

Protests denounce coup by Haitian military

BY GREG McCARTAN

Haitians set up barricades in the capital city of Port-Au-Prince September 30 in response to a military coup against the government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

Hundreds of Haitians living in Miami took to the streets to condemn the coup. At one point police in riot gear tear-gassed the demonstrators. Several thousand rallied outside the United Nations building in New York, calling on the UN Security Council to denounce the coup. Haitians also protested in Elizabeth, New Jersey, and other U.S. cities.

In Haiti at least 26 people were reported killed and 200 wounded as the military took control of the capital. Callers to radio stations said bodies lay in the city's streets. One eyewitness reported seeing seven bodies on Delmas Road, a major thoroughfare.

A government official announced that Aristide was taken to the airport to be deported to France. He said that the United States ambassador, Alvin Adams, accompanied the deposed president to the airport.

Aristide won the presidency by a landslide vote last December, in what most Haitians regarded as the first freely-conducted election in decades. He is a popular figure because of the outspoken and prominent role he played in opposing a series of dictatorial regimes in the country of 6.2 million people.

Washington backed the brutal reign of the Duvalier family that took power in 1957. Through the army and an armed force of thugs called the Tontons Macoutes, François "Papa Doc" Duvalier, then his son, Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier, repressed the struggles of Haitian working people.

The dictatorship was overthrown in 1986 through a massive upsurge in Haiti.

Imperialist exploitation and oppression of Haiti, combined with the rule of the country's capitalists and landlords, have made Haiti

one of the poorest countries in the Western Hemisphere. The annual per capita Gross Domestic Product is only \$375.

With the overthrow of the Duvaliers, political space opened up to Haitian working people, who began to organize and speak out, pressing demands for democratic rights, land, higher wages, and better working conditions. The Haitian military and wings of the ruling

class saw these struggles as a threat.

Since his election Aristide had made some reforms in the military officer corps, replacing generals from the Army High Command with junior officers. He had not as of yet made the appointments permanent. One of the demands of the coup leaders was that the temporary assignments be made permanent.

Romanian miners shake regime



Miners went on strike and held protests in Bucharest demanding an end to austerity measures and resignation of the government. See story page 10.

Bush short-range nuclear arms cuts leave massive U.S. arsenal intact

BY GEORGE BUCHANAN

The announcement by U.S. president George Bush that Washington will withdraw its tactical nuclear weapons from Europe and Asia is aimed at maximizing the political

pressure on the Soviet Union to reduce its nuclear weaponry. At the same time Washington will rid itself of some obsolete weaponry while remaining a massively armed nuclear power.

"Tactical" nuclear weapons are short-range warheads, bombs, and shells with a range of 10 to 70 miles. The United States has 7,200 of these weapons. Such weapons located on army bases, ships, and planes in Europe and parts of Asia are also to be withdrawn. About one third of the ground-based tactical weapons are in Europe.

With the crumbling of the former Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe, keeping these weapons — which are aimed at countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Germany — has become harder for Washington to justify. Over the past 10 years huge protest movements have grown up in Germany and other West European countries against the presence of U.S. nuclear weapons there.

Even with those moves, U.S. imperialism isn't giving up its nuclear arsenal in Europe. Nuclear bombs will still be carried by U.S. fighter planes there, for example.

Another part of the Bush proposal is ending 24-hour alerts for U.S. B-52 long-range nuclear bombers. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney made it clear that restoring these bombers to full alert status would take "less than 24 hours."

The storage or destruction of smaller weapons does not affect the thousands of long-range, or "strategic" nuclear weapons, based in missile silos and submarines. These

Continued on Page 12

Wichita abortion foes blockade clinics

BY EILEEN KELLY

WICHITA, Kansas — About 120 opponents of a women's right to choose abortion set up pickets September 28 at this city's three abortion clinics. Others mounted scattered pickets throughout the week.

Some 20 clinic defenders at the Wichita Women's Center, the site of a bomb scare a week before, organized to direct cars into the lot and to safely escort patients inside.

At their highest point, the right-wing pickets reached about one hundred at another site, the Wichita Family Planning Clinic. Many carried bibles or rosary beads and murmured prayers. Some 35 pro-choice activists lined the driveway entrances to help patients enter, guarded the clinic's doors, and cheered in response to the occasional horn honks or pro-choice shouts from cars passing by.

One clinic defender repeated a conversation she had with an activist who participated on a successful countermobilization in Iowa City. In the September 14 action 400 sup-

porters of abortion rights outnumbered 80 members of Operation Rescue who had attempted to shut down clinics there. "She told me 'Wichita has given us a battle cry.'"

A member of the International Association of Machinists who works at Cessna agreed that defending the clinics is a union issue. "The attacks won't stop here," he said. "Other things will be outlawed. A lot of patients here have made their choices and they ought to be left alone."

The Pro-Choice Action League, a local coalition, sponsored a table at Wichita State University in order to sign students up for clinic defense and defense training sessions. Groups including Freedom of Choice Action League (FOCAL) and Voices for Choice have been meeting weekly to discuss defense of abortion rights and the clinics.

Said one clinic defender, "We learned our lesson. We need to mobilize." This sentiment was echoed among other demonstrators present. "Our goal is to get enough people out to cover all the clinics," said one.

Sales goals in reach by building on target week successes

BY GREG McCARTAN

OMAHA — *Militant* supporters here completed the international target week with their highest sales yet in the nine-week subscription campaign. They have decided to keep up the same pace for the remainder of the drive.

Their efforts are an example of the progress that has been made internationally. The drive is now just 2 percentage points behind schedule, up from 7 points behind last week. Thirteen cities in the United States are now on target, a jump from three last week.

Supporters are organizing to sell 3,660 *Militant*, 800 *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 140 *L'Internationaliste* subscriptions, and 1,600 copies of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*. The campaign to win 6,200 new readers ends November 2.

Here in Omaha steelworker Pat Leamon said her Saturday sales team sold 10 single copies and one subscription to the *Militant* in a working class neighborhood. A young person, after hearing about the paper, asked how she could join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Leamon introduces the socialist weekly by describing the struggles of workers and others featured in the paper: the mobilizations of working people in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the strikes by government employees in Canada, the fights against police brutality and to defend abortion rights in the United States, among others.

These struggles, she explains, show that far from a "new world order," working people face the declining old world order of a crisis-ridden capitalist economy. There will be more wars like Washington's assault on the Iraqi people and deeper social crises ahead.

By reading the *Militant*, she explains,
Continued on Page 5

Best week yet in 'Militant' sales drive

BOSTON

Margo Storsteen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Boston, didn't waste any time getting straight to the point. "I'm for jailing killer cops," she told passersby in the Mission Hill neighborhood here, where a youth was recently killed by the police.

One young person who stopped to talk to Storsteen told his own story of police brutality. "I got beat up by the cops one night for no reason at all," he said. "There's always going to be police brutality. Nothing can stop it."

Storsteen said that cop violence can be pushed back if working people and their unions mobilize against it. She pointed out two pages in the *Militant* on the fight against police brutality around the country.

"It's the capitalist system that's the problem," Storsteen said. "The *Militant* tells about the struggles of working people all over the world and ties us all together."

"Let me read it first," the youth told Storsteen, "and then if I like it, I'll buy a subscription."

Continued on Page 5

Groups claim right to censor new movie about Malcolm X...

BY DEREK BRACEY

In the name of "preserving the legacy of Malcolm X," a number of groups and individuals have recently begun calling for boycotts of books and movies. They claim the right to censor any material that comes out by or about the revolutionary leader.

Interest in Malcolm X and his views has risen dramatically in the last few years. Hundreds of thousands of young Blacks and other youth, increasingly dissatisfied with the worsening economic and social conditions under capitalism, want to learn more about what this uncompromising revolutionary fighter stood for and fought for.

A major movie on the life of Malcolm X is now in production by director Spike Lee and is scheduled for release next year. It has come under attack by the so-called United Front to Preserve the Legacy of Malcolm X and the Cultural Revolution. Led by Amiri Baraka, a poet and political figure who is Black, the group asserts that "we will not let Malcolm X's life be trashed to make middle-class Negroes sleep easier." Other endorsers of the group

include Elombe Brath of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, Viola Plummer of the December 12th Movement, Sonny Carson, and Father Lawrence Lucas.

In an open letter written to Lee in July, the group said, "Our distress about Spike's making a film on Malcolm is based on our analysis of the films he has already made." Lee has written and directed several movies, including *She's Gotta Have It*, *Do the Right Thing*, and *Jungle Fever*.

The open letter describes Lee's films as part of a larger "retrograde trend" in the United States, along with President George Bush's veto of civil rights legislation last year and the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court.

The authors of the open letter state that Lee should not make Malcolm's early life of petty crime "the predominant focus" of the film.

They warn against making "Malcolm's later ideological development and political estrangement from the Nation of Islam and his earlier 'the White Man is the Devil' stance a justification for making it seem that Mal-



Malcolm X speaking to youth at church in Selma, Alabama, in 1965.

colm became indistinguishable from Martin Luther King."

The authors of the open letter say they will lead a boycott of the film if Malcolm's life, in their judgment, has been "distorted or belittled or caricatured in any way."

Lee responded in a letter, saying that "Amiri Baraka, Elombe Brath, Viola Plummer and others... have appointed them-

selves as the ministers of Black Culture; and it is they who decide what is politically correct art, and which art isn't.

"This is my problem with them," Lee said, "I know I never voted to put them in office. Who did?... Who decides the prescribed legacy of Malcolm X?... Malcolm belongs to everyone and everyone is entitled to their own interpretation."

Malcolm X's widow, Betty Shabazz, said in an interview with the *New York Times* that she would like to see Malcolm X remembered as an individual embraced by "people of all philosophical persuasions."

"Malcolm always said that we're not discriminated against because we're Methodists, Christians, Catholics, or whether we're Democrats, Marxists, Republicans or liberals," she said. "Our human rights are violated because we are Black. I think it's extremely important for people to understand that. All these people coming from different philosophical persuasions understand. He cannot be pigeonholed in some myopic closed container. He belongs to everybody."

... attack Pathfinder for printing his books

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

NEW YORK — An important debate about Malcolm X and the role of Pathfinder Press in publishing his writings occurred at a meeting in Harlem September 7. This event was organized by a group calling itself the Committee to Protect the Integrity of Brother Malcolm X and another group, the Network of Black Organizers. Among the panelists speaking were Elombe Brath, a leader of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition; Preston Wilcox; and C.E. Wilson.

The leaflet announcing this event stated it was called "to expose a most damaging book on the life and thoughts of Brother Malcolm X — Bruce Perry's *Malcolm: The Life of a Man who Changed Black America*."

Although the meeting was advertised in this way, most of the panelists focused their remarks on slandering the Socialist Workers Party and Pathfinder, the main publisher for more than 25 years of books and pamphlets of the speeches of Malcolm X.

An open letter, addressed to Pathfinder and Betty Shabazz, Malcolm X's widow, from the Committee to Protect the Integrity of Brother Malcolm X was circulated at the meeting. It stated that Pathfinder Press "is attempting to 'franchise' Brother Malcolm X."

In a slanderous attack on the Socialist Workers Party, the open letter went on to say, "We have never liked the idea that a white organization has been the benefactor of Brother Malcolm's thoughts and actions. It would have been truly principled and revolutionary if the SWP helped in the formation of an independent Black publishing house back in the mid Sixties to help disseminate his works and that of other revolutionaries."

The open letter went on to call for a "moratorium" on buying the *Militant* newspaper and books published by Pathfinder.

In the discussion period Ed Warren, a

member of the Socialist Workers Party, took the floor to answer these attacks. "First of all, the SWP is a multinational revolutionary organization helping to promote and circulate Pathfinder's books," said Warren. "Pathfinder publishes the works of Malcolm X, Maurice Bishop, Nelson Mandela, Thomas Sankara, and Fidel Castro so working people can read what these revolutionary leaders have to say in their own words."

"These working-class fighters helped lead important social struggles against exploitation and oppression, and we can learn valuable lessons from them today. If Pathfinder didn't print these works then their words and deeds would be lost to future fighters," explained Warren.

These comments led to a more open discussion. One woman asked the panel how she could learn what Malcolm said in his own words if she didn't read Pathfinder books.

Organizers of the meeting objected to court action taken by Dr. Betty Shabazz and Pathfinder in July against copyright violations by Abdul Alkalimat and Writers and Readers, Inc., the publishers of *Malcolm X for Beginners*. This suit was recently settled when Pathfinder and Shabazz signed an agreement giving Alkalimat permission to publish portions of writings, speeches, and interviews of Malcolm X in his book.

