

## Union officials end Canada federal strike

BY CAROLE CARON

OTTAWA — Top officials of the Public Sector Alliance of Canada (PSAC) ordered 100,000 striking members to return to their jobs September 18, the day after the government introduced back-to-work legislation in the House of Commons.

Without a vote by the membership or winning any of the union's main demands the nine-day strike was ended with the sole promise that the government would reopen negotiations.

Gilles Loiselle, president of the government Treasury Board, said that Ottawa remains determined to impose wage controls sought as part of the back-to-work legislation. "It is zero this year, 3 percent next year, and 3 percent the year after," the official stated.

Union officials argued PSAC won a victory by "forcing" the government to withdraw its back-to-work legislation and

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## Workers are the victims in Yugoslavia's civil war



Women protesting at the Belgrade headquarters of the Yugoslav army. They demand an end to the fighting. Sign on right reads: "Bring my brother back."

BY GEORGE BUCHANAN

The civil war in Yugoslavia has escalated dramatically, with the engagement of air, naval, and heavily armored ground forces.

The expanding war is taking a big human toll. Some 200,000 people have been forced to flee their homes, mostly in Croatia. Ten thousand of Serbia's ethnic Hungarians have sought shelter across the border in Hungary. In the republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1,000 Muslims and Croats fled to avoid federal army and Serb military units. Croatia alone has suffered more than 500 dead and thousands of wounded since June.

After a large federal army column penetrated Croatia, its capital, Zagreb (population 1.2 million), was subjected to strafing and shelling by the federal air force and army. Other Croatian towns and cities came under similar attack, while the federal navy commenced a blockade of seven Croatian port towns on the Adriatic coast.

These actions by the Yugoslav armed forces followed the Croatian militia's seizure and blockade of federal army barracks and other military posts September 14, and the Croatian government's decision to shut off Yugoslavia's main oil pipeline, which passes through Croatia to supply refineries in Serbia.

The conflict has also spread geographically to the republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is populated by Muslims, Serbs, and Croats. Two small areas with Serb majorities have declared themselves "autonomous." Meanwhile Croats and Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina have sought to block the passage of Yugoslav army columns heading across the republic toward Croatia.

As the federal Yugoslav armed forces moved into action on a wider scale, the federal government crumbled. Yugoslav president Stipe Mesic accused the army of staging what amounted to a coup, after the defense minister rejected his orders to return the troops to barracks. On September 18 Mesic said that Yugoslavia existed only on paper, and that he would abandon his office by October 7. Two days later he called on soldiers to disobey their orders, desert, and take "the side of the people."

The fighting is a result of decades of bureaucratic rule by the Stalinist regime in Yugoslavia. A deep-going and popular revolution coming out of World War II began to break down the divisions between peoples in Yugoslavia — divisions fostered by imperialism and the native capitalist class.

Steps to further the unity of working people won through this struggle were blocked by the Stalinist regime. As a result of the growing economic and social crisis over the past decade, wings of the ruling layers in the various republics are now pressing, through

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## Rightists renew assaults on Wichita clinics

BY GREG ROSENBERG

WICHITA, Kansas — Actions by rightists at abortion clinics continue here, as a package designed to appear like a homemade bomb delayed access to the Wichita Women's Center September 22.

Following a two-hour wait for destruction of the box by Wichita police, 100 rightists converged outside the clinic. They were met by 40 prochoice pickets.

Rightists, led by the local Wichita Rescue Movement, stormed the Wichita Family Planning Clinic here September 14.

Seven adults and four children were arrested on trespassing charges. The rightists diverted clinic security guards to the back of the building and entered through an unlocked door. Police also arrested clinic director Debbie Riggs for allegedly striking two rightists who broke into the clinic.

Cops blamed clinic workers for the invasion. "This would've never happened if they

had the door locked," said police Lt. Mark Prince.

This was the first time right-wing cadres gained entrance to a clinic since Operation Rescue began its "Summer of Mercy" campaign July 15. That campaign resulted in 2,657 arrests.

The Wichita Women's Center, which performs abortions up to 16 weeks of pregnancy, was the target of a blockade September 7 where 57 rightists were arrested. It is the scene of daily visits by Wichita Rescue Movement members.

"During the week," said the clinic's interim director Roxanne Meyer, "a cadre of four to five local women come down here. And we get harassing phone calls leaning heavily on biblical references and threatening eternal damnation" unless the clinic ceases to function.

"We may be delayed but we will not be denied" by the bomb hoax, she said. Meyer

said there is no drop in the number of women seeking abortions at the clinic.

While a large majority of working people continue to oppose the violent tactics of the rightists, the limited mobilizations on the part of prochoice organizations, labor unions, and other defenders of democratic rights have enabled Operation Rescue to win local recruits.

The September 21 prochoice clinic defense, where 40 people showed up with signs and placards, was the largest such activity here in nearly a month. High school students, aerospace workers, clinic employees, and members of prochoice organizations turned out, determined to prevent the rightists from taking the clinic or denying access to patients.

As one rightist repeatedly yelled, "Baby killers!" a Boeing worker attending his first clinic defense effort remarked, "I'm pretty lazy when it comes to political stuff, but these guys are just too much."

A new organization, the Freedom of Choice Action League, has been formed to encourage people to come out and defend the clinics on Saturdays or on days when there are large rightist actions.

## Stepped-up collections needed to put party-building fund drive on schedule

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

Supporters of the Socialist Workers 1991 Party-Building Fund face big challenges in raising \$150,000 by December 15.

Over the first five weeks of the drive the gap between the funds collected and the amount needed to be on schedule has steadily widened. To date, \$21,341 has been received, less than 50 percent of what should have been collected.

By acting now, supporters can get the drive on schedule over the next few weeks.

Fund contributors in New York are setting the pace in the drive. Selva Nebbia, party-building fund director in New York, explained what has been done to keep the drive there on schedule and their plans to step up payments over the next few weeks.

"Organizing to collect pledges has been key to keeping the drive on schedule," said Nebbia. "We have more than 100 pledges. We speak to all contributors every week,

informing them of what we need to collect overall that week to keep on schedule, as well as what they need to pay to be current on their pledge."

This effort has put the supporters in New York in a good position to take on the challenges they face in the drive. Nebbia explained that they need to win new contributors to the fund in order to reach their \$16,300 goal as well as meet the expenses of holding a rally for the fund. The September 21 fund rally in New York will feature a talk on Cuba by *New Internationalist* editor Mary-Alice Waters.

"Holding a public rally is exactly what we need to really get the drive going," Nebbia said. "Through building for the rally we're reaching out to working people and youth and are finding new contributors to the fund."

Supporters of the fund have been on an all-out effort to build the rally. Thousands of leaflets have been distributed by *Militant*

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## The World Capitalist Crisis, Stalinism, and the Fight for Socialism

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# Class divisions increase among Blacks

## Report shows widening gap between middle class and workers

BY DEREK BRACEY

In the 1980s the gap between the living standard of affluent Blacks and working-class Blacks expanded dramatically, according to a recent report.

The report, *African Americans in the 1990s*, points to the rise of two separate Black communities. One is of "middle class and affluent blacks who took advantage of the increased opportunities provided by the civil rights movement, the other of poor, largely urban blacks who remain socially and economically isolated from the American mainstream," writes Taynia Mann, one of the authors.

The Population Reference Bureau, Inc., an educational group that studies population trends, released the report. It is based on federal statistical data and material from academic sources and covers the changes and developments among the 30 million Blacks in the United States over the last decade.

Growing class polarization — the rapid expansion of both wealthy Blacks and those in extreme poverty — stands out in statistics on nearly every page of the report.

After increasing in the 1950s and 1960s, income levels for Blacks as a whole stagnated beginning with the recession in the early 1970s. In 1989 the median income for Black families was \$20,200, a 6 percent improvement over 1980 when accounting for inflation, but slightly below the comparable figure for 1969. While income for all Black families was 61 percent of that of whites in 1969, it was 56 percent as high in 1989.

But these figures for Blacks of all classes mask the sharp differentiation of income and its social implications. The number of Black families considered affluent in the report, those with yearly incomes of \$50,000 or more, doubled in the 1980s. By 1989, there were just over 1 million affluent Black families, nearly four times as many as in 1967.

Charts in the report indicate that some 4 percent of all Black families earn more than \$75,000 a year. No figures are cited for the

top layer, whose incomes from businesses and other sources are well above the \$1 million mark.

One indication of the growth of a sizable section of the Black nationality far removed from the working class is the net worth of households. In 1988 some quarter million Black households had a net worth of \$250,000 or more; 30,000 of them topped the \$500,000 mark.

The report's authors write that the huge increase "may be a product of the economic expansion that followed the 1981-1983 recession, but it may also represent the first fruits of the 1960s civil rights movement that opened up so many new opportunities in education and employment for blacks.

"Young blacks who were in school in the 1960s reached their 30s and 40s in the 1980s, the ages at which increased educational attainment begins to pay off financially."

Of course only a minority of "young Blacks" were able to benefit in such a way. The layer of middle-class Blacks, "like affluent whites," tend to be "well-educated (32 percent are college graduates), homeowners (77 percent own their own home), in the prime earning ages (66 percent are age 35 to 55), married (79 percent), and suburbanites," the report states.

### Widening gap

In contrast, the situation facing working-class Blacks is deteriorating. The report notes that poor Blacks are falling deeper into poverty. The gap between the official government poverty line, \$12,675 income for a family of four in 1989, and the average income of poor Black families increased by 23 percent between 1979 and 1989. The average poor Black family had an income \$5,100 below the poverty line in 1989, as compared to \$4,000 below for the average poor white family.

In net worth, the amount of accumulated assets minus debt, the figures are more telling. In 1988, the median net worth for Black



**While 4 percent of Black families now earn more than \$75,000 a year, social and economic conditions for working-class Blacks are deteriorating.**

families — the figure with half the families above and half the families below — was \$4,169, compared to \$43,279 for whites. For households headed by Black women, 51 percent of Black households with children, the median net worth was \$800.

The report says that "16 percent of black households had assets of \$50,000 or more in 1988, compared with 47 percent of white households. Over half of black households reported assets of \$5,000 or less, and nearly 30 percent reported no assets at all. Only 9 percent of white households claimed no assets whatsoever."

The number of Blacks living in areas with at least 20 percent of the residents in poverty increased by 19 percent between 1980 and 1990, while the Black population as a whole grew 13 percent in the same period. In the central cities the number of Blacks in high-poverty areas jumped by 49 percent.

The facts in the report highlight the accelerated development of two separate and distinct classes within the Black nationality. This is a recent development. "Only a few generations ago, 90 percent of African Americans lived in poverty and racial inequities seemed obvious," the report says. "Today, the root of disparities between blacks and whites is harder to discern. Is racism dying, or is it still the primary reason for black underachievement? Why are some blacks moving into the middle and upper classes while others remain in poverty?"

The answers to these questions lie in the gains made by Blacks coming out of the civil rights fight following World War II. It was this struggle that opened up the social transformation of a layer of Blacks.

Coming out of World War II, Blacks were in their vast majority workers or farm laborers; there also existed a layer of farmers. The social and economic gap between Black workers and middle-class Blacks was much smaller.

In the southern part of the country, where about two-thirds of Blacks lived after World War II, this social order was legally enforced,

through the Jim Crow laws. Elsewhere social barriers rooted in the deep-going racist practices and segregation were effective in blocking the rise of distinct classes in the Black nationality that would have normally developed under capitalism.

Blacks fought against these laws and restrictions from the time they were codified with the fall of Radical Reconstruction in the 1870s. In the 1950s, a massive social movement arose to destroy Jim Crow. Overwhelmingly working class in its composition, it swept the South, drawing in Blacks and others from around the country.

One of the major accomplishments of this period was breaking down many of the social barriers that prevented Blacks from getting college degrees and competing for professional and managerial jobs. While race discrimination continues to be a major factor in getting higher-paying jobs, the conditions that made these jobs virtually impossible for Blacks to enter have been pushed back significantly.

A layer among the Black nationality has been able to take advantage of these gains to economically and socially remove themselves from the conditions faced by the great working-class majority of the Black population.

With the downturn in the world capitalist economy in the early 1970s, the capitalist class in the United States launched what has become a sustained offensive aimed at lowering the standard of living, curtailing the democratic rights, and dealing blows to the organizations of working people. Cuts in social services and increased deterioration of the social infrastructure are also part and parcel of these attacks.

This economic crisis has hit the already worst-off section of the working class the hardest. Among oppressed nationalities this has meant a retreat to more segregation in housing, jobs, and social services in the 1980s.

It has also led to the social division of the Black nationality. While middle- and upper-class Blacks continued to see the fruits of

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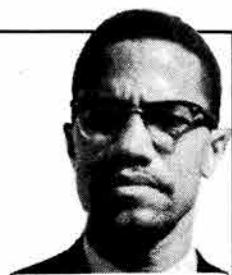
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# ANC's armed wing holds conference

## 500 delegates adopt resolutions aimed at advancing revolutionary struggle against apartheid.

BY GREG McCARTAN

The first conference in South Africa of the African National Congress' armed wing adopted a range of resolutions aimed at advancing the revolutionary struggle against the apartheid system.

Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the ANC's armed wing, is also known as MK.

Held August 9-11 in the far north of the country at the University of Venda, the conference attracted 500 delegates and leaders of the ANC, who assessed what role MK should play in the current political situation in South Africa.

The meeting was called out of the ANC's national conference last July. During a working group discussion of MK delegates at the conference, differences were expressed on a range of ANC policy decisions. This included the suspension of armed actions by the ANC as negotiations with the government began, the role of those MK members still in camps outside the country, and other issues. The August conference was called as a means to clarify the questions involved and adopt a majority stand on each.

Numerous articles on the meeting were carried in the South African press and reprinted in the U.S. government's Foreign Broadcast Information Service bulletin.

According to these reports ANC president Nelson Mandela said in a keynote address that Umkhonto we Sizwe "is not an army of mere soldiers, it is an army of political activists" whose mission is "the liberation of the people of South Africa."

Mandela is the commander-in-chief of MK and was one of its founding members.

"The ANC has never, on principle, been opposed to the employment of negotiations as one of the means to arrive at our cherished goal," he said, adding that "at the same time, we said also that negotiations must not be regarded as a substitute for the national liberation struggle."

### State-sponsored violence

Mandela said that over the past months the revolutionary democratic movement has stood up to "severe and trying provocations of state-sponsored violence, massive covert destabilization operations," and "the systematic assassination of our regional leaders and other supporters of the ANC."

This intransigence on the part of the regime is why MK needs to "assist the masses in devising the appropriate response to state-sponsored and vigilante violence."

Among the key conference resolutions, one gave "unqualified support" to the negotiations process.

The conference comes in the context of widening opportunities to deepen the political elbow-room and revolutionary mobilization of millions inside the country. With the Pretoria regime forced into retreat, the ANC leadership is taking strides toward reorienting the liberation movement's tactics after years of underground and exile organization. At the center of this is maximizing the education, mobilization, and politicization of youth, working people, those in rural areas, and others — Black and white — in the fight for a democratic, nonracial South African republic.

### Shift in tactics

Making this shift in relation to the armed actions had, prior to the conference, focused on MK cadre assisting in building mass community-based self-defense organizations and receiving training in advanced military technique.

Such defense units would dramatically expand the number of people involved in organizing the physical and political resistance to assaults by the regime and its agents. The military training is aimed at insuring that tested leaders of the revolutionary struggle, rather than only the officer corps of the South African Defence Forces (SADF), have the needed skills to organize the armed forces of a South African republic.

Umkhonto we Sizwe leaders, such as Chief of Staff Chris Hani, had been pressing

for the incorporation of MK into the existing SADF. They had sought direct talks on the matter with top SADF and security officials, casting this as a parallel move to the negotiations between the ANC and the South African government.

Central to clarifying the disputed issues and charting a course forward was an evaluation of both the successes and limits of the armed actions over the past years.

Joe Modise, commander of MK, said in a speech that despite some military achievements, such as those against a major oil and coal plant, the Voortrekkerhoogte military base, and the Koeberg nuclear energy facility in the early 1980s, "we realized our shortcomings that we could not root ourselves amongst the masses." Calling the actions "armed propaganda" the MK leader said "serious shortcomings" needed to be objectively discussed.

Noting the rise of mass organizations as the anti-apartheid struggle deepened in the 1980s, Modise said because "most of our cadres were in the camps and forward areas [outside South Africa], we could not effectively meet the clamor of the people to be defended."

One reason for this was extensive "destabilization plans" by the apartheid regime, actions that included military incursions into countries in southern Africa where MK camps were located.

### Focus on 'flushing out agents'

Another reason was the "preoccupation within our ranks to flush out enemy agents in all our establishments and in other operational regions of the forward areas," Modise explained.

"The raids that were conducted against our operatives in the forward areas [and] a serious mutiny that was staged in our camps, dominated our efforts to close ranks at all times, thus the people's endeavors were not prioritized as should have been the case," he said.

"We should ask ourselves why we were not able to gain a foothold in the rural areas," Modise pointed out, and why "our attempts to involve workers and peasants in sufficient numbers fell short of our desired goals."

The ANC announced August 16 that it had released all suspected agents and infiltrators, fulfilling a February 1991 pledge to do so. Some who were released had elected to be reintegrated into the ranks of the ANC.

Modise's assessment is important in understanding the role of the armed actions. At the time of the agreement to suspend any further raids, some criticized Mandela, saying that an unneeded and massive concession had been made to the regime. Modise's statements also accurately reflect the enormous difficulties encountered in meeting MK's original goals, especially after the banning of the ANC in 1960 and the arrest of its central leaders.

Umkhonto we Sizwe issued its first proclamation on Dec. 16, 1961, the day of its first armed attacks on government installations.

It emphasized that this organization "includes in its ranks South Africans of all races," and that it would "carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods, which are necessary to complement the actions of the established national liberation organizations."

After severe repression of peaceful protest actions by the regime, "there remain only two choices," the leaflet read, "submit or fight." Umkhonto we Sizwe "will be at the front line of the people's defense. It will be the fighting arm of the people against the government and its policies of race oppression."

### Call for conference

In another shift, the conference adopted a resolution calling "for contact with all security forces and armies within South Africa committed to change to a democratic nonracial, nonsexist South Africa. In this regard we call upon an independent body to facilitate a conference of all these above-mentioned forces."

"Amongst the SADF forces," Modise said of the current proposal, "particularly the whites within that force, we want to believe that there are elements also who want to see change. Those elements are also welcome to this forum." Recent disclosures of the security force's role in promoting attacks in Black townships precluded the possibility of inviting SADF representatives to the conference,

the MK leaders explained.

A resolution demanded the apartheid regime cease its role in organizing and promoting murderous assaults across South Africa and allow the formation of an interim government.

As to the future of MK, Chris Hani said that "short of a major disaster in the negotiation process, the transition [to a democratically-elected parliament] is very likely to be relatively peaceful." Asked what he would tell MK cadre, he said in an interview in the *Weekly Mail*, "We shall go to the camps, sit down with the comrades and tell them, the situation is still fluid, apartheid is still in place, the struggle is not yet over. We must remain in our trenches waiting for the next order."

"But we want to know if there are any of you who want to make a career in a future army because we can prepare you for that role," stated Hani. The conference decided to launch a recruitment drive to MK for those willing to undergo such training, a move Mandela said is necessary so MK cadres "could take their rightful place in the armed forces of a democratic South Africa."

In his talk to the conference, Mandela contrasted the ANC having "loyally, scrupulously and very faithfully observed the letter and the spirit of all the agreements entered into with the South African Government" to that of the Pretoria regime. He emphasized that because of "keen awareness of the dangers inherent in the minority regime's determination to cling to power that we dare not relax our vigilance and we dare not permit this MK to disintegrate or wither away."

### Strengthen defense committees

MK commander and ANC National Executive Committee member Siphwe Nyande

told the *Weekly Mail* that MK's welfare department would assist in helping members return to civilian life and in acquiring skills in order to seek work.

"Those who are demobilized will assist in the building of the ANC and in the strengthening of defense committees in the townships, thereby developing a new cadreship on the ground," he said.

The welfare department report to the conference said that "one of the major problems encountered" in MK was "the lack of a structure which deals specifically with the military problems. Soldiers are human beings with human problems, who are not just figures behind a gun."

