to eliminate segregated schooling in Mississippi and Alabama and other places in the South. And they haven't even been able to implement this Supreme Court decision concerning the educational system in New York City and in Boston and some of the so-called liberal cities of the North.

And then *Look* magazine came out with a story afterwards showing the exposé where the attorney general — at that time Robert Kennedy — had made a deal with Governor Barnett. They were going to play a game on the Negro. Barnett was the racist governor from Mississippi. Kennedy was one of these shining liberal progressives — Robert, that is. And they had made a deal, according to *Look* magazine — which all belongs to the same setup, so they must know what they are talking about. [Laughter and applause] *Look* magazine said that Robert Kennedy had told Barnett, "Now, since you want the white votes in the South, what you do is you stand in the doorway and pretend like you're going to keep Meredith out. And when I come, I'm going to come with the marshals, and force Meredith in. So you'll keep all the white votes in the South, and I'll get all the Negro votes in the North." [Laughter and applause]

This is what we face in that country. And

Kennedy is supposed to be a liberal. He's supposed to be a friend of the Negro. He's supposed to be the brother of John F. Kennedy — all of them in the same family. You know, he being the attorney general, he couldn't go down with that kind of deal unless he had the permission of his older brother, who was his older brother at that time.

Tokenism

So they come up only with tokenism. And this tokenism that they give us benefits only a few. A few handpicked Negroes gain from this; a few handpicked Negroes get good jobs; a few handpicked Negroes get good homes or go to a decent school. And then they use these handpicked Negroes, they put 'em on television, blow 'em up, and make it look like you got a whole lot of 'em, when you only got one or two. [Laughter]

And this one or two is going to open up his mouth and talk about how the problem is being solved. And the whole world thinks that America's race problem is being solved, when actually the masses of Black people in America are still living in the ghettos and the slums; they still are the victims of inferior housing; they are still the victims of a segregated school system, which gives them inferior education. They are still victims, after they get that inferior education, where they can only get the worst form of jobs.

And they do this very skillfully to keep us trapped. They know that as long as they keep us undereducated, or with an inferior education, it's impossible for us to compete with them for job openings. And as long as we can't compete with them and get a decent job, we're trapped. We are low-wage earners. We have to live in a run-down neighborhood, which means our children go to inferior schools. They get inferior education. And when they grow up, they fall right into the same cycle again.

This is the American way. This is the American democracy that she tries to sell to the whole world as being that which will solve the problems of other people too. It's the worst form of hypocrisy that has ever been practiced by any government or society anywhere on this earth, since the beginning of time. And if I'm wrong you can — [Applause]

Africa is emerging. It's making the Black man in the Western Hemisphere militant. It's making him shift from negative to positive in his image of himself and in his confidence in himself. He sees himself as a new man. He's beginning to identify himself with new forces. Whereas in the past he thought of his problem as one of civil rights — which made it a

domestic issue, which kept it confined to the jurisdiction of the United States, a jurisdiction in which he could only seek the aid of white liberals within continental United States — today the Black man in the Western Hemisphere, especially in the United States, is beginning to see where his problem is not one of civil rights, but it is rather one of human rights. And that in the human rights context it becomes an international issue. It ceases to be a Negro problem, it ceases to be an American problem. It becomes a human problem, a problem of human rights, a problem of humanity, a problem for the world.

So the basic difference between the struggle of the Black man in the Western Hemisphere today from the past: he has a new sense of identity; he has a new sense of dignity; he

has a new sense of urgency. And above all else, he sees now that he has allies. He sees that the brothers on the African continent, who have emerged and gotten independent states, can see that they have an obligation to the lost brother who went astray and then found himself today in a foreign land. They are obligated.

And just as you see the oppressed people all over the world today getting together, the Black people in the West are also seeing that they are oppressed. Instead of just calling themselves an oppressed minority in the States, they are part of the oppressed masses of people all over the world today who are crying out for action against the common oppressor.

Thank you. [Applause]

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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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Washington's war on Iraqi people is imperialist assault

Continued from front page

Kuwait. The U.S. imperialists seek to establish an imperialist protectorate in Iraq.

To do so they have assembled the order of battle necessary to attempt to rapidly defeat Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's forces.

In an article entitled, "Working-class campaign against the imperialist war drive," Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, describes the U.S. aggression in the Mideast. The article is published in the December *International Socialist Review*.

"The wars that Washington fights will be more nakedly imperialist wars — and imperialist in every sense of the word," Barnes writes.

"Imperialist, first of all, in the most popular sense — like imperial Rome and its legions. The legions of a dominant power that exaggerates its contributions to human culture and ideas, in order to rationalize marching off to dominate other parts of the world. A war fought by an imperial army, claiming imperial rights and prerogatives for an imperial race," he continues.

The U.S. aggression is also an imperialist war "in the popular economic sense — a war over oil," Barnes explains. "It will be a war to guarantee that the profits derived from the organization and control of petroleum remain in the hands of Big Oil, of the monopolies and the imperialist governments that defend their interests."

A third way the war is imperialist is in "the way Marxists have used the term for most of this century," says Barnes. "It's a war waged by finance capital. It's a war over economic domination and control — redivision — of a big piece of the semicolonial world. It's a war against the propertied classes in other countries for the domination of raw materials, markets, and access to the superexploitation of low-paid labor."

Far from a "coalition" effort, as Washington has said, the massive order of battle aimed at Iraq is "not a partnership of equals," Barnes points out. "U.S. imperialism is calling the shots."

"The bottom line, however, is that this will be a war in which all the imperialist powers — U.S. imperialism above all — stand to lose. It will be a war of a declining, not an advancing, imperialist power," he writes.

Leading up to the January 15 deadline

January 19 & 26 march information

JANUARY 19

Washington, D.C.: Assemble at 12 noon at Lafayette Park. March to the plaza next to the Martin Luther King, Jr., Library. Speakers include: British Labour Party leader Tony Benn, radio personality Casey Kasem, Dick Gregory, Ramsey Clark, striking Greyhound and *Daily News* workers, and rapper Queen Latifah.

San Francisco: Assemble at 11:00 a.m. at Dolores Park. March to the Civic Center for a 1:00 p.m. rally.

More information is available through the Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East at (212) 777-1246.

JANUARY 26

Washington, D.C.: Assemble at noon on the west steps of the Capitol. March down Pennsylvania Avenue past the White House. Rally at the Ellipse.

San Francisco: Assemble at 10:30 a.m. at Embarcadero and Market streets. Rally at the Civic Center at 1:00 p.m.

Call the National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East at (212) 227-0221 for more details.

JANUARY 27 YOUTH CONFERENCES

Young people interested in the National Student and Youth meetings on January 27 in Washington and San Francisco should call (202) 234-0041.

imposed by the UN Security Council for Iraqi forces to withdraw from Kuwait, U.S. government officials have described the most likely scenario of the next stage of Washington's intervention: brutal, around-the-clock bombardment of Iraq and Kuwait.

Les Aspin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, said this would involve as many as 2,000 combat missions.

The objective, he said, would be to knock out Iraq's air force and air defenses, and to destroy chemical, biological, and nuclear plants. Most of the targets described are located in or near Iraqi cities, including Baghdad, Mosul and Kirkuk, among the country's three most populated. This scenario assures the death of tens of thousands of men, women, and children in Iraq during the first hours and days of the attack.

Hesitations and divisions exist among the U.S. rulers, given the massive scale of the war being unleashed, and their uncertainty of what its outcome may be. But there is no alternative strategy being presented to Bush's war drive by any wing of the U.S. ruling class.

On January 12 the U.S. Congress strengthened Bush's hand by authorizing the launching of war against Iraq. (See article on page 9.)

Washington's imperialist allies

The governments that are part of Washington's alliance against Hussein are also gearing up for the military confrontation in the Gulf.

A big majority of the Canadian Parliament, meeting in a special session January 15, was expected to vote in favor of a resolution similar to the one adopted by the U.S. Congress. The resolution was presented by Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

A few days earlier, the Canadian government had increased its deployment of forces in the Gulf to 24 fighter planes and 2,000 military personnel. The forces are under Canadian command, although the planes are under the allied communications centers established by the U.S. military.

On the eve of the war deadline, the British Parliament voted overwhelmingly in favor of military action against Iraq. Prime Minister John Major warned Iraq that it faced "great damage" if it did not withdraw from Kuwait. Only 57 of the 650 members of the House of Commons voted against the use of military force.

Next to Washington, Britain is the imperialist country with the most forces deployed in the Gulf. The British forces include 35,000 men, at least 50 combat jets, and a naval armada of more than 18 ships, including four destroyers. British forces in the Gulf are under U.S. command.

On January 15, the French government gave up on its plan to send Foreign Minister Roland Dumas on a last-minute diplomatic mission to Iraq. Paris announced it was closing the French embassy in Baghdad.

French Prime Minister Michel Rocard said, "In any international police operation, the fatal moment comes when one must act. . . . That moment has now arrived."

The French government has deployed 17,000 troops supported by 350 tanks, 12 ships, and 40 combat planes in the Gulf.

While supporting the use of military force against Iraq if Hussein does not withdraw from Kuwait by January 15, the French government had attempted to continue diplomatic talks on its own with Baghdad, hoping to avert a war that would strengthen U.S. imperialist control of oil resources — a damaging blow to French imperialist interests.

In addition, although neither Bonn nor Tokyo have agreed to send troops to the region, the German government recently sent 18 fighter planes to Turkey as part of a NATO force.

Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama said January 14 that Tokyo is "in a position to consider" providing additional financial aid to the war buildup.

Nakayama and U.S. Secretary of State



U.S. fighter jets poised and ready on aircraft carrier *Midway* in Mideast. Warplanes sent to region by Washington have capacity to launch 20,000 air strikes in first 10 days of war.

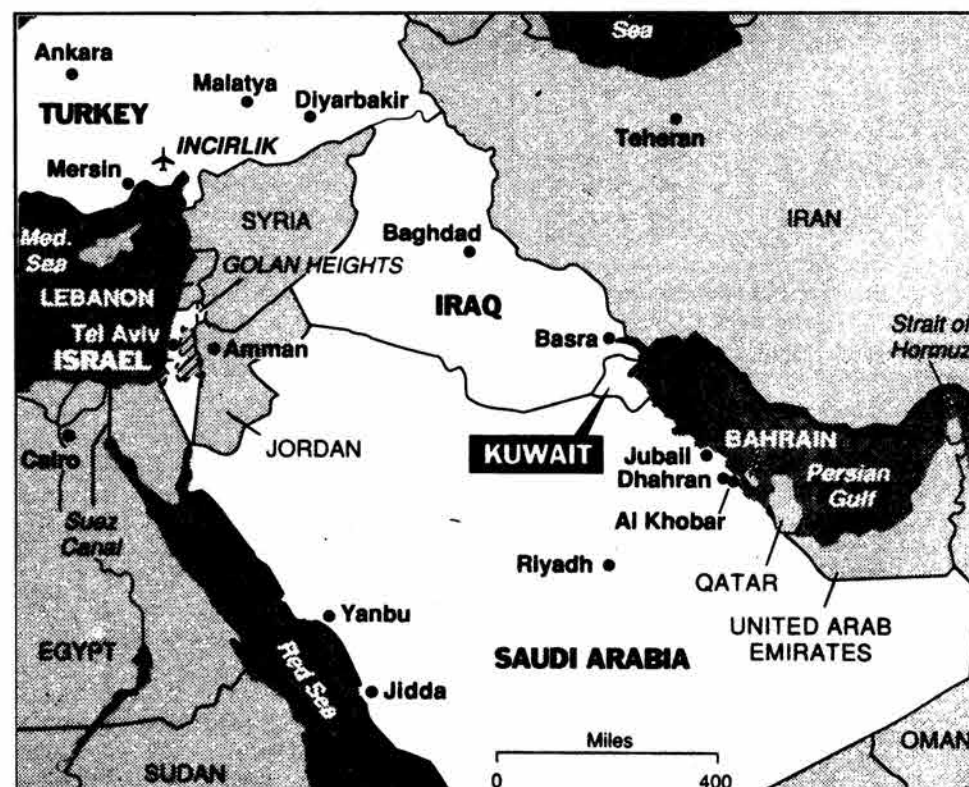
James Baker signed an agreement increasing Japanese funding for U.S. forces in Japan. Tokyo, which pays about 40 percent of the \$7.5 billion it costs to maintain U.S. troops there, would pay 50 percent of the cost by 1995, under the agreement.