Another false charge circulated at the meeting was that both the Socialist Workers Party and Pathfinder were promoting Bruce Perry's new book on Malcolm X. Warren pointed out that "Pathfinder did not publish Perry's book and the SWP has an entirely different opinion and evaluation of Malcolm's views than those presented by Perry."

At the conclusion of the meeting, several participants stopped by the Pathfinder literature table set up outside to continue the

discussion. "It's important that we continue to discuss this out," stated Warren. "Whenever similar meetings are held, I hope a similar discussion on all points of view can take place."

"We will continue to promote and distribute the speeches and writings of Malcolm X and other revolutionaries so that working people can learn and decide for ourselves what these fighters really stood for — not what others say they stood for," concluded Warren.

Report says 2.1 million more in poverty

BY GREG McCARTAN

In a stark report on the impact of the recession, a Census Bureau report estimates that 2.1 million more people living in the United States fell below the poverty line in 1990.

On a per capita basis, real income fell by 2.9 percent to \$14,387. This is the first decline in eight years.

The sharp rise in the numbers below the poverty line comes with an unemployment rate of 5.5 percent in 1990, up from 5.3 percent in 1989. With unemployment expected to average 6.7 percent in 1991, an even larger surge in the poverty rate is expected this year.

The Bureau's report puts the 1990 poverty rate at 13.5 percent of the population. These figures were disputed by the Urban Institute as being far too low. The Census Bureau calculates the poverty level on a Scrooge-like basis — \$13,359 for a family of four. The threshold was originally calculated in the 1960s by taking a minimal food budget and multiplying it by three.

Even these bare-bones statistics indicate the scope of the employer-government offen-

sive against the standard of living, rights, and organizations of working people and the human suffering it causes.

The cold-hearted response to the report from several quarters highlights the class polarization in the United States and the anti-working-class character of the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Ben Wattenberg, described by the *New York Times* as a "senior fellow" at the American Enterprise Institute, said that "without being facetious — surprise, surprise — in a recession some people lose their jobs and poverty goes up a bit." Wattenberg has written a book predicting robust economic growth for the next decade.

Thomas Downey, a congressman from New York, said, "The country cannot continue to tolerate this." His solution? A massive public works program? Raising the minimum wage? Not even in the ballpark.

Instead, Downey was worried that "you're not going to be able to put enough locks on the door to protect yourself from people being dislocated."

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

Hear: Jack Barnes

National Secretary
of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party

Sheffield

Fri., Oct. 4, 7 p.m.
1 Gower St., Spital Hill
Donation: £2.50 Tel: (0742) 765070

London

Sat., Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m.
47 The Cut
Donation: £2.50 Tel: (71) 928-7993

Manchester

Mon., Oct. 7, 7 p.m.
Unit 4, 60 Shudehill
Donation: £2.50 Tel: (061) 839-1766

New York

Sat., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m.
PS 41, 116 W. 11th St.
Tel: (212) 727-8421

Sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum

The Militant

Closing news date: September 30, 1991

Editor: GREG McCARTAN
Business and Circulation
Director: RONI McCANN

Editorial Staff: Derek Bracey, George Buchanan, Estelle DeBates, Seth Galinsky, Cindy Jaquith, Martin Koppel, Argiris Malapanis, Roni McCann, Janet Post, Brian Williams.

Published weekly except for one week in June, one week in July, one week in August, and the last two weeks of December by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Fax 727-0150; Telex, 497-4278.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. POST-

MASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S., Latin America: for one-year subscription send \$45, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (air-mail), send \$80. Canada: send Canadian \$75 for one-year subscription to Société d'Éditions AGPP, C.P. 340, succ. R, Montréal, Québec H2S 3M2. Britain, Ireland, Africa: £35 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Continental Europe: £50 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution at above address. New Zealand, Asia, Pacific Islands: Send New Zealand \$75 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand. Australia: Send Australian \$75 to P.O. Box 79, Railway Square Post Office, Railway Square, Sydney 2000, Australia.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Is OCAW's 'Labor Party Advocates' a step toward independent political action?

BY JOEL BRITTON

LOS ANGELES — In response to the unremitting employers' offensive against the unions in the United States, officials of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW) have voted to support "Labor Party Advocates."

This action was taken at the August OCAW convention, held in Denver, Colorado. The 500 delegates unanimously adopted a "Resolution on a crusade for a new social, political, and economic agenda for working America."

Some 90,000 workers, mostly in the oil and chemical industries, belong to OCAW. (The text of the resolution is reprinted in full below.)

Labor Party Advocates was initiated earlier this year and has been associated with long-time OCAW official Anthony Mazzocchi. At the convention he relinquished his post as the union's secretary-treasurer to serve as presidential assistant to OCAW president Robert Wages. Wages was elected to replace retiring president Joseph Misbrenner, who sponsored the resolution.

Organizers say the Labor Party Advocates will be an organizing committee for a labor party, not a party itself. They seek to sign up 100,000 dues-paying members. The organization will be run by a steering committee, members of which must be union officials.

Many working people, having been the target of a 15-year assault on their wages, working conditions, and rights, are interested



Rail workers rally against employers' contract demands in April. Union officials show no sign of breaking with their course of collaboration with the bosses.

in hearing about any discussion on the formation of a labor party.

In numerous strikes and struggles, fighting workers have come up against the fact that both the Democratic and Republican parties

serve the interests of the billionaire families that run the United States. Many see the broader attacks on working people as a sign that the two parties now have a common domestic, as well as foreign, policy.

Breaking out of the union officialdom's decades-long collaboration with and reliance on the twin parties of big business means charting an independent political course for labor. Such a giant step for the labor movement would mark a fundamental shift, one that would necessarily come out of deepening struggles of working people and at least the beginning of the transformation of the unions into fighting instruments in the hands of the ranks.

A review of the political content and structure of the Labor Party Advocates reveals that it does not mark a step forward toward independent working-class political action. This is true even though the union officials sponsoring it wrap their promotion of it in militant-style clothing.

The impetus for this move by the OCAW officialdom comes not from pressure from the ranks but from the continuing blows being dealt to the unions and to their officialdoms by the employers and their government.

Pressures on union officials

The officials are concerned not because of the beating working people are taking, but because their own social status, generous salaries, and perks flow from a healthy dues base and other forms of income that come with their positions. Falling union rolls threaten these privileges.

Moreover, the ruling class is driven to assault organized labor because of the growing economic crisis of the capitalist system, bringing with it intensified competition with its imperialist rivals, wars and threats of wars, deepening class polarization, union-busting, and cutbacks at home.

Once accustomed to at least a semblance of wage and benefit gains during periods of economic expansion, the union officials now find their influence in the Democratic Party on the wane and their ability to give the appearance of helping to advance the interests of working people wearing thin.

The May-June 1991 OCAW Reporter highlighted what is posed to the officials. "A radical change — or a slip to 5 percent by year 2,000" is the headline on an "update" column by Wayne Horman.

"The prognosis of a 5 percent private sector unionization rate by the year 2000 will be a reality if the union organizing experience of 1990 continues," Horman writes.

He cites figures on elections for union representation conducted through the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) showing that in 1990 the number of such elections continued to fall and union victories continued to decline. For the first time since 1985, "the union win-rate in NLRB elections fell in 1990" to 47.6 percent.

Just over 75,000 workers were organized through NLRB elections while some 15,000 were lost in decertification elec-

tions. Successes, when they did come, came most often at work sites of 1-49 workers and least often at those of more than 500 workers.

Even these figures cited by Horman, however, do not paint a real picture of the decline in union membership — what officials see as their shrinking dues base. Union membership stands at 16.4 percent of the entire work force, the lowest level in decades.

These facts reflect the intensity of the union-busting efforts of the bosses backed by the government. "Labor law reform" to make it easier for unions to organize and carry out collective-bargaining functions has been demanded by union officials for some years without success.

Mazzocchi elaborates on some of these points, and the declining influence of the labor officialdom in capitalist electoral politics, in a Labor Day opinion piece run in the *Los Angeles Times*.

'Spent millions'

The trade unions have "spent millions of dollars and devoted countless hours as volunteers to put sympathetic Democrats (and even an occasional Republican) in office. But what do we have to show for our efforts?" he writes.

Citing the lip service given to working people by Democratic and Republican politicians, Mazzocchi points to a recent poll which showed that some two-thirds of union members believe the two parties "care more about big business than they do about working Americans."

Like many officials, Mazzocchi tries to cast his policies as being to the "left" of the union's rank and file. But he still finds it "astonishing" that half those in the poll think that "it is time for the labor movement to organize its own party."

For many years, he complains, "grass roots organizations like the trade unions — the largest single bloc of organized voters in the country — were a real power and union officials were actually listened to." Now all that has changed, Mazzocchi points out.

The OCAW official also explained the reform program of the Labor Party Advocates, reforms that amount to simply a "new" New Deal. They include:

- A more progressive tax system;
- Laws that make it easier to organize unions;
- Equal and guaranteed health, pension, and education benefits;
- A program of improved social services.

This modest program of the left wing of the union officialdom is reflected in the political framework of Mazzocchi, the resolution adopted at the convention, and speeches by invited guests at the Denver meeting.

Their outlook assumes the permanence of capitalism and opts for continuing collaboration — both at home and abroad — with the rulers and their political parties. Each begins with the framework of "America."

Whether it is a reference to "jobs [that] have fled abroad" or focusing on "the future of America," the assumption is that workers in the United States have an interest in protecting "our" industry, and supporting "our" government in "our" wars and during times of economic downturn.

This perspective seeks to keep unionists from recognizing the fact that working people around the world have common interests and face a common enemy — the billionaire ruling families in imperialist countries and the local capitalist class in the semicolonial world.

The officials also paint the terrible crisis facing working people as flowing from corporate excess and government insensitivity. Smoothing over the rough edges of this crisis is the only solution they pose.

This view was presented most concisely at the Denver convention in keynote speeches by Ralph Nader and former Texas agriculture commissioner James Hightower.

Nader has made a reputation for himself by exposing some unhealthy or life-threatening features of numerous products. He scored "the corporate takeover of America."

Referring to the savings and loan bailout, he said, "We're talking about a staggering transformation of the federal government

Continued on Page 13

OCAW resolution on 'crusade for new social, political, and economic agenda'

WHEREAS, it appears that more and more Americans view the political arena as the property of the wealthy because Americans for the first time in the post-World War II era feel that life will be more difficult for their children than it was for them; and

WHEREAS, the tone of this development began in the late 1970s because under the Carter Administration a capital gains cut was passed for the rich instead of tax reform that would have benefitted the average American and labor reform was defeated and deregulation of the savings and loan industry began; and

WHEREAS, then came Ronald Reagan, and now economic studies confirm that the economic recovery of the 1980s, despite its length, left the typical working American family in many ways worse off than at the peak of the last business cycle, and, moreover, the living standards of large segments of the population deteriorated significantly; and

WHEREAS, we have seen the United States share of the world exports in automobiles drop 46%, micro-computers 36%, micro-electronics 26%, and machine tools 17%, and jobs have fled abroad; and

WHEREAS, we have lived through a decade where mergers, acquisitions, and pure speculation have cost the loss of hundreds of thousands of additional jobs; and

WHEREAS, we are now witnessing a savings and loan scandal that is likely to leave a debt load on the shoulders of the American people that could be a trillion dollars, and when the dust settles it will be clear that the wealthiest of speculators and their political friends drained the funds; and

WHEREAS, members of the Senate and House from both parties have been given substantial sums of money by the S&L's so that the emerging scandal will truly be non-partisan; and

WHEREAS, there are billions of dollars to bail out savings and loan executives but scarcely a penny to help the millions of workers whose jobs have been sacrificed to corporate greed; and

WHEREAS, there probably never was a time when so many Americans have reacted with disgust towards the political system; and

WHEREAS, America has to be a place where the average person aspires to a

decent standard of living for themselves and their children and a place where justice for all is a reality;

WHEREAS, after two decades of relentless union busting by the federal government and its corporate allies, membership in the labor movement has dropped to its lowest point in 50 years; and

WHEREAS, a dangerous vacuum exists and we are seeing signs that the groups opposed to our interests are beginning to fill it so that racism is on the rise — witness the recent North Carolina Senatorial election where in the closing days of the campaign, Helms resorted to pure unabated race baiting in order to win the election; and

WHEREAS, organized labor cannot allow this vacuum to continue because we have a historical responsibility to resurrect some of our finest moments as a social movement, and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union should not wait for others to begin the broad discussion necessary with the rank and file of our movement about the future of America; and

WHEREAS, we have demonstrated in the past that we were not hesitant to step out and institute a debate about what we considered a national problem; and

WHEREAS, the International Executive Board has passed a resolution instructing the Administration to open up a discussion with our rank-and-file members about a new social, economic, and political agenda for America; and

WHEREAS, the Labor Party Advocates has developed out of that discussion as the specific program to develop that new social, economic, and political agenda;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that this Twentieth Constitutional Convention of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union affirm the Executive Board resolution instructing the Administration to carry out these objectives; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that this Convention instruct the Administration to provide continued support to the Labor Party Advocates program as a means to that end.