Such a structure is needed, the report said, "if we are to save our army and build on it the conventional people's army of tomorrow." It suggested the formation of a committee of "time-tested comrades" to take up these issues.

The South African Press Agency reported that "despite arguments by delegates that it would be a duplication, the MK agreed to establish a new body, the MK Supreme Council, consisting of 20 men to oversee the work done by military headquarters. The council would be chaired by army commander-in-chief Mr. Nelson Mandela."

One resolution adopted by the conference requested the ANC National Executive Committee not release Hani from his duties with Umkhonto we Sizwe. Just prior to the conference Hani, a member of the ANC National Executive Committee, had asked to be relieved of his ANC duties to take up leadership responsibilities in the South African Communist Party. MK delegates told the press that Hani should stay during the transition period.

## Iowa activists outmobilize Operation Rescue at clinic



Militant/Chris Remple

### Abortion rights protesters confront Operation Rescue picketer in Iowa City

BY DAVID NOVAK  
AND CHRIS REMPLE

IOWA CITY, Iowa — Chanting "This Is Not Wichita!," supporters of the right to abortion gathered at the Emma Goldman Clinic here September 14. Right-wingers claiming to speak for Operation Rescue had threatened to close down the clinic that day, saying opponents of abortion rights from throughout the region would turn out for the blockade.

By 10:00 a.m. when the first Operation Rescue supporters showed up, 400 supporters of abortion rights had already occupied the ground in front of and on all sides of the clinic. As cars drove by and honked to support the pro-choice forces, cheers rolled through the crowd.

The rightists numbered less than 80 and were never able to hold any ground near the clinic. As they sent picketers in ones and twos past the defense lines, each picketer was surrounded by supporters of abortion rights.

Supporters kept a steady flow of spirited chants such as "Right to life. That's a lie. They don't care if women die" and "No More Wichitas!"

In less than an hour it was clear that abortion rights forces had won the day. Increasingly, teams of supporters would walk through the rightists' lines chanting pro-choice slogans.

One young woman from Cedar Rapids, Iowa, a shop steward at a Square D plant organized by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, stated, "It's not their choice what we do with our bodies." Young women from as far away as Madison, Wisconsin, and Mt. Vernon and Des Moines, Iowa, attended the clinic defense action.

Referring to restrictions on access to abortion such as the Hyde Amendment and parental notification laws, one woman said, "This isn't only about defending this clinic. It's about taking back some of the rights they've already taken away."



# Union officials end Canada federal strike

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resume negotiations.

Many union members interviewed as the strike ended felt they had shown their determination to make the government back off on its demands. If the union officials had decided to defy back-to-work legislation, many PSAC members said they would have continued the fight.

PSAC organizes 150,000 food inspectors; government clerks and counsellors; employees of national parks, environment and weather departments, and federal fisheries; and airport runway maintenance workers. Customs officers, federal prison guards, and national defense employees are also members of PSAC.

## Widespread impact of strike

The unions' first national stoppage had a widespread impact. The walkout effectively closed down many government buildings, blocked grain shipments, and slowed traffic at airports and seaports.

Canadian auto manufacturers who depend on daily delivery of parts from the United States were forced to charter aircraft, helicopters, and barges in an effort to maintain production.

The strike was particularly strong in Ottawa and in Hull, the Québec city just across the river. In daily marches and demonstrations thousands of French- and English-speaking workers chanted together in the two languages. A number of government buildings were completely closed down for several days by mass pickets of up to 2,000 workers.

PSAC members from Ottawa cheered thousands of their fellow unionists from Hull as they joined a September 16 demonstration of 20,000 here protesting the back-to-work law and threatened wage cuts. Demonstrations and rallies involving tens of thousands of other PSAC members took place across the country September 16-18.

Despite union officials giving in to gov-



Striking federal workers at rally of 20,000 September 16 in Ottawa

ernment demands that 46,000 "essential service" workers remain on the job, thousands went to work each day wearing buttons saying "My heart is on the line." Few union members crossed the picket lines. Union and media sources say some 70,000 PSAC members joined the picket lines, with many turning out each day of the walkout.

As the strikers showed their determination in rallies and picket lines Prime Minister Brian Mulroney quickly threatened to impose a back-to-work order.

## Officials refuse to defy legislation

At the September 16 Ottawa demonstration union officials made it clear they would not lead the membership to defy the legislation and appealed for negotiations instead.

PSAC president Daryl Bean told the rally that union members have "shown their strength," but added, "We are reasonable." Mulroney should "agree to mediation without delay," he said.

Union officials invited opposition leaders Audrey McLaughlin of the New Democratic Party and Jean Chrétien of the Liberal Party to speak at the protest.

"Perhaps this demonstration will make the government come to their senses," McLaughlin suggested. "We say to the government: 'Negotiate, don't legislate!'"

"What you need is a mediator to settle all the questions," Chrétien argued. He pointed to the deal that led to the postal workers strike being called off two weeks earlier.

The headline of the PSAC national strike bulletin distributed at the demonstration said, "Mediation Now!"

"All last week," the article said, "we showed ourselves and the country what we can do. . . . No one doubts our solidarity and strength anymore. But we are also reasonable. We aren't out to hurt the public or bring the country to a halt. . . . If Mulroney gives a damn about the values we all have grown up with, he'll agree to mediation. We'll cooperate."

The next day the government and union leadership reached agreement to reopen negotiations if the walkout were ended. The large majority of strikers across the country felt they had no choice but to go back to work. Most were convinced by union officials' arguments that a victory had been won.

"People are very happy," said Mario Doyon on his way back to work at Revenue

Canada in Montréal. "We forced the government to step back." Another worker who wasn't so sure said, "We didn't really win anything." He said the union was in a stronger position to negotiate a settlement as a result of their strike.

"I am losing \$1,000 a week now, and I sure as hell can't afford the \$1,000 a day fines," said one worker at the Indian Affairs offices in Ottawa, referring to the stiff fines threatened against any workers who defied the proposed government law.

"The threat of a special law was a factor," Yves Corbeil, a warehouseman at Revenue Canada in Montréal, explained. "But the government could not have put 100,000 people in jail. We are going back to show the government we are civilized."

## 'We stood up and fought'

"We stood up and fought for what we believe in," said Sylvia, an Ottawa striker. "It is not a total loss if nothing else happens."

This was the first national strike of PSAC and many of its members were on their first picket line ever. Workers explained that they could not make a living on the basis of their current wages and that they had no choice but to fight.

M. Gauthier, a worker in his fifties at the Solicitor General's offices in Ottawa, said, "I didn't expect I'd be on a line like this. This is my first strike. I didn't know what a strike was about." He said that he was prepared to defy a back-to-work law if the union leadership called on the membership to do so.

Wages for PSAC workers range from \$16,000 to \$60,000. However, the large majority earn between \$16,000 and \$25,000. Among the lowest paid workers are 60,000 secretaries and clerks, the vast majority of them female. One placard at the Ottawa rally read, "Don't say equity, pay equity."

In addition to fighting wage limits and wage discrimination, PSAC workers are demanding an end to government contracting out of work to private contractors, most of whom are non-union. Since last February, 1,800 workers have been laid off due to contracting out. PSAC points out that not only is this an attack on the union it also leads to a substantial deterioration of government public services.

While some top officials of the labor movement publicly made statements in support of the strike, they did not organize significant solidarity actions with the walkout. Hundreds of workers across the country did participate in picket lines, however. Postal workers, who had just ended a two-week strike, were especially visible on PSAC lines.

It was announced at the Ottawa rally that several farmers' organizations, women's and community groups, and students joined the September 16 demonstration to show their support. One wore a placard saying, "This student supports PSAC."

# Party fund collections needed

Continued from front page

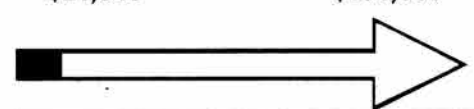
sales teams, posters have been put up around the city, a special mailing has been sent out, and dozens of phone calls have been made

inviting people to attend. Supporters have also planned a reception to precede Waters' presentation.

Supporters in Omaha, Nebraska, are organizing a fund rally for September 28, at which Greg McCartan, editor of the *Militant*, will speak. Supporters there plan to use the *Militant* circulation drive target week to reach new people and invite them to the fund rally. Supporters have begun to build the

## 1991 Party-Building Fund

Collected: **\$21,346** Goal: **\$150,000**



meeting for McCartan, who traveled to South Africa to cover the African National Congress national conference in July. The Party-Building Fund makes such trips possible.

The fund also makes possible the promotion and distribution of revolutionary literature, including speeches and writings of the central leaders of the struggles of working people. A new Pathfinder book, *Nelson Mandela and Fidel Castro: How Far We Slaves Have Come!*, will be rolling off the presses soon. The book contains the speech each leader gave at the July 26 celebration in Cuba. It will be a valuable weapon in the hands of fighting workers seeking to learn and get out the truth about two giant and world-important revolutionary struggles: the battle to overturn apartheid and the struggle to advance the Cuban revolution.

The fund is vital to building the communist movement today and supporters around the country can follow the example of New York to get the drive on schedule. Party-building fund organizers in each city can plan to collect the payments due from contributors over the next few weeks, as well as concretize plans to hold and build fund rallies in their cities. Through these efforts supporters can get the drive on schedule soon. This will help ensure that the \$150,000 needed to build the communist movement will be raised by December 15.

## Socialist Workers 1991 Party-Building Fund

| Area             | Goal           | Paid          | % of Total |
|------------------|----------------|---------------|------------|
| New York         | 16,300         | 4,879         | 30%        |
| Salt Lake City   | 6,500          | 1,315         | 20%        |
| Twin Cities      | 8,300          | 1,566         | 19%        |
| San Francisco    | 10,000         | 2,125         | 17%        |
| Detroit          | 8,500          | 1,270         | 15%        |
| Philadelphia     | 5,000          | 700           | 14%        |
| Newark           | 9,700          | 1,349         | 14%        |
| St. Louis        | 5,500          | 675           | 12%        |
| Atlanta          | 5,500          | 620           | 11%        |
| Pittsburgh       | 5,500          | 635           | 11%        |
| Houston          | 4,800          | 505           | 10%        |
| Omaha            | 3,000          | 285           | 9%         |
| Birmingham       | 5,500          | 485           | 8%         |
| Los Angeles      | 15,000         | 1,100         | 7%         |
| Boston           | 4,100          | 200           | 5%         |
| Greensboro       | 2,100          | 100           | 5%         |
| Washington, D.C. | 6,000          | 210           | 3%         |
| Chicago          | 8,000          | 185           | 3%         |
| Des Moines       | 3,525          | 80            | 2%         |
| Miami            | 2,400          | 54            | 2%         |
| Cleveland        | 3,000          | 20            | 1%         |
| Morgantown       | 2,800          | 20            | 1%         |
| Baltimore        | 3,000          | 0             | 0%         |
| Seattle          | 5,000          | 0             | 0%         |
| Other U.S.       | 4,815          | 2,768         | 57%        |
| International    | 2,130          | 200           | 9%         |
| <b>Total</b>     | <b>155,970</b> | <b>21,346</b> | <b>14%</b> |
| <b>Should be</b> | <b>150,000</b> | <b>44,115</b> | <b>27%</b> |

I pledge: \$1000 \$500 \$250 \$100 \$ Other to the Socialist Workers Party Building Fund.

Send checks or money orders to Socialist Workers 1991 Party Building Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

# Toronto transit workers end walkout

BY JOHN STEELE AND SUSAN BERMAN

TORONTO — City transit workers here returned to work September 26 after an eight-day strike. In a provincial government ordered vote September 19, 60 percent of those voting accepted the proposed contract. Only 59 percent of the workers voted.

Key issues in the strike by members of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 113 were efforts by Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) bosses to introduce part-time work and extend contracting out of jobs.

The company's first offer included a proposal to use retired workers as part-time summer help instead of hiring full-time drivers. Union officials recommended the contract saying it would not open the door to wider use of part-time workers. Union members rejected this and shut down the transit system, despite a massive media campaign against the strike.

In the final agreement, maintenance workers will be used as drivers for 10 weeks during summer months. Only 20 percent of these workers, as opposed to 50 percent currently, will be allowed to take their vacations in the summer.

The new contract gives no real protection against contracting out of work by TTC bosses.

"They're pitting union against union," said bus driver By Grave, outside the Skydome

stadium where an information meeting took place the day before the vote. Driver Chris Black said these were efforts to "drive a wedge between maintenance and the drivers."

Many workers were angry with the union officials. Dozens stormed out of the information session. The union executive made no recommendation on the contract offer alleging that "it would influence the vote."

ATU Local 113 president Ray Hutchinson said, "We're very happy that the membership has voted to return to work. . . . It goes without saying that a relatively large portion of them are not going to be pleased."

Minister of Labor Robert Mackenzie, of the New Democratic Party (NDP), invoked Section 39 of the Ontario Labor Code, ordering the workers to vote on the revised offer under the implicit threat of back-to-work legislation if they turned it down. Mackenzie stated, "In a strike, no one really wins. For that reason the government has assumed the role of conciliator."

Many workers saw no possibility of continuing the fight. "I don't agree with anything in the package but what do they expect?" said driver David Leslie. "They've pushed us into a corner."

Al Melikian, a driver, explained angrily that he voted against the mediated offer, which he described as "trying to save [NDP premier] Bob Rae's face so he wouldn't have to legislate us back to work."



# GI from Fort Dix says Militant 'tells the truth'

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

*Militant* readers kicked off an all-out sales target week on September 21 to put the nine-week international sales campaign on schedule. The aim of the drive is to win 6,200 new readers to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *L'Internationale*, and *New International* by November 2.

In several areas, *Militant* supporters have mapped out ambitious and aggressive plans for the target week and the results from the opening weekend look good. By making the drive the center of their political activities, organizing sales efforts every day, and taking advantage of a wide range of political opportunities to win new readers, they have made progress. In the Twin Cities, supporters jumped from 6 percent on the scoreboard to 28 percent this week — almost on schedule! Readers in Atlanta went from 14 percent to ahead of schedule.

Supporters are on schedule in three cities in the United States and are close in several others. This poses the challenge to these areas to keep up the pace and not slip back, at the same time that areas that are behind catch up. A number of cities report higher sales the first days of the target week and are discussing plans to raise their subscription goals. The local goals are still 185 shy of the international goal of 3,660 *Militant* subscriptions. Supporters in cities near or ahead of schedule should raise their goals, provide an exam-

ple for others, and help keep the momentum of the drive going.

## Successes This Week

Andrea Morell reports from **Boston**: "We began the target week in a strong way on Saturday. We sold 6 subscriptions to the *Militant*, 1 to *Perspectiva Mundial*, 4 to *L'Internationale*, and 10 copies of *New International*. That puts us ahead of schedule and we will discuss raising our goal now."

"We've set up weekly tables near an abortion clinic where Operation Rescue has organized constant pickets against women who use the clinic. Every time, we've sold at least one subscription."

Some workers and youth who met sales teams on the street have begun to attend the weekly *Militant* Labor Forums. At the last forum, three participants subscribed to the socialist press. Numerous areas report similar results of the weekend forums.

In **Wichita, Kansas**, a team of volunteers from around the country, together with local members of the Young Socialist Alliance, have been taking the *Militant* to working-class neighborhoods, factories, and campuses in the area. Team member Linda Joyce reports, "Most people we talk to are opposed to the right-wingers." Several people who had bought the *Militant* before have decided to subscribe. So far the team has sold 60 copies and 12 subscriptions to the *Militant*, plus 3 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions.

After a concerted effort on Saturday and Sunday, supporters in **Newark, New Jersey**, sold 15 *Militant* subscriptions, 2 to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 4 *New International*. They met a Black GI from Fort Dix who told them, "I've seen this paper before. I like it. It tells the truth. I know because I'm in the service and I've read it a few times." Commenting on the U.S. war against Iraq, he said, "I was in the Persian Gulf for nine months. It was all politics, for oil. I didn't like it but I had no choice." He signed up for a subscription.

## Around The World

From **Paris, France**, Nat London reports that supporters there have raised their *Nouvelle Internationale* goal from 5 to 20. The reason? "Our big success at the Fête L'Humanité," a festival sponsored by the French Communist Party that draws close to a million people. Supporters of the *Militant* and Pathfinder books helped staff a booth displaying *Granma* newspaper and other literature about the Cuban revolution. A crowd lined up at the booth, buying 16 copies of *Nouvelle Internationale* and *New International*, as well as 67 copies of the Pathfinder Press pamphlet *Socialism and Man* in French by Cuban revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara.

Supporters from **Toronto, Canada**, and **Montréal, Québec**, participated in a demonstration of 20,000 striking federal government workers in Ottawa on September 16. "Many people wanted to talk about the Soviet Union and Cuba, and several took a flyer that included the *Militant* editorial on the lessons of the Canadian postal strike and an article on the Public Service Alliance of Canada strike," they report. Two workers subscribed and 25 bought single copies.

## Hot Off The Fax

From Atlanta: "One subscription was sold to a coworker in the United Auto Workers union who asked that we come by to pick up her subscription and sell in her apartment complex. One other sub was sold in her complex. Another coworker, in the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, asked that we try selling in his complex, and we sold a subscription and a *New International* there."

From Greensboro, North Carolina: "Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union members in the area have signed up five subscribers in the mills where they work. Two of these had bought single issues in the last circulation drive. This shows the importance of following up with past readers of the paper."

## 'How Far We Slaves Have Come' now available from Pathfinder



Militant/Mary-Alice Waters

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

**NEW YORK**—The African National Congress "will always stand with the poor and righteous," said Nelson Mandela, president of the ANC, at a rally of tens of thousands in Matanzas, Cuba, in July. "We will ensure sooner rather than later that they be the land of their birth."

And when the moment of victory arrives in South Africa, Mandela said, "it will have been made possible not only by our efforts but through the solidarity, support, and encouragement of the great Cuban people."

Mandela's speech, together with the talk given from the same platform by Cuban President Fidel Castro, is contained in a new book just published by Pathfinder Press in New York.

The book, entitled *How Far We Slaves Have Come! South Africa and Cuba in Today's World*, also includes the text of the resolution by the Cuban Council of State awarding Mandela the José Martí medal, the country's highest honor. Mandela was released from prison in February 1990; he had been jailed 27 years earlier for his activity as an ANC leader in fighting to uproot the apartheid system in South Africa. He visited Cuba during a tour of the Americas that also took him to Jamaica, Mexico, Venezuela, and Brazil.

In his speech to the Matanzas rally, Mandela paid tribute to the thousands of Cuban volunteers who helped defeat the invading South African army at Cuito Cuanavale in southeastern Angola. In this battle in early 1988, Cuban, Angolan, and SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia) troops dealt a decisive defeat to the South African army. The outcome helped force the apartheid regime to withdraw from Angola, negotiate independence for Namibia, unban the ANC, and free Mandela from prison.

Castro responded to Mandela's tribute by explaining that the Cuban revolution put everything at stake in Angola. It risked a huge battle against a rich and powerful government more than 8,000 miles from home. And it did so because "the blood of Angolans is our blood, the blood of Namibians is our blood, and the blood of the South Africans

is our blood! Humanity's blood is our blood!"

To those trumpeting the failure of socialism and the victory of capitalism, Castro replied: "Where did injustice come from? Where did inequality come from? Where did poverty come from? ... Where did all these calamities come from, if not from capitalism?"

Imperialism should not "sing victory songs," Castro said. "Economically it is weaker than ever and has very serious problems."

He reiterated Cuba's determination to resist imperialist domination. "We will never return to the slave barracks" of capitalist exploitation and oppression, he said.

The intertwining of these two struggles — for a nonracial, democratic republic in South Africa, and to strengthen the internationalist and socialist course of the Cuban revolution — is the common thread linking the two speeches in this book.

*How Far We Slaves Have Come!* can be ordered from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014 or purchased from any of the bookstores listed on page 12. If ordering by mail, please send \$7.95 plus \$3.00 postage and handling.