After a visit from Baker, Bonn also "agreed in principle" to contribute more money to Washington's war drive.

Bonn and Tokyo are much more depen-

dent on imported oil than the United States. A victory by the U.S.-led forces against Iraq will give Washington a decisive political and economic edge over its Japanese and German imperialist rivals.

Fearing the war will break out soon, most of the 70 embassies in Baghdad have been closed by their governments. Diplomats remain from Cuba, India, Yugoslavia, and several Arab countries.



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U.S. Congress gives Bush okay for war

BY JAMES HARRIS

At late-night sessions on January 12, both houses of the U.S. Congress approved resolutions under the War Powers Act giving President George Bush authority to launch a bloody war against Iraq. Adopted by margins of 250-183 in the House of Representatives and 52-47 in the Senate the measures came after several days of patriotic speeches and pronouncements by Democratic and Republican Party politicians alike.

In the joint resolution approved by both houses entitled, "Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq," Congress states: "The President is authorized... to use United States Armed Forces pursuant to United Nations Security Council Resolutions..."

Citing the War Powers Act, a law passed in 1973 touted as limiting the ability of the president to declare war, the resolution states: "At least once every 60 days, the president shall submit to the Congress a summary on the status of efforts to obtain compliance by Iraq with the resolutions adopted by the United Nations Security Council in response to Iraq's aggression."

Despite sometimes emotional presentations, there was unanimous agreement on the goals of U.S. imperialism's war drive in the Gulf. No senator or congressional representative

called for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces. All who spoke raised only tactical reservations on the timing of launching a war.

Other counter-resolutions, debated over a rushed three days of sessions, were also pro-war documents. They explicitly recognized the prerogatives of U.S. imperialism, supporting the embargo and reserving the right to use U.S. military force in the region.

A resolution presented by Senators George Mitchell and Sam Nunn promoted continuing the U.S. blockade of Iraq. The embargo includes food and medicines. The defeated motion states: "but [this] does not rule out declaring war or authorizing the use of force at a later time should that be necessary to achieve the goal of forcing Iraqi troops from Kuwait." A resolution proposed by Democratic Congressman Lee Hamilton and Richard Gephardt in the House included similar language.

Those opposed to unleashing — soon after January 15 — the massive armed forces built up by Washington since early August, reflected the nervousness in a wing of the U.S. ruling class about the ability of U.S. imperialism to win its biggest military confrontation since World War II quickly and with minimum destabilization at home. Those who have advanced the tactical course of squeezing the Iraqi people through sanc-



U.S. soldiers in Saudi Arabian desert.

tions for several more months are labeled by the big-business media as the "peace" forces in Congress.

Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said, "What guarantees do we have that war will be brief? American casualties will be light? No one can say whether war will last five days, five weeks, or five months. We know we can win and we will win. No doubt about that."

"Our policy and our military planning, however, cannot be based on an expectation that the war will be concluded quickly and easily. In large measure the scope and scale of the hostilities, once begun, will be determined by Iraq's willingness to absorb massive punishment and to fight on," he said.

Representative Gerry Studds, a Democrat from Massachusetts, raised the economic consequences of a war as the U.S. economy heads into a recession. "We cannot predict the economic costs of violence in the Persian Gulf," he said. "The reason we are in the Persian Gulf is oil — to protect our economy. By surrendering to war we will in that sense surely and ironically defeat ourselves."

Democratic Representative Byron Dorgan complained that the imperialist powers standing to lose the most with greater U.S. control of oil resources in the Gulf — such as Germany, Japan and France — weren't

paying their fair share in the war effort.

"It is a fig leaf to call this a multinational force. It is an American force and would be an American war. And we will decide to spend money we don't have, borrowed from our allies, to send American kids to risk their lives to protect allied oil," he said. "When will we understand that it is time for America to ask our allies to bear their fair share of the burden," said Dorgan.

In the sessions, Representative Bernard Sanders from Vermont supported the use of sanctions. Sanders touted sanctions as a "non-violent manner" of achieving Washington's aims and ignored the devastating effects that the measures are having on the Iraqi people.

Congressmen who are Black raised the disproportionate suffering that Blacks will face because of war.

Citing the large percentage of the Operation Desert Shield Forces who are Black or poor, Democratic Congressman Major Owens said, "These are the same people who are penalized when President Bush refuses to pass a civil rights bill because it has a quota — he claims it has a quota. There is some kind of ugly reverse quota operating when 33 percent of the troops on the front line are poor and African American."

Democratic Representative Joseph Kennedy pointed to the blockade that the U.S. government organized against Cuba in the early 1960s as an example of what should be done to Iraq.

In the end, those advocating the prolonged use of sanctions as a weapon did not put forward any alternative to the Bush administration's drive toward war.

Immediately following the vote the congressional opposition threw in the towel, stressing the need for unity. Commenting on the vote, House Speaker Thomas Foley, who had opposed the Bush administration, said, "It is clear that the Congress has spoken, and the exact size of the vote is irrelevant."

Bush hailed the vote as a mandate for his policies. "This clear expression of the Congress represents the last best chance for peace," he claimed.

"As a democracy, we've debated this issue openly and in good faith, and as president, I have held extensive consultation with Congress. We have now closed ranks behind a clear signal of our determination and our resolve to implement the United Nations resolutions," said Bush.

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

January 8 — U.S. President George Bush calls on Congress to adopt a resolution endorsing war against Iraq after January 15, if Iraqi troops have not withdrawn from Kuwait.

Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee Les Aspin says that the U.S. military will begin its assault with widespread and prolonged bombing of factories, military centers, and cities in Iraq and Kuwait.

January 9 — U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, meeting with Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz in Geneva, demands Iraq comply by January 15 with all United Nations Security Council resolutions adopted since August 2 invasion of Kuwait or "be expelled by force."

Pakistani military officials say they will double their forces in the Arab-Persian Gulf by adding 5,000-6,000 troops in a mechanized brigade.

The Jordanian government closes its border with Iraq, saying it cannot cope with the influx of refugees that would result from a U.S.-led military attack on that country. More than 1,625,000 refugees have come through Jordan since August 5.

Bush signs an executive order under the National Security Act that gives the Pentagon the right to requisition civilian transport and to have first call on U.S. food and industrial production.

Pentagon officials announce request to the White House for emergency authority to extend active-duty status for reservists to two years. About 150,000 reservists are now on active duty. The emergency authority would permit mobilizing up to 1 million.

Pentagon approves rules establishing the strictest censorship ever on press coverage of a war.

January 10 — Nine news organizations file a constitutional challenge to Pentagon's media censorship rules on Mideast coverage.

Most Western embassies in Baghdad close doors or complete plans to evacuate staff members within 48 hours.

January 11 — Gen. John de Chastelain, Canada's Chief of Defence Staff, announces that six more CF-18 fighter jets, 130 service personnel, and a Boeing 707 air tanker will be sent to the Gulf.

The Toronto *Globe and Mail* reports on a secret contingency plan by the Canadian army to deploy 5,000 more soldiers to Saudi Arabia.

Seizing on statements by Iraqi President Saddam Hussein that he would order attacks on targets outside of Iraq, the U.S. State Department tightens security at airports and other entry ports as well as in government agencies and private corporations.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater says Gulf military operations cost \$10 billion in 1990. Washington has received \$6 billion

"in cash and in-kind support from our allies to defray the cost," he said, and a further \$2 billion has been pledged.

A high-level U.S. administration delegation travels to Israel to urge the government there to "stay out of this conflict" in the Mideast.

January 12 — Under the War Powers Act, the U.S. Congress approves a measure giving Bush the authority to launch a war against Iraq.

Hundreds of thousands take to the streets in European and North American cities to protest the rapidly approaching military attack on Iraq.

January 13 — Baker says that except for the Syrian government, all other governments that are part of U.S.-led coalition in the Mideast are in agreement on launching war against Iraq after January 15.

Turkey will let Washington use its air bases in that country, but only for operations confined to "humanitarian and limited logistical support," says Mehmet Yazar, the chief government spokesperson.

Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens states that if Israel is attacked by Iraqi forces it will not follow Washington's request to "lay low," but will respond militarily.

Jordan orders a military alert and stations troops in the area near the Israeli-occupied West Bank. The deployment includes tens of thousands of troops from four divisions.

Many Asian immigrants in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, begin to leave the area, fearing it could be a target of Iraqi missiles. Almost half of Saudi Arabia's 9.6 million inhabitants are citizens of Pakistan, India, or other countries.

January 14 — U.S. aircraft carrier Theodore Roosevelt arrives in the Mideast to be positioned for battle by January 15. This is the sixth U.S. carrier to be deployed in the Gulf.

Iraq's parliament votes unanimously to endorse Hussein's decision to face war with U.S.-led forces rather than leave Kuwait.

The French government issues an appeal urging Hussein to announce Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait before January 15. In return, Paris wants the UN Security Council to promise Iraq it will not be attacked and to convene an international conference to take up the Palestinian issue. A similar appeal is made jointly by the governments of Algeria, Yemen and Libya.

Saleh Khalef and Hayel Abdel-Hamid, two of the highest-ranking leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization, are killed by their body guard in Tunis.

Washington, London, and other imperialist governments advise their citizens in Israel to leave that country by the end of the day. British Airways and Trans World Airlines suspend flights to Israel and the region. Most foreign airlines have reduced or canceled service to Israel.

Books for working-class campaign against war drive

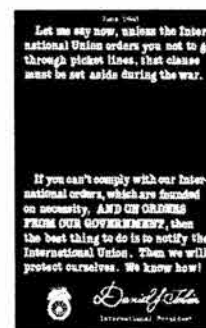
Pathfinder publishes a number of books and pamphlets that are valuable weapons for working people opposed to the imperialists' march toward war in the Mideast. Below is a selection of titles documenting earlier opposition to imperialist war, and assaults on the unions and democratic rights at home since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



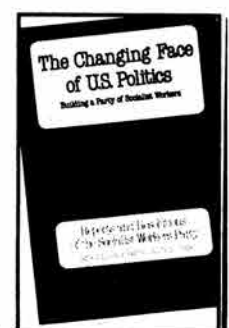
Malcolm X Talks to Young People
Speeches in the U.S., Britain and Africa, 110 pp., \$9.95



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



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



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

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

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

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

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

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.