Respectfully submitted,

Joseph M. Misbrenner
President

'The age of world revolution has begun'

New book records Communist International's fight against national oppression

BY DOUG COOPER

To hear big-business commentators tell it, the October 1917 Russian Revolution was responsible for initiating the system of police terror and gross inequality and privilege that marked the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin and his successors.

In fact, the new Communist Party-led workers' and peasants' republic, headed by V.I. Lenin, carried out policies that were the opposite of those imposed from Stalin's time right down to Gorbachev and Yeltsin today. It advanced workers' rights, from the eight-hour day to growing workers' control and management of industry and other workplaces. Poor peasants were granted land and the aid needed to work it. Women's rights were promoted, including the right to abortion and contraception.

The revolutionary government of the Soviet Union granted the right of self-determination to all nationalities oppressed within the tsar's "prison house of nations." It systematically moved to preserve the languages and cultures of the non-Russian peoples persecuted under the old empire.

These policies had an explosive impact not only in the Soviet Union itself but also on millions around the world, as they fought against their own exploitation and oppression in the years after the victory of the revolution.

The efforts by communist workers and anti-imperialist fighters to learn from and

emulate this example are recounted in Pathfinder's forthcoming book entitled *Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite! Proceedings and Documents of the Second Congress, 1920*. This two-volume set is part of the series *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*.

Pak Chin-sun, a delegate at the Second Congress from Korea, explained that the world's first socialist revolution "was the first bridge between the proletarian West and the revolutionary East, and Soviet Russia became a connecting link between two hitherto separate worlds." The choice facing peoples oppressed by imperialism, he said, was either capitalism or socialism, "Paris or Moscow."

Today, as the Soviet Union disintegrates through pressures pent up during 60 years of oppression by a privileged bureaucratic caste, a revolutionary political legacy remains from the early years of the Soviet republic and the first four congresses of the Comintern, as the Communist International came to be called.

The unfolding civil war in Yugoslavia today underscores the importance of a proletarian perspective on the uncompromising struggle against national oppression as the road toward uniting working people to fight for a more just and equitable world.

Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite! is available until December 15 to Pathfinder Readers Club members at a

prepublication price of \$45.00 for the set, a \$15.00 savings. (See the list of bookstores on page 12 to join the Readers Club or order.)

The Second Congress was attended by more than 200 delegates from 37 countries. It marked the first time that a truly worldwide decision-making gathering of revolutionaries and communists had ever taken place. At least 30 delegates were from oppressed peoples of Asia.

Held from mid-July to early August 1920 in Moscow and Petrograd, the congress occurred at a time of growing struggles in colonial and semicolonial countries from India to Iran, China to Indonesia, and Korea to Ireland, along with revolutionary upsurges in much of Europe.

Delegates from the Communist Party of Russia, especially V.I. Lenin, as well as delegates from Asia, such as M.N. Roy, Ahmed Sultanzadeh, Pak Chin-sun and others, actively participated in the debate on the relationship between colonial and national liberation struggles and the workers' international fight for socialism. They discussed the need to build communist parties capable of forging an alliance between workers in the imperialist countries and the peasants and growing working class in colonial countries.

The congress's Commission on the National and Colonial Questions debated the views of delegates for many hours. Two plenary sessions then took up these issues as well. Some 120 pages of the 1,147-page collection — two chapters and an appendix — are devoted to this debate. Two resolutions, one drafted by Lenin and the other by Roy, were adopted.

Lenin's resolution

Through the experience of World War I, Lenin's resolution notes, tens of millions had learned what bourgeois "platitudes about national liberation and self-determination" really meant.

For Lenin, national liberation was integrally linked to the goal of making a worldwide socialist revolution. The entire policy "must be based primarily upon uniting the proletarians and toiling masses of all nations and countries in common revolutionary struggle to overthrow the landowners and the bourgeoisie. Only such a unification will guarantee victory over capitalism, without which it is impossible to abolish national oppression and inequality," Lenin's document explains.

A communist policy, the resolution says, can be determined only by clearly distinguishing "between the oppressed, dependent nations that do not have equal rights and the oppressor, exploiting nations that do, in order to counter the bourgeois-democratic lies that conceal the colonial and financial enslavement of the immense majority of the entire world population by a narrow minority of the richest, most advanced capitalist countries."

Resolution debated

Delegates at the congress spoke on struggles against imperialist domination in China, Turkey, the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), Korea, Iran, and Ireland. Others discussed the struggles of U.S. Blacks against racist oppression and the dead end of Zionism for both Jews and Palestinians. The resolution called for a voluntary federation of soviet republics as the first step in uniting workers and peasants across national lines, to combat all forms of national oppression and capitalist plunder.

A few delegates rejected the uncompromising internationalism of Lenin's resolution. Antonio Graziadei, a delegate from the Italian Socialist Party, proposed changing the resolution's statement that communist parties in imperialist countries "must support" national liberation struggles to "must take an active interest" in them.

Giacinto Serrati, another Italian Socialist Party delegate and member of the congress Presiding Committee, considered much of the discussion a waste of time. "We just spent ten minutes talking about the question of Blacks in Chicago," he complained at one point.

Karl Radek, a Soviet delegate and central leader of the Comintern, responded to the reservations of a delegate from Britain about the resolution. "If the British workers, instead of confronting the bourgeois prejudices, support or passively tolerate British imperialism," Radek said, "then they are working for



Isaac Brodsky
M.N. Roy, delegate from India to 1920 Comintern congress, authored congress resolution on support to revolutionary national movements.

the suppression of every revolutionary movement in Britain itself. It is impossible for the British proletariat to free itself from the yoke imposed on it by capitalism unless it steps into the breach for the revolutionary colonial movement."

Paul Levi, a Presiding Committee member and central leader of the Communist Party of Germany, explained to his party when he returned from the congress that it was unnecessary to discuss the resolution since Germany had no colonies.

But John Reed, a delegate of the U.S. Communist Labor Party, wrote back to his party in great detail on the resolution and, along with many other delegates, attended the Comintern-sponsored Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku a few weeks later.

Revolutionary vs. 'bourgeois' movements

Lenin's draft resolution called on communists to "assist the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement" in the colonies. M.N. Roy, a delegate from the British colony of India, proposed instead that help be given only to genuinely revolutionary movements. Lenin asked Roy to set down his ideas in a resolution.

After a fruitful discussion, both resolutions were modified and approved at the congress.

"As a result of our discussion," Lenin reported to the congress, "[the commission] arrived at the unanimous decision to speak of the national-revolutionary movement rather than of the 'bourgeois-democratic' movement."

"If we speak of the bourgeois-democratic movement we shall be obliterating all distinctions between the reformist and the revolutionary movements," he added.

"There has been a certain rapprochement between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and that of the colonies," Lenin said, "so that very often — perhaps even in most cases — the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries, while it does support the national movement, is in full accord with the imperialist bourgeoisie, that is, joins forces with it against all revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes."

"The significance of this change," he explained, "is that we, as Communists, should and will support bourgeois liberation movements in the colonies only when they are genuinely revolutionary, and when their exponents do not hinder our work of educating and organizing in a revolutionary spirit the peasantry and the masses of the exploited."

Ahmed Sultanzadeh, delegate of the Communist Party of Iran, contrasted the Comintern's revolutionary course to what had been the norm among most of those who called themselves socialists until the Russian revolution burst on the scene. "The thunder of revolution in the West shook the Orient to the roots," Sultanzadeh concluded. "The age of world revolution has begun."

Sales Drive Scoreboard

Areas	The Militant			Perspectiva		New Int'l		L'inter		Total	
	Goal	Total Sold	% Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
UNITED STATES											
Miami*	86	51	59%	30	12	44	31	5	1	165	95
Detroit	102	57	56%	10	2	30	5	2	0	144	64
Salt Lake City *	150	80	53%	24	10	54	5	2	0	230	95
Atlanta*	90	45	50%	12	1	56	4	2	0	160	50
Philadelphia	65	30	46%	20	8	35	5	2	0	122	43
Morgantown, WV*	80	36	45%	3	2	30	3	2	0	115	41
Seattle*	80	36	45%	30	20	27	10	3	0	140	66
Twin Cities, Minn.	145	65	45%	18	10	55	17	2	0	220	92
Pittsburgh	75	32	43%	3	3	30	6	2	0	110	41
Los Angeles*	160	67	42%	90	39	107	17	3	0	360	123
Newark, NJ*	140	58	41%	50	19	70	12	5	1	265	90
New York*	225	91	40%	80	41	110	16	10	2	425	150
Anamosa	10	4	40%	4	0	2	0	0	0	20	4
Greensboro, NC	55	20	36%	10	1	14	3	1	0	80	24
Boston *	125	45	36%	40	5	53	5	7	2	225	57
Washington, DC	100	36	36%	18	13	55	17	2	0	175	66
Birmingham, Ala.	110	39	35%	5	0	43	0	2	0	160	39
Cleveland	85	29	34%	10	3	25	0	2	0	122	32
St. Louis	115	39	34%	5	1	30	7	2	0	152	47
Portland	15	5	33%	0	0	10	0	0	0	25	5
San Francisco	160	49	31%	65	13	72	10	3	0	300	72
Cincinnati	17	5	29%	2	0	6	0	0	0	25	5
Omaha, Neb.	86	24	28%	12	2	25	0	2	0	125	26
Baltimore	85	23	27%	12	2	40	7	3	1	140	33
Chicago	163	37	23%	40	5	70	4	2	0	275	46
Des Moines, Iowa*	126	27	21%	17	8	40	0	2	0	185	35
Wichita	10	2	20%	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	2
Houston	75	13	17%	20	2	30	4	2	0	127	19
Louisville	6	1	17%	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	1
New Haven, Conn.	18	3	17%	2	0	5	0	0	0	25	3
Denver	6	3	50%	3	0	2	0	0	0	11	3
National teams	25	21	84%	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	21
U.S. TOTAL	2,780	1,069	38%	631	222	1,168	188	70	7	4,649	1,486
AUSTRALIA											
	20	3	15%	4	0	25	0	1	0	50	3
BELGIUM											
	4	0	0%	1	0	7	0	10	0	22	0
BRITAIN											
London	100	35	35%	7	4	70	27	3	0	180	66
Manchester	60	18	30%	3	1	40	4	2	0	105	23
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	63	27%	13	7	150	31	7	0	400	101
CANADA											
Vancouver	70	38	54%	15	8	30	11	5	1	120	58
Toronto	75	34	45%	15	10	35	20	5	3	130	67
Montreal	65	25	38%	20	7	50	19	30	13	165	64
CANADA TOTAL	210	97	46%	50	25	115	50	40	17	415	189
FRANCE											
	5	3	60%	5	2	20	17	15	5	45	27
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	1	6	4	0	0	14	5
SWEDEN											
	45	19	42%	20	10	15	2	3	1	83	32
TOTAL	3,498	1,297	37%	759	267	1,566	304	149	30	5,972	1,898
SHOULD BE		1,399	40%		304		626		60		2,389
DRIVE GOALS	3,660			800		1,600		140		6,200	

* Raised goals. New goals on next scoreboard.

'Militant' supporters report best sales week yet

Continued from front page

Supporters of Storsteen's campaign sold 3 *Militant*, 1 *L'Internationale*, and 3 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions along with 4 copies of *New Internationalist* during the September 28 sales mobilization. A dozen people gave their names and addresses to be contacted later in the week to buy subscriptions.

The Saturday mobilization started with a brief meeting at the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters. Participants traded ideas on how best to explain to working people and youth why they need the *Militant* and other socialist publications.

Teams then headed out around the city, armed with newspapers and socialist campaign literature.

One of the top subscription sellers in Boston is Cecelia Moriarity, who has had a lot of success introducing the *Militant* door-to-door in working-class neighborhoods. "I have information on Cuba's role in the fight against apartheid in South Africa," she would say when someone asked who she was from behind a closed door.

When the door opened, Moriarity would point out four or five articles in the paper and say something about each one, noting their importance for working people.

After giving the person a chance to see what the paper is about, Moriarity would then ask, "What are you most interested in politically?"

Almost always Moriarity's straightforward approach leads to a serious political exchange of ideas. Most days she gets at least one subscription and requests to come back later.

SAN FRANCISCO

The Socialist Workers Party candidate for San Francisco mayor, Jim White, reported on substantial progress made here during the international *Militant* circulation drive target week.