## Selling the socialist press to unionists

| Union                | Militant*     |            | New Int'l  |            |
|----------------------|---------------|------------|------------|------------|
|                      | % Sold (Goal) | Sold       | (Goal)     | Sold       |
| <b>UNITED STATES</b> |               |            |            |            |
| ACTWU                | 12%           | 34         | 4          | 10         |
| IAM                  | 24%           | 127        | 31         | 44         |
| ILGWU                | 20%           | 25         | 5          | 8          |
| IUE                  | 15%           | 65         | 10         | 18         |
| OCAW                 | 13%           | 38         | 5          | 25         |
| UAW                  | 17%           | 82         | 14         | 28         |
| UFCW                 | 18%           | 100        | 18         | 25         |
| UMWA                 | 24%           | 25         | 6          | 9          |
| USWA                 | 25%           | 91         | 23         | 85         |
| UTU                  | 14%           | 105        | 15         | 45         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>         | <b>19%</b>    | <b>692</b> | <b>131</b> | <b>297</b> |
| <b>SHOULD BE</b>     | <b>30%</b>    | <b>208</b> | <b>208</b> | <b>89</b>  |
| <b>BRITAIN</b>       |               |            |            |            |
| AEU                  | 0%            | 10         | 0          | 6          |
| NUM                  | 21%           | 14         | 3          | 9          |
| RMT                  | 8%            | 26         | 2          | 13         |
| TGWU                 | 10%           | 20         | 2          | 8          |
| <b>TOTAL</b>         | <b>10%</b>    | <b>70</b>  | <b>7</b>   | <b>36</b>  |
| <b>SHOULD BE</b>     | <b>30%</b>    | <b>21</b>  | <b>21</b>  | <b>11</b>  |
| <b>CANADA</b>        |               |            |            |            |
| ACTWU                | 0%            | 6          | 0          | 2          |
| CAW                  | 30%           | 10         | 3          | 3          |
| IAM                  | 8%            | 12         | 1          | 4          |
| USWA                 | 6%            | 16         | 1          | 8          |
| <b>TOTAL</b>         | <b>11%</b>    | <b>44</b>  | <b>5</b>   | <b>17</b>  |
| <b>SHOULD BE</b>     | <b>30%</b>    | <b>13</b>  | <b>13</b>  | <b>5</b>   |
| <b>SWEDEN</b>        |               |            |            |            |
| FOOD WORKERS         | 0%            | 6          | 0          | 3          |
| METAL                | 44%           | 9          | 4          | 3          |
| <b>TOTAL</b>         | <b>27%</b>    | <b>15</b>  | <b>4</b>   | <b>6</b>   |
| <b>SHOULD BE</b>     | <b>30%</b>    | <b>5</b>   | <b>5</b>   | <b>2</b>   |

\* Also includes subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* and *L'Internationale*.

| Sales Drive Scoreboard |       |            |        |         |      |           |      |         |      |       |       |
|------------------------|-------|------------|--------|---------|------|-----------|------|---------|------|-------|-------|
| Perspectiva            |       |            |        |         |      |           |      |         |      |       |       |
| The Militant           |       |            |        | Mundial |      | New Int'l |      | L'inter |      | Total |       |
| Areas                  | Goal  | Total Sold | % Sold | Goal    | Sold | Goal      | Sold | Goal    | Sold | Goal  | Sold  |
| UNITED STATES          |       |            |        |         |      |           |      |         |      |       |       |
| Miami                  | 86    | 32         | 37%    | 30      | 7    | 44        | 14   | 5       | 1    | 165   | 54    |
| Atlanta                | 90    | 31         | 34%    | 12      | 1    | 56        | 3    | 2       | 0    | 160   | 35    |
| Salt Lake City         | 135   | 45         | 33%    | 24      | 7    | 54        | 4    | 2       | 0    | 215   | 56    |
| Cleveland              | 85    | 25         | 29%    | 10      | 1    | 25        | 0    | 2       | 0    | 122   | 26    |
| Philadelphia           | 65    | 19         | 29%    | 20      | 7    | 35        | 4    | 2       | 0    | 122   | 30    |
| Seattle                | 80    | 23         | 29%    | 30      | 7    | 27        | 8    | 3       | 0    | 140   | 38    |
| Twin Cities, Minn.     | 145   | 41         | 28%    | 18      | 5    | 55        | 14   | 2       | 0    | 220   | 60    |
| New York               | 225   | 63         | 28%    | 80      | 32   | 110       | 6    | 10      | 2    | 425   | 103   |
| Los Angeles            | 160   | 44         | 28%    | 90      | 24   | 107       | 15   | 3       | 0    | 360   | 83    |
| Boston                 | 110   | 29         | 26%    | 30      | 4    | 50        | 5    | 5       | 1    | 195   | 39    |
| Detroit                | 102   | 25         | 25%    | 10      | 1    | 30        | 1    | 2       | 0    | 144   | 27    |
| Washington, DC         | 100   | 22         | 22%    | 18      | 7    | 55        | 12   | 2       | 0    | 175   | 41    |
| Newark, NJ             | 140   | 30         | 21%    | 50      | 15   | 70        | 12   | 5       | 1    | 265   | 58    |
| Morgantown, WV         | 80    | 17         | 21%    | 3       | 1    | 30        | 0    | 2       | 0    | 115   | 18    |
| Birmingham, Ala.       | 110   | 22         | 20%    | 5       | 0    | 43        | 0    | 2       | 0    | 160   | 22    |
| Baltimore              | 85    | 16         | 19%    | 12      | 0    | 40        | 0    | 3       | 0    | 140   | 16    |
| Pittsburgh             | 75    | 14         | 19%    | 3       | 1    | 30        | 0    | 2       | 0    | 110   | 15    |
| San Francisco          | 160   | 29         | 18%    | 65      | 9    | 72        | 10   | 3       | 0    | 300   | 48    |
| St. Louis              | 115   | 20         | 17%    | 5       | 0    | 30        | 2    | 2       | 0    | 152   | 22    |
| Chicago                | 163   | 24         | 15%    | 40      | 5    | 70        | 4    | 2       | 0    | 275   | 33    |
| Des Moines, Iowa       | 126   | 18         | 14%    | 17      | 4    | 40        | 0    | 2       | 0    | 185   | 22    |
| Omaha, Neb.            | 86    | 12         | 14%    | 12      | 1    | 25        | 0    | 2       | 0    | 125   | 13    |
| New Haven, Conn.       | 18    | 2          | 11%    | 2       | 0    | 5         | 0    | 0       | 0    | 25    | 2     |
| Greensboro, NC         | 55    | 3          | 5%     | 10      | 0    | 14        | 0    | 1       | 0    | 80    | 3     |
| Houston                | 75    | 2          | 3%     | 20      | 2    | 30        | 0    | 2       | 0    | 127   | 4     |
| National teams         | 25    | 21         | 84%    | 0       | 0    | 0         | 0    | 0       | 0    | 25    | 21    |
| Anamosa                | 10    | 4          | 40%    | 4       | 0    | 2         | 0    | 0       | 0    | 20    | 4     |
| Cincinnati             | 17    | 5          | 29%    | 2       | 0    | 6         | 0    | 0       | 0    | 25    | 5     |
| Denver                 | 6     | 3          | 50%    | 3       | 0    | 2         | 0    | 0       | 0    | 11    | 3     |
| Wichita                | 10    | 0          | 0%     | 0       | 0    | 0         | 0    | 0       | 0    | 10    | 0     |
| Portland, Or.          | 15    | 5          | 33%    | 0       | 0    | 10        | 0    | 0       | 0    | 25    | 5     |
| Louisville             | 6     | 1          | 17%    | 0       | 0    | 0         | 0    | 0       | 0    | 6     | 1     |
| U.S. TOTAL             | 2,750 | 643        | 23%    | 621     | 141  | 1,165     | 114  | 68      | 5    | 4,604 | 903   |
| AUSTRALIA              |       |            |        |         |      |           |      |         |      |       |       |
|                        | 27    | 6          | 22%    | 7       | 1    | 15        | 7    | 1       | 0    | 50    | 14    |
| BELGIUM                |       |            |        |         |      |           |      |         |      |       |       |
|                        | 4     | 0          | 0%     | 1       | 0    | 7         | 0    | 10      | 0    | 22    | 0     |
| BRITAIN                |       |            |        |         |      |           |      |         |      |       |       |
| London                 | 100   | 25         | 25%    | 7       | 4    | 70        | 16   | 3       | 0    | 180   | 45    |
| Manchester             | 60    | 14         | 23%    | 3       | 1    | 40        | 4    | 2       | 0    | 105   | 19    |
| Sheffield              | 60    | 8          | 13%    | 3       | 0    | 40        | 0    | 2       | 0    | 105   | 8     |
| Other Britain          | 10    | 2          | 20%    | 0       | 2    | 0         | 0    | 0       | 0    | 10    | 4     |
| BRITAIN TOTAL          | 230   | 49         | 21%    | 13      | 7    | 150       | 20   | 7       | 0    | 400   | 76    |
| CANADA                 |       |            |        |         |      |           |      |         |      |       |       |
| Vancouver              | 70    | 27         | 39%    | 15      | 6    | 30        | 11   | 5       | 1    | 120   | 45    |
| Toronto                | 75    | 15         | 20%    | 15      | 6    | 35        | 10   | 5       | 2    | 130   | 33    |
| Montréal               | 65    | 12         | 18%    | 20      | 6    | 50        | 11   | 30      | 6    | 165   | 35    |
| CANADA TOTAL           | 210   | 54         | 26%    | 50      | 18   | 115       | 32   | 40      | 9    | 415   | 113   |
| FRANCE                 |       |            |        |         |      |           |      |         |      |       |       |
|                        | 5     | 2          | 40%    | 5       | 2    | 20        | 16   | 15      | 4    | 45    | 24    |
| ICELAND                |       |            |        |         |      |           |      |         |      |       |       |
|                        | 20    | 0          | 0%     | 0       | 0    | 4         | 0    | 0       | 0    | 24    | 0     |
| MEXICO                 |       |            |        |         |      |           |      |         |      |       |       |
|                        | 0     | 0          | 0%     | 15      | 0    | 5         | 0    | 0       | 0    | 20    | 0     |
| NEW ZEALAND            |       |            |        |         |      |           |      |         |      |       |       |
| Wellington             | 50    | 13         | 26%    | 3       | 0    | 14        | 1    | 1       | 0    | 68    | 14    |
| Auckland               | 75    | 15         | 20%    | 9       | 0    | 25        | 3    | 1       | 0    | 110   | 18    |
| Christchurch           | 53    | 10         | 19%    | 2       | 0    | 12        | 8    | 1       | 0    | 68    | 18    |
| Other N. Zealand       | 4     | 5          | 125%   | 0       | 0    | 0         | 0    | 0       | 0    | 4     | 5     |
| N. Z. TOTAL            | 182   | 43         | 24%    | 14      | 0    | 51        | 12   | 3       | 0    | 250   | 55    |
| PUERTO RICO            |       |            |        |         |      |           |      |         |      |       |       |
|                        | 2     | 0          | 0%     | 6       | 0    | 6         | 3    | 0       | 0    | 14    | 3     |
| SWEDEN                 |       |            |        |         |      |           |      |         |      |       |       |
|                        | 45    | 16         | 36%    | 20      | 8    | 15        | 2    | 3       | 1    | 83    | 27    |
| TOTAL                  | 3,475 | 813        | 23%    | 752     | 177  | 1,553     | 206  | 147     | 19   | 5,927 | 1,215 |
| SHOULD BE              |       |            | 30%    |         |      |           |      |         |      |       |       |
| DRIVE GOALS            | 3,660 |            |        | 800     |      | 1,600     |      | 140     |      | 6,200 |       |



# Yugoslav workers and farmers are victims in fratricidal war

Continued from front page

force and violence, to enhance their own position and access to resources.

## European powers discuss intervention

With the deepening civil war in Yugoslavia, the imperialist governments of Europe have raised the possibility of some form of military intervention. No agreement over the character of this involvement has emerged, however, and most governments are wary of sending in troops at this point.

The proposal for an armed "peacekeeping" force was raised by the government of the Netherlands, which currently holds the rotating presidency of the European Community. It proposed a "lightly armed" force, arguing that the international team of 200 observers already in Yugoslavia had so far been unable to stem the fighting.

The Dutch proposal was endorsed by the governments of France, Germany, and Italy, but blocked by Britain, which is wary of getting into a Yugoslav quagmire.

British foreign secretary Douglas Hurd agreed to "contingency planning" for an intervention force but cautioned, "We have particular experience of a military operation village by village and street by street in Northern Ireland. I can tell you that it is much easier to get troops in than to get them out again."

A British government "working paper" presented to the Western European Union, the body that coordinated European naval forces in the U.S.-led war against Iraq, estimated that a far more substantial force — a minimum of 30,000 troops — would be required to take control of the Yugoslav situation. The document also warned that the probable high casualty rate might be unacceptable to "public opinion."

"French military officials are said to be just as worried by the prospect of intervention as their British counterparts," noted the British *Guardian* September 19.

In a speech delivered in Berlin, French president François Mitterand called for a European intervention force, to be en-

dorsed either by the United Nations or by the twelve members of the European Community.

## Germany favors military action

The German government has been at the forefront of calls for recognition of Croatian independence. This would facilitate imperialist intervention in a conflict seen as "between states" rather than an internal affair of Yugoslavia. Bonn is for harsh sanctions against Serbia and a European intervention force. The German pressure has led to angry complaints from British officials, who describe the German demands as "tedious."

Unilateral German involvement is unlikely because of domestic opposition and the fact that Germany has not become militarily involved beyond the borders of NATO since World War II. There have been strong calls from the right-wing press and politicians, though, for intervention on the side of Croatia.

Washington has so far lent its backing to the European Community peace conference, chaired by Lord Carrington of Britain. "The American administration has, privately, expressed itself strongly against any German military involvement in Yugoslavia," noted the *Guardian* September 16.

Following the European governments' inability to agree on the form of intervention in Yugoslavia, the *New York Times*, a leading imperialist voice, accused them of "giv[ing] up on Yugoslavia." In a September 21 editorial the paper called for United Nations action, giving the bloody war against Iraq as a precedent. Describing the Yugoslav conflict as only "nominally an internal affair," the editorial stressed that permissible action under UN auspices "includes not only armed intervention but enforceable economic sanctions and disarmament measures."

## Antiwar voices

While greater numbers of people in different parts of Yugoslavia are being drawn into the fighting, voices continue to be expressed against the war, a blood-letting that various wings of the bureaucratic rul-

ing caste are deepening.

In reply to reports that hundreds of Croatian workers in Germany — where there are some 450,000 Croats — were heading home to join in the fighting, a woman at the Croatian Catholic Mission in Stuttgart dismissed the idea. "Where would they go? What's the point? This war is just terrible," she said.

Vuk Draskovic, the leader of the main opposition party in Serbia — the Movement for Serbian Renewal — also condemned the war, accusing Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic of leading Serbs in Croatia into "an absurd and dirty war."

Draskovic, who has built his reputation as a Serb nationalist and is still in favor of a "Greater Serbia", called for the crisis to be resolved through dialogue. He called for proportional representation of Yugoslavia's various ethnic groups in the army officer corps, which has become Serb-dominated.

Draskovic underlined the futility of a war between Serbs and Croats by pointing to the mingling of Yugoslavia's peoples



Yugoslav army in Croatia. Hundreds have been killed since fighting began.

that has occurred in recent decades. "We shouldn't forget that there are now in Yugoslavia 70,000 mixed marriages between Serbs and Croats," he said, adding that there were hundreds of thousands of children of mixed parentage resulting from these marriages.

# U.S. rejects withdrawal from Guantánamo base

BY SETH GALINSKY

"The Department of Defense is not considering pulling out of the naval base at Guantánamo Bay," Cmdr. Gregg Hartung, a Pentagon spokesman told the *Miami Herald* September 12.

Hartung rejected any idea of cutting U.S. troops in Guantánamo to reciprocate for Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev's unilateral announcement September 11 that he would soon be withdrawing all Soviet troops from Cuba.

The Cuban government criticized the Soviet government for making the decision without consulting with Cuba and demanded

that the United States close the Guantánamo Base at the southeastern end of the island.

The 45-square-mile U.S. base was forced on Cuba at the turn of the century. As the price for withdrawal of the U.S. Army, which had been occupying Cuba since 1899, the Cuban government in 1902 adopted the notorious Platt Amendment to their constitution, granting Washington the "right" to Guantánamo Bay. In February 1903 Cuba signed an agreement leasing the bay to the United States "for the time that it may deem necessary."

After the Platt Amendment was abrogated in 1934, Franklin Roosevelt sent gunboats to Havana Bay to force acceptance of a new treaty.

Ignoring the wishes of the Cuban people and government after the 1959 revolution that overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, Washington continues to occupy Guantánamo Bay today. At times, provocative actions, such as sniper fire and rapid charges into other parts of Cuban territory, have been launched from the base.

Every year the U.S. government sends rent checks of \$4,085 to Havana; each year the Cuban government refuses to cash them.

There are presently some 2,400 U.S. troops at Guantánamo Bay available for active military duty, plus an additional 7,000 other military and civilian personnel and their families. The base is enclosed by a 12-mile fence guarded by armed sentries. It includes two airfields and an underground arsenal.

The day after Gorbachev announced the unilateral withdrawal of troops from Cuba, Soviet foreign minister Boris Pankin tried to change the worldwide impression that the Soviet government was groveling at the feet of imperialism in exchange for loans and aid.

Pankin told reporters, "We have informed [the United States] about our intentions and asked them to take reciprocal steps."

But the reciprocal steps Pankin was talking about do not include closing the base. Instead, he proposed only that Washington reduce the number of troops there and provide advance notice of military maneuvers in Cuban waters.

According to the *Herald*, Pankin's request of troop reductions applies principally to 335 U.S. marines, not even a fifth of the troops presently stationed at the base. But even this half-hearted initiative was rejected out of hand by Washington.

A front-page editorial in the September 14 *Granma*, newspaper of the Communist Party of Cuba, answered the U.S. and Soviet positions. The proposed reduction in the U.S. presence in Cuba would be "insignificant," *Granma* said.

The paper outlined Cuba's proposal. "We would be willing to accept the withdrawal from our country of the Soviet military personnel simultaneously with that of the U.S. military personnel," the editorial said. "This would be the only equitable, just, and honorable solution in the present circumstances."

# UN agrees to discuss U.S. embargo of Cuba

BY SETH GALINSKY

UNITED NATIONS — Cuba won the first round in its fight to get the United Nations to discuss the more than 30-year U.S. economic blockade of the Caribbean island.

The UN General Assembly, which began its 46th session September 17, agreed to add a point on its agenda entitled, "Necessity of

ending the economic, commercial, and financial embargo imposed by the United States of America against Cuba."

Getting an agenda point is just a first step and does not guarantee that the proposal will be discussed. The 46th session of the General Assembly will last until September 1992.

Ricardo Alarcón, permanent representative of Cuba to the United Nations, explained at a September 18 meeting of the General Assembly's General Committee why Cuba had requested the agenda point.

The U.S. blockade "clearly violates the principles of non-intervention and of sovereign equality of states," Alarcón noted.

The constant sabotage of Cuban trade relations with other countries is not just a question of importance to Cuba, Alarcón added. "If the imperialists are permitted to do whatever they please; if the imposition of their will outside their borders is tolerated," he said, "it would allow them to act as the owners of the world."

Robert Rosenstock, U.S. representative to the United Nations, spoke after Alarcón. He accused the Cuban delegation of raising their request in a tendentious manner, but said the United States had no objection to adding the point to the agenda. The General Committee voted unanimously to place the embargo discussion on the agenda.

The U.S. State Department had earlier stated that Washington was opposed to a UN debate of the blockade. In an August 21 "press guidance" the State Department said, "The U.S. embargo of Cuba is not an appropriate issue for discussion at the UN. Every government has a right and a responsibility to choose the government with which it wishes to have commercial and political relations."

Attempting to justify its campaign of economic warfare against Cuba, the State Department claimed, "The United States does not have full diplomatic or commercial relations with Cuba in response to Cuba's policies of international repression and support for insurgency abroad."

# Students to host national conference on the environment at U. of Colorado

BY RONI McCANN

The Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC) will host Common Ground, the third annual national student environmental conference October 4-6 at the University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado. SEAC is a nationwide student network with some 30,000 members on 1,500 campuses.