Peasant demands for land remain burning issue in Nicaragua's class struggle

BY SUSAN APSTEIN
AND SETH GALINSKY

MATAGALPA, Nicaragua — "All we want is land. We just want the government to fulfill its promises to us," argued a former contra soldier.

He was one of a group of 80 former contras who occupied a state-owned cattle ranch here in October 1990. The 80 are mostly poor peasants who lived in this area before the U.S.-sponsored contra war began nine years ago.

With the election of President Violeta Chamorro in February 1990 thousands who had fought in the contra army returned. In exchange for the contras turning in their arms, the Chamorro regime promised them land and aid.

In the months since the elections, class conflict in Nicaragua has been sharpest in the countryside. In the last several months

REPORTERS' NOTEBOOK

dozens of land occupations led by former contras have taken place here in central Nicaragua, which was also one of the main theaters of battle during the war.

A five-day trip throughout the region brought us first to the La Galia cattle ranch. Most of the land takeovers have been of state-owned farms and cooperatives granted to peasants through the radical agrarian reform of the Nicaraguan revolution. The occupations have also included some land owned by capitalist farmers.

We arrived at La Galia on the second day of the takeover. The farm workers were continuing their work as usual and no confrontations had taken place between them and the former contra soldiers. The contras were sleeping in an abandoned quarters.

Soon after the occupation began, army soldiers and police had arrived to "keep order" and open negotiations between the peasants and a government agrarian commission newly established to mediate land disputes.

At La Galia, a group of the former contras was in a heated debate with an army officer who was trying to convince them that land takeovers were unnecessary and contrary to the new "spirit of reconciliation" the government is promoting.

"The spirit may be there, but the problem is the goods aren't," Noel, a former contra who was leading the debate, countered. He said the government had turned a deaf ear to the contras' needs after promising them land, and that the United Nations commission set up to aid them was doing nothing.

Moreover, if it hadn't been for the takeover of La Galia, he said, no one would be listening to his group's demands now.

The debate ended when news arrived that the contras' commander had reached an understanding with the agrarian commission. The contras agreed to leave La Galia and abandon their claim to part of the land there, on condition they be given land somewhere else within 15 days. They also consented to meet with the agrarian commission that night.

Head government negotiator Alfredo Palacios breathed a sigh of relief. "The problem with the takeovers is they tend to have a multiplying effect," he said. "The commission's first task is to try to put an end to them."

"There are 10,000 looking for land just in our region," Palacios added.

As the peasants gathered to leave, one of the workers at La Galia commented, "It's good they're going. We want their demands to be met, but not at our expense."

The former contras at La Galia gave different reasons for why they took up arms against the workers and peasants government which replaced dictator Anastasio Somoza. "I didn't like the way the Sandinistas treated us," said one poor peasant.

"They were going to draft me into the army," said another, "so I joined the Resistance instead."

Arnulfo Vallecillo, leader of a farm cooperative organized by the pro-Sandinista National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), said that during the war peasants either had to flee their homes or choose sides. Many supported the revolution and its promise of land for those who work it. A minority accepted anti-communist propaganda including lies that the revolutionary government was going to kidnap their children and take all their possessions. These peasants took up arms and joined the U.S.-backed mercenaries.

In the fight against the contras the Nicaraguan army and security forces sometimes carried out reprisals against suspected contra collaborators and their families. Some peasants' land was confiscated and thousands were jailed.

"Many mistakes were made," Vallecillo said. "Small and medium peasants were repressed. There was deep hatred on both sides. We lost a lot of ground."

The agrarian commission meeting that evening in Jinotega included government representatives from the interior ministry, army, police, and agrarian reform institute; representatives of the contras; and of UNAG and the Association of Rural Workers (ATC). Two central members of the commission are Marvin Castro, Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) head in Jinotega, and police chief Mario Lobeda, also an FSLN leader.

As the meeting began, several dozen peasants waited outside the small meeting room, hoping to hear what would be decided.

FSLN leader Castro said the takeover of La Galia violated a truce reached at the last commission meeting. "Everyone agreed to control their people, so we can avoid anarchy here," he said. The commission is finding land for hundreds of peasants, Castro argued, so there is no need for these actions.

Castro proposed that the ex-contras who had occupied La Galia join commission members in a scouting mission to find land suitable for them. Some land nearby had been donated to the government land bank, he said. All that was needed was to check it out.

Representatives of the ex-contras argued that they should be given lots on several cooperatives and state farms.



Militant/Seth Galinsky

Those Nicaraguan peasants who had fought in contra army are demanding Chamorro government fulfill promise of land distribution. Above, former contras argue with army officer during a land occupation.

Castro and the representative from the government agrarian reform institute responded that technical evaluations by the government were under way to determine whether these lands were being worked efficiently. This review would determine which portions of them could be made available to others.

Finally, an agreement was reached to form the scouting team.

Next on the agenda was discussion of a coffee cooperative near the town of Mancotal.

For two months part of the cooperative had been occupied by ex-contras under Commander "Rubén." He claimed the farm had been unjustly confiscated from his uncle and therefore belonged to him. Since the takeover, he said, his men had been working the land.

Co-op members at the meeting hotly disputed Rubén's account, saying the former contras had caused damage they should pay for.

Police chief Lobeda interrupted the argument, pounding his fist on the table and yelling, "This country cannot endure any more problems. No more disorder will be permitted!"

The police chief proposed that the national agrarian commission indemnify both sides, with Rubén receiving some land nearby.

Rubén objected that the proposed land had squatters on it. "I'm not going to kick them off," he said. "You'll have to do it."

Police chief Lobeda answered that there are families working the land on much of the terrain in the land bank, but that this problem could easily be solved. "They'll be happy if you just leave them a little parcel," he said. "Then the rest can be divided up."

Not all the land disputes have been resolved through negotiations. Some have resulted in deaths on both sides. Several hundred ex-contras, many armed with AK-47 assault rifles, invaded a state-owned cattle ranch and a neighboring cooperative farm near the town of Muy Muy on September 6. Although no one was hurt, peasants and farm workers fled, outnumbered by the invaders.

A month later, when we met Bayardo Delgadillo, a leader of the cooperative, the ex-contras were still in control of the ranches.

Delegations of workers and peasants visited the army and the police, Delgadillo said, "but they gave us the run around." In the meantime, "the contras are destroying the ranches by selling much of the herd and eating the rest," he charged.

A capitalist rancher who had rented grazing land for 500 head of cattle from the cooperative has not protested the occupation, Delgadillo said. "It seems he agrees with it."

In other areas some capitalist farmers are openly in cahoots with the ex-contras. Gladys Bolt, an UNAG leader and herself the owner of a coffee plantation, said a neighboring plantation owner "allowed the contras to use his land as a staging ground to attack a nearby state farm."

One farm worker leader said that capitalist farmers give aid "hoping the contras will only go after the state and cooperative lands, leaving the private owners alone."

Others believe some capitalists are encouraging the former contras, hoping to use them

as a weapon to weaken the organizations of farm workers and peasants.

Union leaders at the Santa Celia state farm turn the lights on in the dim union hall by screwing in their single light bulb. They can't afford a switch. As soon as the interview ended they unscrewed the bulb and placed it in safekeeping.

They described a clash with the police that left one farm worker and one cop dead a couple of weeks earlier.

In response to contra takeovers of nearby state farms, the workers at Santa Celia and the Denis Gutiérrez state farm complex had occupied the hacienda of Efraín Rodríguez, a capitalist grower.

"We took over the farm, not to take it away from the owner," said Leoncio Rugama, a farm worker and ATC leader, "but to pressure the government. We know that the capitalists are backing the breaking up of the state farms and the gains of the revolution."

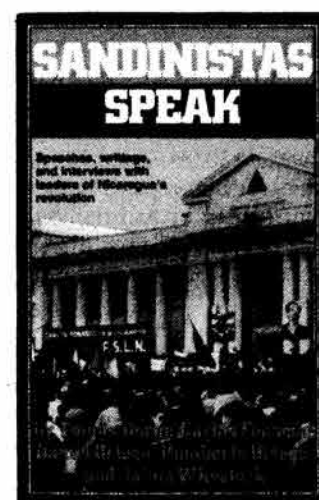
The police came out to try to convince the farm workers to leave, but they refused. "The police said that if we didn't leave, the next time they were going to kick us out," Bartolo González said.

Ricardo Barrera told what happened next. "When the police came back they wanted to walk right over us. They kept playing with the safety catch of their rifles. One of them pointed his gun right at me."

"One of our comrades was killed by the police," another worker said. "We had no

Continued on next page

From Pathfinder



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Supporters discuss war drive with workers, GIs

At a labor solidarity action in Charleston, West Virginia, December 30, thousands of unionists were introduced to the *Militant* and the special antiwar supplement *International Socialist Review*. Dubbed a

Iraq, said the UMWA miner, show whose side the government is on. "When the union was on strike at Pittston, we set up a blockade to stop trucks and trains from making shipments in, or out of, the prep plant,"

on the job and in their communities.

In Sheffield, *Militant* supporters who are members of the National Union of Mineworkers sold seven copies of the paper and the antiwar supplement to fellow miners. Nine workers in manufacturing plants bought copies of the paper as did four union rail workers.

One rail worker in London bought a copy of the paper before Christmas. He later told *Militant* supporters on the job he had read it from cover to cover and decided to participate in the next antiwar march held in the city. Three other rail workers bought *Militants* in the "mess rooms" where they take breaks.

On January 5, supporters from London sold 19 *Militants* and four copies of the *International Socialist Review* in the garrison town of Colchester. One paper was purchased by the spouse of a soldier and several were sold to young people who had friends in the army. But none of the soldiers that supporters had discussions with bought papers. "I know I'd be interested," said one soldier who was being sent to the Mideast, "but it would make me cry."

In Aldershot, another garrison town, although some people were more hostile to the ideas in the *Militant*, 14 people, including a soldier, purchased single copies of the *Militant* or antiwar supplements.

A young subscriber in Cardiff, Wales, told supporters he had read

the entire *International Socialist Review* and thought it was "brilliant." Supporters in Manchester sold 20 copies of the paper the week of January 5 in Preston, near a military garrison, and 13 in the mining village of Earlstown.

By the middle of last month, 1,000 U.S. Marines a day were being shipped out from the Camp Lejeune base on the North Carolina coast. According to base spokesperson Maj. Jay Farrer, transport would continue "until there were no marines left."

For the second time in three weeks *Militant* supporters sold the paper outside a supermarket near the base. The sales team talked to about 50 GIs and twice that number of spouses of GIs.

"I signed a contract and I have a job to do," said one young soldier. His comments reflected the majority sentiment of those who stopped to talk. Opinions varied on whether the U.S. government's drive to war in the Mideast was correct. Some said they thought it was necessary to stop Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. One young Black marine said, "We have to protect our way of life."

Several GIs were very upset. "I just got my orders. I've got a five-week-old baby," said one young soldier. Some had questions about the government's motives. Of the 10 *Militants* sold, about one-third were to GIs and the rest to spouses. The

sales team spent 30 minutes talking with one soldier who stopped to look at the paper and asked, "So what is socialism anyway?"