"We sold 10 *Militant* subscriptions and 1 to *Perspectiva Mundial* on campuses this week," White told campaign supporters Saturday morning, September 28.

White had taken the week off from his job in a garment factory to campaign every day on campuses, in working-class neighborhoods, and at factory gates.

The socialist candidate led a two-day team to the University of California in Santa Cruz. Four students there bought subscriptions and 26 signed up for more information about the Young Socialist Alliance. The two YSA members on that campus are planning a YSA organizing meeting this week in response to the number of students who expressed interest in the socialist youth organization.

White also reported that *Militant* distributors sold 7 *Militant* subscriptions to coworkers and fellow unionists during the target week, as well as 3 copies of *New Internationalist*.

YSA member Mick Goldwater, who works for Northwest Airlines at the San Francisco airport, sold subscriptions to two other young workers at Northwest.

One of them had previously bought a *Militant* subscription when he worked at the Boston airport. The brand new subscriber is from Ireland and "he's disgusted with the injustice he sees in this country," said Goldwater.

"Both coworkers have been hired under the multitiered concession contract that's been imposed on the union here," he added, and they have no illusions about what the future holds in store for them.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

"I joined the Navy reserve when I was 18 to get money for school," said Terry, a college student at the University of Maryland. "I was mad when they called me up last year during the war against Iraq. It was a war for oil."

"I already thought of myself as a socialist when I met members of the Young Socialist Alliance at a literature table at my school," she added.

Terry, who just joined the YSA, participated in her first *Militant* sales team, which set up a literature table at a farmers' market here on September 28.

Distributors of the socialist press in Washington completed a successful target week doubling their sales over any previous week of the drive. "With this momentum we plan to maintain the pace for the rest of the drive," said Aaron Ruby, who organizes the sales campaign here.

One of the week's accomplishments was the five students who bought *Militant* subscriptions at campus meetings sponsored by the YSA. The meetings, at Georgetown University and the University of Maryland, featured YSA leader Nell Wheeler speaking about the rightist assault in Wichita, Kansas, against three abortion clinics. Several dozen students attended.

"This attack on the clinics in Wichita was outrageous," said a student at American who signed up for a subscription. She offered to help the YSA organize a meeting at her school on abortion rights. Two students joined the YSA at these meetings.

NEW YORK

Teams of *Militant* sellers spread out in all directions from the Pathfinder bookstore here September 28, for a day of political campaigning and subscription sales. They set up tables on city streets and went door to door



Militant/Margrethe Siem

Students at University of Maryland sign up for 'Militant' subscriptions.

in working-class neighborhoods.

An attractive addition to the sales tables was the new Pathfinder book *How Far We Slaves Have Come!* featuring the July 26 speeches of Nelson Mandela and Fidel Castro. The book was offered together with a *Militant* subscription for \$15 — a savings of \$3 off the regular price. Ten people subscribed to the *Militant* that day, including one person who attended the evening's Militant Labor Forum.

One team found itself in an area where a number of Yugoslavs live. Two Croatians who bought the *Militant* explained they were very unhappy with the destruction of dozens of Croatian churches in the war. They were pleased to see the headline "Workers are the victims in Yugoslavia's civil war," as was another man in the area, who was from Serbia. He also bought a copy.

At a table in Harlem a trade unionist from Zaire said that the *Militant* should write on the rebellion in that country. His friend disagreed with a headline that said that Soviet workers had gained a victory in defeating the coup. "The United States, not the Soviet workers, defeated the coup," he said. The Zairean thought the headline was correct, and also liked the cover of *L'Internationale*, the French-language quarterly, which read, "Soviet Union: crisis of communism or of Stalinism?"

As a result of a determined push in the target week, a total of 51 *Militant* subscriptions were sold.

Seth Galinsky in Boston, Margaret Jayko in San Francisco, Argiris Malapanis in Washington, D.C., and George Buchanan in New York contributed to this column.

Sales goals in reach by building on success

Continued from front page

youth and working people can get a working-class perspective on the big developments in world politics. Moreover, readers can learn from the struggles of unionists around the world who are resisting the bosses' offensive, the Cuban people who fight to press forward their revolution, and the battle led by the African National Congress to bring down apartheid in South Africa.

Only by charting a course of independent political action can the labor movement begin to mount an effective struggle in defense of the interests of all working people. Such a course means to break from subservience to the Democratic and Republican parties and rely on the mobilized strength of the working class, leading ultimately to a fight for a government of workers and farmers that can open the struggle for socialism.

By sharpening the political discussions along these lines supporters in Omaha sold 17 *Militant* and 3 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions, and 1 copy of *Nueva Internacional* during the target week. New readers include students at area universities, workers in the rail and meat-packing industries, and others.

Another reason for the success was better organization of the daily sales teams. It is essential to maximize the time volunteers spend selling, to have back-up sales spots,

and to make sure there are enough papers on hand in order to keep up the better returns obtained this week.

Achieving a campaign spirit

The steps forward in Omaha and elsewhere reflect the opportunities to reach out to unionists, youth, and others with the socialist press — the tools they need to be the most effective fighters possible. The results of the week signal that *Militant* supporters are getting on a real sales drive, campaigning with the kind of spirit, political focus, and organization needed every week through November 2.

In the United States the number of subscriptions arriving in the *Militant* business office has risen: 177 the first week, 199 the second week, and 267 the third week. In order to meet the goals some 350 subscriptions need to be sold each week for the remainder of the drive.

To achieve this *Militant* supporters in every city need to discuss how they will fight to continue the pace achieved in the target week. Those areas that are on target should discuss how much they can raise their goals to reach the overall target of 6,200. Eleven areas already raised their goals after the target week (see scoreboard).

Clearly, a second target week near the end of the drive, one that can even outstrip the results of the one just completed, will ensure we reach 100 percent — or more — of the goal. Supporters have set the week of October 19–26 as a period when all the stops will be pulled out.

Wider political influence

In preparation for the drive supporters discussed how they could use the nine-week campaign to reestablish year-round sales of the socialist press as a regular part of their political activity. Getting the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *L'Internationale* into the hands of workers and youth is the way to have the biggest political impact and widen the influence of the communist movement.

In a number of cities the focus on *Militant* sales has resulted in greater attendance at Militant Labor Forums and more young people deciding to join the Young Socialist Al-

liance (YSA). The socialist press and those who distribute it are becoming a growing pole of attraction at political events, protests, and rallies.

Members of industrial unions are also discussing how to step up their sales to coworkers. The report from San Francisco (see article on this page) highlights how attention to this work can result in a big jump in the number of unionists who read the paper.

On to 6,200 new readers and the expanded influence of the *Militant* and the communist movement around the world!

Selling the socialist press to unionists

Union	Militant*		New Int'l	
	% Sold (Goal)	Sold	(Goal)	Sold
UNITED STATES				
ACTWU	24%	34	8	10
IAM	28%	127	35	44
ILGWU	24%	25	6	8
IUE	26%	65	17	18
OCAW	16%	38	6	25
UAW	21%	82	17	28
UFCW	20%	100	20	25
UMWA	24%	25	6	9
USWA	29%	91	26	25
UTU	16%	105	17	45
TOTAL SHOULD BE	23%	692	158	237
	40%		277	95
BRITAIN				
AEU	0%	10	0	6
NUM	29%	14	4	9
RMT	15%	26	4	13
TGWU	15%	20	3	8
TOTAL SHOULD BE	16%	70	11	36
	40%		28	14
CANADA				
ACTWU	0%	6	0	2
CAW	60%	10	6	3
IAM	8%	12	1	4
USWA	6%	16	1	8
TOTAL SHOULD BE	18%	44	8	17
	40%		18	7
SWEDEN				
FOOD WORKERS	0%	6	0	3
METAL	44%	9	4	3
TOTAL SHOULD BE	27%	15	4	6
	40%		6	2

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

Subscribe to the Militant!

☐ Special introductory offer: \$10 for 12 weeks

☐ \$15 for 12 week renewal ☐ \$27 for 6 months ☐ \$45 for 1 year

Name

Address

City State Zip

Union/School/Organization

Clip and mail to The Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014

Gates nomination exposes political crisis

Rulers debate how to revamp CIA for use against workers in 1990s

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The controversy surrounding the nomination of Robert Gates as director of the Central Intelligence Agency exposes the political crisis facing the U.S. rulers.

A debate has opened up within ruling-class circles on how to revamp the CIA to make it an effective tool to deal with coming social explosions, working-class battles, and problems stemming from increased inter-imperialist economic rivalry in the changing world of the 1990s.

Robert Gates, who joined the CIA in 1966, was nominated May 14 by President George Bush to become director of the CIA. "This man has my full trust," stated Bush. "He's honest, and he's a man of total integrity."

In July Senate hearings on Gates' nomination were abruptly postponed days before they were scheduled to begin when Alan Fiers, a former top CIA official, pleaded guilty to

"It sounds like the system worked real well," responded Bush to the court's decision.

Gates couldn't remember

When questioned by senators at the current hearings about the mounting body of evidence showing Gates knew about the Iran-contra operation, Gates responded that he couldn't remember many of these things and that he was sorry for "misjudgments" in the past.

Gates had made his position on Nicaragua crystal clear in a December 1984 memorandum written to CIA chief Casey that was released during the Senate hearings. The memo called for "hard measures" that are "probably politically unacceptable" to bring down the Sandinista regime. These included bombing raids, stiff economic sanctions, and recognizing a Nicaraguan government in exile.

foreign and military policy.

The capitalist rulers aim to convince broad layers of the U.S. population that the stated goals of government policy are its *real* goals. They seek to weaken the ability of U.S. workers to resist growing employer-government attacks against them. Under the patriotic myth that "we" all have common interests as "Americans," the rulers seek to prevent working people from identifying with fellow toilers worldwide — from Iraq to South Africa.

"By God," Bush declared, following the military slaughter conducted by U.S. imperialism against Iraq. "We've kicked the Vietnam syndrome once and for all." But the revelations surrounding the Gates nomination have once again exposed the true face of U.S. foreign policy.

An important part of the rulers' discussion on choosing a new CIA director has been

Japan, France, and Germany for profitable investments and markets throughout the world.

Stansfield Turner, CIA director from 1977 to 1981, writing in the Fall 1991 edition of *Foreign Affairs*, argues for greater use of electronic spying to facilitate a shift toward greater emphasis on "economic intelligence." He writes that economic strength is "a vital component of national security" and sees the need for the CIA to get involved in "stealing and employing economic secrets."

"As we increase emphasis on securing economic intelligence, we will have to spy on the more developed countries — our allies and friends with whom we compete economically," argues Turner. To carry this out he calls for using "those impersonal technical systems," such as satellites and electronic intercepts.

Arguments to move the CIA more aggressively into the corporate spying business were reinforced by recent revelations that the French government spy agency DGSE stole secrets from several U.S. corporations during the 1980s. Pierre Marion, former chief of French intelligence, explained on the NBC news program "Exposé" that the DGSE successfully stole secrets from Com- ing Inc., IBM, and Texas Instruments over the past several years. "In economic competition we are competitors," explained Marion.

'Soviet specialist'

One of the reasons U.S. rulers want to place Gates at the head of the CIA is because of his reputation as a "Soviet specialist." While in ruling circles some argue that the CIA's massive spy operation directed at the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe should be scaled down, the toppling and weakening of governments in these countries mean the U.S. rulers have even bigger problems because now they themselves must more directly take on working people there. By dealing blows to the Stalinist bureaucracies in these countries, working people for the first time in decades have begun to enter politics as an independent political force.

For the CIA, "Soviet specialists" will be more needed than ever before because the weakened regimes in these countries can no longer be counted on to keep the workers in line. However, no specialists will be able to prevent massive social struggles from continuing to erupt.

The difficulties the capitalist rulers face in selecting a new CIA chief only serve to underline the deeper problems they will face in the coming years. More and more they will confront the toilers of the world rebelling against the intolerable conditions created by decaying capitalism and by bureaucratic rule in the workers' states.



Contra troops in 1986. Gates nomination hearings highlight U.S. rulers' inability to bury Iran-contra scandal, which is example of their need to conduct aspects of foreign policy behind backs of working people.

withholding information from Congress about illegal covert operations to supply the Nicaraguan contras with arms and money. Fiers headed the agency's Central American operation from 1974 to 1986.

The contras were a mercenary army funded by the U.S. government with the aim of overthrowing the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. Congress had voted to cut off military aid to the contras in 1984. Shortly afterward Marine Lt. Col. Oliver North, operating through the National Security Council in the White House, began secretly selling arms to Iran and diverting the money to the contras.