"The conference is building better than ever," said Eric Kessler in an interview from the Common Ground office in Boulder September 23. "Already some 5,000 people are expected to attend from 50 states and five countries including Canada, Germany, and Nicaragua." Last year's conference, Catalyst, drew 7,600 students.

"The focus of the conference will be linking social justice with environmental issues," Kessler explained. Speakers at the event will include David Brower, chairperson of Earth Island Institute; Tajel Shah, president of the United States Student Association; and Tony Mazzocchi, president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union.

For more information about the event write or call the SEAC National Office at P.O. Box 1168, Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514 (919) 967-4600 or the Common Ground office at 862 17th Street, Boulder, Colorado 80302 (303) 440-5290.



# Cuba demands end to U.S. blockade

## Imperialists want to be 'owners of the world,' ambassador tells UN meeting

Cuba's request to add a point to the agenda of the 46th session of the United Nations General Assembly — on "The necessity of ending the economic, commercial and financial embargo imposed by the United States of America against Cuba" — was approved September 18. The U.S. delegation said it had no objection to the point even though in the U.S. view it was not "useful, appropriate, or pertinent."

The following speech was given by Ricardo Alarcón, permanent representative of Cuba to the United Nations, during the September 18 meeting of the General Committee, which approved the request.

In Alarcón's speech he refers to an August 21 "press guidance" statement issued by the U.S. State Department. It includes a series of questions and answers to explain U.S. government policy. The statement says that "Ambassador Alarcón is mistaken in calling the embargo a 'blockade.'"

The translation from the Spanish text is by the *Militant*. Subheads have been added by the *Militant*.

The U.S. government wants to avoid a public discussion of the criminal blockade that has been imposed on Cuba for more than 30 years. According to an August 21 State Department statement, a UN examination of this matter would be "inappropriate."

It seems, if one is to believe the text of the U.S. statement, that what Cuba seeks on requesting consideration of this item is to impair the sovereignty of the United States, a poor country that has the right to decide for itself with whom to maintain diplomatic and economic relations or not. Apparently it is Cuba who is threatening U.S. self-determination and even attempting to mobilize the international community to exercise arbitrary and illegitimate pressure.

If you were to believe the authors of the August 21 document, you would end up picturing them as the representatives of a small, harassed country, facing those who want to overturn their sovereign decisions and force them to adopt norms of conduct that are contrary to their national interests.

They allege that the request for an agenda item is out of order since, they assert, we are not dealing with a blockade but with what is scarcely an embargo. The United States has no relations with Cuba, but — they claim — it doesn't do anything to prevent others from having them.

As an attempt at justifying U.S. policy the State Department release faces an insurmountable difficulty. It assumes — and to be effective it requires — a high degree of ignorance and total lack of knowledge of the facts on the part of the international community. Nevertheless, I am convinced that outside of Washington it is very difficult to find such an excessive cult of disinformation. It is not totally out of the question that the authors of the statement believe, if only partially, in some of what they said there, but they must possess a greatly overblown naïveté to imagine that anyone else could believe it.

### UN should demand end to blockade

No one can seriously question not only the pertinence but the necessity of the General Assembly considering this topic. And not only to consider it but to demand that the United States immediately, completely, and unconditionally end a policy that contradicts the basic postulates of the UN Charter; damages international relations; and ignores not only legal standards but the most elementary ethical considerations.

The U.S. government completely prohibits all economic, commercial, and financial relations between Cuba and any company, institution, or individual under the jurisdiction of Washington. This contravenes bilateral agreements that were in force at the moment that the arbitrary sanctions were introduced. But this prohibition also ignores and violates the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, numerous decisions by the GATT, and resolutions of the General Assembly.

It is enough to read these documents once to realize that the Yankee blockade against Cuba — including what they call with snake-like stealth the "embargo" — is a matter whose discussion is fully within the responsibility of the United Nations.

The purpose of this policy, since its establishment more than 30 years ago, is to impose

U.S. will on Cuba through coercion and force. Since it clearly violates the principles of non-intervention and of sovereign equality of states, this policy — including when it is limited to what Washington characterizes with cunning hypocrisy as an "embargo" — should be rejected by the General Assembly.

This policy totally prevents Cuba from obtaining medicines in the U.S. market, among other things, and also involves numerous restrictions on communications and contacts between the two countries that seriously affect all Cubans and cause cruel suffering for its population. Therefore, since it constitutes the most flagrant, systematic, and permanent violation of human rights of all the people of Cuba, this policy — including only that which the Yankee rulers prefer to slyly describe as an "embargo" — must be resolutely condemned by the General Assembly.

The violations of the rights of U.S. citizens themselves that are entailed in the blockade against Cuba — or "embargo" as they like to call it with feigned innocence — merit a chapter of their own. I will only mention two examples: poor people in the United States suffer from Meningitis Type B but they cannot vaccinate themselves against it because Cuba produces the only vaccine and of course it is prohibited in the U.S. market. Mr. Dan

to observe U.S. requirements.

In this way the United States extends its blockade measures to U.S. companies based outside its national jurisdiction and to foreign companies located in other countries but whose ownership is partially in the hands of U.S. interests.

It prohibits the sale to Cuba of products manufactured in third countries by companies from those countries if in the production of these items there is any component that is of U.S. origin, including elements of technical information in any stage of its design or production.

It prohibits the sale to the United States of products manufactured in third countries if in their production there is any element of Cuban origin even if that element has been totally transformed.

### A Yankee inquisition

These and other restrictions, as evidenced in public and official documents, are currently imposed by the United States. They cause grave damage to Cuba and create numerous and constant obstacles to the development of our economic and commercial ties with other countries.

But they also damage the legitimate interests of companies, institutions, and individ-



May Day in Havana, 1982. 'Cubans have more than enough courage and determination to resist the blockade,' said Ricardo Alarcón, Cuban UN ambassador.

Snow was condemned to 90 days in jail, 5 years of probation, and a \$5,000 fine for participating in sport fishing in Cuban waters.

But there is more, much more, Mr. President. Nobody knows better than Washington that what is applied against Cuba is not just what they call an "embargo," which would also be unjustified and worthy of condemnation. What is applied is the most ironclad and illegal blockade, which respects no borders, recognizes no one else's sovereignty, nor knows any limits.

Humankind has never before seen arrogance like that which is displayed by the U.S. rulers.

Never before has any government conferred on itself such an arrogant attempt to extend its laws, rules, and regulations throughout the world, acting as if it were the only government on earth. Never before have we seen such viciousness in hounding the economic activities of a small, underdeveloped country in every corner of the planet. There is not another case in history of stubborn hate and of relentless and cruel persecution practiced during so much time against a small and poor country, with the intention of forcing its people to surrender out of hunger.

So as to not make this speech too long I have asked the secretary general to distribute to the members a document that briefly summarizes some of the provisions that the U.S. government currently applies — and has applied for many years.

All of these clearly demonstrate how the U.S. authorities extend their aggressive measures against Cuba beyond their territory; how they meddle in areas that are of the exclusive concern of other states; and how they arbitrarily and illegally impose on third parties their own laws, rules, and regulations and force companies, institutions, and individuals that are not under U.S. jurisdiction

uals in those countries. In its obsessive insistence on harming Cuba the long arm of the new Yankee inquisition intrudes all over the place, trampling on international law, mocking the sovereignty of others, and ignoring the rights of the rest.

As an example we include in the aforementioned document that has been distributed to you a summary of some cases where the Yankee Treasury Department prevented Cuba from acquiring medical equipment produced outside the United States by non-U.S. companies.

Naturally, Washington is not satisfied with

trying to apply its law outside its borders. It also exercises all types of pressures, threats, and punishments against foreign companies that in spite of everything maintain commercial or economic ties with Cuba.

As if what they have done until now were not enough, the U.S. Senate recently approved diverse amendments directed at making the blockade even more complete, even more crudely ignoring the sovereignty of other countries, and conditioning aid to certain countries on breaking economic ties with Cuba.

Mr. President:

For more than 30 years U.S. imperialism has carried out an economic war against the people of Cuba. They try to destroy its economy, impede its development, and submit it to the cruelest methods to force Cubans to return to the past of servitude and exploitation.

Washington has floated excuses over the years to try to justify its repugnant and illegal conduct. All of these excuses have had a common denominator: subjugate Cuba and decide its destiny.

Intoxicated at the moment with the bankruptcy of the European socialist experience, the U.S. rulers intensify the economic blockade and step up their pressures and threats.

They forget that Cubans did not import our revolution from anywhere but that it was and is the fruit of a 100-year struggle and our own efforts and sacrifices. For us the revolution is not just social justice and the achievement of the deepest aspirations of the masses who were exploited in the past. It is also the conquest of the independence for which successive generations of Cubans heroically fought. For us homeland and revolution, independence and socialism are one and the same. That is why in Cuba there is no room for wavering or hesitation.

### More than Cuba is at stake

Cubans have more than enough courage, determination, and deep patriotic and moral motives to continue resisting the blockade, the threats, the pressures, and all the aggressive actions of our stubborn and visionless enemies.

But in Cuba something more than the destiny of Cubans is being decided. If the imperialists are permitted to do whatever they please; if the imposition of their will outside their borders is tolerated; if it is accepted that they can mock the norms of legality and ignore the sovereignty and rights of others, it would allow them to act as the owners of the world and to exercise their zeal for domination everywhere.

It is not only Cuba but all of the peoples who will suffer the consequences of the hegemonic deliriums and the overflowing arrogance and who will have to face a new barbarism.

That is why, Mr. President, my delegation requests that the General Assembly in its plenary sessions take up the necessity of ending the economic, commercial, and financial blockade of the United States against Cuba as a matter of priority.

## Class divisions among Blacks

### Continued from page 2

the civil rights movement borne out in the 1980s. Black workers have seen their gains assaulted and are now experiencing a retreat on almost every front.

This is borne out in the statistics in the Population Reference Bureau report. Most telling are the figures on life expectancy. After rising for most of the century, the life expectancy for Blacks has declined since 1985, going from 69.5 in that year to 69.2 in 1988.

Infant mortality rates for Blacks are similar to those of some underdeveloped countries. In 1988 there were 17.6 U.S. Black infant deaths per 1,000 live births. For whites it was 8.5 per 1,000. In Chile there were 19 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1988.

"The middle-class blacks of the future may feel little in common with poor blacks because their experiences will have been dramatically different in so many ways," the report's authors note.

But the figures show that this is already a reality today. The wealthy section of the Black population already knows it has nothing in common with the Black working class.

Recognizing this fact helps answer the questions posed in the report. Racism continues to plague Blacks and other oppressed nationalities in the United States, and will continue as long as capitalism exists. A layer in the Black population, though, has a growing stake in the capitalist system because it benefits from the class divisions inherent in it.

This layer's public spokespeople — from mayors who are Black to conservative judges like Clarence Thomas to liberal politicians such as Jesse Jackson — do not seek to advance the interests of Black workers. Instead, they push to reinforce their social position and carve out more economic benefits and political leverage for themselves.

Fighting against the deteriorating conditions of the working class means the labor movement and its allies must chart a course of independent political action. Only a transformed union movement, one that grows out of massive struggles on the part of working people, can break from the decades-long political subservience to the two parties of the billionaire families who run the United States.



# Why both free trade and protectionism provide no answers for working farmers

BY DOUG JENNESS

(Last of a series)

As Washington aggressively pressures capitalist Europe and Japan to slash export subsidies and lift protective tariffs on agricultural goods, it is also constructing a formidable fortress of protectionist measures around itself.

The U.S. government is trying to improve the competitive position of capitalist exporters in the United States and strengthen their arsenal for strong-arming imperialist rivals to dismantle their protectionist walls.

A central weapon in this contest is "voluntary" export restraints. If Washington is worried about the harm a particular import is having on U.S. exports, it will require the government in question to restrict its country's exports on pain of retaliation. Section 301 of the Trade Act of 1974 gives the president broad authority to retaliate against countries accused of "unfair" trade practices. If so named, they must reach an accord with U.S. trade representatives or face reprisals. Between 1974 and 1988, 38 cases (11 of them since 1986) were brought, involving \$4 billion worth of trade.

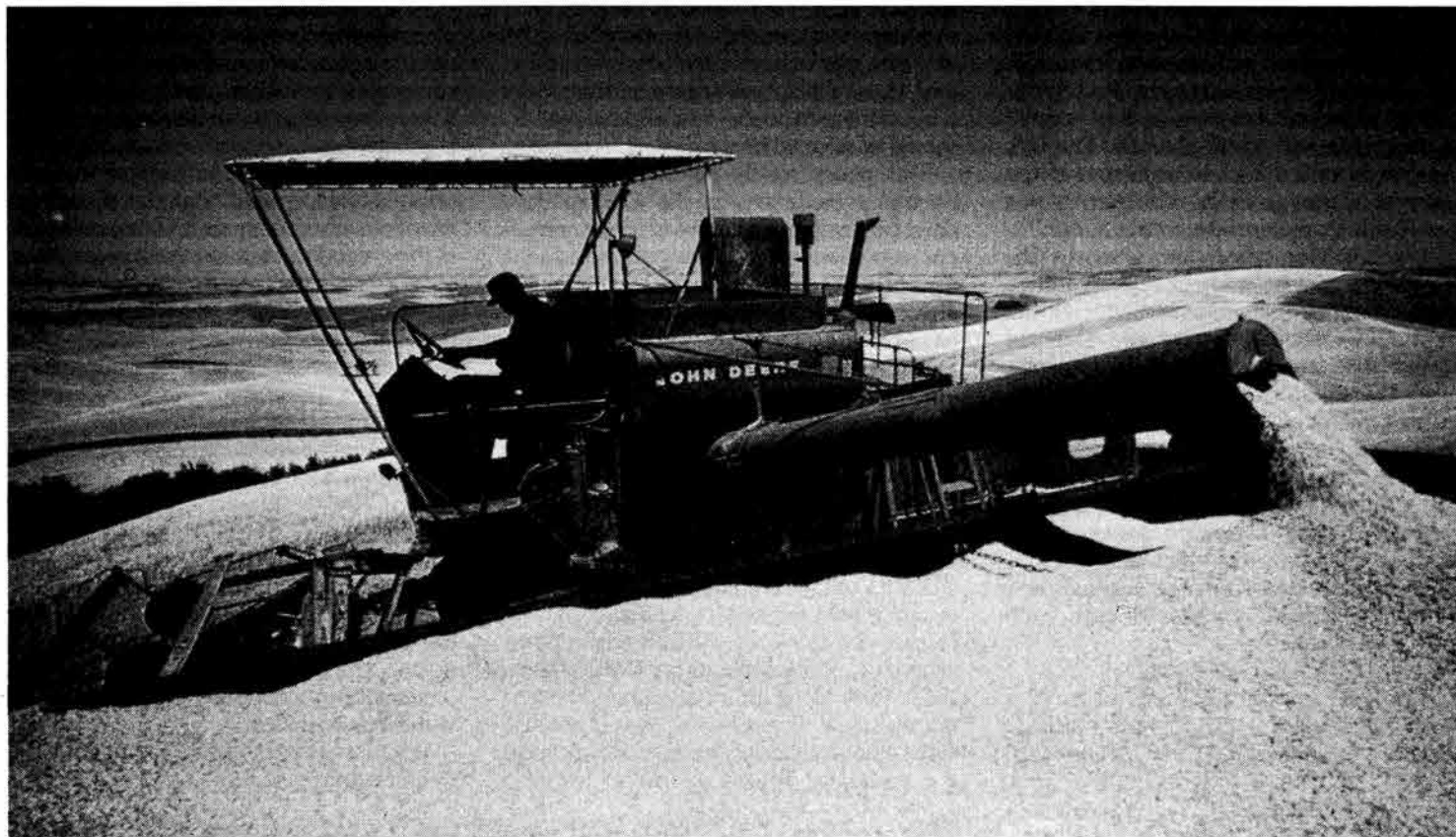
Washington is also pressing to establish a "free trade" zone between Canada, the United States, and Mexico. Such an agreement between Washington and Toronto went into effect Jan. 1, 1989, and negotiations on a similar pact with Mexico are currently under way.

This would represent a combined market of 360 million consumers and an annual output of \$6 trillion. In 1988 Canada was the fourth largest recipient of U.S. farm exports and Mexico was the sixth. At the same time, the United States received more agricultural imports from Canada than from any other country. Mexico, whose farm exports to the United States rose from \$1 billion in 1980 to \$2.3 billion in 1989, was second.

The goals of this "free-trade" bloc are to expand penetration into Latin American and Caribbean markets; put U.S. capitalists in a better position to compete with Japanese imperialists, especially in Asian markets; and maximize the possibility of weakening the European Community as a competitor in the world market.

## Washington escalates 'subsidy war'

Washington stepped up its offensive in the mid-1980s to get an accord through the General Agreement On Trade and Tariffs (GATT) to reduce protectionist measures. Since then, the U.S. government has escalated its subsidy war. Both the 1985 and 1990 farm bills adopted by Congress massively increased government assistance and subsidies to exporters of farm goods produced in the United States. Washington says it will slash these programs if the European Community drastically reduces its export subsidies and tariffs. As a token of this intent, the 1990 U.S. farm



Barley harvest in Washington state. Neither protectionist barriers nor the capitalists' "free trade" assault offer a solution to the price-cost squeeze facing the big majority of working farmers. U.S. government is trying to improve competitive position of capitalist exporters in the United States.

bill includes a 25 percent cut in price supports by October, 1995.

In promoting exports and coordinating efforts to seek out new markets, the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Foreign Agricultural Service offers bounteous export credit guarantees to bankers, like the owners of Chase Manhattan and Citibank, who make loans to capitalist traders like Cargill and Continental. This reduces the risk to U.S. exporters and bankers if the buyers fail to pay and makes them more willing to explore new foreign market openings. In fiscal year 1990 the U.S. government provided \$4.3 billion in coverage.

Such guarantees are also made for trade deals with the Soviet Union and China. In June, for example, President George Bush's administration announced \$1.5 billion in credit guarantees for Soviet purchases of U.S. farm products. Commercial banks will finance grain sales with the surety that the federal government will repay 98 percent of the loan principal and 4.5 percent of the interest if the Soviet government defaults. Following the August coup attempt in that country, U.S. bankers, concerned about stability, are pressing for even more generous guarantees. Food "aid" to the Soviet Union is very lucrative for U.S. grain dealers and bankers, if they can be sure of being paid.

Under the Export Enhancement Program, the government offers commodities from its stockpiles as bonuses to capitalist profiteers in targeted export markets. The gross market worth of farm commodities exported under this program between 1985 and 1990 was \$11 billion. The big commercial monopolies, with their own ships and transportation facilities, have a big advantage in shipping these government-provided commodities and making lavish profits.

Moreover, to give U.S. exporters and shipping companies an edge, traders receiving government-owned commodities or shipping them under government-financed arrangements are required to carry them on U.S.-flag vessels.

All of these protectionist policies and programs, just like Washington's free trade assault, are designed to help capitalist traders and commercial bankers in the United States get a bigger share of the international opportunities for investing capital and selling commodities in order to reap as big a profit harvest as possible.

The situation in the world today is marked by the increasingly aggressive rivalry between the imperialist ruling families in different countries to maintain their profit rates. This competition is sharpening in a world capitalist market plagued by overproduction of commodities and excess industrial capacity. Overproduction, plant closings, unemployment, intensification of labor, and "food glut," however, have nothing to do with

what billions of the world's working people need and can use. Workers and farmers need food, clothing, housing, means of transportation, books, medicine, and many other goods that advances in labor productivity make less and less time-consuming to produce but that the producers themselves are less and less able to afford.

## Discussion among farm groups

The main backers of the U.S. government's "free trade" proposals in the current GATT talks are the monopoly grain merchants like Cargill; pesticide and fertilizer giants like Dow Chemical; the American Bankers Association; the Grocery Manufacturers of America; the National Wholesale Grocers; and the National Food Processors Association.

Washington's trade policies have also spurred a great deal of discussion among farmers and farm organizations throughout the country.

The American Farm Bureau Federation, for example, also backs the "free trade" offensive. Dominated by capitalist farmers and businesses related to agriculture, it is one of the country's largest farm organizations and owns a number of profitable enterprises of its own.