Militant supporters in Atlanta have found some of the strongest opposition to the U.S. war drive in the Mideast among working people in the city's small Muslim community. In the past four weeks participants in the Friday afternoon services at the Al-Farooq Mosque here have purchased 30 copies of the *Militant*, one subscription to the paper, and two copies of the *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations* book.

The 300 Muslims who attend Friday prayers come from countries throughout the Mideast as well as many parts of Africa and Asia. They also include Arab students from Georgia Tech, Arab-American businessmen, working people recently arrived from Africa, and Blacks from the Atlanta area.

Many spoke of their opposition to the presence of U.S. troops in the Arab-Persian Gulf region and a U.S. war against Iraq. Some members of the Mosque have posted antiwar leaflets on bulletin boards and a number have attended antiwar actions or visited the Pathfinder bookstore here.

Ilona Gersh from Charleston, West Virginia; Marcella Fitzgerald from London; and Bob Braxton from Atlanta contributed to this column.



GETTING THE MILITANT AROUND

"Rally in the Valley" the event was organized by the AFL-CIO in support of striking workers in the state.

The supplement features an article by Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes, "Working-class campaign against the imperialist war drive: Fighting the employers' war at home and abroad." It was published in December, 1990.

One member of the United Mine Workers of America recognized the *Militant*. He had subscribed in Virginia while on strike against Pittston Coal Group in 1989. A *Militant* supporter explained that the *International Socialist Review* outlines imperialism's goals in the Mideast and why working people should actively oppose Washington's war drive.

The economic sanctions against

he said. "The government said our blockade was illegal, but now the same government has a blockade against the whole country of Iraq to stop food and medical shipments. And their blockade gets United Nations backing."

At the labor event participants bought 50 single copies of the *Militant*, one subscribed to the paper, and one purchased a copy of the Pathfinder book *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*. *Militant* supporters said while most did not express antiwar views, they appreciated the opportunity to read the *Militant's* working-class analysis of the U.S. war drive.

Supporters of the *Militant* in Britain have been campaigning with the paper and the *International Socialist Review* among workers and soldiers

Peasant land demands remain issue in Nicaragua

Continued from previous page choice but to respond."

In the ensuing battle a cop was killed and the farm, along with the farm machinery and buildings, was burned to the ground.

Farm workers from nearby state farms disarmed the police and forced them to leave the area. Two wounded farm workers had to be hospitalized in Matagalpa.

"The police used to be on the side of the workers," González said. "But now, some are Sandinistas, but others have sold out; they have a different ideology. They defend the bourgeoisie."

The vice-mayor of Matagalpa, María Eloisa Güntel, elected in February on the National Opposition Union (UNO) ticket, thinks the violence in the countryside is the fault of farm workers and peasants on state farms and cooperatives. These farms should be done away with, she believes.

"After we won the elections," she said, "a lot of big landowners started coming back, people who had to flee the country because the FSLN took their land."

"And what do they find when they come back? Farm workers of the ATC, armed and protected by the FSLN and the government."

"These people don't work," she said. "And they actually think they own the farms they're on!"

Although the town of Río Blanco is only 70 miles from Matagalpa, the region's prin-

cipal city, the dirt road connecting the two is so badly rutted, the trip takes six hours.

Thousands of small peasants and sharecroppers live even farther away, up in the mountains. If lucky, they are near one-lane dirt roads, crisscrossed by streams and rivers that are frequently impassable.

Río Blanco and the surrounding area was designated a "development pole" — one of several — as part of the agreement between the Nicaraguan government and the contras. President Chamorro agreed to provide special attention to these areas, where ex-contras would be concentrated.

Francisco Montenegro — Commander "Nelson" when he was a contra chief — is now in charge of coordinating aid to the thousands of former contras in the area. A group of ex-contras wait outside the shack Montenegro uses as an office, hoping to be granted money, zinc for roofs, or land. But aid from the Nicaraguan and U.S. governments and nongovernmental agencies has not materialized, he stated.

About 400 former contras in the area have been legally given parcels of land, he said. "I've got another 400 illegally working idle or abandoned land in the hope that we can legalize this later." Hundreds are still waiting for land.

Montenegro insisted that we, as U.S. reporters, take a message to Washington. "Tell your government that we are trying to produce on the land, barefoot, without financial aid, with the sweat of our back," he said. "They gave us everything we needed to fight the war against the

Sandinistas. Now is not the time to abandon us."

Francisco Javier Sáenz, a big coffee grower and president of UNAG in Matagalpa, is skeptical that the problem of land takeovers and land disputes will end any time soon. "It's an interminable fight," he said. "We have former contras, laid-off members of the army, unemployed from the cities, and peasants who have always demanded land, but never received any even during the revolution — and they all want a parcel."

The UNAG leader is opposed to taking

land from private owners to meet the demand and was upset with the ATC and farm workers for having occupied, even temporarily, Efraín Rodríguez's ranch.

Enough land would not solve the problem anyway, Sáenz stated. "Without money to buy machetes, files, wire, seed, pesticides and roofing materials, nothing can be produced," he said. "And if the previous FSLN-led government could not meet the need, how will this government?"

All that is going to happen, he said, "is even those who get land are going to end up selling it and new latifundistas are going to arise."

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Barnes discusses the stakes for working people in the impending war in the Mideast, Cuba's fight against it, the potential for an effective working-class campaign in the U.S. against imperialist war, and the prospects for building a communist party today.

The issue also contains first-hand coverage on the fight for the reunification of Korea and the challenge it poses to imperialism.

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Court overturns anti-obscenity clause

A Los Angeles federal judge ruled January 9 that the anti-obscenity clause in grants by the National Endowment for the Arts is unconstitutional. The ruling was the first to tackle the NEA censorship clause.

"This is the type of obstacle in the path of the exercise of fundamental speech rights that the Constitution will not tolerate," Judge John Davies said in his decision.

The anti-obscenity clause was passed by Congress and said that the endowment could not allocate funds for works which "may be considered obscene."

The Bella Lewitzky Dance Foundation in Los Angeles and the Newport Harbor Art

Museum launched the legal challenge. The dance foundation was denied part of a \$72,000 grant by the NEA for refusing to comply with the restriction. The museum also objected and was penalized by the NEA, which withheld a \$100,000 grant.

James Selna, an attorney who represented the museum, said a similar case filed by the New School for Social Research in New York is pending in Federal District Court in Manhattan.

Congress removed the restriction from this year's grants, but art institutions using grants issued last year are still governed by the clause.

ARIZONA

Phoenix

The Civil Rights Movement and Fighting Racism Today. Speakers: Leah Landrum, Arizona State University King Day Committee; Gerald Watson, International Association of Machinists Local 2559 Eastern Airlines strike coordinator; and Danny Booher, Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate and member United Steelworkers of America Local 3937. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 19, 7:30 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (602) 279-5850.

Working-class Campaign Against Imperialist War. U.S. Hands Off the Middle East! Bring the Troops Home Now! Socialist Educational Weekend. Speaker: Tom Leonard, Socialist Workers Party and veteran trade unionist. Sat., Feb. 2, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$5. **Lessons from SWP Experiences in Workers' Struggles Before and During World War II.** Class by Tom Leonard. Sun., Feb. 3, 3 p.m. Donation: \$3. Supper to follow. Donation: \$3. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East Demonstration. Sat., Jan. 19, 11:00 a.m.-1:00 p.m. West Los Angeles Federal Building, 11000 Wilshire Blvd.

War in the Middle East. The Stakes for Working People. Speaker: Elizabeth Stone, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Board of Trustees of Los Angeles Community College District and member International Association of Machinists. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 19, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

March and Rally against the War. Sat., Jan. 26. Assemble at Olympic and Broadway: 10 a.m. Rally at City Hall: 12 noon. Sponsor: Los Angeles Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East. Tel: (213) 655-3728.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

War and Recession. The Government Offensive against Workers at Home and Abroad. Speaker: Salm Kolis, member Socialist Workers Party and United Food and Commercial Workers Local 442. Sat., Jan. 19, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

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

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

U.S. Drive Toward War in the Middle East. A discussion with workers and students. Sat., Jan. 19, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

Working-class Campaign against the Imperialist War Drive. Class series. Thurs., Jan. 24, 7 p.m. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Who Killed Jim Crow? Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights Movement. Video ex-

cerpts: *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.

Black History Month Series. "Blacks in America's Wars." Panel discussion. Sat., Feb. 2, 7:30 p.m. "The Crisis Facing Black Farmers." Speaker: Kathie Fitzgerald, member Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 9, 7:30 p.m. "Malcolm X in Today's World." Video presentation. Sat., Feb. 16, 11 a.m. and 7:30 p.m. "South Africa: One Year After Mandela's Release." Sat., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m. Speaker: Roger Jardine, South African student just returned from two-month visit home. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

MINNESOTA

Austin

Oppose the U.S. War Drive in the Mideast! Speakers: Laura Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for St. Paul City Council; Mark Frederickson, Operation Peace and Justice in Rochester; Arron Apperson, student activist Luther College; and Henry Zamarrón, Socialist Workers Party candidate for state legislature, District 32B. Sun., Jan. 20, 7 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. 23-Feb. 27, 5 p.m. University of Minnesota, Room 308, Coffman Union. Sponsor: Young Socialist Alliance. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

No Blood for Oil! A historical perspective on the drive of the U.S. government and Big Oil to control Mideast oil. Speakers: Ruth Robinett, Socialist Workers Party candidate for school board and member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; and others. Sat., Jan. 19, 7:30 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Socialist Workers Party 1991 Campaign Rally. Speakers: George Chalmers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council, District 4; Greg Preston, SWP candidate for city council, District 6; Patricia Leamon, Socialist Workers Party campaign chairperson; representative, Young Socialist Alliance; and John Kohlman, Youth for Peace. Sat., Jan. 19. Reception: 6 p.m., Rally: 7 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Socialist Workers 1991 Campaign. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Panama One Year After the U.S. Invasion. Video. Speaker: Tony Prince, member Socialist Workers Party and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 385T. Sun., Jan. 20, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: P.O. Box 4103. Zip: 40204-4103.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 605 Massachusetts Ave. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

MINNESOTA: Austin: 407 1/2 N. Main. Zip: 55912. Tel: (507) 433-3461. **Twin Cities:** 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: 140 S. 40th St. Zip: 68131. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

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

NEW YORK: Brooklyn: 464 Bergen St. Zip: 11217. Tel: (718) 398-6983. **New York:** 191 7th Ave. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 727-8421.

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

OHIO: Cleveland: 1863 W. 25th St. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. **Columbus:** P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: 9 E. Cheltenham Ave. Zip: 19144. Tel: (215) 848-5044.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Capitalism in Crisis: The War in the Mideast and the Recession at Home. Panel discussion. 9 E Cheltenham Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (215) 848-5044.

Pittsburgh

U.S. Troops Out of the Middle East. A speak-out against the war. Speakers: Frank Planinac, Eastern striker and president International Association of Machinists Local 1044; Mike McBrady, member International Union of Electronic Workers Local 22; Joanne Kunianski, member Socialist Workers Party and Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers. Sun., Jan. 20, 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Pathfinder Bookstore Grand Opening. Sat., Jan. 19, Open house: 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Party: 7:30 p.m. 1586 East Washington St., three blocks west of Capitol building. Tel: (304) 345-3040.