By the time this Iran-contra operation was first publicly disclosed in November 1986, at least \$10 million to \$30 million had been delivered to the mercenaries.

Fiers' testimony led to the September 6 indictment of his boss Clair George who at the time was CIA chief of covert operations. Fiers told prosecutors that George had directed him in October 1986 to withhold details from a Congressional investigation about CIA involvement in North's contra aid activities.

George faces 10 felony charges of perjury, false statements, and obstruction of inquiries into the Iran-contra operation. At the time of this cover-up George was the number three ranking official at the CIA. Gates was number two, serving from 1982 to 1986 as the senior deputy to then CIA director William Casey.

Gates was first nominated to head the CIA by President Ronald Reagan in February 1987. However, growing suspicion about his role in the Iran-contra affair led him to withdraw.

On September 16, the day that Senate confirmation hearings on Gates' nomination began, all charges were dropped against Oliver North for his role in conducting the Iran-contra operation. In May 1989 North had been convicted of three felony charges of destroying secret government documents, obstructing Congress, and accepting gifts.

He was cleared on a legal technicality when the judge ruled that statements North made in 1987 under immunity granted by Congress couldn't be used against him.

Other information raised during the course of the Senate hearings reveals the CIA's role not only in aiding the contras but also in illegally shipping arms to South Africa from 1984 to 1988 and aiding Iraq in its decade-long war with Iran.

'Iran-contra keeps coming up'

Continuing revelations about the Iran-contra affair, a full five years after it was first publicly disclosed, show the deep problems confronting the U.S. rulers in restoring working people's confidence in the government.

"I wish the damned thing had never happened," stated Bush in response to ongoing questions about the scandal.

"I hope that someday I will never have to talk about this subject again," said Republican Senator Warren Rudman while questioning Gates, "but I guess it just keeps coming up."

The Iran-contra scandal is not some exception to the rule but an example of how the U.S. rulers must carry out their unpopular policies today — in secret and behind the backs of U.S. working people.

Increasingly, the U.S. rulers must move toward using their tremendous military might to defend Wall Street's interests abroad, while deepening their attacks on the rights and living standard of working people at home. This means a growing concentration of governmental power in the executive branch at the expense of Congress. The CIA, with an annual budget of about \$30 billion, plays a central role in covertly carrying out Washington's unpopular foreign policy objectives.

The Iran-contra affair won't go away because, more and more, this is how the U.S. government must function. Gates has been a central player in U.S. covert operations abroad throughout the 1980s.

'Vietnam syndrome still alive'

At the heart of the rulers' problems is attempting to overcome what is known as the "Vietnam syndrome." The U.S. rulers have been on a 15-year drive since the 1975 defeat of U.S. forces in Vietnam to win back public confidence in the government's direction of

how best to retool the CIA to more effectively defend U.S. capitalist interests around the world against deepening social explosions and working-class struggles. Gates himself calls for "dramatically" increasing the use of human spies rather than depending so heavily on satellite surveillance, arguing that thousands of spies could be employed for the cost of one reconnaissance spacecraft. Gates' proposal has the backing of Democrat David Boren, chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, who calls for "more emphasis on gathering intelligence from agents and informants rather than relying so much on technological wizardry."

As the crisis of capitalism deepens, the U.S. rulers face stiffening competition from other advanced capitalist countries like

Rightists stage anti-Black march at professor's home in New Jersey

BY NAN BAILEY

TEANECK, New Jersey — About 150 rightists marched here September 15, chanting, "Who do we want? Jeffries! How do we want him? Dead!"

Leonard Jeffries is chairman of the Black Studies Department at City College of New York. The group that organized the march is Kahane Chai (Hebrew for "Kahane lives"), named after the late ultrarightist Meir Kahane, a central leader of the Jewish Defense League, a group that has carried out violent assaults on supporters of Palestinian rights, Black rights, and democratic rights as a whole.

Kahane Chai has held several provocative protests against Jeffries since he made a July speech on racism in education. In that speech Jeffries stated that "Russian Jewry had a particular control over the movies, and their financial partners, the Mafia, put together a system of destruction of Black people." Kahane Chai, as well as numerous capitalist politicians, have taken advantage of Jeffries' remarks to smear Black rights struggles as "anti-Semitic."

Teaneck officials denied the rightists a

permit for their march. The group won a court order for a permit with the aid of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Black leaders of the African Council of Teaneck, along with the local Jewish Community Council, appeared at a joint press conference to condemn the Kahane Chai march. Plans announced by the African Council for a counterdemonstration were dropped.

The rightists' march, under heavy police guard, passed by the home of Jeffries and of Herbert Daughtry, a minister and Black political activist.

At a rally Kahane Chai leader Michael Guzofsky called on Jews living in the United States to arm themselves.

Blacks gathered along parts of the march route to express their opposition. Some youth yelled at the right-wing demonstrators, "Pannell, Pannell," referring to Phillip Pannell, a Black teenager shot down by a local cop in 1990. Others shouted at the marchers, "Go Home" and "Give the land back to Palestine." A scuffle broke out when a rightist called one of the youths "nigger."



Salvadoran government, rebels sign accord, talk of cease-fire

El Salvador's president Alfredo Cristiani and commanders of the five guerrilla organizations making up the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) signed an accord September 25 in New York.

The FMLN was formed in 1980 as repression by the U.S.-backed regime increased. Since the spring of 1990 the FMLN has participated in UN-sponsored talks with the Cristiani government and has been pressing for a negotiated solution to the civil war in El Salvador.

The Salvadoran government agreed that former guerrilla combatants will not be discriminated against in applying for jobs in the police. The two sides also agreed on reducing the size of the army; a purge of the armed forces through an evaluation of its members by a commission that will include army officers; and recognition of land rights of FMLN members and supporters in rebel-held zones.

FMLN leaders had stated before this round of talks they would be willing to negotiate a permanent end to the war if the government accepted their proposals.

Shafik Handal, leader of the Salvadoran Communist Party and spokesperson for the FMLN, said the accord constituted "a new victory of democracy in El Salvador."

Cease-fire talks between the two sides will resume October 12.

Thousands of Haitians deported from Dominican Republic

At least 10,000 Haitians have been deported since June 13 from the Dominican Republic, with which Haiti shares the island of Hispaniola.

The Dominican government ordered the deportation of all Haitians under 16 and over 60 in June, after reports by international human rights organizations that Haitians, including children, worked under conditions akin to slavery on Dominican sugar plantations.

Deported workers arriving in Haiti said the Dominican police and military carried out raids, dragged them from their homes, and gave them little opportunity to take their belongings.

A report released September 20 by the New York-based Lawyers Committee for Human Rights said that Dominican military and police have "beaten, shoved or handcuffed" Haitians. "Racial and anti-Haitian epithets were frequently invoked," the report said. Some of those expelled were actually Dominican citizens of Haitian descent, the report charged.

Haitian workers have been a source of cheap labor in the Dominican Republic for decades. There are an estimated 500,000 — 1 million Haitians there.

Japanese government takes steps to begin using troops abroad

Japan's prime minister Toshiki Kaifu launched a campaign September 19 to win legislative approval for participation by Japanese troops in United Nations military forces. Kaifu's drive began after his cabinet approved the proposed legislation.

This is the most sweeping proposal by Japanese authorities aimed at ending the ban on using its military forces abroad. The ban was written in Japan's constitution following its defeat in World War II.

Last year, Kaifu's proposal to send non-combat troops to join in the U.S.-led war against Iraq was defeated amidst public outcry. Japan later sent minesweepers to the Arab-Persian Gulf as part of the allied force, the first deployment of its military forces since World War II. The Japanese government contributed more than \$10 billion to Washington for the war.

Ever since, the Japanese rulers have been determined they will never again fork over billions of dollars to their chief rival to help it strengthen its domination over a vital commodity, oil. Japan is the most dependent of all major imperialist powers on imported oil, with 70 percent of its supply coming from the Middle East.

Broad invitations for Cuban author's tour of United States

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

Cuban economist Carlos Tablada Pérez will tour the United States from October 23 to December 14. He will speak in more than a dozen cities on "The Fight for Socialism in Cuba Today."

Tablada has received invitations from 70 professors and university institutions for the tour. They include prominent academics from such institutions as the University of Chicago, University of California at Berkeley, Morgan State University in Baltimore, University of Iowa, Evergreen State College in Seattle, and Temple University in Philadelphia.

"These invitations show the growing support among people in the United States for the free exchange of ideas and freedom of travel," said Francisco Picado of Pathfinder Press, which is coordinating Tablada's tour. "There's strong support for the right to hear ideas like the ones that Tablada will be presenting."

Tablada is the author of the book *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*, which is published in the United States by Pathfinder.

Tablada will explain the communist course advocated by Ernesto Che Guevara, a central leader of the Cuban revolution in its early years, and the relevance of this political perspective to the current discussion in Cuba and around the world on building socialism.

Greater interest in Cuban revolution

"His visit couldn't be more timely," said Picado. "Because of world events today, there's more interest in Cuba among working people and especially among youth."

"The Stalinist parties in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are disintegrating. Those bureaucracies are finally dropping their false claims of being communist," Picado said. "When Gorbachev announced that Soviet military personnel would unilaterally pull out of Cuba, working people in Cuba told the world that they remained determined to fight for socialism and not to become slaves of the United States again."

"In the U.S. a lot of people are discussing the meaning of developments in Eastern Europe and the future of the Cuban revolution."

Picado added that Nelson Mandela's recent visit to Havana lent greater authority to Cuba's revolutionary role in southern Africa.



Carlos Tablada will tour more than a dozen U.S. cities.

Militant/Janet Post

"I think all these events have undercut Washington's propaganda that Cuba poses a threat to the United States. There's more openness about hearing what a Cuban who advocates socialism and defends Che's ideas has to say."

"Carlos Tablada's tour is an important opportunity to get out the truth and answer the U.S. government's campaign against Cuba," continued Picado.

"It will be possible to win more people to support Cuba's right to self-determination and oppose the U.S. trade embargo, travel restrictions, and the U.S. military base at Guantánamo," he added.

This is Tablada's second visit to the United States. Picado pointed to the success of his six-week tour in the spring of last year. The Cuban economist spoke in more than two dozen cities, including 28 college campuses. Altogether some 3,700 people heard Tablada

and participated in the wide-ranging exchange of questions and views that followed all his talks.

Besides the large number of students, Tablada spoke with Eastern Airlines strikers, garment workers, Greyhound strikers, and other fighters in the labor movement.

Tablada also toured Canada in November 1989, as well as ten European countries last fall and winter.

Tablada will visit Washington, D.C.; Des Moines, Iowa; Chicago; Kalamazoo, Michigan; Minneapolis-St. Paul; Seattle; Los Angeles; New York; Newark, New Jersey; Philadelphia; Baltimore; Birmingham; Houston; and Miami.

For more information on Tablada's tour, contact a local Pathfinder bookstore (listed on page 12) or write to Francisco Picado, Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.

Supporters fight to get fund on target

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

Substantial progress has been registered in the Socialist Workers 1991 Party-Building Fund drive. More than \$9,000 was received this past week — well above contributions from any of the previous weeks. With 11 weeks remaining, collections need to average \$11,000 a week to ensure raising the \$150,000 goal by December 15.

For the first time, nearly every city on the scoreboard sent in contributions during the past week. Some places, such as Atlanta, San Francisco, and Pittsburgh, sent in hefty payments, helping to get those cities close to joining New York in being on schedule.

Many payments were accompanied by letters from fund directors reporting ambitious plans to get their cities on schedule. Most aimed to be on or above target coming out of Party-Building Fund rallies, which are taking place during the next several weeks.

The success of the first such rally, held in New York City September 21, is an example of how supporters can use the rallies to get on schedule and win new pledges to the fund.

Over 170 people attended this event, which featured a talk on Cuba by Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *New Internationalist*. In the audience were workers and students from throughout the city. Several were immigrants from Iran, Gambia, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti.

Dan, a student from Columbia Law School, said that he got a leaflet for the meeting at a *Militant* sales table. "I've been very concerned about the developments in the Soviet Union and their impact on Cuba," he said, adding that Waters' explanation "makes me believe more than ever that things have to happen in this country." Jean, a young Haitian worker, also got a leaflet at a sales table. He went to work two hours early on

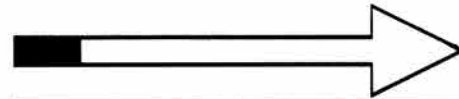
Saturday so he could attend the meeting.

A young Latino worker spent more than \$100 on books in Spanish, including writings by Che Guevara, Nelson Mandela, and Rosa Luxemburg. He had been invited to the meeting by a fund supporter who sold him a subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial*. Getting revolutionary literature into the hands of working-class fighters is one of the reasons the party-building fund exists.