The leadership of other organizations, such as the National Farmers Union, American Agriculture Movement, and National Family Farm Coalition, all of which include a large number of working farm families, oppose many of the measures in Washington's GATT proposal.

Leaders and representatives from some of these groups participated in demonstrations in Brussels, Belgium, in December 1990 to protest the proposed cuts in domestic price support programs and the elimination of import restrictions. The action was organized by farm groups in Europe and drew more than 30,000 protesters.

One of the participants, Randolph Nodlund, president of the National Family Farm Coalition, is quoted in the April 9 issue of the *AAM Reporter* as saying, "Bush needs to convince Congress that he's not giving away American agriculture. But that will be tough, since that's exactly what our negotiators appear ready to do in order to get an agreement. Even if Europe were ready to dump their farm programs, which they are not, the real thrust of the Bush administration's GATT proposal is to open our borders to unlimited imports. The USDA's own studies predict losses for American agriculture. Congress shouldn't fall for it."

On the other hand, Nodlund attacked the policy of export dumping. "Right now the biggest dumpers are the U.S. and European governments," he said. "We've found broad support from farmers all over the world for stopping the practice of exporting commod-

ities at below the cost of production." In an earlier article Nodlund criticized direct export subsidies, including the U.S. government's Export Enhancement Program.

Nodlund is right that exploited farmers have no stake in defending export subsidies and dumping. They pit farmers of one country against another and are especially devastating to farmers in semicolonial countries. But the interests of exploited farmers are not served by quotas, import tariffs, or any other protectionist schemes of the exploiting class, either.

## Import barriers harm farmers' fight

Working farmers are not involved in international trade and don't benefit from this type of government assistance. They have no more to gain from joining the bankers, monopoly traders, owners of food trusts, and capitalist farmers — all of whom get rich off the labor of working people — in erecting protectionist barriers than they do in supporting the capitalists' "free trade" assault.

Neither perspective offers a solution to the price-cost squeeze facing the big majority of working farmers. Moreover, both draw working farmers into tying their fate to either the "free trade" capitalists or the "protectionist" capitalists — all in the name of defending "American" interests.

In the course of doing this, working farmers in the United States are pitted against exploited producers throughout the world. Working farmers in the United States are erroneously told the main problem is farmers in other countries and that foreign producers are the main enemy. They are either too efficient or too protected, and U.S. farmers need "protection" from them; or they are too inefficient, but highly subsidized, and U.S. farmers still need some form of capitalist "protection." But this is the kind of safety you get when foxes are allowed to guard chicken coops.

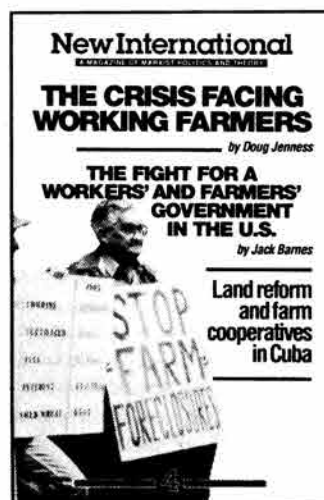
Some opponents of the White House and Congress-backed "free trade" proposals argue that these measures will lead to a lowering of environmental standards. A leaflet from the Texas Department of Agriculture, for example, argues that the lifting of import barriers and price supports "will encourage expansion of their ecologically damaging commodity production in the 3rd World and nations like Brazil."

This is unquestionably true, but will environmental conditions get qualitatively worse than they are now, where a massive protectionist structure is in place? If protectionist measures remain, will there be an improvement in the environment?

The record shows that either way the capitalists are going to ravage the land, water, and forests — both in the semicolonial and imperialist countries. To tie improvements in the environment to support for reactionary

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**For further reading on issues confronting working farmers . . .**



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# Fight against rightists wins youth to YSA

BY GREG ROSENBERG

WICHITA, Kansas — "We need to make it known to Operation Rescue and other rightist groups that if anyone is going to violate our democratic rights or anyone else's in the world, the Young Socialist Alliance will be there to fight them tooth and nail," says Robert. Twenty years old, Robert is one of 10 young people here who joined the revolutionary socialist youth organization in late August and early September. YSA members and members of the Socialist Workers Party from across the country had come to Wichita to participate in the fight against the ultrarightist street actions focused against clinics that provide abortion.

"When Operation Rescue came to town," said Robert, "we thought that if we ignored them they would go away. That didn't happen. I think a majority of people in Wichita are prochoice and people were appalled after a while by the fact that no resistance was organized."

Robert met the YSA at the August 24 rally for abortion rights. "The YSA explained that the ultrarightist mobilizations showed a face of incipient American fascism. I agreed, and thought that if we let these people win this war, they're going to start another one — maybe they would try censorship next. They're going to keep on until we fight and make them stop. Here in Wichita, the YSA is the only group not afraid to make statements like that."

Robert believes that women's rights organizations and other groups sidestepped their responsibility to organize countermobilizations to those of the rightists. Wichita is "not a 'Bible belt' where those organizing actions defending democratic rights are persecuted as radicals and extreme leftists," he said of the possibilities for broad mobilizations against the assault.

"I've always held a socialist viewpoint on political aspects of things. Capitalism is a big joke," said Robert. "For me it just doesn't work. If workers and young people everywhere can unite and take the power from the market dictators and their puppets we can put the power of government into the hands of the people."

"The best way to fight these kind of people is to go out and educate. Sell the *Militant* newspaper, rally together, and outnumber them," he said. A restaurant worker, Robert has moved to Chicago to build the YSA chapter there. He plans to speak about and bring the lesson of the fight in Wichita to as many people as possible in that city.

Cynthia, a 17-year-old high school student, jumped in to help organize protests and volunteered to escort women into the clinics as soon as Operation Rescue came to town. When she went to a clinic one day with a friend seeking medical treatment the rightists "ran for the gate and tried to block us from going in. They said things like 'let us be your friend.' When that didn't work, they persisted, and began

shouting stuff like 'don't kill your baby.'"

Cynthia met YSA members participating in a picket line across the street from a clinic. "I had just been harassed by cops who told me I'd be arrested if I crossed the street to the clinic. The YSA was soliciting a paper called the *Militant*. I liked that title," she said.

"Operation Rescue wants to start with controlling everyone's sex life and then wants to control people's morals, then move to biblical rule," Cynthia said. "I decided to join the YSA because it's the only group around that fights all fights for our rights — for all things, and wants to mobilize. The YSA is a good organization; it's got people across the country, it's a good working organization, and it calls for action."

The weeks-long rightist mobilization culminated in a rally of 25,000 August 25. Since then local supporters of Operation Rescue have continued activities against a woman's right to choose abortion, including a September 7 blockade of a local clinic. Cynthia said those involved "were all local people that Operation Rescue recruited. They say they'll continue each Saturday. We're going to organize against them."

Todd, 28 years old, studies refrigeration and air-conditioning at a Wichita technical school. "I didn't think about getting involved here until the events in the Soviet Union started me thinking about the times we're living in. Having just come out of that war, that slaughter in Iraq, people are beginning to question the war. People don't feel as euphoric about it as they may have. I felt that getting in the YSA was important. I knew the YSA from the past and its perspectives on abortion, but saw that the YSA had a much more powerful perspective of connecting things up with the world," he said.

"The YSA came here and worked hard to mobilize opposition to Operation Rescue, the way no one else did. That's one of the reasons I joined." Todd hopes the new YSA chapter will sponsor a forum on the article in the *New Internationalist* magazine titled "Washington's Third Militarization Drive," to "discuss how that relates to the ruling class agenda, employer practices in factories, and other events today."

Among the YSA members who traveled to Wichita to participate in a *Militant* sales team and join the fight was 18-year-old Michelle, from Omaha, Nebraska. "YSA members set up literature tables at Wichita State University campus where students purchased a lot of copies and subscriptions to the *Militant* and expressed a big interest in the YSA. We helped spread news of the upcoming prochoice rally," Michelle said. "We held meetings on campus where people came to discuss the fight and some joined the YSA. We went to a plant gate every day that it wasn't raining. At the big Boeing aerospace factory — I've never seen so many people in my life — workers picked up numerous copies of the paper as well. One worker subscribed because of the kind of kid glove treatment given to the rightists by the cops.

It made me realize that it's only working people who can change the world."

Michelle is returning to Omaha where she plans to speak on campuses to explain the stakes in fights such as that in Wichita for working people and youth. "The only group in the country that's going to change things is the YSA," she said. "We're not afraid to show opposition to rightist outfits like Operation Rescue and others. The officials of the established women's organizations didn't take the fight into their hands — they look toward the ballot box. They were afraid to take it to the streets. They're more interested in voter IDs than trying to take back the clinics. This battle showed me that there's a movement against democratic rights and if you don't fight it everything will be taken away."

Michelle said participating in the YSA's activities in Wichita was both inspiring and educational. The YSA held classes on how the labor movement fought ultrarightist and fascist threats in the past, sponsored an open

house following the August 24 prochoice rally, sold the *Militant* at campuses and plant gates, and helped build public meetings at Wichita State University. Michelle also took a trip to Liberal, Kansas, to talk with meatpackers organizing a union. "I'm determined to help recruit more people to the YSA and to build a bigger movement that can fight and win in the future," she said.

The new YSA chapter in Wichita is hard at work. They have ordered a weekly bundle of the *Militant*, plan to set up tables at the university, and organized to purchase a copy of the video "The Frame-up of Mark Curtis" which they will show to interested young people. In October they plan to build a meeting for a national leader of the Socialist Workers Party at the WSU campus. Weekly meetings to discuss politics and organize their activities, the YSA members say, will help convince more young fighters to join the YSA and become part of the worldwide fight for socialism.

## Youth leader: mobilizations needed to defend abortion



Militant/Angel Lariscy

NEW YORK CITY — Seventy-five people gathered near the Federal court building at Foley Square September 11 in a rally to defend abortion rights. The National Organization for Women (NOW) sponsored the protest to show opposition to the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court because of his statements against a woman's right to choose abortion.

"The nomination of Thomas is yet another indication of the rightward shift in U.S. politics," said speaker Estelle DeBates (pictured above), National Co-chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance. DeBates spent a week in Wichita, Kansas, during the rightist mobilizations. "The local and state governments in Wichita, as well as President Bush himself, gave a green light to the right-wing there to continue their harassment at the abortion clinics for five weeks. The majority of working people and youth in Wichita, who support abortion rights, were never mobilized to defeat the assault on the clinics. Broad mobilizations — not depending on the courts, the cops, or electing 'friends' to public office — are the way to defend the right of women to choose abortion and all other rights under attack," the YSA leader said in her speech.

## Seafarers in New Zealand strike to confront bosses' union-busting

BY JOAN PHILLIPS

CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand — Police and private security guards were used to remove the crew of a Golden Bay Cement Company freighter August 28 after the seamen were fired by the ship's master.

The workers were due to begin a strike that day in response to Golden Bay's decision to opt out of the collective award [contract] between New Zealand shipping companies and the Seafarers' Union.

A scuffle broke out when security guards prevented Seafarers' Union South Island secretary Terry Stuart from boarding the ship. A security guard has since announced he intends filing assault charges against Stuart. Union members are maintaining a picket line that is keeping the freighter tied up at the Port of Timaru.

Golden Bay Cement Company is a subsidiary of Fletcher Challenge, New Zealand's largest company. The company declared it is acting under the Employment Contracts Act, anti-union legislation passed in May, to end the traditional control the Seafarers' Union has exercised over the placement of crews.

Golden Bay claims that it has begun interviewing applicants for the jobs of the fired crew members and that the freighter would

be ready to sail by mid-October with "a company-employed crew."

Union picketers told the *Timaru Herald* that they would fight any attempt by the company to run the ship with a non-union crew.

Seafarers' Union president Dave Morgan also said that any moves "to put a non-union crew on the Golden Bay will meet resistance. We have a strike situation in Timaru and we have a picket on, which is protecting our jobs on the ship."

CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand — One hundred people picketed the Lyttelton road tunnel here September 9 as part of a continuing campaign against the Employment Contracts Act. Two picketers were arrested when police cleared the entrance to the tunnel.

Thirteen tunnel staff were fired in June when their employer lost the contract for running the tunnel. The new contractor has replaced the previous three eight-hour shifts with two shifts of 14 and 10 hours, with no penal rates. Workers are earning up to \$NZ4,000 a year less than those previously employed. — J.P.

## Join us!

The Young Socialist Alliance is an organization of young people from across the country who are fighting against the wars and economic crises of capitalism and for socialism. Join us today!

☐ Yes, I want to join the YSA.

☐ Please send me more information.

Name

Address  State  Zip

Union/School/Organization

Clip and mail to: Young Socialist Alliance, P.O. Box 211, New York, N.Y. 10011.



# Los Angeles forum assesses lessons of fight against police brutality

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

LOS ANGELES — What are some lessons working people can draw from the fight against cop brutality that opened with the beating of Rodney King here last spring?

A September 14 Militant Labor Forum offered an opportunity to discuss that question and recent developments in the wake of several killings by county sheriff's department deputies.

Featured speakers included Eli Green, a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union and an activist in the movement to oust Los Angeles police chief Daryl Gates, and Juan Villagómez, active in ongoing protests since the deputy sheriff shooting of Arturo Jimenez August 3.

Also on the program was Salvador Salas, who showed the videotape he made of the scene at Ramona Gardens housing project immediately after the death of Jimenez. Deputies attacked Salas, confiscated his video, and jailed him for three days. While the video

was returned upon his release, Salas said, trumped-up charges of battery against cops are still hanging over his head. Salas is among the Ramona Gardens activists pressing for an independent investigation of the killing of Jimenez.

Cops in the two major police agencies here total 16,000. They are evenly divided between the Los Angeles city police force and the County of Los Angeles Sheriff's Department. Sheriff's deputies patrol unincorporated areas of the county and 42 smaller municipalities.

Villagómez, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance here, told of the latest shooting and beatings by sheriff's deputies (see accompanying article). The speaker characterized the packing by plainclothes cops and their families of a recent hearing by the county board of supervisors as an "ominous right-wing mobilization." The meeting was called to look into police brutality by county deputies.

## Public hearings debate killing of youth by sheriffs

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — In the face of growing community anger, two public hearings have been held on the issue of the brutal practices of the Los Angeles County sheriff's department.

Since August 3, four people — two Latino and two Black — have been gunned down by sheriff's deputies. Many who are fighting to expose and push back the cop violence are calling for an independent investigation of the sheriff's department.

On September 10, the Los Angeles County board of supervisors, which is responsible for the sheriff's department, held its version of a public hearing.

In a tension-charged atmosphere, a 700-seat auditorium was filled to capacity, with the proceedings piped into additional overflow areas. Many Blacks and Latinos attended.

When the hearing was called to order, a handful of what seemed to be ultraleftists in the rear of the hall began chanting a slogan.

As if on signal, a man stood up near the front and held aloft a placard declaring, "Support our sheriff."

Immediately, a segment of the hall that included about a third of the audience jumped to their feet, clapping and cheering. Several hundred deputies in civilian clothes, and their supporters, had been turned out to back their chief.

LOS ANGELES — On August 3, Arturo Jimenez, 19 years old, was shot to death by a deputy during a lawn birthday party at Ramona Gardens, a low-income housing development whose residents are mainly Chicano.

The cops claim Jimenez was shot when he grabbed a deputy's flashlight and knocked him unconscious with it. Numerous eyewitnesses said the deputy was knocked out by a flying bottle after Jimenez was shot.

On August 13, Keith Hamilton, a Black man who was mentally ill, was killed by deputies when his family called for their assistance in getting him to take his medication.

The cops claimed they shot when Hamilton threatened them with a knife. The family insisted he had no knife and a neighbor who witnessed the killing said he later saw two cops put a shining object near the body.

A coroner's report found that Hamilton had been shot nine times — all in the back. The autopsy also showed that some of the bullet wounds indicated he had been shot several times while al-

ready on the pavement.

On August 28, 15-year-old David Angel Ortiz was killed by a deputy when he fled from a car he was driving after deputies rammed it in the rear. The cops said they suspected the car was stolen and that Ortiz was shot when he seemed to reach for a gun.

There was no gun and, an autopsy showed, the Latino youth was shot in the back. Handcuffed and bleeding profusely from the throat, Ortiz lay on the ground until an ambulance arrived. A pathologist retained by the family said the youth drowned in his own blood and could have been saved.

Steve Clemons, a Black man, was killed when he fled deputies during a Labor Day park outing with his family.

The deputies said they fired when Clemons simultaneously pointed a gun at them and threw it in a nearby lake. His family said he had no gun and that he apparently threw a beer can in the lake to avoid getting a ticket for having a beer in the park. Later, cops dragged the lake and came up with several guns. —H.R.



August protest and press conference held at East Los Angeles sheriff's substation

### Breeding ground for fascists

"The police force is a breeding ground for future fascists," Villagómez said. "To be a cop you need to have the capacity to brutalize people — to be sexist, racist, and anti-working class."

Villagómez said cops function in a way characteristic of fascist gangs by routinely unleashing extralegal violence against working people. Special targets are young people,

especially Blacks and Latinos who refuse to simply submit to these armed agents of the ruling class.

Green, recently a Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council, said that "curbing police violence, abuse, and murder will require massive and sustained mobilizations."

"The key now is to involve more and more people in action and to educate them and others in the process," he said.

While this began to happen in the fight to oust Los Angeles police chief Daryl Gates after the Rodney King beating, the process got sidetracked, Green told the forum.

### Limited victory

Examples of actions calling for Gates' removal included a demonstration of several thousand April 14, community meetings involving hundreds, a large and angry presence of victims of police brutality and others at meetings of the Christopher Commission established to examine the police department, and weekly picket lines at police headquarters.

"Speakers at these protests scored Gates, pointing to his history of racist, sexist, anti-gay slurs and his attacks on immigrant workers aimed at encouraging cops to commit more violence," Green said.

"It was correct for the developing movement to focus on removing Gates because of his special despicable role," Green continued.

"But today it is clear more than ever that forcing Gates to say he would retire next spring was a limited victory — less than the major victory many thought it was," Green said.

Green said his point had been made even more apparent by Gates' announcement just three days earlier that he was reconsidering his earlier promise to step aside as chief next April. This comes despite pressure for his resignation from the Christopher Commission as well as from his allies on the city council.

Gates is part of the rightist counter-offensive manifested at the county board of supervisor hearings, Green said. Another major expression of this rightist thrust was Gates' recent announcement that the police department is considering reinstating the notorious choke-hold.

"The choke-hold is a modified form of a killing technique taught during training by the U.S. Army," Green said, recalling that some 17 Blacks had been choked to death by Los Angeles cops before the choke-hold was banned nearly a decade ago. Gates had dismissed these murders by alleging that Blacks' arteries were not like those of "normal people."

Green said the Christopher Commission tried to excuse the cops by claiming the problem was limited to a few bad apples. This covers up the institutionalized violence that is a normal part of maintaining class rule in this society by striking fear into any who dare to step out of line.

While the commission covered up more than it revealed, it did document some ugly truths about the cops, Green stated.

In the wake of recent killings by deputies, some are demanding a new version of the Christopher Commission to investigate the sheriff's department. Latino and Black workers who raise this idea see it as a way

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# New Jersey grand jury clears killer cop

BY OLGA RODRÍGUEZ

NEWARK — The courts and city officials continue to refuse to take action against New Jersey police officers responsible for killing Black and Latino youth, despite public protests demanding the killer cops be brought to justice.

On September 5 a lengthy report was released on the findings of the grand jury convened in the case of 25-year-old Shaun Potts, shot to death June 30 by Sgt. Zane Grey. The grand jury cleared Grey of any wrongdoing in the slaying of the New Brunswick youth. (See interview with Potts' mother Jacqueline below.)

The trial of Gary Spath, the Teaneck cop who gunned down 16-year-old Phillip Panell on April 10, 1990, was scheduled to begin September 9 but has been postponed. Spath is the only cop thus far to have been criminally indicted in the recent rash of police violence.