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, member Communist League and 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

Communists and the Fight Against Imperialist War. Experiences from World War I and World War II. Speaker: representative, Communist League. Fri., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 71-401-2409.

Working-class Campaign against Imperialist War Drive. Panel discussion. Sat., Feb. 2, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 71-401-2409.

Manchester

For a Working-class Campaign Against Imperialist War Drive. Speaker: representative, Communist League. Fri., Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 061-839 1766.

Sheffield

The Lessons of the Vietnam Antiwar Movement. Speaker: representative, Communist League. 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Militant Forums. Tel: 0742-729469.

CANADA

Montréal

Canada-Mexico Free Trade. Its Meaning for Working People. Speaker: Katy LeRougetel, member Communist League. Sat., Jan. 19, 7:30 p.m. 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Forum Lutte Ouvrière. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Pittsburgh: 4905 Penn Ave. Zip 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Houston: 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

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.

Demonstration Against the Middle East War. Sat., Jan. 26, 1 p.m. Assemble at Parc Lafontaine, corner of Sherbrooke and Avenue Parc Lafontaine (Métro Sherbrooke). Sponsor: Coalition Against the War in the Arab-Persian Gulf. Tel: (514) 982-0496.

Young Socialists Open House. Discussion on working-class campaign against the imperialist war. Sat., Jan. 26, 4:30 p.m., following demonstration. 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Québec and Native Sovereignty. How the Working Class Can Unite against the Capitalist War at Home and Abroad. Speaker: Michel Dugré, member Communist League Central Committee and United Steelworkers of America. Sat., Jan. 26, 7:30 p.m. 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Forum Lutte Ouvrière. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Toronto

Censors, Spying, and War in the Middle East. Oppose Attacks Against Iraqis in Canada. Speakers: Jacob Yasso, pastor of Chaldean Rite Catholics in Canada, from Iraq; Joe Young, member Communist League and International Association of Machinists Local 2323; representative, General Union of Palestinian Students; and others. Sat., Jan. 19, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W, Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

Canadian and U.S. Troops Out of the Gulf. Demonstration. Sat., Jan. 26, Rally: 12 noon. City Hall March: 1 p.m. Sponsor: Coalition for Troops Out of the Gulf. Tel: (416) 588-0922.

José Martí Dinner and Dance. Music by Septiembre 5 direct from Cuba. Special guest: Alfredo Armenteros, consul general of Cuba. Sat., Jan. 26, Cocktails: 7 p.m., Dinner: 8 p.m., Dance: 9:30 p.m. Tickets: \$20 advance, \$25 door. Sponsor: Canadian-Cuban Friendship Association. Marina Banquet Hall. 877 St. Clair Ave. W. Tel: (416) 323-3808 or 987-5603

Vancouver

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.

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Wellington

Teach-in against War in the Middle East. Featuring: Owen Wilkes. Sat., Jan. 26, 10 a.m.-5 p.m. St. John's Church, corner Willis and Dixon Streets. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Committee on the Gulf Crisis. Tel: 828-129.

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They worried all the way to the bank — Orange juice future prices rose, reflecting worries that heavy frost damage to the California or-



Harry Ring

ange crop will hurt juice supplies. — Associated Press

Milk of human kindness — In a snowstorm last year, three TWA airline employees couldn't make it to work and a fourth arrived late. All

made up the lost time, but the absences were entered into their records. Explained a TWA official: "The company is not inhuman. We understand there are snowstorms. All we're saying is absences are grounds for dismissals. We're not saying the employees will be dismissed."

Limited vocabulary — FORT LAUDERDALE, Florida — A judge who told a woman in a divorce case to find a new husband in a singles bar because "bimbos" go there was criticized by a state appeals court and expressed his regrets for what he called a poor choice of words. — News item.

Machomobile — The 1991 lux-

ury Lexus 400 is now available in Canada for \$63,000. That includes a new horn in a lower register than last year's model. Toyota, the manufacturer, felt that last year's Lexus didn't sound "manly" enough.

Just right — The average income of physicians increased by about \$11,000 to more than \$155,000 in 1989, according to an American Medical Association study. The AMA president-elect said he could see public concern about this, but he didn't think that doctors, as a group, "are overpaid or underpaid."

No brain damage? — Dirty hair is reportedly the trend in the greater Hollywood area. Some achieve the

dirty look by not washing or shampooing their hair. Others use greasy hair products like Molding Mud. The creator says she got her inspiration from a homeless street woman. "You know how street people don't wash their hair and it has that wonderful greasy texture," she exclaimed.

Wear it to the unemployment office — According to the *New York Times*, America's top fashion designers seem to agree that in these grim economic times they should turn out colorful, playful clothing that will lift spirits. Take Bill Blass. He's offering beaded jackets at \$6,000 and \$7,000.

That's a separate department

— In 1968, the Vatican reaffirmed its opposition to artificial birth control. Meanwhile, according to a German TV report, recent documents confirm that in 1968, the Vatican Bank was the majority shareholder in Serono, an Italian drug firm turning out birth control pills.

Claustrophobic? — "The Pentagon takes the potential of chemical warfare seriously. . . . A battle uniform for this scenario involves not only a gas mask but a personal cooling pack and an in-suit waste elimination system. All are designed to let the soldier remain virtually encapsulated for up to 72 hours." — Report on advances in army research.

Thousands rally to back West Virginia strikers

BY MARY NELL BOCKMAN

CHARLESTON, West Virginia — Six thousand unionists packed the Charleston Civic Center on December 30 for a rally in support of striking and locked-out workers in West Virginia.

The "Rally in the Valley" was called by the AFL-CIO in response to union-busting efforts by Ravenswood Aluminum Corp. (RAC) against United Steelworkers of America Local 5668. Strikers at Greyhound, Monsanto Chemical, Beverly Health Center, and New Beckley Mining also turned out in force.

Jackets and banners identified contingents of Machinists, construction workers, Teamsters, oil and chemical workers, union hospital workers who recently won a strike against the Red Cross, and many USWA locals. Members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) came from southern Ohio, Kentucky, and West Virginia. Two busloads of steelworkers came from Cincinnati, Ohio, 200 miles from Charleston. Buses also came from Huntington, Parkersburg, and Morgantown, West Virginia.

Steelworkers and their families from Ravenswood were the largest group at the rally. Blue sweatshirts with the slogan "Locked Out at Fort RAC" were worn by hundreds of participants. Support signs made by students at Ravenswood High School were displayed in the hall. Some 1,800 workers at RAC were locked out by management Nov. 1, 1990, after rejecting company concession demands totaling \$3,000 a year.

UMWA members on strike since January 1989 against New Beckley Mining also attended the rally. Joe Carter, president of UMWA Local 1895, said that like the Ravenswood workers, the coal miners at New Beckley had watched replacement workers cross their picket line. He said, "They had the sheriff and the state police on us. The federal marshalls set up a trailer next to our picket shack. But through the community and union support we were able to run the scabs out in February 1990." Since then, the company has idled the mine, and workers continue to picket.

At the rally, dozens of USWA members on strike at Monsanto in Nitro, West Virginia, were grouped around their union banner. The 300 chemical workers have been on strike since Oct. 1, 1990. Speaking to the crowd, local president George Sauvageot outlined the issues in the strike.

"For us, mandatory overtime is the number-one issue. We all know what happened at Ravenswood," referring to the death of a pot room worker from heat stress who was working a forced 16-hour shift last summer. "We gave and gave during the 1980s like all unions. But we have quit giving and will hold the line," he said.

Workers rose to their feet repeatedly during the afternoon to cheer those workers who are resisting company assaults. The New Beckley and Monsanto local presidents, the presidents of the Ravenswood local and the Amalgamated Transit Union local at Greyhound, and a striking health care worker spoke at the rally.

International union officers Lynn Williams, president of the USWA; Cecil Roberts, vice-president of the UMWA; and Tom Woodruff, president of District 1119 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Workers, also addressed the rally. Afterwards, several hundred people marched across the street to the Greyhound station to show support for the striking bus drivers.



Militant/Tom Nichols

Some 1,800 Steelworkers were locked out by Ravenswood Aluminum Corp. on Nov. 1, 1990. Unionists turned out in force for the "Rally in the Valley" (above) to support the strikers.

Canadian cops attack Natives at Kahnawake

Continued from Page 16

is intent on exercising its 'right to might' policy through the application of its joint SQ/RCMP patrols at Kahnawake," charged Joe Norton in a letter to Québec's Minister of Indian Affairs, Christos Sirros, last November. "It appears that your policy of criminalization of Mohawks will continue."

Anger among Mohawks at Kanesatake is also increasing. Even though last summer the federal government promised to buy the land which was to be used for the

golf course extension and turn it over to the Native people, it has so far refused to fulfill its pledge. The federal government is also stalling on its promise to negotiate the broader land claims of the Mohawks at Kanesatake.

Recently, Kanesatake Mohawks discovered new surveying projects and felled trees on land they consider sacred. They have established an around-the-clock vigil to prevent any construction work on their land.

The trials of some 100 Natives arrested last summer who face charges ranging from obstruction of justice and illegal participation in a riot to possession of firearms are now beginning. One has already received a two-

year sentence. If convicted, others could receive sentences of from 2 to 10 years in jail.

The eight arrested at Kahnawake each face 12 charges including aggravated assault and participating in a riot.

Well over a hundred other Mohawks have been arrested or charged with a series of offenses over the past several months.

Messages of support, requests for speakers, and financial contributions to the defense of those arrested can be sent to: The Liberation of the Mohawk Nation Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 1987, Kahnawake, Quebec J0L 1B0; Tel:(514) 638-4750 or The People of the Pines Defense Fund, P.O. Box 747, Kanesatake, Quebec J0N 1E0; Tel:(514) 479-8321.

Farm group to hold Britain meeting

BY ANDY BUCHANAN

MANCHESTER, England — "Land and the Family Farm" is the title of a conference scheduled for January 24 by Farmers World Network.

The conference will be held at the offices of the National Farmers Union in Skelmersdale, Lancashire. Farmers World Network is a grouping of farmers, agronomists, and aid workers who share a concern for the problems facing farmers both in Britain and worldwide.

Labor news in the Militant

The *Militant* stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. It has correspondents who work in the mines, mills, and shops where the events are breaking. You won't miss any of it if you subscribe. See the ad on page 1 of this issue for subscription rates.

Over the past year the organization has held a number of conferences to discuss different aspects of the crisis facing farmers, including relations between farmers and capitalist grain monopolies and the impact of farming on the environment. The January event will focus on the situation facing tenant farmers.

While tenant farmers seek long-term leases and secure tenancy agreements, landlords are driving for more "flexible" arrangements. The Network points out that in many semicolonial countries tenant farmers are being pushed onto marginal land while capitalist farmers dominate more fertile ground to grow cash crops for export.

The conference comes at a time when working farmers in Britain, many of whom are tenants, are facing severe economic pressures. Trade agreements between members of the European Community ensure high profits for large capitalist farmers while tightening the screws on working farmers. Last year alone, thousands of farmers in Britain were driven off the land. Many fear that rising fuel prices will devastate more farmers.

— 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Jan. 23, 1981

Can working people look forward to some relief from skyrocketing prices, high interest rates, and unemployment under the incoming administration of Ronald Reagan?