Several activists who had met or worked with the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance around political events in the city came to hear Waters.

1991 Party-Building Fund

Collected: **\$30,604** Goal: **\$150,000**



Claudina, a Mexican student, found out about the meeting when she attended a "U.S. hands off Cuba" demonstration a few days earlier.

The event pushed the New York supporters well ahead in the drive. Nearly \$15,000 was collected at the meeting, which won several new contributors. By building rallies over the next several weeks, every supporter of the fund can join the fight to get the drive back on schedule.

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.

Socialist Workers 1991 Party-Building Fund

Area	Goal	Paid	% of Total
New York	16,300	6,692	41%
San Francisco	10,000	3,104	31%
Atlanta	5,500	1,595	29%
Pittsburgh	5,500	1,465	27%
Salt Lake City	6,500	1,580	24%
Omaha	3,000	650	22%
Twin Cities	8,300	1,746	21%
Detroit	8,500	1,780	21%
Greensboro	2,100	450	21%
Newark	9,700	1,877	19%
Houston	4,800	895	19%
Philadelphia	5,000	750	15%
Birmingham	5,500	755	14%
St. Louis	5,500	730	13%
Miami	2,400	322	13%
Chicago	8,000	785	10%
Baltimore	3,000	280	9%
Los Angeles	15,000	1,100	7%
Boston	4,100	270	7%
Cleveland	3,000	195	7%
Washington, D.C.	6,000	360	6%
Des Moines	3,525	80	2%
Morgantown	2,800	20	1%
Seattle	5,000	0	0%
Other U.S.	4,815	2,923	61%
International	2,130	200	9%
Total	155,970	30,604	20%
Should be		52,938	34%

'How Far We Slaves Have Come!'

New book carries text of speeches by Mandela and Castro on July 26

The following is the preface to *How Far We Slaves Have Come! South Africa and Cuba in Today's World*, which has just been published by Pathfinder.

Reprinted by permission. Copyright © 1991, Pathfinder.

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

On July 26, 1991, Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress (ANC), and Fidel Castro, president of Cuba, spoke together for the first time on the same platform. On this historic occasion, they were addressing a rally of tens of thousands in Matanzas, Cuba, marking the thirty-eighth anniversary of the opening of the Cuban revolution.

The pages that follow contain the complete text of the speeches by Nelson Mandela and Fidel Castro at the Matanzas rally, as well as the resolution of Cuba's Council of State awarding Mandela the José Martí medal, the highest honor conferred by the government of Cuba. Here Mandela and Castro explain why the two struggles of which they are central leaders — the battle to build a revolutionary democratic movement in South Africa capable of uprooting the apartheid system and the battle to strengthen the internationalism and communist direction of the Cuban revolution — have been closely intertwined for the past three decades. Through their words, we can better understand why the struggles being waged by the working people of South Africa and Cuba are today the most important examples for fighters everywhere who want to rid the earth of racism and exploitation and chart a road forward for all humanity.

In November 1975 the Cuban government, in response to a request from the government of Angola, sent thousands of volunteer troops to that country to help defeat the invading armed forces of South Africa's apartheid regime. Pretoria was determined to block the Angolan people from realizing their hard-fought independence from Portugal, set for November 11, 1975. The apartheid rulers recognized that the crumbling of the Portu-

guese empire, the last bastion of European colonialism on the African continent, would provide impetus in South Africa itself to struggles to end white minority rule.

The Cuban government named its internationalist mission in Angola Operation Carlotta, after the slave who led an 1843 rebellion in Cuba's Matanzas Province — the site of the July 26 rally. When the Cuban volunteers arrived, South African troops had already pressed more than four hundred miles into Angolan territory and antigovernment forces had reached the outskirts of the capital city of Luanda. By late March 1976, however, the last invading forces had been pushed back over Angola's southern border into Namibia, at that time still a South African colony.

This initial defeat of apartheid's army gave new impetus to the struggle for a nonracial, democratic republic inside South Africa. In June 1976 young people took to the streets in Soweto and other Black townships across the country. In the years that followed, the surge of protests gave birth to a new network of popular committees and antiapartheid organizations on both the local and national level. Superexploited workers waged strikes and formed trade unions in defiance of government bans.

The new rise of struggles reinforced the African National Congress, which had been banned in 1960 and many of whose leaders, including Mandela, were imprisoned for their antiapartheid activities. The advancing struggle inside the country increased the pariah status and international isolation of the apartheid regime. In limited and uneven ways, imperialist governments in Europe, North America, Asia, and the Pacific acceded to mounting demands by antiapartheid forces to impose economic, sports, cultural, and other sanctions against South Africa.

Over the next twelve years the apartheid rulers repeatedly conducted military operations penetrating deep into Angolan territory. Together with the bipartisan government in Washington, Pretoria armed and financed the



Celebration of Mandela's release from prison in Johannesburg. "There can be no greater cause in our era than the one headed by the ANC," said Castro.

forces of UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), which carried out counterrevolutionary terrorist operations in southern Angola.

In November 1987, however, in the face of a critical situation in which South African troops had encircled Cuito Cuanavale in southeast Angola, Cuba made the decision to send thousands of volunteer reinforcements and massive amounts of weaponry and supplies. By March 1988 the South African troops had been dealt a decisive military defeat at Cuito Cuanavale by the combined forces of the Cuban volunteers, the Angolan army, and fighters from SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organisation). The South African invaders were forced to withdraw from Angola; in subsequent negotiations the apartheid regime ceded independence to Namibia, which celebrated the end of racist colonial domination and the establishment of its own government in March 1990.

By puncturing once and for all the myth of the white supremacists' invincibility, the outcome at Cuito Cuanavale gave another impulse to the battle against apartheid inside South Africa. The self-assurance of South Africa's capitalist rulers took heavy blows, and tactical divisions among them deepened. On February 2, 1990, the government of Prime Minister F.W. de Klerk announced the unbanning of the African National Congress and several other antiapartheid organizations. Nine days later, on February 11, Nelson Mandela triumphantly walked out of Victor Verster Prison near Cape Town, free for the first time in twenty-seven and a half years.

In his speech to the Matanzas rally, Mandela paid tribute to the unparalleled contribution that Cuba's internationalist volunteers made to the African peoples' struggle

for independence, freedom, and social justice. "The crushing defeat of the racist army at Cuito Cuanavale was a victory for the whole of Africa!" Mandela said. "The defeat of the apartheid army was an inspiration to the struggling people inside South Africa! Without the defeat of Cuito Cuanavale our organizations would not have been unbanned! The defeat of the racist army at Cuito Cuanavale has made it possible for me to be here today! ... Cuito Cuanavale has been a turning point in the struggle to free the continent and our country from the scourge of apartheid!"

Responding to Mandela's tribute, Castro explained that revolutionary Cuba had staked everything — including the existence of the revolution itself — in committing such major military forces to the battle at Cuito Cuanavale. In doing so, said Castro — repeating a theme that has run through many of his speeches in recent years — the Cuban government and people once again showed in practice why internationalism is blood and bone of the revolution, and why any retreat from aiding those fighting for national liberation or socialism elsewhere in the world would be the death knell of the Cuban revolution itself.

As Castro explained in a December 1988 speech to a rally of half a million people in Havana, including many men and women from the Cuban armed forces and Territorial Troop Militia: "Whoever is incapable of fighting for others will never be capable of fighting for himself. And the heroism shown by our forces, by our people in other lands, faraway lands, must also serve to let the imperialists know what awaits them if one day they force us to fight on this land here." (Fidel Castro, *In Defense of Socialism: Four Speeches on the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution* [New York: Pathfinder, 1989], p. 28.)

The internationalist course charted in Angola is central to the life-or-death questions confronting the Cuban revolution today that are addressed by Castro in the speech printed here. Washington has never forgiven the Cuban people for their declaration of independence from U.S. neocolonialism proclaimed in 1959; it has never forgiven them for the social revolution they began three decades ago. Castro describes some of the lasting social gains and political conquests of that revolution, and he explains why the leadership of the Cuban revolution will continue along the historic line of march charted almost 150 years ago by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels — toward a world where human beings live and work together as brothers and sisters, instead of being forced to prey on each other like wolves.

From the mid-1970s through the mid-1980s, internationalist missions such as those carried out by hundreds of thousands of Cubans in Angola — as well as in Grenada, Nicaragua, and elsewhere — were the main social and political force helping to mobilize and politically inspire working people

Continued on next page



PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

DEAN ATHANS

Pathfinder, located in New York with distributors in Australia, Britain, and Canada, publishes the works of working-class and communist leaders who have made central contributions to the forward march of humanity against exploitation and oppression. Pathfinder bookstores are listed in the directory on page 12.

"I am writing in the hopes of obtaining a catalog of books you have in store that I may want to purchase to broaden my knowledge and self awareness."

Each week Pathfinder gets dozens of requests like this one along with orders for books and pamphlets from working people in prisons across the United States. Deprived of their freedom by a system stacked against them, many develop a strong desire to learn more about the workings of capitalism and struggles against it around the world.

They write from prisons in places like Attica, New York; Angola, Louisiana; Joliet, Illinois; and Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas. In addition to the big, well-known federal penitentiaries, orders and requests for information come from smaller state and county prisons. Orders regularly come in from Tennessee Colony, Texas; Crescent City, California; Craigsville, Virginia; Galesburg, Illinois; and Ft. Madison, Iowa.

As a prisoner, Malcolm X became a voracious reader and student who was transformed by the newfound knowledge that he combined with his own experiences. Today, Pathfinder's books by Malcolm X are by far the most popular among our readers behind bars.

Other popular books among prisoners

are titles by Nelson Mandela, Ernesto Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, and Leon Trotsky. A South Carolina prison group recently ordered the video *Cuba and Angola: Response to the South African Escalation*, which tells the story of the defeat of the South African army by Cuban and Angolan troops in 1988.

Because prison wages are so low, Pathfinder offers books and pamphlets to prisoners at a 50 percent discount. The new Pathfinder catalog is a hot item, making the rounds among hundreds of inmates who order directly from it. A free catalog can be obtained by writing to Pathfinder, (address below).

Some prisoners have been able to convince the prison library to order Pathfinder books. One prison library in Georgia recently put in an order for more than \$150 for books by Malcolm X and Nelson Mandela and on Marxism.

Don't delay sending in your order for the two-volume set *Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!* Pathfinder Readers Club members can get the set at a special 25 percent prepublication discount of \$45. This offer ends December 15.

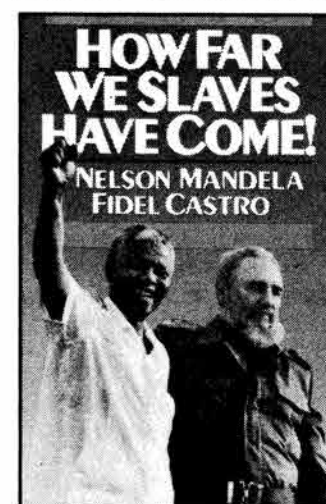
For an annual fee of \$10 members of the Pathfinder Readers Club receive a 15 percent discount on Pathfinder publications at any of the 40 Pathfinder bookstores around the world. They can also take advantage of other special offers. To join, write to Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014, or visit any Pathfinder bookstore.

Just published: a new book from Pathfinder

Nelson Mandela and Fidel Castro: How Far We Slaves Have Come!

These speeches by Castro and Mandela at July 26, 1991, celebration in Cuba are essential reading for all fighters who want to rid the earth of racism and exploitation and chart a road forward for all humanity.

Mandela and Castro explain why the battle to build a movement capable of uprooting the apartheid system, and the battle to strengthen the internationalism and communist direction of the Cuban revolution, have been closely intertwined for the past three decades. 92 pp. \$7.95.



Write Pathfinder, 410 West Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10014. Please include \$3 shipping for first copy, \$.50 each additional copy. Or visit the bookstores listed on page 12.

Miners strike 3 days for health benefits

BY JOAN LEVITT

BROOKWOOD, Alabama — Members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) at Jim Walter Resources went on strike here against the company's unilaterally imposed new restrictions on health insurance payments.

The strike, which lasted three days, began during midnight shift August 19 when some 2,300 miners at four underground mines and the central maintenance shop refused to cross pickets set up at their worksites.

According to the contract between the UMWA and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), working miners are provided medical insurance coverage through benefit plans operated by their respective employers. Miners and members of their families are required to pay only a \$7.50 copayment for physician and hospital visits and a \$5 copayment for prescriptions. Copayments cease when a family has paid \$100 for physician and hospital visits and \$50 for prescriptions within a year.