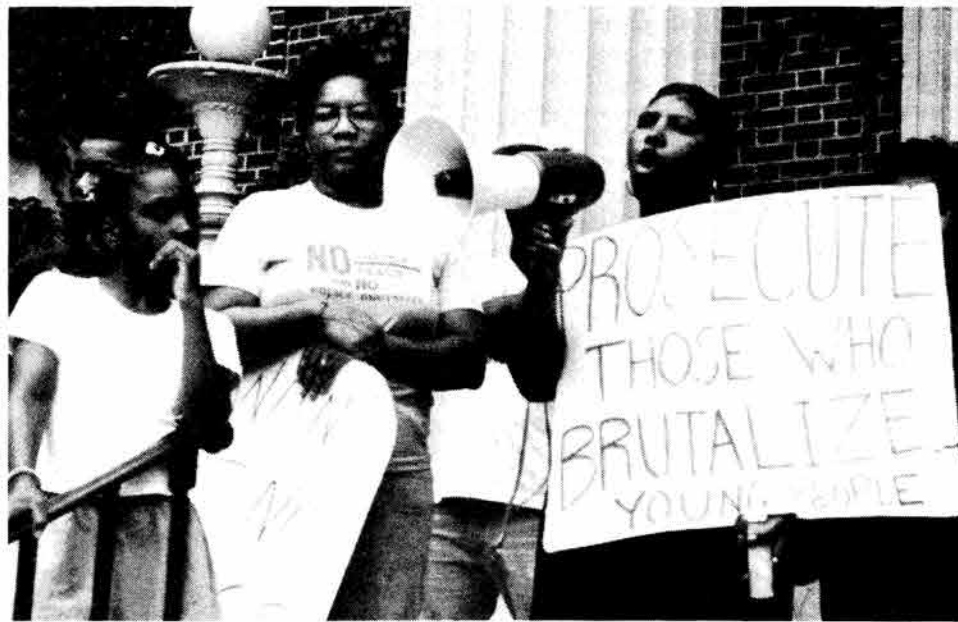
Four months after Newark and Hillside police killed 16-year-old Tasha Mayse and 20-year-old Lamont Russell Jones when the cops opened fire on a van in which the youths were riding, there has been no grand jury convened.

Instead of taking action against the cops, the city is placing one of the victims of the police assault, 17-year-old Joseph Lamont Ferguson, on trial on charges of stealing the van while armed. Ferguson will be tried as an adult. Seven other charges are being filed against the Black youth, involving other alleged incidents that go back more than a year. Ferguson has been transferred from a juvenile home, where he has been held since June, to the Essex County jail in Newark.

No action has yet been taken against the two Jersey City police who killed Puerto Rican youth Maximo Cintrón July 16.

Fifteen-year-old Uriah Hannah was hauled before the family court September 5 on charges of disorderly conduct and obstruction of justice in the operation of a remote-controlled toy car in front of his home in Plainfield.

The charges stem from an incident last March, when the youth was put into a chokehold by Plainfield police while playing with the car. When his parents intervened, trying



Sharon Mayse (right) with Venus Hannah. Both are mothers of youth killed by cops.

to remove the cop's nightstick from their son's neck, more cops arrived on the scene and arrested Al and Venus Hannah for "interfering with an officer."

The Hannah family has led a much-publicized fight to win justice for a second son, Santana, who died in police custody April 10, 1990. No cop has ever been charged.

The family and its attorney, Jack Frost, sought to get a public hearing in Uriah

Hannah's case. In a ruling September 5, Judge James Walsh rejected the motion to open the hearing. Any reference in the hearing to the cops' use of the choke-hold on Uriah Hannah was also ruled inadmissible.

Uriah's mother Venus said in an interview that "the judge was basically saying, 'I am not going to open up this court for you to make a soap opera out of this case.'"

"We weren't looking to become soap

opera stars. We were looking for justice," she explained.

"I wanted the hearing open so that people could see how these police brutality cases are run. I also wanted them to see the juvenile court's treatment of Black and Latino youth. There is no 'revolving door' for our youth, once they get them into the criminal justice system," Hannah said.

She urged continued public support in the fight for justice in the case of Santana Hannah's murder and those of the other youth killed by New Jersey police.

Jason Redrup, chairperson of the Newark Young Socialist Alliance, warned that "the courts, cops, and city governments are trying to bury these cases of police murders. They hope working people and youth will grow tired of fighting for justice and accept as inevitable that the cops can roam our streets gunning down whomever they please." Redrup is running on the Socialist Workers Party ticket for New Jersey State Assembly in the 29th District.

"Our response must be to keep the public spotlight on each and every one of these fights for justice, doing everything we can to get the truth out about these murders to trade unions, community organizations, and student groups.

"We should be inspired by the determination of the families of these young victims and not stop until every single one of these killer cops is behind bars," Redrup concluded.

## Mother of slain youth condemns grand jury

BY OLGA RODRÍGUEZ

NEW BRUNSWICK, New Jersey — A grand jury has decided there is "no probable cause" to indict policeman Zane Grey in the June 30 killing here of Shaun Potts, a 25-year-old Black.

"They couldn't find probable cause because the grand jury was presented with a case as if Zane Grey was the victim and Shaun Potts was the criminal," said Jacqueline Potts, a bakery worker and mother of the

slain youth, in a telephone interview.

"The prosecutor went into Shaun's alleged criminal background. They wanted to make Shaun out to be a monster, and Grey a martyr.

"I went humbly and patiently through the legal process," she explained. "Now, I'm supposed to receive the grand jury report and say 'Thank you, massah.'"

The shooting of Shaun Potts sparked demonstrations and protests in New Brunswick. Family and other supporters of the young man have joined with the families of other Black and Latino youth killed by New Jersey police over the last two years to demand that the killer cops be brought to justice.

### A cover-up

The grand jury accepted the official police and prosecutor's story that the shooting of Shaun Potts was a "tragic accident." Grey, who is white, claims that his gun discharged while chasing Potts as a "suspect" in a reported fight and bottle-throwing incident. There were no witnesses to the killing.

Grey says his foot fell through a rotted board on a handicap access ramp leading into the alley where he was chasing Potts. His right hand struck the railing as he tried to break his fall, and his gun discharged — he says — firing point-blank into Potts' back, killing him almost instantly.

"There appears to be a cover-up," Jacqueline Potts said. "The police rapidly removed all traces of blood from the scene of the shooting and they dismantled the ramp. I thought the ramp would be left until the investigators checked it out. But by the time the investigation began, it was all gone."

Potts only learned of the shooting a full hour after it happened when Shaun's girlfriend called her to come to the hospital. "I was in that hospital for 45 minutes before anyone told me Shaun was already dead," Potts recalled. "They let me sit there thinking that he was being treated. I wasn't told until later that he was dead before he even got to the hospital."

### 'Gun-toting minister'

The day of the killing, Middlesex County prosecutor Alan Rockoff held a press conference. He attempted to assure Black and other concerned residents that the shooting was not racially inspired, but just a "tragic, fatal accident."

Jacqueline Potts met with Rockoff following the shooting. "He told me: 'This was totally an accident. Let me begin by giving you a little background on Zane Grey. He's a Christian who's gone through a religious experience. A man of the cloth, assistant to his pastor. He goes to the Bowery in New York and works with the homeless.'"

"After he said this, I said, 'How dare you

tell me about him being a man of the cloth! Jim Jones was a man of the cloth, and he murdered hundreds of people. Jimmy Swaggert is a man of the cloth, involved in a prostitution scandal! And Jim Bakker is a man of the cloth, now in prison for stealing millions from his followers! As a minister, Grey would have done better to stay at home, working on his sermon, instead of being a gun-toting minister, shooting young people to death in an alley.'"

### 'Unions should come forward'

Potts works at the Sunshine Bakery, where she is a member and officer of Local 50 of the Bakery, Confectionery, and Tobacco Workers' International Union. A number of her coworkers at the plant of 800 have come forward in her fight for justice. "A few joined me in the march to the state attorney general's office in Trenton, and another coworker, now retired, went with me to some of the Civic League meetings," she says.

The latter is a New Brunswick Black community organization that has been active in the fight for justice in the Potts killing.

"The labor movement needs to stand behind its members in time like this," Potts believes. "We're the union. I'm a card-carrying member of the union, and an officer of my local. The unions need to address my plight. I think they should come forward."

### Fight not over

The grand jury's decision to not indict Grey does not mean the fight for justice is over. Jacqueline Potts pointed out that the fight needs to be stepped up. "We've gotten a lot of support from the community, community leaders, like the New Brunswick NAACP and Black church leaders, as well as people across the state," she reported.

"Our demand is for the police to cease and desist from killing our youth, to get justice in Shaun's case." She also favors an independent, federal investigation into her son's death.

Potts explained that activities have tended to drop off since the funeral for Shaun. "I don't want things to quiet down. We need to respond to this issue and deal with it head-on," she said.

"Law enforcement agencies have to be put on notice," said Potts. "They need reprogramming — the whole police — from top to bottom. They can't continue to label these killings as accidents. People need to be informed that there is something really wrong."

"These people are the ones that we pay to protect us, and they wind up brutalizing us. They put on a badge and assume the position of God. When Zane Grey entered that alley, he became judge, jury, and executioner."

## Australians protest antiabortion bill

BY MARNIE KENNEDY  
AND LYN SCOTT

SYDNEY, Australia — Chanting, "Keep your laws off our bodies!" some 1,000 marched here September 7 to protest legislation under discussion that would severely restrict women's access to abortion.

"Women will fight for the right to choose," "No to Nile's anti-abortion bill," and "A woman's life is a human life" were among the banners displayed on the march.

Many of the participants were young women taking part in their first abortion-rights action. Alongside them were those who had fought over the years to defend legal access to abortion.

The bill is to be debated in the New South

Wales (NSW) Legislative Council September 12. If adopted it would ban doctors from performing abortions in private clinics and hospitals. Doctors failing to comply with the law could be deregistered and face fines of up to \$5,000.

This latest attack on abortion rights is led by Fred Nile, a legislative council member in NSW. A clergyman, Nile is an outspoken opponent of women's and gay rights. He has made several previous attempts to introduce antiabortion legislation, including trying to stop Medicare funding of abortions two years ago. The scope of the government's attacks in Australia have paralleled those in the U.S. but so far have not been accompanied by the same level of right-wing mobilizations.

At the rally, Ann Symonds, one of eight members of parliament who voted against holding a debate on the bill, stated that 80 percent of the community is opposed to changing the current legislation. "We've got the numbers on our side, Nile will not win! The real question," she said, "is one of choice. This is not an antiabortion bill, it is an anti-woman bill. . . . Nile's attack is on those in need."

From the International Women's Day Collective Janet Fraser said of Nile, "He's not talking about life. Where was he during the Gulf War? He's not talking about babies. Where's the Fred Nile Daycare Center?! He's not talking about women's needs. Nile's views leave no room for women's independence or autonomy."

Emma Koorey from the Women's Abortion Action Campaign called for people to raise the demand for free, safe abortion in their unions. The Australian Labour Party has directed its members of parliament to make a "conscience vote" and has abstained from taking a position on the issue. Koorey urged motions to be sent to the upcoming conference of the Australian Council of Trade Unions condemning the conscience vote proposal. She encouraged everyone to attend a demonstration outside Parliament House while the bill is being debated on September 12.



Sydney marchers defend abortion rights



# Trade and working farmers

Continued from page 8

tariffs and other protectionist policies is demagoguery.

Some farm leaders, like those who participated in the Brussels demonstration, recognize that working farmers from different countries face a similar plight and need to forge political links. Joining with capitalist profiteers to safeguard "our" borders from imported farm goods, however, undermines this objective and contributes to deepening national chauvinism and disunity among the exploited. It also fuels the rulers' ceaseless effort to use commodity prices to try to drive a wedge between wage workers and working farmers. Tariff barriers serve to protect higher prices for consumer goods and bigger profits for food processors and supermarket owners.

The Brussels protest also, for the most part, supported the main proposals of capitalist farmers and exporters in Europe, who strenuously oppose the "free trade" schemes of their capitalist rivals in the United States. It reinforced the tendency of working farmers to accept leadership and solutions from the thin layer that gets the lion's share of benefits from the European Community's farm programs.

Rather than seeking solutions from this or that wing of the capitalist exploiters and their political parties, working farmers need their own program of action that can unite exploited farmers internationally and build toward an alliance with wage workers at the same time.

The essential elements of such a program should include the following:

- Measures to provide immediate relief for farmers who face bankruptcy and foreclosure. This includes disaster relief for those hit by droughts and floods and adequate government-financed crop insurance to guarantee protection from these and other disasters.

No farm should be foreclosed because a family cannot make the interest payments on loans and mortgages owed to parasitic bankers. A moratorium should be called on foreclosures.

- As long as farmers want to work their land and produce goods for society, the government should guarantee them use of the land. To end the burdens heaped on exploited farmers as a result of rents and mortgages, the land they till or pasture livestock on should not be subject to leasing agreements, sharecropping arrangements, or mortgages.

Instead of being forced to mortgage land in order to cover production costs, working farmers should be provided low-interest credit by the government, with preference given to those with greatest need.

In order to end the evils of real estate speculation and to prevent the concentration of land ownership in the hands of the exploiters, the only land sales permitted should be transfers to the state. All other buying and selling of land should be abolished.

- Farmers should be guaranteed a market for the products of their labor to meet their production costs and have a decent living.

All government schemes to curtail production in order to raise commodity prices should be banned. Within the framework of environmental protection and sound water and land management, working farmers should be encouraged to produce as much as they can. Farmers in the United States, with their great gains in labor productivity, should join together with farmers in other countries to help feed the world, where hundreds of millions still suffer from hunger and malnourishment, and capitalist-bred famines stalk entire regions.

A fight for these concrete measures can unite working farmers and lead toward welding an alliance with wage workers in the fields, factories, mines, and mills.

The independent mobilization of these united producers around this perspective will pit them against the bankers, food trusts, and employers and pose the need to replace the political rule of these exploiters with a government in which workers and farmers are in command. A workers' and farmers' government would expropriate the ruling families and all their holdings and provide a powerful instrument for working people to defend their interests and advance our economic, cultural, and social well-being.

## MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

The Militant Labor Forum is a weekly free-speech meeting for workers, farmers, youth, and others. All those seeking to advance the fight against injustice and exploitation should attend and participate in these discussions on issues of importance to working people.

At the Militant Labor Forum you can express your opinion, listen to the views of fellow fighters, and exchange ideas on how to advance the interests of workers and farmers the world over.

### CALIFORNIA

#### San Francisco

**Socialist Workers Party Candidates Speak Out: The World Capitalist Crisis, Stalinism and the Fight for Socialism.** Speakers: James White, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of San Francisco; Brian Gibbs, SWP candidate for sheriff; Sandra Lee, SWP candidate for district attorney. Sun., Sept. 29, 1 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$5. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

### CONNECTICUT

#### New Haven

**Right-wing Assault in Wichita: The Fight for Democratic Rights Today.** Speaker: Estelle DeBates, national cochairperson Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. Dwight Hall Common Room, Yale Campus. (High St. bet. Elm and Chapel) (203) 772-3375

### FLORIDA

#### Miami

**The Future of Socialism.** Speakers: Brett Merkey, Socialist Workers Party candidate for City Commission #2; Jackie Floyd, co-chairperson, Miami Socialist Workers Party campaign; Rosa Garmendia, co-chairperson, Miami Socialist Workers Party campaign. Sat., Sept. 28, Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

### GEORGIA

#### Atlanta

**Free Mark Curtis!** Speakers: Virginia Ramsey, president, American Federation State County and Municipal Employees Local 1644; Martha Hutchins, Clergy and Laity Concerned; Marla Puziss, Socialist Workers Party, member AFSCME local 1644. Sat., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. SW. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

### MARYLAND

#### Baltimore

**The Cuban Revolution Faces a Changing World: Rectification at a Crossroad.** Speaker: Edwin Fruit, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists local lodge 846. Sat., Sept. 28. Reception 7 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**Malcolm X: His Revolutionary Internationalist Ideas Today.** Speaker: James Harris, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Sept. 29, noon. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (313) 831-1177

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

### MINNESOTA

#### St. Paul

**The Fight Against Apartheid: South Africa Today.** Speakers: Tony Fernandes, University of Minnesota law student recently returned from South Africa; Suzanne Derby, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers local 789. Sat., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325

### NORTH CAROLINA

#### Greensboro

**Wichita/Iowa City: Opening Battles for Women's Rights and the Working Class Against the Right Wing and the Government.** Speakers: Nell Wheeler, Young Socialist Alliance, member International Association of Machinists; others. Sat., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Pittsburgh

**Police Anti-drug Dagnet in Pittsburgh: Attack on Democratic Rights.** Speaker: Sarah Button, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Allegheny County Commissioner, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

### TEXAS

#### Houston

**Eyewitness Report from South Africa.** Speaker: Sebileto Matabane, African National Congress, attended recent historic conference of ANC in South Africa. Sat, Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation \$3. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

### CANADA

#### Montréal

**The World Capitalist Crisis, Stalinism, and the Fight for Socialism.** Speakers: Michel Prairie, Communist League candidate in provincial by-election riding of Anjou; Katy LeRougetel, Communist League candidate in Montréal District 6, Notre-Dame-de-Grace, municipal by-election. Sat., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 6566 boul. St-Laurent. Donation: \$4. Sponsor: Forum

## Fight against police violence

Continued from Page 10

to push back the cops to some extent, Green said. "But rather than a 'blue ribbon commission,' as some are suggesting, I'd rather see a 'blue collar commission' — one based on workers, who know the real story about the cops."

Green said the movement that grew up after the Rodney King beating fell short of its goals and potential in part because it got diverted into trying to put a measure on the ballot to recall Gates. This electoral scheme, which went nowhere, had been put across by a Democratic Party politician.

"One lesson we should draw from this — one that Malcolm X always taught us — is that we need to stay independent of both

ouvrier militant. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

### Toronto

**Cuba and the War in Angola.** Video presentation. Sat., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400. Donation: \$4. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

### Vancouver

**Communist League Candidates in the British Columbia Provincial Elections: For a Fighting Independent Labor Movement.** Speakers: Nancy Walker, Communist League candidate in Vancouver Kingsway; Robert Demorest, Communist League candidate in Port Moody Burnaby Mountain. Sat., Sept. 28, 7 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Donation: \$3. Tel: (604) 872-3314.

### SWEDEN

#### Stockholm

**Democratic Rights Under Attack during the Economic Crisis.** Speaker: Dag Tirsén, Communist League. Sat., Sept. 28, 3 p.m. Vikingagatan 10. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

## Socialist Workers 1991 fund meetings

### FLORIDA

#### Miami

**The World Capitalist Crisis, Stalinism, and the Fight for Socialism.** Speaker: Francisco Picado, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., Oct. 12. Reception and dinner 6:30 p.m., donation \$4; program 7:30 p.m., donation \$5. 137 NE 54th St. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

### NEBRASKA

#### Omaha

**The World Capitalist Crisis, Stalinism, and the Fight for Socialism.** Speaker: Greg McCartan, editor, the *Militant*. Sat., Sept. 28. Reception 6:30 p.m.; presentation 7:30 p.m. 140 S. 40th St. Donation: \$5. Tel: (402) 533-0245.

capitalist parties. We need to rely on our own power, the power of workers, the oppressed and the exploited, and our organizations."

Green called for a strong answer to the pro-cop mobilization. "Above all we need unity," he said, "unity between Blacks, Chicanos, and Latino immigrants, backed by the support of the unions, which must become a fighting component of this struggle. We need to reach out to students, young workers who suffer the most at the hands of the police, and others.

"And we need actions — demonstrations, pickets, forums — to spread the truth about the cops. We need to call for a complete and thorough prosecution of the killer deputies and the cops who beat Rodney King, and the immediate ouster of Daryl Gates."

NSW 2010. Tel: 02-281-3297.

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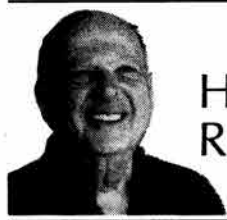
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### SWEDEN

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



**Getting used to it** — During Canada's recent postal strike, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney visited



Harry Ring

Winnipeg where several hundred strikers greeted him with single-finger salutes. Shrugged the PM, "It's no big deal. These days it happens all the time."

**L.A.'s finest** — Three Los Angeles County deputy sheriffs, and two others already in the slammer

on other charges, were indicted for assertedly stealing hundreds of thousands of dollars during drug raids. Officials said the money was used to remodel homes and to buy cars, real estate, and jewelry.