In the last two years of the Democratic administration, conditions sharply worsened for working people. Real income has been falling since 1978, the longest sustained drop since World War II, with no turnaround in sight.

Interest rates skyrocketed to unprecedented levels during 1980 and unemployment zoomed as the economy tumbled into recession.

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Jan. 24, 1966

Twenty-nine scientists, including 16 from Harvard, have condemned Washington's gas warfare in Vietnam. The biologists, chemists and physicists declared: "The fact that we are now resorting to such methods shows a shocking deterioration in our moral standards."

Meanwhile a January 12 Reuters' dispatch from Saigon said: "Non-toxic gas and smoke being used against Vietcong guerrillas in tunnels northwest of Saigon have killed one Australian soldier and sent six others to the hospital. [One] died of asphyxiation even though he was wearing a gas mask."

Setback for Curtis opponents

Iowa District Court Judge Arthur Gamble ruled January 9 that imprisoned union activist Mark Curtis must pay \$80,000 in damages stemming from his previous conviction on fabricated charges of rape and burglary. The ruling represents an important setback for the Des Moines police who framed Curtis and their political supporters. It undermines their efforts to isolate Curtis, to weaken his defense effort, and ultimately, to break him.

A ruling against Curtis was a foregone conclusion because of his previous frame-up conviction. However, the \$80,000 granted by the judge to Keith and Denise Morris — the parents of the woman Curtis was charged with attacking — is far less than they had hoped for when they filed the harassment lawsuit. The judge also ruled against their efforts to use the suit to attack the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and its contributors.

These achievements are a result of the broad campaign waged against the suit by Curtis, his supporters, and other defenders of democratic rights.

The breadth of this support shows that Stuart Pepper, lawyer for the Morris, made a serious miscalculation in attempting to use the court to expose the identity of contributors to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and to seize the committee's funds.

Pepper's move awakened an expanded legal and political

fight, which exposed the harassment lawsuit as a challenge to democratic rights. This fight successfully defeated the effort to cripple the defense committee and violate the constitutional rights of its supporters. It demonstrated a basic weakness of the campaign against Curtis. While this campaign finds a friendly arena in the courts, it cannot mount an effective political drive against the facts, which demonstrate that Curtis was the victim of a cop frame-up.

Pepper admitted to the *Des Moines Register* that the court ruling was a setback when he protested the size of the award and the bar on seizing the funds of the defense committee.

At the outset of the lawsuit, those who promoted the cop frame-up could only point to the Iowa court conviction of Curtis to back up their charges.

This previous conviction guaranteed the judge would award damages. But opponents of Curtis come out of this new legal attack having gained no new ground, while the defense campaign is broader and stronger.

Though an important blow to the authorities, the financial ruling is an unjust blow against Curtis. It will be used to harass him and his family. It will be used to apply pressure, to continue the drive to try to break him. Such efforts must be fought.

Trade unionists and political activists who support Curtis are in a stronger position today to carry on this fight.

Bring the troops home now!

Continued from front page

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."

- Selling *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations and Malcolm X Talks to Young People*. Both were recently published by Pathfinder Press. The first, which is available in both English and Spanish, helps arm those who want to fight against the march toward war, with the facts, historical perspective, and international context of this conflict.

The speeches and interviews by Malcolm X explain the interconnection of racist violence and oppression inside the United States with the U.S. imperialists' assault on the peoples of other countries, especially the Congo during the 1960s.

As candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, we encourage working people to read, study, and help distribute these materials as central tools in the campaign against war.

We also urge workers, farmers, GIs, and students everywhere to turn out for the local protests that have been occurring in cities across the country and for the national actions slated for January 19 and 26 in Washington, D.C.; San Francisco; and other cities around the world. These demonstrations provide visible expression of antiwar opposition that can help even broader layers learn about the real reasons behind Washington's aggression and to participate in protest actions.

The Bush administration has stated that using military muscle in the Middle East is necessary to restore Kuwait's sovereignty. But nothing could be further from the truth. This is a battle by the U.S. rulers to prevent the Iraqi capitalists from gaining too much control over oil reserves in the Middle East.

Washington's true mission is to secure domination over the region's resources by setting up a virtual U.S. imperialist protectorate in Iraq. To do this, it will have to defeat the Iraqi army through massive systematic bombing of the country and the use of ground troops.

The capitalist ruling families in the United States also hope to gain an edge over their imperialist competitors, especially those in Japan, Germany, and France.

The U.S. imperialists also seek to take back some of what they lost in the region when the toilers overthrew the U.S. backed monarchy in Iran and carried out a massive popular revolution in 1979.

The Bush administration has been positioning itself for this war ever since August. But time was needed to prepare for the day when Washington could ensure air superiority and adequate armored combat forces on the ground.

From the beginning, the White House has enjoyed bipartisan support from Congress for its basic aims. The hesitations in Congress reflected fears of stirring up deep social and political instability in the United States and in the Middle East. They wanted assurances that a quick victory could be secured with low casualties and no draft. But the only alternative put forward by the "peace" wing in Congress was to continue squeezing the Iraqi people with sanctions for a few more months in hopes of "bringing them to their knees."

In October, the U.S. government began preparing the public for the necessity of war. By the end of November, it got a green light from the UN Security Council, which adopted a resolution demanding the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait by January 15.

In early January, Bush tied up any remaining loose ends. All possibilities for negotiations were "exhausted," and finally, on January 12, the U.S. Congress approved resolutions under the War Powers Act giving him the authority

to go to war.

As the deadline drew closer, the U.S., British, and Canadian governments initiated a series of steps aimed at harassing and intimidating immigrants from the Middle East, especially singling out all Iraqis as potential "terrorists."

Working people must reject these moves and uncompromisingly defend the democratic rights of Iraqis, Iranians, and Palestinians in Britain, Canada, the United States, and other countries. We must oppose any moves to put Arabs in detention camps as was done with people of Japanese descent in the United States and Canada during World War II.

Top U.S. government officials have finally admitted the recession that was unfolding in Canada has also begun in the United States and could turn out to be a deep one — for North America and much of the world.

The capitalist class will try to solve its economic problems by continuing to press its more than decade-long anti-working-class and union-busting offensive. The employers will continue to demand takeback contracts and lower wages and will push to gut health and pension benefits, undercut safety on the job, speed up production, and impose longer working hours.

They will use the war to deepen their attacks on the home front. And in the process, they will attempt to undermine and dampen the small but important resistance waged by working people in the last few years — from Midwest packinghouse workers to Eastern Airlines strikers.

Following congressional approval, a number of senators and representatives stressed the need for unity. Bush termed it a closing of ranks. But working people should reject any notion that this is our war.

We, not the ruling rich, will suffer from this war. Our economic livelihoods will be devastated, and our sons and daughters will die in combat. We should not have to sacrifice our rights, standard of living, or lives for their war in the Middle East. But we have absolutely no say over it.

The people in this country should have the right to vote on war. The question of war and peace should be taken out of the hands of the Democratic and Republican politicians, out of the hands of Congress and the White House, and be taken into the factories and into the streets, where massive debate and discussion can be opened up.

Working people have no independent political organization, no political voice of our own, no policies that advance our class interests against those who are responsible for exploitation, oppression, and war. Moreover, we have no foreign policy of our own. The foreign policy of the bosses is still largely accepted as the foreign policy of working people as well.

But when war breaks out, a good case can be made for why their foreign policy should not be our foreign policy. It brings into sharp focus the need to chart an independent course and set up our own political party, a labor party, that will help advance the struggle of fighting workers.

As candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, we have been actively campaigning against Washington's war preparations, including economic sanctions. Organizing to widen public discussion and debate on the connection between the rulers' war policies at home and abroad will remain a central priority. We believe that a presentation of the facts and a clear analysis of why imperialist war has again become the dominant political question is necessary for advancing the struggle of working people. We ask you to join us in this effort.

Stop the bombing!
Bring the troops home now!
End sanctions against Iraq!
All foreign troops out of the Mideast!

When post office tried to suppress the 'Militant'

BY DOUG JENNESS

Each day that goes by underlines the central place of the *Militant* in the working-class campaign against imperialist aggression in the Middle East.

Massive resistance in the working class has not yet emerged to the war drive spearheaded by Washington. At least for now, most working people fatalistically accept that there will be a war and that nothing can be done to stop the slaughter the imperialist rulers have prepared.

But there is widespread discussion about the conflict and increasing thirst for answers to what it is all about. President George Bush gives demagogic reasons for the assault on the people of Iraq, but what are the real social interests involved? What is the interconnection between the employers' offensive against workers at home and their

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

brutal onslaught against working people in the Arab-Persian Gulf region? How can we most effectively begin to organize to defend ourselves against the effects of a deepening recession and the consequences of being dragged into a war that is not in our interests?

Answers to these and many other questions can be found in the pages of the *Militant* each week as it strives to advance the struggle of working people under the conditions of imperialist war. This is the same course the paper followed during World War II and the Korean and Vietnam wars.

The importance of this effort is underscored by the necessity to counter the barrage of lies coming from the big-business press, as well as the lack of clarity in middle-class liberal and radical publications taking an antiwar stand.

Moreover, the capitalist rulers, in defending their interests, will attempt to keep the lid on the truth and on the dissemination of a perspective aimed at advancing the struggle of working people during wartime. The stiff restrictions military authorities are imposing on the media in Saudi Arabia is a telling sign.

Past experience shows that the capitalist government in Washington particularly hounds publications and revolutionary working-class leaders that oppose its predatory war aims.

During World War I, for example, the Espionage Act was enacted and used to deny the mails to labor and socialist papers. Working-class socialist leaders, including Eugene Debs, were jailed for explaining why working people had no interest in supporting their exploiters in that conflict.

As Franklin Roosevelt's administration began cranking up for World War II in 1937, arrests and harassment of prominent labor leaders who opposed the bosses' war goals were launched. On Dec. 8, 1941, the day after Pearl Harbor was bombed, 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the Midwest Teamsters' struggle were sentenced to jail for their opposition to the imperialist war. After their appeals failed, they were jailed Dec. 31, 1943, and were confined to federal prison from 10 to 13 months.

In another attack, the *Militant* discovered in November 1942 that two of its issues had been impounded by the U.S. Post Office. This opened a year-and-a-half-long fight for the *Militant's* right to be circulated.

On Jan. 5, 1943, after several issues of the *Militant* were held up for more than a week or destroyed, the postmaster general ordered representatives of the *Militant* to appear before a hearing in the nation's capital on January 21. They were told to "show cause" why the paper's second-class mailing rights should not be revoked.

Prior to and at the hearing, the postal authorities presented the *Militant* with 105 excerpts from the paper that supposedly justified its suppression. The excerpts included news reports from other papers about the effect of the war on the labor movement and on the fight for Black rights.

Post Office attorney William O'Brien essentially admitted that the attack was political when he argued, "We are not concerned here with questions of truth or falsity. It does not make any difference if everything the *Militant* says is true."

Government spokespersons asserted the *Militant's* criticism of big business, its explanation of the war as imperialist, and its reports of how workers, especially the most oppressed, suffered from the war tended to discourage enlistment in the military.

The hearing board reported its findings to the postmaster general for final decision. On March 3, 1943, he issued an order depriving the *Militant* of its second-class mailing rights. For one full year the *Militant* was mailed third and fourth class, which moves mail through the postal system more slowly. During that time issues continued to be held up. Sometimes they were held up as "unmailable."