Earlier this year Jim Walter Resources switched insurance companies, from Aetna to Southeastern Health Plan of Alabama. At that time company officials assured miners that the change would help solve some of the problems miners were having with Aetna. However, during the strike a company spokesman reported to the news media the real reason for the switch: Southeastern exercises "tighter controls" than Aetna, resulting in denial of more claims.

Over the past several months miners have come to realize what "tighter controls" actually mean. Claims that in the past were routinely paid are refused. Miners have been forced to foot the bill for trips to hospital emergency rooms that the insurance company deems non-life-threatening. Costs of medical care over and above what Southeastern and Jim Walter consider customary are billed to miners. So are costs of medical procedures they deem "not medically necessary."

As a result many miners are being harassed by collection agencies and threatened with court action and wage garnishment.

The degree of health care the UMWA has won over decades of struggle in the coalfields has come to be seen by miners as a fundamental right — one which they will not easily give up. Many of the illnesses miners suffer are the direct result of coal mining. Preserving access to affordable, decent medical care is widely viewed by miners as a top priority for 1993

UMWA-BCOA contract negotiations.

Within a day of the strike Jim Walter Resources secured a temporary restraining order from a federal district judge in order to try to force the miners back to work. The company attached copies of the restraining order to miners' paychecks from the previous week.

On August 23 miners returned to work, following the company's agreement to sit down with a UMWA representative from Washington, D.C., and after receiving the company's assurance that no miners would be discharged for participating in the stoppage.

Many miners remain skeptical that the company will actually take action to remedy the problems with medical claims that miners are facing. However, most agree that the strike drew attention to the need for the union to seriously address this issue.

Coinciding with their return to work, miners were informed about a company-promoted "employee involvement" program. Under the program miners are encouraged to attend voluntary meetings with the company, at time-and-a-half wages, in which "non-contractual" issues and problems that arise in the mine are addressed.

Most miners see this program as an attempt by the company to undermine the union.



Militant/Stu Singer

Scene from 1981 Black Lung demonstration. Many miners suffer from work-related illnesses. Benefits were won by UMWA over decades of struggle.

Both North and South Korea join UN

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

North and South Korea were seated as members of the United Nations on September 17, the opening day of the General Assembly's annual session. Five other nations were also admitted — the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania; the Marshall Islands; and Micronesia.

Korea has been divided into two countries since 1945. The division was reinforced in the Korean war, which left a nuclear-armed U.S. occupation army in the south — propping up an oppressive landlord-capitalist regime and closing off all communication between Koreans in the southern and northern parts of the peninsula. Since that time neither South Korea nor the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK — North Korea) had been admitted into UN membership.

Following the end of the Korean war in 1953, the DPRK maintained that North and South Korea should enter the United Nations as a single state after the reunification of the country or share one seat if joining before reunification. The DPRK has held that the two Koreas joining with separate seats would perpetuate and legitimize the division of the country.

The DPRK's UN mission sent out a press release declaring: "The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea hopes that the remnants of the past history, which had existed between our country and the United Nations until our UN membership, will be eliminated properly and that the United Nations will make its due contribution to the just solution of the question of Korea's reunification."

"As the attempts have become apparent

recently to perpetuate and legalize the division of the country and nation by capitalizing on the international leverage of the UN membership, we have taken the decisive measure to join the United Nations in an effort to avert serious consequences arising therefrom."

The statement went on to say that the DPRK's full membership in the United Nations marked no fundamental change in its continuing fight for the reunification of Korea. "No attempts should be allowed to misuse the UN membership for the purpose of perpetuating the country's division into 'two Koreas'," the mission said.

The DPRK's acceptance into the UN came in the wake of renewed allegations that it is developing nuclear weapons. The charges were put forward by Ko Young Hwan, a high-ranking DPRK diplomat who recently defected to South Korea. Ko claimed from Seoul that North Korea will be capable of producing nuclear weapons within one to three years, but added that he knew few details.

The DPRK has repeatedly denied such charges. The North Korean government says it will not allow inspection of its nuclear installations until the United States allows inspection of U.S. nuclear weapons in South Korea. The United States refuses to admit that it has some 1,000 nuclear weapons in the south.

Union narrowly loses N. Carolina election

BY TONY PRINCE

GREENSBORO, North Carolina — More than 6,000 textile workers voted on August 20 and 21 whether to join the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) at Fieldcrest Cannon in Kannapolis, North Carolina. The union lost by less than 200 votes.

This margin was much smaller than the last time such a vote was held in Kannapolis, in 1985, when the union lost by a 2-to-1 margin.

Since that time, conditions have worsened at mills in the Kannapolis area, particularly through speedup and job combinations. Seven thousand workers now produce the same amount that 10,500 produced in 1985. Wages for piecework have been cut. Bosses demand a lot of mandatory overtime. This has led workers to look for a way to defend themselves, and more workers now look to the union.

This takes place in the context of the retreat by the labor movement in the face of the employers' offensive against the working class, an offensive that has lasted more than a decade. Because of the union leadership's failure to lead a fight against this offensive, it was not apparent to a layer of workers in Kannapolis that they would be any better off if they had a union.

One issue during the union-organizing drive was the 30 percent cut in pensions that was imposed on Cannon retirees by a bankruptcy court in California. While the immediate blame for this fell on Cannon Mills' previous owner, David Murdock, Fieldcrest Cannon refused to take any responsibility or help the retirees. It is not unusual for workers with more than 30 years at Fieldcrest Cannon to receive a pension of only \$75 a month. A retiree

with 42 years at the company said the employer told her she didn't have enough years of service to qualify for a pension.

The employers in North Carolina took the union drive seriously. When the union made the pension cuts an issue, the U.S. Senate immediately held a hearing in Kannapolis on the question. A couple of weeks later Murdock decided to make up the difference in the pensions until a state agency could step in.

An editorial in the Greensboro News and Record after the vote noted with alarm how small the margin had been. It warned that if employers don't improve conditions in the plants, unionization will remain an issue.

A number of workers in Kannapolis expressed disappointment that the union had not won.

Another worker said that no union representative had ever spoken to him and that he was undecided until he went to the voting booth. He voted against the union.

ACTWU officials only once mobilized union members from the Fieldcrest Cannon mills in Eden, North Carolina, and Fieldale, Virginia, to come to Kannapolis and campaign for the union. Several Eden and Fieldale workers said they thought officials should have organized more such actions.

At Fieldcrest Cannon's decorative bedding mill in Eden, the big majority of workers supported the union drive in Kannapolis and recognized its importance for them. Some of the older workers were especially disappointed at the defeat and predicted that conditions would get worse at the mill. In fact, the bosses have gone on the offensive around the issue of attendance, disciplining workers by arbitrarily enforcing a mandatory seven-day weekly work schedule.

A number of workers in Kannapolis still want to fight to get the union in. ACTWU's position is to press for a new election as soon as it is legally able to do so.

Tony Prince is a member of ACTWU Local 385T at Fieldcrest Cannon in Eden, North Carolina.

'How Far We Slaves Have Come!'

Continued from Page 8

ple in Cuba. Internationalist commitment stood counterposed to the political disorientation fostered by the policies, institutions, and priorities that had begun to be systematically implemented in Cuba in the early 1970s, largely copied from the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries. When the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba in 1986 launched what is known as the rectification process, aimed at combating the social and political roots of this decade-long depoliticization, a major impetus to this effort was the determination to bring the political spirit and confidence generated by the internationalist missions in Angola into the daily battle to advance the revolution at home.

In the final portion of the Matanzas speech, Castro takes up the arguments of those who say that socialism was the loser in the Cold War and that capitalism has emerged the victor. He explains the realities of intensifying interimperialist competition today and catalogs the economic and social devastation capitalism is wreaking on the peoples of Latin America. Capitalism, he notes, is something the Cuban people know well, inside and out, from their own painful history. This

historical experience underlies Cuba's refusal to return to the slave barracks of capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination. Cuban revolutionaries, Castro emphasizes, are more convinced than ever that the future for humanity is not backward to "private enterprise and the free market," but forward to a world freed of the poverty, racism, and exploitation generated by capitalism.

In closing his remarks to the Matanzas rally, Nelson Mandela told the thousands gathered there what it meant to him to be awarded the José Martí medal by Cuba's Council of State. "It is a source of strength and hope," he said, because "this award is given for the recognition that the people of South Africa stand on their feet and are fighting for their freedom."

This, above all, is the thread that runs through these speeches: the determination of the peoples of South Africa and Cuba to fight for a new and better world. "No matter what the odds, no matter under what difficulties," Mandela said at Matanzas, you have to struggle. "There can be no surrender! It is a case of freedom or death!"

September 12, 1991

Thomas nomination signals more attacks

Anti-working-class views downplayed in hearings on Supreme Court bid

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

The U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee deadlocked 7-to-7 on the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court. Nonetheless, moments after the September 27 vote the committee decided to send the nomination to the senate for consideration.

Thomas, who was nominated by President George Bush, sought to downplay his right-wing views by dodging and evading questions during five days of testimony before the Judiciary Committee.

Presently a court of appeals judge, Thomas has been outspoken in his opposition to school busing, raising the minimum wage, affirmative action, abortion rights, and other measures that unify working people. President Bush picked Thomas because of his virulent anti-working-class politics. This signals the government's determination to continue its attacks on the rights and standard of living of the working class.

During the hearings liberal Democrats asked dozens of questions on the nominee's right-wing views on democratic rights. They sought to establish whether Thomas would use the Supreme Court as an instrument to launch frontal assaults on affirmative action, the right to privacy, and other civil liberties.

Many in the ruling class favor a more cautious approach toward restricting these rights. They fear that too direct an attack on these hard-won gains of working people will carry a high political price.

Thomas's right-wing politics sparked a debate about his nomination among middle-class Blacks and within the ruling class. The debate emerged because of the rising number of Supreme Court decisions that chip away at democratic rights.

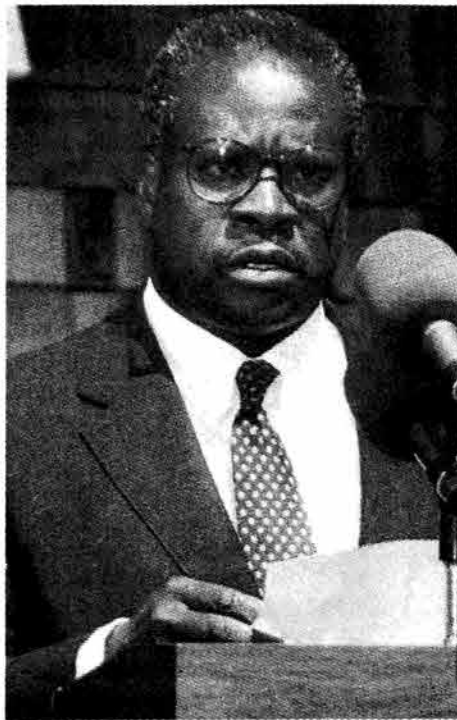
The Bush administration and Thomas worked overtime to take maximum advantage of Thomas' impoverished youth and subsequent rise to high-paying government positions to tout him as a role model for "individual initiative and self-help." The official version of his rags-to-riches life story was used to discount the need for working-class solidarity.

Thomas dodges questions

As head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), Thomas actively campaigned against affirmative action. "I believe in compensation for actual victims, not people whose only claim to victimization is that they are members of a historically oppressed group," he stated at the time.

As far as affirmative action goes, Thomas had said he didn't "believe in quotas. America was founded on a philosophy of individual rights, not group rights."

During the hearings Thomas presented a



Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas has anti-working-class views.

somewhat moderated version of this view. He told Senator Hank Brown that he opposed timetables, preferences, or quotas but supported efforts to seek out "qualified" minorities.

Thomas had also expressed criticisms of the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court case, which provided the legal basis for school desegregation.

The landmark ruling led to "a disastrous series of cases requiring busing and other policies that were irrelevant to parents' concern for a decent education," he had stated.

None of these criticisms were raised in front of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Responding to questions by Senator Patrick Leahy on the *Brown* decision, Thomas said, "That is certainly one of the cases . . . that changed my life and changed the South."

Despite his vaunted concern for individual rights, Thomas refused to be pinned down on his views of the two court cases that widened the constitutional right to privacy. One of the rulings struck down a state law banning the use of contraceptives by married couples.

"My view is that there is a right to privacy in the fourteenth amendment" to the Constitution, Thomas finally said, in response to repeated questioning by Senator Joseph Biden. But he still left open his interpretation of what this right entails.

The right to privacy is one of the underpinnings of the *Roe v. Wade* decision, which

recognizes that abortion is a constitutional right. Thomas was grilled about his views on the right of women to choose abortion, but refused to express an opinion. "I do not think that at this time I could maintain my impartiality as a member of the judiciary and comment on that specific case," he said in a typical answer to the dozens of questions on the *Roe* decision.