**L.A.'s finest (cont.)** — Three sheriff's deputies were indicted for lifting credit cards from elderly motorists after stopping them on phony traffic charges. They charged \$55,000 worth of goodies on the stolen cards, including the purchase of a Marine Corps Good Conduct Medal.

**Sensible** — One victim of the deputies' scam sensed something was amiss when he was told to empty his pockets. But he complied

because "it was only a week or two after the Rodney King beating and I was a little afraid."

**Petty cash** — Federal auditors found a \$1 billion gap in the financial records of the Resolution Trust Corp., the agency which deals with busted thrifts. The RTC chairman responded that for an agency which has handled \$300 billion in assets, an unaccounted-for \$1 billion is reasonable.

**P.S.** — Not all RTC expenditures are unaccounted for. Like, an order for 36 coffee mugs with the agency's logo, plus 12 golf shirts — \$3,098.

**Mum's the word** — The British government was reportedly embar-

assed by the disclosure that secret plans for its newest and supposedly most escape-proof prison were found on a bench in the back garden of a pub.

**If you can't kill 'em, join 'em** — With computer profits shrinking, two software firms, Management Science America and McCormack & Dodge, ended a period of brisk competition with a merger. Prior to the unity, the McCormack & Dodge prez appeared at sales meetings in a mask that resembled his rival counterpart. Meanwhile, sales reps screamed, "Kill, kill, kill!"

**Meeting your every need** — In addition to snow scrapers, K-Mart stores in Puerto Rico offer poison-

ous snake-bite kits. Our correspondent there advises, "There are no deadly snakes in Puerto Rico and even if there were, use of the kits is not recommended by medical authorities."

**The civilizers** — "The U.S. Defense Department confirmed reports that American tanks fitted with plows buried Iraqi troops alive in trenches in a key assault during the final days of the war." — Reuter's news agency.

**With their hands on a plow?** — Reduced from \$9.99 to \$6.99, "American Heroes Collectible Figures" — George Bush and Generals Colin Powell and Norman Schwarzkopf.

## Briton court-martialed for antiwar stance

BY MARTIN HILL

LONDON — Lance-Corporal Vic Williams was convicted September 11 on one charge of desertion and two of conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline. He was then dismissed "with disgrace" from the army.

These proceedings challenged the right of citizen-soldiers to express their political beliefs.

A court-martial at the Royal Artillery Barracks in Woolwich, Southeast London, sentenced Williams to 14 months imprisonment. The court could have imposed a penalty up to 20 years.

Williams went absent without leave from the 27th Field Regiment of Royal Artillery on December 28 last year, the day before his unit was to fly to the Arab-Persian Gulf. After 72 days he gave himself up at Rochester Row police station in London. The charges against him of "conduct prejudicial to good order and military

discipline" relate to comments Williams made at an antiwar rally in Hyde Park, London, and in a television interview.

"This thing must stop," stated Williams about the war against Iraq. "It is wrong. We are not better than Saddam Hussein with what we are doing in the Middle East." He later wrote to his commanding officer: "I felt that we were being sent to the region to take part in a blatant attempt to reduce the country and the people of Iraq to ruins under the guise of the UN. This campaign is naked aggression, which in my opinion is no different to the way Kuwait has been treated by Iraq."

Williams believes his public statements are the real charge against him. "If I hadn't spoken out publicly, they would never have done this. I might have got as little as 28 days," he explained.

Williams based his case on the right to freedom of speech and the right to leave the armed forces for reasons of conscience. One of his lawyers, Jim Nichols, explained, "Mr.

Williams should have the right to speak his mind, particularly when the war he was involved in was allegedly about democracy and freedom."

Attorney Helena Kennedy explained that senior officers in the armed forces had openly criticized government policy on defense cuts without being punished. "It may appear to some that there is one rule for the rank and file and a different rule if you are an officer and a gentleman," she stated.

Lt. Col. Gordon Risius, the prosecutor, told the court-martial hearing, "Soldiers are expected to obey lawful orders and not to challenge them publicly." He said that soldiers signed away certain freedoms when they joined and could not criticize government policy openly. To do so was "an act of disloyalty and dangerous for morale," stated Risius.

Williams explained, "I didn't know any procedure for stating my reservations about what the British Army is and was always going to do in the Gulf region." There are established procedures for military personnel who wish to object and leave, although the Ministry of Defence has the final say over this. Williams pointed out that servicemen and women are not informed of these rights, and that when he tried to voice his moral objections to the Gulf war he was told there was nothing he could do about it.

Bombardier Laurence Collingwood testified that he had been ordered to get all the men going to the Gulf in the 27th Field Regiment to sign a statement saying that

soldiers who were absent without leave would be treated as deserters.

Labour member of Parliament Tony Benn asked to give evidence to the court regarding the two charges of conduct prejudicial to good order and discipline. Benn intended to defend Williams' right to speak out against government policy, but the court refused to hear him. He has since written to the Prime Minister urging that the conviction be quashed.

More than 1,500 protest letters and hundreds of petitions were received prior to the trial. Seventy people demonstrated outside the barracks at the start of the court-martial. Banners carried included one from a branch of National Union of Local Government Officers (NALGO) and one from Thames Polytechnic Students Union. The protest was addressed by Labour member of Parliament Jeremy Corbyn, Marjorie Thompson of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and Andy Wilson of Reservists Against the War.

A spokesperson for the Vic Williams Defence Campaign said, "The army wants to make an example of Vic in order to discourage other service personnel in the future from speaking out against the plans of the government and generals."

The campaign is continuing to fight for Williams' release. He is now being held in the Military Corrective Training Establishment in Colchester. Letters can be sent to him c/o Vic Williams Defence Campaign, 265 Seven Sisters Road, Finsbury Park, London N4.

## Bank of England announces 'no end to recession' in sight

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — The Bank of England announced August 15 that there was "no clear evidence of an end to the recession" nor is there any "tangible evidence" of a recovery later in the year such as the government has predicted.

The Bank's judgement accompanied publication of government figures announcing the biggest July rise in unemployment since World War II and the sharpest quarterly fall in capital investment in manufacturing on record. Average earnings fell for the sixth consecutive month and home repossession in the first six months of 1991 were 34 percent higher than in the last six months of 1990.

Working people are bearing the brunt of the recession and the employers' drive for increased profits. After increasing for 17 consecutive months the official level of unemployment in Britain is 2.4 million, or 8.3 percent. But over the last 10 years there have

been 30 changes in how the figures are calculated. According to the reputable Unemployment Unit these new figures exclude 1 million unemployed from the official count. The total jobless figure has risen by some three-quarters of a million people over the past year.

The southeast of the country has been particularly hard hit. Unemployment in Greater London rose to 8.2 percent in July, up from 4.9 percent a year earlier. United Kingdom unemployment remains highest in the British-occupied north of Ireland, where it officially stands at 13.9 percent.

A number of government statements over the past months have predicted an end to the recession. The *Financial Times* cynically editorialized August 17 that there is "nowhere to go but up." Even the most optimistic government forecasts on trends in the economy consider that unemployment will continue to increase, at least until the end of the year.

Other forecasts are not so rosy, pointing to a downward spiral of capital investment. According to government figures spending on capital assets in the second quarter of 1991 was 21 percent lower than in the previous quarter. Year on year, the second quarter comparison reveals a 28 percent drop, and total capital spending over the year is expected to be 14 percent lower than last year.

The decline in investment reflects the low level of profitability — 5.5 percent in the first quarter of 1991, 5.5 percent lower than the previous year. The rate of profit is in turn further exacerbated by the recession. The bosses see no prospect of a short-term upturn that could partially compensate for the profits squeeze.

A survey conducted in early July by the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) prompted CBI leader David Wigglesworth to conclude that Britain is "in a deep recession that continues to deepen." The CBI forecast that manufacturing output would decline a further 1.4 percent over the current quarter to stand at 8.4 percent below its equivalent 1990 level.

## —25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People  
October 3, 1966 Price 10c

NEW YORK — The national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance met here over the Sept. 17-18 weekend to discuss plans for the coming period. National committee members came from all over the country, from Boston to Seattle, for the gathering.

Top priority was placed on continued YSA activity in building the antiwar movement, including organizing for the Nov. 5-8 mobilization and defense of the Fort Hood Three [anti-Vietnam War GIs].

A high point of the weekend deliberations was the discussion of the Negro struggle and the rise of black power as a slogan. Reports were given from many areas on work being done by the YSA in helping to disseminate the ideas of Malcolm X, and supporting such things as the Black Panther Party in Alabama.

A special report was given on the case of the Bloomington students, three YSAers who have been under indictment in Indiana for over three years. The three, Ralph Levitt, Tom Morgan, and Jim Bingham, were indicted in 1963 under Indiana's "anti-communism" act for their socialist beliefs.

### THE MILITANT

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

October 4, 1941

BALTIMORE, Md., Sept. 26 — Yester-

day the National Labor Relations Board held an election here at the Sparrows Point plant of Bethlehem Steel. When the polls opened at 5 A.M., we who were working on the 12 to 8 shift stepped back from our jobs and the incessant, deafening roar and clang of processing steel died out in the mill as we made our way to the voting places.

We knew that if the "independent" scab union won the elections, it would mean a return to the old days: the militants would be hounded from their jobs, the "brown noses" and favorites of the foremen would come back into their own, and we would be left defenseless against ruthless exploitation by the company in the hard days to come.

During the past several months we have learned a lot about acting together. For months we have demonstrated at the gates before the mills; we have shut down some of the mills and staged work stoppage in sections of others; we have tried to teach some of the "rats" not to fight the union.

When they counted up the votes in the evening, it was a 2 1/2 to 1 victory for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. Out of 18,225 eligible to vote, 15,742 cast ballots, and of these 10,813 voted for the SWOC.

We already have another fight on our hands. Today a Baltimore County Grand Jury indicted 13 of our leading militants on charges of "rioting" based on an old English law. On August 18 the workers in the pipe mill had lost all patience with a scab provocateur and shut down the mill after the company refused to comply with an ultimatum that this rat be fired outright.

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## Extend food aid to Soviet Union

The U.S. and all other imperialist governments should immediately send massive aid to meet the severe food needs in the Soviet Union. Winter is fast approaching and a catastrophe for working people is possible unless there is swift action.

While it is difficult to determine the exact extent of the food shortage, this is clearly a situation where many lives are at stake. Figures on the drop in production, smaller harvests, and lack of adequate transport and storage facilities indicate the potential for widespread hardships, hunger, and famine.

The U.S., German, and Japanese governments have at their fingertips massive amounts of wheat, milk, cheese, beef, and other items stored in warehouses and silos. Refusing to make this food available — with no strings attached — is a crime against working people in the Soviet Union whom the Bush administration claims to care so much about.

To the competing imperialist powers, food — far from being a basic human right — is a commodity from which to profit. It is standard capitalist practice to stockpile food, cut back on its production to ensure a high price, and use

food as a political weapon on a world scale.

The various imperialist powers have been divided over aiding the Soviet Union — that is on how best to stem the crisis of the Soviet regime. With a food shortage now adding to the deepening social and political crisis there, the imperialist powers will seek to tie food relief to their jockeying for political leverage and position vis-a-vis the Soviet bureaucracy. Those competing economic and political interests are resulting in foot-dragging by the imperialist powers; the food aid needed has barely begun to materialize.

The aid must be given with consideration only for the working people of the Soviet Union, who should not be forced into famine because of the bureaucratic mismanagement of the economy by the regime.

Only a few short weeks ago the world witnessed the fighting capacity of the Soviet working class as it defeated the coup. Thousands took to the streets to defend the political space they have won in the recent period.

Demanding that the imperialist nations supply food aid now on a humanitarian basis will help put the Soviet workers and farmers in the best position to continue to fight.

## Lessons of Canada strike

The September 18 decision by top officials of the Public Sector Alliance of Canada (PSAC) to call off the strike of some 110,000 of its members is a blow to the entire labor movement.

The union's ranks showed a fighting spirit and determination to rebuff the one-year wage freeze demanded by the government. In rallies and picket lines they took steps toward forging a more united work force.

The workers were sent back to work at a time when their strike was gaining momentum and attracting the sympathy of other working people in Canada.

The PSAC officials claimed that their decision was necessary in order to avoid the imposition of back-to-work legislation. But this is a pure rationalization for their decision to end the strike anyway.

Back-to-work legislation cannot break strikes.

To break the PSAC strike, the government would have had to be prepared to use massive numbers of cops and possibly soldiers to smash the picket lines and replace the strikers with tens of thousands of scabs.

With the deepening crisis of the capitalist economy and the need to defend their falling rate of profits, the employers and their governments will be compelled to use such methods in the years ahead.

But this is not what the federal workers or most other unionists face today. The only time that the Canadian government has tried to use force to herd scabs through picket lines since World War II was during the letter carriers' strike in 1987. Ottawa's feeble attempts proved a complete fiasco. The letter carriers won the strike, their first ever.

There is no reason to believe a similar outcome was not possible in the PSAC strike.

The strike has ended only because union officials used this pretext to convince workers that they should not rely

on the strength of their strike but on the ability of a few union negotiators sitting behind closed doors with government representatives.

But once their picket lines were called off, the ranks lost the most powerful weapon at their disposal — the effective strike they had begun to wage. Without this kind of fight the ability to win key demands of the walkout has been weakened considerably.

These experiences show why looking to capitalist politicians, including the so-called "friends of labor," the New Democratic Party, mediators, union officials, lawyers, and others is a dead end trap in the fight to advance the interests of working people.

The labor movement can only defend itself by relying on our own strength and on the solidarity of other working people. That is the key lesson of the PSAC strike.

Breaking with the "labor statesman" perspective of collaboration with the employers and their government advanced by the union officials is the only way working people can effectively fight the rulers' assault. This involves charting an independent political course that relies on the mobilized strength of the working class.

The experience that PSAC members gained through this fight will prove invaluable in the bigger battles that lie ahead. Most important of these lessons will be the extent to which this fight helped a vanguard layer of workers in the labor movement see more clearly both the class collaborationist betrayal of the officialdom and the potential power of the ranks that is undercut, misled, and sabotaged at each turning point. These lessons will help forge the kind of leadership that will emerge from class battles; working-class fighters willing and able to lead an effective struggle against the bosses' deepening attacks.

## Another look at 'Gates out' fight

Important struggles against police brutality have taken place in the last few months.

These struggles have helped to expose the fact that cop violence against working people is routine, not out of the ordinary. The cops' job is to harass, intimidate, and punish working people — day in and day out.

Accurately assessing both the advances registered in the course of these fights and the limits of the victories scored so far is essential in charting the way forward.

An August 9 *Militant* editorial described the announcement by Los Angeles police chief Daryl Gates that he would retire by April 1992 as a "resignation" and a "big victory for working people."

An accurate political assessment of the facts at the time of Gates' announcement and of the events that have unfolded since show this editorial stance was incorrect.

Since the videotape of cops brutally beating Rodney King was shown on TV, mobilizations in Los Angeles centering on the demand "Gates must go" included a demonstration of several thousand, weekly picket lines at police headquarters, and community meetings.

These actions, though, were not as massive or sustained as was needed to force Gates to resign and deal a major blow to police violence, intimidation, and murder. The labor movement was not involved for the most part in the protests. Thus the success that was scored, registered by the announcement of the intention of the police chief to retire, was limited.

Gates' supporters in the ruling class organized a counteroffensive with demonstrations and meetings in his defense. Others attempted to derail the protests against the Los Angeles police chief. The move to put a Gates recall measure on the ballot was a calculated diversion

from the struggle in the streets.

Two recent moves demonstrate how much wind the Gates forces still have in their sails. On September 11 Gates announced that he is reconsidering his earlier promise to step aside as police chief next year. This comes on top of another announcement that the Los Angeles police department is considering reinstating the notorious choke-hold. These statements should serve as a warning to all who oppose police brutality. They spotlight the undecided nature of Gates' "promise" to retire.

The police and their supporters have taken other steps to counteract the outrage against cop violence. This was shown by the stacking of a September 10 hearing in Los Angeles by cops and their supporters. The hearing was held in the face of growing community anger after the gunning down of four people by Los Angeles County sheriff's deputies.

The protests demanding Gates' resignation have inspired others around the country to wage fights against and bring to public attention acts of police violence. Protests against the brutal practices of the Los Angeles County and northern New Jersey cops are examples of this.

Millions of working people have experienced a cop's nightstick or fist in their face — either personally or through a relative or friend.

The widespread outrage over King's beating shows the potential to mobilize tens of thousands of youth and working people against police beatings, murders, and frame-ups. The labor movement should take a firm stand against police brutality as an important social issue. This will be a giant help in pushing back cop violence. It will in turn strengthen working people's ability to defend ourselves — on the job or the picket line — in the face of growing employer attacks.

## Trotsky on the character of Soviet regime

Below is reprinted a selection from *The Revolution Betrayed*, by Leon Trotsky. The book was first printed in 1937. The piece is taken from the chapter, "Whither the Soviet Union?" Here Trotsky discusses the social character of the Soviet regime, and the way in which the bureaucratic administration of the economy by the ruling stratum puts a brake on the development of productive forces.

A communist and a leader of the Russian revolution, Trotsky organized opposition to the counter-revolution led by Joseph Stalin. Exiled from the USSR, he continued the fight to build communist organizations around the world capable of leading the struggle of working people for socialism.

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The progressive role of the Soviet bureaucracy coincides with the period devoted to introducing into the Soviet Union the most important elements of capitalist technique. The rough work of borrowing, imitating, transplanting and grafting, was accomplished on the bases laid down by the revolution. There was, thus far, no question of any new word in the sphere of technique, science or art. It is possible to build gigantic factories according to a ready-made Western pattern by bureaucratic command — although, to be sure, at triple the normal cost. But the farther you go, the more the economy runs into the problem of quality, which slips out of the hands of a bureaucracy like a shadow. The Soviet products are as though branded with the gray label of indifference. Under a nationalized economy, *quality* demands a democracy of producers and consumers, freedom of criticism and initiative — conditions incompatible with a totalitarian regime of fear, lies and flattery.

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

Behind the question of quality stands a more complicated and grandiose problem which may be comprised in the concept of *independent, technical and cultural creation*. The ancient philosopher said that strife is the father of all things. No new values can be created where a free conflict of ideas is impossible. To be sure, a revolutionary dictatorship means by its very essence strict limitations of freedom. But for that very reason epochs of revolution have never been directly favorable to cultural creation: they have only cleared the arena for it. The dictatorship of the proletariat opens a wider scope to human genius the more it ceases to be a dictatorship. The socialist culture will flourish only in proportion to the dying away of the state. In that simple and unshakable historic law is contained the death sentence of the present political regime in the Soviet Union. Soviet democracy is not the demand of an abstract policy, still less an abstract moral. It has become a life-and-death need of the country.

If the new state had no other interests than the interests of society, the dying away of the function of compulsion would gradually acquire a painless character. But the state is not pure spirit. Specific functions have created specific organs. The bureaucracy taken as a whole is concerned not so much with its function as with the tribute which this function brings in. The commanding caste tries to strengthen and perpetuate the organs of compulsion. To make sure of its power and income, it spares nothing and nobody. The more the course of development goes against it, the more ruthless it becomes toward the advanced elements of the population.

The increasingly insistent deification of Stalin is, with all its elements of caricature, a necessary element of the regime. The bureaucracy has need of an inviolable super-arbiter, a first consul if not an emperor, and it raises upon its shoulders him who best responds to its claim for lordship. That "strength of character" of the leader which so enraptures the literary dilettantes of the West, is in reality the sum total of the collective pressure of a caste which will stop at nothing in defense of its position.

Caesarism, or its bourgeois form, Bonapartism, enters the scene in those moments of history when the sharp struggle of two camps raises the state power, so to speak, above the nation and guarantees it, in appearance, a complete independence of classes — in reality, only the freedom necessary for a defense of the privileged. The Stalin regime, rising above a politically atomized society, resting upon a police and officers' corps, and allowing of no control whatever, is obviously a variation of Bonapartism — a Bonapartism of a new type not before seen in history.