The *Militant* continued to publish and tell the truth about the war. After waging an extensive fight, which won backing from many workers and from civil liberties supporters, the *Militant* won back its second-class mailing rights on March 7, 1944, one year and four days after they had been revoked. The government tried to retain the right to continue delaying and destroying issues. But vigorous protests forced the government to lift all restrictions 10 days later.

The fight for Martin Luther King Day in Arizona

BY JUDY WHITE
AND DANNY BOOHER

PHOENIX — Discussion continues in Arizona over the recent defeat of a ballot proposition that would have established a paid state holiday honoring Martin Luther King, Jr. The proposition lost narrowly in November.

Many reasons for the defeat have been put forward by the big-business media. These include the argument that it is the fault of the National Football League. The NFL threatened to cancel the 1993 Super Bowl in Tempe, Ari-

AS I SEE IT

zona, if the holiday was voted down. The "logic" behind this argument is that people would have voted in favor of the holiday if they had not been threatened by "outsiders."

Another reason advanced by some of the supporters of a King holiday is that Arizona is more racist than other states. Many opponents of the King celebration argue that the referendum results prove Arizonans are against the holiday, that "the people have spoken."

A careful look at the strategy of its supporters and opponents leading up to the November vote explains the fallacy of these arguments and shows important lessons for working-class fighters.

The debate began in 1987 when then-governor Evan Mecham rescinded the King holiday for state workers. In 1989 the state legislature voted to approve the holiday.

Following this, forces opposed to the celebration — led by Mecham — petitioned to have the new state law put on the ballot. State Attorney General Robert Corbin ordered the law nullified pending the outcome of the referendum. This was done under the guise of "letting the people vote." The ballot initiative became Proposition 301, which would have eliminated Columbus Day as a paid day off for state workers and replaced it with a King holiday.

Pro-holiday forces then organized to place Proposition 302 on the ballot. It would have preserved all holidays and added a paid state holiday in King's honor.

Proposition 302 was unambiguous in its support for the day. In this context, a vote for Proposition 301 was not a vote for the King holiday, but an attack on holidays pre-

viously won by state workers.

In January 1990 a march of 10,000 took place in downtown Phoenix to demand a King holiday. This was the fourth year in a row since Mecham rescinded the holiday that a demonstration had been held.

In response, those opposed to the holiday organized a racist campaign against the referendum, slandering King. Television ads appeared that called for votes against the two referenda, saying "sealed FBI files that won't be opened for 50 years" would reveal King's true character. The ads charged King with being an adulterer and a communist.

The fundamental reason for the defeat of Proposition 302 can be found in the goals and strategy of its promoters. Support for the proposition was organized and led through the Democratic Party, with the backing of politicians in the Republican Party. These included such figures as Ronald Reagan, Barry Goldwater, and Sen. Dennis DeConcini. Their aim was not to defend and extend the gains of the civil rights movement, of which King was a central leader, or to answer the slanders against him.

To the contrary. In the midst of the campaign for Proposition 302, Ric Rankin, a Black man, was killed by the manager of Smitty's supermarket. He was chased from the store for allegedly having bounced a check in the past, then dragged from a cab and placed in a choke-hold until he died from a crushed larynx. While there were several protests, none of the politicians and business leaders involved in supporting Proposition 302 demanded justice for Rankin. This was indicative of their strategy of keeping the campaign for a King holiday within a narrow electoral framework.

The question of the King holiday is not just a moral one for working people today. The battles of the civil rights movement marked a historic turning point in this country. The elimination of the laws known as the Jim Crow system of racial segregation opened the door for the millions of Black men and women who labor in the mines, mills, factories, and fields of this country to participate as full citizens in social, economic, and political life.

We sometimes forget that Blacks were denied the right to vote, were not permitted to eat in the same restaurants as whites, and were not even allowed to belong to the same units of the U.S. armed forces prior to the massive upsurge that led to the elimination of Jim Crow. We can sometimes

forget about 14-year-old Emmett Till, who, only 36 years ago, was accused of whistling at a white woman and lynched by a white mob in Mississippi.

The fight against Jim Crow segregation was waged through the mobilization of millions in the streets. Many died in the fight that removed one of the basic barriers to unifying workers — white and Black — a unity sorely needed to face the offensive that the ruling class is waging against us today.

This is a far cry from the proposals of the Democratic and Republican party promoters of the King holiday in Arizona. Many of these forces have now regrouped in the so-called One Clear Choice Committee, calling for another vote on the question. Others, including Jesse Jackson, say the road forward is to get "progressive-minded" businessmen and organizations to boycott Arizona until the state approves the holiday.

The problem with the boycott strategy is that it relies on pressuring businessmen and politicians to "do the right thing." It makes no attempt to mobilize working people, who have the most interest in continuing the fight against racism and for a King holiday.

Ongoing efforts to win the holiday have to be seen in this framework. The campaign against it has become a rallying point for racist bigotry. What is needed is a counter-campaign by the labor movement and the organizations of the oppressed. We need to participate actively in the fight for affirmative action and against racist attacks — against racism in all its forms. We need to employ the methods of struggle used by the civil rights movement, methods of mass mobilization independent of the big-business Democratic and Republican parties.

The fight for a King holiday takes on greater importance today in the context of the economic recession and the coming imperialist war in the Middle East. Working people will need to defend the democratic rights we have won over the last 40 years in order to extend solidarity and wage an effective struggle against capitalism's wars and economic crises.

Judy White is a member of United Auto Workers District 65; Danny Booher is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Phoenix and a member of United Steelworkers Local 3937.

LETTERS

Is war in UN charter?

Just one year ago, the United States invaded Panama. President George Bush declared a victory for law and order when Gen. Manuel Noriega was brought to the United States to stand trial on drug charges.

Now, one year later, America tries to restrain and contain another "villain." The military of Iraq invaded and took control of Kuwait. But look closely at American history before rushing out to condemn.

Remember how Texas and other territory was acquired? By invading and conquering Mexico. Remember Puerto Rico? It was acquired in a war with Spain. Remember the Panama Canal? It was acquired as "payment" for freeing Panama from Colombia.

America tried to invade Cuba but did not succeed. If the Bay of Pigs had been successful, would Cuba now belong to the United States?

The United States claims to be acting with the support of the United

Nations. The United Nations was set up on the ashes of the League of Nations. Its primary purpose was to help keep the peace. The United Nations was supposed to be the great mediator and its galleries the halls of justice.

The colors of the flag of the United Nations are blue and white. Shall red now be added? The Korean war was supposed to be a "police action" of the United Nations. Is this the role the UN now plays in the Persian Gulf? Is waging war a

function listed in its charter?

A prisoner
Clallam Bay, Washington

From Turkey

In the name of political prisoners in Sagmalcilar Prison, we announce to all supporters of human rights and democracy that the Association of Prisoners' Relatives (TAYAD) was closed down by the government of Turkey during "Human Rights Week."

We ask you to protest the closing of TAYAD and support its reopening.

A. Y.
Istanbul, Turkey

Greed

America is fighting the war over oil. This is capitalistic greed, the same greed that has been seen in every major war. When will the United States learn that the prerogative of others' affairs has nothing to do with us?

A prisoner
Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

Steve Millen

Steve Millen, a longtime political activist, died in Bloomington, Indiana, December 10. He was 38.

Steve first became active as a

high school student in the fight against the Vietnam War. In the early and mid-1970s, he was a leader of the Bloomington Young Socialist Alliance, helping to recruit and educate other young fighters.

Although not a member of the communist movement in recent years, he continued to support it, frequently arranging literature tables and housing for *Militant* teams campaigning on the Indiana University campus.

Through the last decade Steve was active in building solidarity with the peoples of Central America and South Africa. As a supporter of the Palestinian people, he had participated in recent actions opposing the drive toward war in the Mideast.

Over 200 people attended a memorial service December 14, testifying to the respect Steve had earned for his ideals and abilities and his contributions to the struggle.

Tom Campion
Hammond, Indiana

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.

"Young Man Young Man Desert Shield"

John Edward White, Sr., author of the poem "Young Man Young Man Desert Shield," is a 32-year-old coal miner who has worked in the mines for 14 years. He currently works at Federal Mine No. 2, owned by

Peabody Coal Co., near Blacksville, West Virginia and is a member of United Mine Workers of America Local 1570.

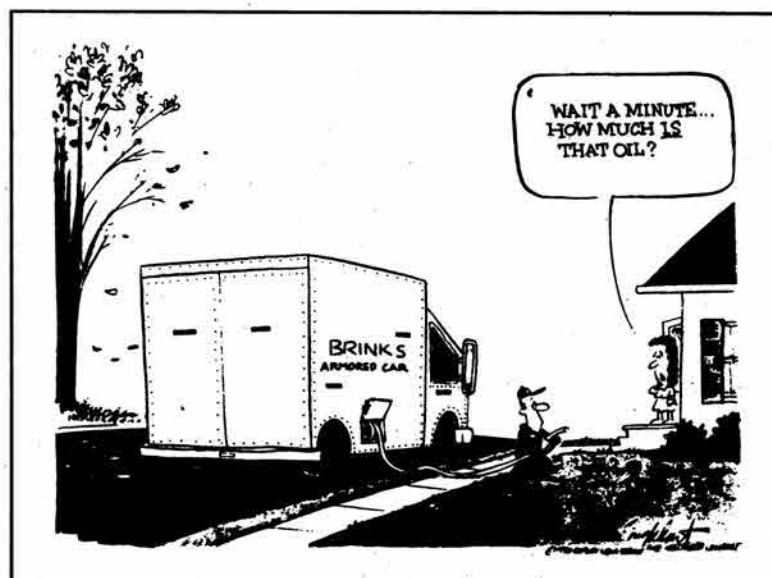
On January 6, White's poem was printed in the *Times West Virginian*, a newspaper in Fair-

mont, West Virginia. He recently read his work at an antiwar vigil at the Monongalia County Courthouse in Morgantown, West Virginia, and at an antiwar demonstration in Pittsburgh.

Young man young man desert shield, could have went to college now you might get killed.
Young man young man are you sure just what it is you might die for?
Where's your oil well where's your royal crown? Is your stock up is your stock down?
You thought you would join the army to be all you could be, come back and go to college, tuition might be free.
Now you can't believe it as you clutch your dog tag, how your thoughts went from home and family to staying out the body bag!
Oh how you miss your Sweetheart, that last kiss in your heart you'll hide. Because the love you have goes beyond the sand beyond the ocean tide!
I heard you wrote your mother and told her just to pray, and said if you could do it over for your college you would pay!
Many here just joined the service because they couldn't find a job, they didn't want to loaf around they didn't want to rob.
Now mom I've learned some wisdom and hope a life it might help save — it's that unemployment would be better than a ticket to the grave.
You hear the politician, you hear his battle cry, would he have the same position if his son

was going to die!
He says he has it figured, the casualties will be high, but would he keep on pushing forward if his son was going to die?
He has a U.N. resolution it calls for retribution, if Saddam Hussein our warning he might ignore. But we have a constitution we don't need that resolution, only congress can send our boys to war!
We should have learned our lesson we can't stop the world's aggression, the policeman of the world we cannot be!
Seems like every generation that we raise up in this nation we send off with the slightest hesitancy.
Our time is running out in this heat and sand, and though some times I get weary I must stand and be a man.
But one thing that I have noticed, like most wars from the past when I look around all I see is the poor and working class!
Deep in my heart I feel it, a lot of us will die and when I look to heaven to ask my father why.
I tell him there is one question I've yet to understand am I going to fight for freedom or for the oil man?