In the last analysis, Soviet Bonapartism owes its birth to the belatedness of the world revolution. But in the capitalist countries the same cause gave rise to fascism. We thus arrive at the conclusion, unexpected at first glance, but in reality inevitable, that the crushing of Soviet democracy by an all-powerful bureaucracy and the extermination of bourgeois democracy by fascism were produced by one and the same cause: the dilatoriness of the world proletariat in solving the problems set for it by history.



# U.S. role in 1948 murder of journalist in Greece

*The Polk Conspiracy: Murder and Cover-up in the Case of CBS News Correspondent George Polk*, by Kati Marton. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1990. 369 pp., \$22.95

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

George Polk's body was found floating in Greece's Salonika Bay on May 16, 1948. His hands and feet were bound and there was a bullet hole in his head. Polk was a CBS News correspondent covering the unfolding civil war in Greece at that time.

Kati Marton's book is a thriller-like documentary of Polk's murder by rightist forces; the subsequent frame-up by the right-wing government in Greece of another journalist who allegedly followed orders of the Greek Communist Party in killing Polk; and Washington's central role in the

## IN REVIEW

cover-up. These events were played out at a time of deep-going social upheaval marked by widespread working-class struggles in the Mediterranean growing out of the revolution in Yugoslavia.

Marton explains that the murder and cover-up took place as Washington was implementing what is known as the "Truman doctrine."

In the spring of 1947 U.S. President Harry Truman signed an executive order launching the loyalty oath program and witch-hunt, including government blacklists, at home. It was also the beginning of a period that has become known — somewhat inaccurately — as the "Cold War."

A more accurate term would be Washington's second militarization drive. This massive rearming with its accompanying political ramifications at home was launched in response to the victory of the Soviet Union in World War II, the advance of the colonial revolution as the imperialist powers warred against each other, and the resulting shift in the international relationship of forces to the detriment of imperialism. With the second interimperialist slaughter barely over, the U.S. rulers — who came out on top of the pile with Japan's surrender in 1945 — had to put back together a military force to use against the struggles of workers and peasants around the world.

In her book, Marton quotes an address Truman made to Congress on March 12, 1947: "I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."

Truman's speech, cloaked in anti-communist rhetoric, launched a massive military aid program to the rightist regime in Greece, which was threatened by a worker and peasant uprising at the time. The policy outlined in the speech became known as the Truman doctrine. It was aimed at preventing the spread of anticapitalist revolutions such as the one that took place in Yugoslavia in 1945-46.

### Yugoslav and Greek revolutions

There is good reason to read this book today. Various wings of the bureaucratic layer ruling Yugoslavia are driving the country into ever widening bloodletting today. The inter-bureaucratic squabble has caused widespread revulsion among working people there. It has also led to wider interest in finding out how working class unity was forged

in the 1940s in the country, the impact of the revolution beyond the borders of Yugoslavia, and imperialism's response to these developments.

The Yugoslav revolution inspired workers and peasants in Greece to press forward their revolutionary mobilizations. Polk was covering these events when he was killed.

When Hitler invaded Greece in 1940 the Greek ruling class divided, the majority collaborating with the occupying forces as worker and peasant resistance to the Nazi occupation developed. The resistance was led by the National Liberation Front (EAM) and its armed wing, the National Popular Liberation Army (ELAS).

A pro-monarchist group — EDES, under the command of General Zervas — also established a guerilla force and received aid from the British government. But it ended up collaborating with the Nazis against the popular resistance.

Close collaboration developed between ELAS and the partisans in Yugoslavia, headed by Josip Tito, who waged a massive resistance to the Nazi occupiers there.

In 1944, the advance of Soviet troops into the Balkans and the severe blows dealt by the resistance fighters forced the German troops to pull out of Greece.

By that time, ELAS forces had swelled to 70,000 and controlled 27 of the country's 34 provinces. EPON, the youth organization associated with EAM, had an estimated membership of 500,000. In the rebel-held zones, literacy campaigns were initiated, land was distributed to the peasants, and the right of women to vote was established for the first time.

Shortly after the German withdrawal British troops landed in Athens. The monarchist government of King George II, who had fled abroad during the war, was reestablished. Along with the British, it demanded the disarming of the resistance forces.

Under instructions by Soviet premier Joseph Stalin, the pro-Moscow Communist Party of Greece (KKE) leaders — who dominated the political leadership of EAM/ELAS — facilitated the landing of British troops, entered a coalition government under the King, and began disarming ELAS.

A massive and armed resistance to this betrayal developed among working people. British premier Churchill ordered his commander in Greece to "hold and dominate Athens with bloodshed if necessary."

In December 1944 British troops and Greek police fired on a workers' demonstration in Athens, killing dozens. Popular indignation and armed rebellions forced the government's resignation. ELAS controlled the whole country except sections of Athens. But instead of leading workers and peasants to take power EAM/ELAS leaders proposed a new coalition government to which Churchill agreed.

The Stalinist leadership of EAM/ELAS was carrying out an agreement struck between Stalin and Churchill in Tehran, Iran, that Greece was to remain in the "British sphere of influence."

While a section of the fighters were voluntarily disarmed thousands went into the hills to continue the struggle. The civil war that ensued lasted until 1949. Fierce government repression, backed and directed first by British and then by U.S. forces and aided by the active sabotage of the struggle by the KKE leadership, finally defeated the revolutionary uprising.

### Polk's assassination

Marton's book contains relatively few facts about the



Journalist George Polk one year before his death

1944-49 Greek revolution. Moreover, she presents a liberal view of the civil war as a conflict between "East and West" during which both communists and rightists committed atrocities. In reality, the worker and peasant uprising in Greece in the 1940s was a profound revolution betrayed and led to defeat by its Stalinist leadership.

Her account of Polk's murder and the subsequent cover-up does document how the Truman doctrine was implemented in Greece as the period of the Cold War began.

George Polk was assassinated while attempting to meet and interview Markos Vafiadis, commander of the rebel forces. A liberal-minded reporter, Polk attempted to give a more objective view of the civil war than the one presented by the government-controlled press in Greece. For that reason, he was branded "communist" and lived under death threats.

Marton offers convincing evidence to support her case that Polk was killed not by members of the Communist Party — the official version advanced after a rigged trial that was supported by London and Washington — but by individuals on orders of officials from the Greek rightist government.

She implicates individuals in the Greek, U.S., and British governments in the frame-up of Gregory Staktopoulos, another journalist, for the murder. Staktopoulos was forced to "confess" after torture and was sentenced to 12 years as an accomplice. He later withdrew his "confession."

Marton points to the connections between the cover-up and the antilabor witch-hunt, under the guise of a communist scare, unfolding in the U.S. at the time and the self-censorship carried out by the major media. She chastises it as the blow it was on freedom of the press.

It is a book worth reading.

## LETTERS

### Supports Mark Curtis

What impressed me the most in the *Militant* was the fact that in your letters column you had many written by prisoners.

Congratulations, for covering the needs of all the people in general, and speaking of prisoners, let me tell you that I do believe in Mark Curtis' innocence for the simple reason that I am suffering because of the same great hypocrisy of this government.

A prisoner  
Crescent City, California

### Left in darkness

It seems that every time something very major happens I do not receive the *Militant*. Without the *Militant* I will be left in the darkness because I will not allow myself to be programed by the capitalist news media. The *Militant* should be placed in every house in America and around the world. . . .

A prisoner  
Graterford, Pennsylvania

### Country slowly sinking

On August 31st, proclaimed Solidarity Day by Labor and the friends of Labor, I spent the day in Washington, D.C. Most people went to hear what these leaders had to say.

Although the heat range was in the nineties, an unprecedented

crowd turned out. The leaders in Washington had the Fire Department out at different locations with a few hoses to cool the crowd.

I think if it had not been for this, riots could have very easily started, given the mood of the crowd. People are very angry and they should be. The politicians don't care about the people in this country. But they can find money for S&Ls and other countries which they think need it more than our own people.

Our country is sinking slowly.

Paul González  
Retired member,  
International Association of  
Machinists Local 1807  
Endicott, New York

### Wants 'Militant' in color

In Detroit we've continued to sell the September 6 issue of the *Militant* along with the subsequent issues. While the in-depth coverage of the Soviet Union and the rightist assault in Wichita make the issue an attractive buy, I think that the blue masthead is also a definite plus. I'd like to propose a serious look at the possibility of including color on the *Militant* on a regular basis.

C.W.  
Detroit, Michigan

### Revolutionary times

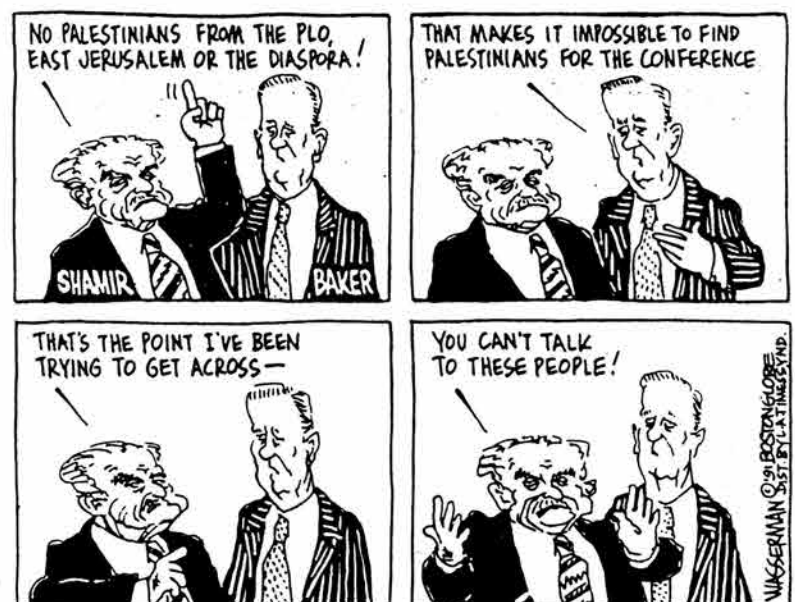
I am writing to thank the journalists of the *Militant* and to express that this paper has been steadily improving week by week. As a reader of the *Militant* I have found myself liking the paper more than ever.

I think this is due to the manner of news reporting found here in these suddenly explosive and revolutionary times. With the hopeful beginning of the end of the Stalinist-Maoist States, a truly working-class and pro-democratic-rights viewpoint is of inestimable value for people to be reading. This paper is one up for Marxist journalism.

One suggestion: please try to make the cover page with blue ink (Sept. 6, 1991, issue) from now on. It is rather attractive and just goes to show that the world is not simply black and white.

James E. Haller  
County Government Worker,  
AFSCME member

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.



### 'Militant' 1990 Bound Volume

Get all 49 issues of the 1990 *Militant* bound in hard cover. It is a valuable record of big developments in the world class struggle. Washington and its allies' preparations for war against Iraq; strike against Eastern Airlines and other labor battles; fight to defend abortion rights, against racist attacks, and in defense of democratic rights; Mark Curtis defense campaign; freedom struggle in South Africa; Cuban revolution; speeches of revolutionary leaders, Marxist analysis, and education. These are examples of what is contained in the pages of the 1990 *Militant*. A complete subject, country, and author index makes for easy reference. Send \$55 for the 1990 *Militant* bound volume to the *Militant*, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$10 for shipping and handling.



## Soviets face winter food shortages

BY SETH GALINSKY

The Soviet Union faces a deepening economic crisis and a severe shortage of food. On September 19 Soviet officials doubled their estimate of the foreign food aid they need for the coming year, to \$14.7 billion.

Stressing the need for immediate action, Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Soviet government's economic management committee, told reporters that the coming winter "does not wait."

But so far the amount of assistance promised by Washington and the European Community (EC) is far short of the Soviet request.

The Soviet grain harvest is projected to drop at least 20 percent from 1990, in part because of a disastrous season in Kazakhstan. Food production is down 8 percent. Milk, meat, and oil production are down 10 percent. Coal output has shrunk 18 percent. Overall industrial production is down 8 percent compared to the first eight months of 1990.

In many parts of the country bartering is replacing cash sales. Some businesses and state-owned companies are not interested in payment in what they derisively call "wooden rubles." According to the *New York Times* "metal, meat, and wheat are the currencies of choice."

It was the continuing economic decline and the refusal of working people to submit to austerity measures and denial of democratic rights that brought about the sharp crisis of the Stalinist regime over the past several years. In the wake of the August 19 coup attempt, neither the bureaucratic regime in Moscow nor those situated in the republics is any closer to stabilizing the situation or reversing the economic slide. Few proposals have been put forward by the newly formed State Council or the Inter-Republic Economic Committee, which were set up to replace the now-defunct Congress of People's Deputies.

An aide to Moscow mayor Gavril Popov said he was confident that supplies of milk and meat would be adequate to avoid a famine there. "They won't run short," he said, "because we'll be getting emergency aid and food supplies from the West."

According to the *New York Times*, U.S. officials say they intend to make sure that the Soviets get through the winter without "serious" food shortages.

### U.S. has 'enormous stake'

Following U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's recent trip to Moscow, top U.S. officials were more willing to comment on why Washington is backing Mikhail Gorbachev and what they call the "center" — that is, the national bureaucratic apparatus in the Soviet Union. The Bush administration fears the impact of the disintegration and resulting instability of the central Soviet government.

"The key thing that has to inform what we do is the fact that we have an enormous stake in these guys succeeding," an aide to Baker told the *Times*. "Our policy is going to have to be shaped in a way that is designed to help them deliver."

Baker made it clear during his trip to Moscow that Washington wants a common currency and banking system, a single economic federation, and a transition to a capitalist market — which would imply a massive austerity program. Bush wants all aid to be channeled through the central government, not the republics — with the exception of the three Baltic states.

But the imperialists have no intention of giving massive direct loans or grants because neither could have any lasting impact on reversing the economic decline. The EC has approved a \$1.4 billion aid plan, mostly for food, and the U.S. government has authorized \$2.5 billion in federally guaranteed loans. Far from indicating plans for an infusion of funds, though, the "aid" packages are a massive subsidy to capitalist grain monopolies.

Instead of granting Gorbachev's requests, Washington and other imperialist powers are mainly offering advice.

The *Wall Street Journal* reported September 20 that President Bush is "seriously con-



Soviet farm workers. Overall food production is down 8 percent in the Soviet Union. The grain harvest is projected to be 20 percent down from 1990.

sidering" establishment of a "major" U.S.-sponsored training school to teach the "basic skills of a market economy."

As an example of the kind of projects Washington is willing to promote, a high-ranking official suggested the establishment of a shopping street in St. Petersburg, with Western-owned stores or, in the words of the *Times*, "maybe a new road-building project that could supply jobs and improve traffic."

### A bumpy road

Twelve of the Soviet Union's 15 republics have declared their formal independence. Washington is backing Gorbachev's efforts

to keep the union together through an economic federation. But the attempts face a bumpy road.

Leonid Kravchuk, former Communist Party leader and head of the Ukraine parliament, was rebuffed when he sought approval for the republic's participation in the federation. The Ukraine is the breadbasket of the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party in Uzbekistan, which supported the coup, made a rapid about-face after the plotters were defeated. It condemned the coup, changed its name to the Popular Democratic Party, and declared the independence of the region, but continued

## Philippine Senate rejects continuing lease of land for U.S. naval base at Subic Bay

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

The Philippine Senate voted September 16 to reject a treaty that would have extended the lease on the U.S. naval base at Subic Bay for 10 years. Philippine president Corazon Aquino immediately revoked the termination of the present lease and called for a national referendum on the base's future.

The base, home to more than 7,000 GIs and civilian workers, is a major refueling and repair station for the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the Pacific.

A majority of the Senate had already declared its opposition to the treaty when, in a nonbinding decision, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, made up of all 23 members of the Senate, voted 12-11 against it on September 9.

Under the Philippine constitution, the lease extension would require a two-thirds majority vote for approval. On anticipation of Senate rejection of the treaty, shares on the Manila stock market plunged 5.42 percent.

### Aquino organizes support for bases

Aquino, an advocate of the treaty, had organized a march to pressure the Senate to ratify the extension. Commercial broadcast repeatedly on Manila television had called for a large turnout at the march to let "the voice of the silent majority be heard."

In the meantime police broke up a small demonstration of opponents of the treaty at the U.S. embassy in Manila September 9.

The September 10 rally and march called by Aquino drew more than 100,000 people according to police estimates. At a separate antitreaty rally the same day Senator Agapito Aquino, Corazon Aquino's brother-in-law, said, "The long-term interests of our people call for the removal of American military bases."

Philippine guerrillas declared a unilateral cease-fire September 13 to celebrate the ex-

pected rejection of the treaty. The guerrilla forces, organized by the New People's Army, have been fighting to topple the Aquino regime. The New People's Army and its political wing, the National Democratic Front, are led by the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Leading up to the Senate vote, Washington initially postured as if the future of the base was of little concern. The Bush administration took a "take it or leave it" stance.

"We obviously can't stay where we are not wanted," said U.S. defense secretary Richard Cheney in a September 9 interview with Cable News Network. "If they're not prepared to ratify the treaty and extend the agreement, then we will in fact depart," he added.

As Aquino's failure to win the needed majority to approve the treaty became clear, U.S. officials started singing a different tune. "We support her efforts" to win approval of the bases through the referendum, said Richard Solomon, U.S. assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs, September 15.

A small protest opposing the extension of the treaty took place September 14 in New York. In a Los Angeles press conference responding to the treaty rejection, Enrique de la Cruz, of the Alliance for Philippine Concerns, said: "The passage today by the Philippine Senate of a resolution of nonconcurrent effectively blocks the ratification of a new agreement and compels the United States to remove its military bases from Philippine soil."

On September 17 Aquino formally announced that she will not evict U.S. forces from the Subic Bay Naval Station. In a diplomatic note to the U.S. government, Philippine foreign secretary Raúl Manglapus said Aquino had revoked an earlier eviction notice, scheduled to go into effect with the termination of the treaty. "It is our definite

to arrest opponents and repress demonstrations.

In Georgia, protests inspired by the defeat of the August 19 coup continue against President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. Gamsakhurdia spent time in prison for nationalist activities and was elected president last May in an election boycotted by the opposition. Georgia declared its independence April 9.

Demonstrators charge that Gamsakhurdia tacitly backed the coup in Moscow. Aiming to crush opposition, the Georgian government has repressed demonstrations, closed down newspapers, and arrested opposition leaders.

Steps toward introducing capitalist enterprises, never mind private ownership of the means of production, face resistance throughout the union. The *New York Times* put it this way:

"Few Muscovites or other Russians understand the difference between black-market speculation — buying state-controlled goods at low prices, jacking the price up, and selling them for a profit — and the normal supply-and-demand pricing mechanism of a free market."

Potential capitalists complain, the paper reported, that most people in the Soviet Union still lump businessmen and brigands together.

The imperialists also know that the defeat of the coup increased the confidence of workers. "People think differently now," said Sergei Zalygin, editor of the monthly literary magazine *Novy Mir*. "They are no longer willing to do what they're told without question."

If the Soviet government tries to introduce the free market and eliminate food subsidies, the *New York Times* worries, the crowds that defeated the coup "may be out on the streets again."

and sincere perception that the people want the treaty and we're going to give them a chance to approve it," Manglapus said at a news conference.

### 'U.S. navy is not going anywhere'

Although the lease expired September 16 U.S. government officials had indicated the day before that they intended to invoke a clause permitting U.S. military forces to remain at Subic Bay another year. This would allow time to reach a new agreement on the base.

"The United States Navy is not going anywhere," an anonymous U.S. government official was quoted in the *New York Times* following Aquino's announcement revoking the eviction notice. "Under the terms of this decision, we can remain at Subic with the Philippine government's blessing until at least September 1992," he added.

Philippine senators immediately challenged the legality of Aquino's decision. Some questioned whether a referendum could legally overturn the Senate decision.

Under mounting pressure from antibase forces, Aquino stated that a referendum would only be held if requested by a "people's initiative" involving the collection of 3 million signatures.

The U.S. government is in the process of abandoning Clark Air Base, its other major military installation in the Philippines, after it was damaged by the eruption of a nearby volcano.

Washington took the Philippines as a colony after defeating Spain in the Spanish-American war in 1898. U.S. military bases there were established under the Military Bases Agreement imposed by Washington in 1947 as a condition for relinquishing its direct rule.