John Edward White, Sr.
Fairmont, West Virginia



U.S. threatens protectionist steps after trade talks are suspended

Washington presses demands on Europeans and Japanese to open markets

BY PETER THIERJUNG

The U.S. government escalated a conflict over trade with the European Community (EC), when chief U.S. government trade representative Carla Hills announced January 10 that she was investigating charges by the U.S. meat industry that European competition had violated trade agreements.

The EC is a trading bloc of 12 imperialist countries in Europe. U.S. meat exporters have lost some \$30 million a year in exports. The investigation by Hills could lead to retaliatory trade sanctions against the EC by President George Bush.

U.S. officials have at the same time struck at Japan with several hostile economic measures and threats aimed at undermining Japanese competition in U.S. markets and breaking down barriers in Japan to U.S. capital and commodities.

The Justice Department is planning to soon file a suit blocking Nippon Sanso K.K. of Japan from acquiring a major U.S. semiconductor equipment company. The Interior Department recently prevented Matsushita Electrical Industry Company from operating park concessions in California's Yosemite National Park. Matsushita bought MCA Inc., a company whose subsidiary held the concession rights. Legislation is also pending in Congress that would impose sanctions on Japan for investment restrictions it has imposed on U.S. companies which seek to do business there.

"I very much anticipate more confrontations with the United States," a Japanese official in Tokyo told the press during trade negotiations now going on between the United States and Japan.

GATT negotiations

The U.S. measures against the EC and Japan come after talks on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) were suspended in December. The suspension was provoked by a clash between U.S. and EC government trade representatives over policies and trade rules, particularly those governing agricultural products. The Japanese government has backed the EC in the dispute.

GATT was written and agreed to by 22 countries 43 years ago. Today more than 100 countries subscribe to the agreement, which has periodically been updated since 1948. The latest round of talks to revise GATT began four years ago in Uruguay, and have become known as the Uruguay Round.

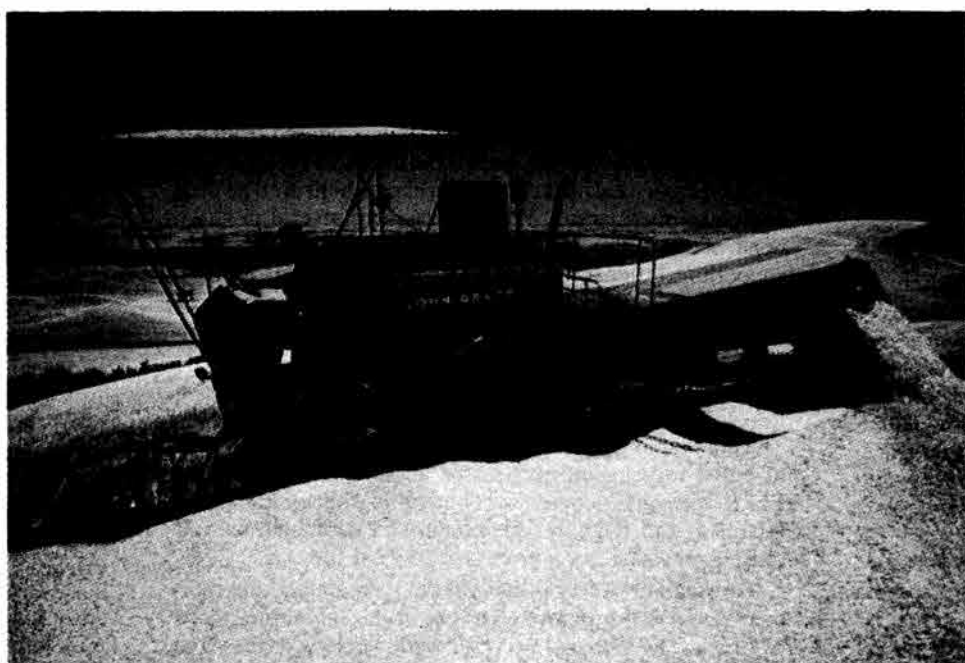
The explosion of world trade, capital flow, and international financial transactions over the last two decades prompted the talks. More than a third of today's worldwide trade of \$4 trillion is not covered, or is only partially covered, by GATT rules.

The aim of GATT is to open the world's markets by reducing tariffs and restrictions on trade, benefiting the world's strongest capitalist economies. U.S. imperialism's absolute economic power relative to any of its rivals makes it the biggest force for eliminating tariffs and protectionist measures. This has been reflected in the U.S. role at the GATT negotiations.

The aggressive stance of U.S. trade representatives toward their European, particularly German and French, and Japanese counterparts also comes in the context of the U.S. drive toward war in the Middle East. If Iraqi forces are defeated and a U.S. protectorate is established in Iraq, the U.S. imperialists will be in control of a larger portion of the world's oil resources, giving it a giant lever against its French, German, and Japanese rivals who are dependent on oil imports.

Sharp dispute on farm subsidies

The breakdown in the talks came when EC representatives refused to budge on U.S.



Governments in Europe and Japan want to protect the profits and property of a few wealthy capitalist farmers from the competition of U.S. agribusiness. Above, a U.S. grain harvest.

demands that European governments cut agricultural export subsidies by 75 percent over the next 10 years and do away with import barriers. Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, and several other agricultural exporting countries joined the United States in making the demands.

The measures would allow U.S. agribusiness to break into and better compete in the European market. The EC uses the export subsidies and import restrictions to protect the profits and property of a handful of their

wealthiest capitalist farmers against competition from abroad.

Japanese representatives also balked at the proposal because of the impact such demands would have on the huge profits of Japanese capitalist rice farmers. Rice in Tokyo costs seven times what it does in the United States because of import barriers.

EC representatives offered to compromise with a 30 percent reduction in agricultural subsidies, but the United States rejected the offer as inadequate. EC officials have given

no sign that they intend to make further concessions at this time. "There is no reason for us to bend the knee in front of the United States," said Otto Schlecht, the German state secretary for economics.

Following the suspension of the trade negotiations, U.S. trade representative Hills said that there was no reason to resume the talks until the EC showed more flexibility.

South Korea angers U.S.

South Korea, the world's 13th-largest trading country, has also stirred the ire of U.S. trade officials, who have threatened trade retaliation unless barriers to imports and foreign capital are dropped.

A major producer of rice, South Korea also opposes U.S. demands to reduce agricultural subsidies. A comic book published by the National Agricultural Cooperative Federation, a farm organization tied to the South Korean regime, claimed that foreign food products are unhealthy and that their purchase would force Korean farmers from the land.

"If we do not get a change in policy, we will certainly withdraw concessions that would be otherwise available to the Koreans," Hills threatened during a Public Broadcasting Service program.

If a new GATT agreement is not reached, the consequences — trade breakdowns, increasing measures to protect domestic businesses and agriculture, sharpening economic conflict between imperialist trading blocs, and possible trade wars — will have a potentially destabilizing impact on the world capitalist system, already being jolted by recessions in the United States and Britain, and the coming war in the Mideast.

Québec and Canadian police beat and arrest Mohawks in attack on Kahnawake reserve

BY JIM UPTON

MONTREAL — On January 8, eight Native Indians on the Kahnawake reserve just south of Montreal were beaten and arrested by members of the Sûreté du Québec provincial police (SQ) and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP).

Local newspapers carried pictures of the arrested Mohawks, their heads and faces bloodied. One man, beaten, bleeding from the mouth, handcuffed, and with his pants pulled down around his ankles, was lying on the snow-covered ground surrounded by riot-clad cops. The temperature at the time was zero degrees Fahrenheit.

At a press conference called to protest the racist cop attack, Band Council Chief Joe Norton charged the SQ and RCMP with carrying out a campaign of harassment and provocation against Natives entering and leaving the reserve.

"This cannot continue," he said. "We can't take any more. The people of the community will defend themselves in any way possible."

Earlier in the day members of the SQ and RCMP who patrol major highways bordering Kahnawake tried to enter the reserve and stop a vehicle, traveling along a secondary road, on the pretext of a minor traffic violation.

A crowd of Mohawks quickly gathered and demanded that the police leave the reserve. Fighting erupted when an RCMP officer called a young Native woman a "little bitch" and pushed her to the ground.

One hundred and eighty SQ and RCMP cops immediately converged on the reserve. Despite appeals by Chief Norton and other Native leaders they refused to withdraw. When the Mohawks began to leave the area the cops, who were heavily armed and clad

in riot gear, attacked and arrested eight people. Thirteen cops and six Mohawks were injured in the hand-to-hand fighting that took place as the Mohawks fought to defend themselves.

While Norton called for the SQ and RCMP to stay out of Kahnawake, Quebec Public Security Minister Claude Ryan, who authorized the police attack, said he took "full responsibility for what they did." Federal Solicitor-General Pierre Cadieux, who is responsible for the RCMP, claimed the police were "setup" and "ambushed" by the Mohawks.

Both Ryan and Cadieux admitted that their goal is to reestablish federal and provincial police jurisdiction on the reserve. Jocelyn Turcotte, head of the association that represents the provincial police, has called for a massive raid to storm the reserve and arrest Native "hotheads."

Since 1979 neither federal nor provincial police forces have been able to exercise jurisdiction on the reserve because the Mohawks regard the cops' presence as a violation of their sovereign and territorial rights as well as a constant source of racist violence. In 1979 the Mohawks set up their own force of 14 Mohawk Peacekeepers to patrol the reserve. However, the government refuses to recognize their authority.

Months of cop harassment

Last summer Kahnawake was the scene of a seven-week armed confrontation between Mohawks, police, and the Canadian army after a bridge, which is a main traffic artery into Montreal, was blocked in solidarity with Mohawks at the Kanesatake reserve near Oka, west of Montreal. On July 11

hundreds of the heavily armed cops were defeated when they tried to storm barricades erected at Oka to prevent expansion of an exclusive golf course onto traditional Mohawk burial grounds. One cop was killed in the ensuing crossfire. The standoff at Oka ended September 26. More than 40 Mohawks walked out of the area where they had been virtually imprisoned for several weeks by a wall of razor wire and 400 combat-ready soldiers.

The Mohawk struggles at Kahnawake and Oka inspired unprecedented unity among Canada's one million Native people — Indians, Métis, and Inuit — and a renewed determination to fight for land claims and political sovereignty. Canada's capitalist rulers are determined to push back this resistance along with growing recognition by a layer of working-class fighters that they face the same enemy as Native people and that their just struggle deserves support.

Since last summer's confrontation and the withdrawal of the army from Kahnawake and Kanesatake the SQ and the RCMP have conducted a systematic campaign of harassment of the Mohawk communities.

Over 210 provincial police and RCMP were initially assigned to patrol the reserve. The government refuses to say how many are there today.

While the cops remain unable to enter Kahnawake, except in force for brief periods, they guard all the major routes in and out of the reserve, stopping and searching cars and their occupants. Arrested Mohawks from the besieged community have been subject to racist taunts and beatings.

"We suspect that the Québec government

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