In a 1987 speech Thomas praised an article by New York businessman Lewis Lehrman that cast abortion as immoral and a violation of natural law. Pressed by Senator Edward Kennedy and others, Thomas claimed his praise was "a throwaway line. . . I do not agree with the article."

Previously Thomas frequently espoused "natural law." This concept of a higher law based on God's will is often used by rightists to justify violating existing laws to press for their goals. The same notion is used to exalt "corporate" and "property" rights, which, it is argued, invalidate laws setting a minimum wage, limiting working hours, implementing environmental regulations, or guaranteeing individual freedom.

"I have not in any speech said that we should adjudicate cases by appealing to natural law," Thomas said during the hearings.

In the past Thomas spoke in favor of requiring prayer in public schools. "My mother says that when they took God out of the schools, the schools went to hell. She may be right. Religion is certainly a source of positive values, and we need as many positive values in the schools as we can get," he had stated.

Asked by Senator Kohl about these remarks, Thomas said he accepted Supreme Court rulings outlawing prayers.

The death penalty was about the only issue that Thomas expressed a straight opinion on. "There is nothing that would bother me personally about upholding it in appropriate cases," he said, responding to a question by Republican senator Arlen Specter.

Different strategy than Bork

As the hearings neared the end major dailies, like the *New York Times*, began referring to Thomas as a "likely Supreme Court Justice." By avoiding "a forthright exchange of opinion about his past views," said a September 18 editorial in the *Wall Street Journal*, "Mr. Thomas clinched his way to a likely victory."

The Bush administration followed a different strategy in the Thomas nomination

than the one followed by Ronald Reagan in his 1987 nomination of Robert Bork to the Supreme Court.

Bork's nomination went down to defeat after he went on a campaign, organized by the Reagan administration, in defense of his rightist views. Prior to and during the confirmation hearings Bork denounced *Roe v. Wade*, contended that no such thing as a right to privacy exists, argued for restricting the right to free speech, and attacked affirmative action.

While not disavowing his right-wing views, Thomas avoided pushing them during the hearings by dodging most questions.

In addition Thomas' supporters used the hype around his background and the fact that he is Black to help him gain wider legitimacy in bourgeois public opinion for securing the Supreme Court seat. They have been successful to a certain degree.

Several Black middle-class politicians and organizations supported his nomination. On September 26 the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) endorsed Thomas' nomination. "Our choice for the Court is not between Thomas and a proven progressive," said Joseph Lowery, SCLC president. "But between Thomas and an appointee like arch-conservative members of the present Court whose votes have turned back the clock on civil rights, freedom of speech and the criminal justice system."

Other organizations like the Urban League took a "neutral stand." Many, such as the NAACP, opposed Thomas' nomination. The AFL-CIO also took a stance against Thomas. Despite this debate not one of the organizations that opposed Thomas' nomination has done more than issue statements; nor have they sought to mobilize working people to fight against the attacks on affirmative action, abortion rights, and other democratic rights.

The absence of struggles in defense of these rights makes it easier for the ruling class to get away with putting somebody like Thomas in the Supreme Court.

Confirmation of Thomas will increase the likelihood of more Supreme Court decisions chipping away at democratic rights. But such decisions could not in themselves reverse rights that workers and farmers have won in decades of struggle. On the contrary, they would mark the opening shot in new battles.

New Alliance Party loses one round in its lawsuit to limit ballot rights

BY MARTIN KOPPEL

NEW YORK — On September 25 a federal court here denied a request by the New Alliance Party (NAP) for an immediate ruling on a lawsuit it has filed that would restrict ballot rights in the state of New York. The NAP initiated its suit earlier this year against the New York Board of Elections, Socialist Workers Party, United African Party, and Libertarian Party.

In September of last year the NAP asked the U.S. District Court to set aside the results of a Board of Elections lottery that determined the order in which parties without permanent ballot status were listed on the November 1990 ballot. That lottery placed the SWP on the ballot first, the United African Party second, the NAP third, and the Libertarian Party fourth, behind the parties with a permanent spot on the ballot. U.S. District Judge Robert Ward denied the NAP's request.

The NAP's current lawsuit claims that the Board of Elections lottery system is unconstitutional. It argues that, since the board ranks parties with permanent ballot status according to their vote totals in the previous state elections, the same system should be used to rank those who obtain ballot status through collecting signatures on nominating petitions. Such a change would put the NAP, after it has met petitioning requirements, on the ballot immediately below the parties with permanent ballot status for the next three years.

The parties with automatic ballot status in New York are the Democratic, Liberal, Conservative, Republican, and Right-to-Life parties.

In court hearings in October 1990, SWP

attorney Edward Copeland, of the Rabinowitz, Boudin, Standard, Krinsky, and Lieberman law firm, pointed out that the NAP had not offered any proof that it would be harmed by being placed on the ballot behind the SWP. He cited court decisions that ruled that ballot placement based on election results was unconstitutional.

This lawsuit is not the first time the New Alliance Party has challenged the rights of parties seeking to participate in New York elections. It previously succeeded in getting the Unity Party and United African Party knocked off the November 1990 ballot by challenging their nominating petitions.

"Election laws are already full of rules and restrictions that favor the larger parties, while often making it impossible for new parties to get on the ballot at all," said Meryl Lynn Farber, Socialist Workers candidate for New York City Council in District 2. "The claim by the NAP that it deserves a higher ballot spot based on previous election results only supports this undemocratic setup."

"The NAP's lawsuit and its previous court moves are motivated only by partisan considerations. They give a handle to the government's attempts to restrict the rights of working people to participate in elections, and should be rejected by all supporters of democratic rights."

The Socialist Workers election campaign has made an emergency appeal for funds to help respond to this court challenge. Contributions can be sent to the New York SWP 1991 Campaign at 191 Seventh Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

Romanian miners protest gov't austerity measures

BY GREG McCARTAN

Thousands of residents joined rallies and protests by mine workers in Bucharest, the capital of Romania, demanding an end to austerity measures and the resignation of the government.

Four thousand miners from central Romania commandeered trains September 25 and then rallied outside government buildings and Cotroceni Palace, the residence of President Ion Iliescu. Thousands more arrived the following day, according to press reports.

"Resignation! Resignation!" the crowd shouted. "Don't be afraid. Iliescu will fall!" miners shouted from trucks as they drove around the city encouraging broader participation in the protests.

The actions were spurred by the impact of government decisions to introduce wider use of market mechanisms in the nationalized economy. The measures, while benefiting the well-off, privileged bureaucratic layer that holds political power, have drastically cut the standard of living of most working people. Inflation has hit 170 percent. Unemployment has shot up, and the miners say working conditions have continued to deteriorate.

Dressed in their work clothes and rubber boots, miners armed themselves with wooden clubs and metal bars in anticipation of attacks by security forces. Some 280 people

were injured as police used tear gas and shotguns while attempting to disperse the crowds.

The protesters appealed to soldiers protecting the presidential palace. "Why don't you come down here?" they called. Flyers stated, "Soldiers of all ranks, act as those in December 1989 who refused to shoot at their own people."

Mass protests in 1989 brought down the Stalinist government headed by Nicolae Ceausescu. As with the bureaucratic regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, decades of economic mismanagement and police-state repression of working people resulted in a deepgoing economic and social crisis in these workers' states. Unwilling any longer to bow to the forced denial of democratic rights and deteriorating economic conditions, millions stood up to Ceausescu's brutal security apparatus and said "enough!"

Because there was not a consistent working-class leadership capable of leading the mass upsurge to take further substantial steps forward, the ruling layer reorganized itself in order to defend its privileges and social position.

Iliescu, a supporter of Ceausescu before his ouster and subsequent execution, formed the National Salvation Front and became the

Continued on Page 12

Efforts increased to defend Air Force GI

BY GREG McCARTAN

OMAHA, Nebraska — Supporters of Jason Coughlin, a GI stationed at Offutt Air Force Base here, are stepping up their efforts to defend citizen-soldiers' democratic rights.

In an interview Coughlin explained, "The Air Force informed me September 23 it was initiating steps to open a special security file on me. After three months of working a temporary job due to the temporary revocation of my security clearance, I've been given the military's reasons for questioning my political activities."

Coughlin and fellow GI Jeff South

joined the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) several months ago. Coughlin is an E-2, the equivalent of a private, and South is a sergeant. Both are presently on leave of absence from the YSA, which is the socialist youth group's practice for its members in the armed forces.

The Air Force brass pulled Coughlin's top-security clearance and opened an investigation of his activities July 1 after the GI attended a convention of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The Air Force gave no reason for the investigation and reassigned him from his regular work area.

The GI has won support for his right to

hold political views from prominent individuals in the area. He has retained Omaha attorney Mark Cohen to represent him.

"The reasons stated in the September 23 letter," Coughlin said, "were 'alleged association with a socialist organization,' and questionable loyalty, honesty, and reliability at my previous work place."

Coughlin responded in writing to the charges. "My association with a socialist organization is not alleged, but a fact. I'm above board," he stated, "and keep no secrets. I'm willing to talk with anyone about my political activity, as I do with fellow GIs on the base."

"My activity — whether it is going to Wichita, Kansas, to protest attacks on abortion rights, discussing events in the Soviet Union, or inviting people to Militant Labor Forums — is within security regulations," he said.

"This was stated in an Air Force Office of Special Investigations interrogation held earlier," the YSA member said. "I conduct my political activity off duty and out of uniform. Political beliefs and activity should not be the basis of opening a security file on any GI."

Coughlin said his lawyer also sent a letter responding to the Air Force's new moves. The attorney raised the fact that in a historic lawsuit against the FBI, the SWP and YSA had won a ruling stating their activities are protected by the U.S. Constitution.

"Even though the court decision clearly states the YSA is a legal political organization," he said, "the Air Force is trying to establish that association with it affected my performance, is a security threat, and is justification for an investigation."

Responding to the charges of disloyalty, dishonesty, and unreliability, Coughlin said job performance records do not back up any of these claims.

"The Air Force is trying to paint me and anyone else who holds political ideas it doesn't like as suspicious characters unworthy of a security clearance. I will continue to fight for my First Amendment rights and those of all GIs," he said.

Coughlin's supporters are planning to get the case into area newspapers and on radio shows. They are also raising funds needed for publicity and legal fees.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS IN ACTION

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

YSA chapters are actively involved in the worldwide struggle against apartheid in South Africa, defense of the Cuban revolution, protests against police brutality, and actions to defend a woman's right to choose abortion.

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

Neo-Nazis outmobilized

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance joined in a September 2 action to counter a march by the neo-Nazi United White Workers in Salt Lake City.

Some 200 angry young people chased and out-shouted the group of 40 racists, mostly skinheads. Chants included "Hey, hey, go home, racism has got to go" and "Never again, never again."

One of the right-wing marchers dressed in a Nazi uniform with high-top black boots and a red swastika arm-band. She claimed her group was trying to "awaken the whites."

Nancy Boyasko, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council in Salt Lake, participated in the countermobilization and addressed the crowd. Boyasko pointed out the need to continue to mobilize against racist violence and attacks on democratic rights.

The socialist candidate reported on her visit to Wichita, Kansas, where Operation Rescue laid siege to abortion clinics in August. The right-wing attacks on a woman's right to choose, she said, are an attack on the rights of all workers.

Campus paper reports on YSA

Derek Bracey, national organizational secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, was the featured speaker at the grand opening of the Morgantown, West Virginia,

Pathfinder Bookstore at its new location.

The *Daily Athenaeum*, the student newspaper at West Virginia University, published an interview with Bracey and announced the September 7 event.

The YSA leader told the paper, "There's a very big political opening because of the economic and social crises developing in the world."

"What's needed is independent working-class leadership," Bracey stated.

"The people who produce the wealth of society, which is the immense majority of humanity, should have control over the wealth that is being produced," Bracey said. "We think workers and farmers need to run the government in the United States and around the world."

The *Athenaeum* noted that Bracey attended the African National Congress conference in July in South Africa and recently traveled to Israel to learn more about the struggle of the Palestinian people.

New Zealand student forum

Young people around the world are discussing the recent events in the Soviet Union. The Young Socialists in New Zealand sponsored a talk by Communist League member Patrick Brown at Massey University, Palmerston North, to get out the socialist viewpoint.

Twelve students participated in a lively discussion. A student from East Timor asked about attempts to follow a "third road" between capitalism and socialism and asked whether newly industrialized countries in Southeast Asia show that capitalism can work in the Third World.

Other students asked if communism was possible and how it could be achieved.

Capitalism is not a solution to the world economic crisis and the social devastation it causes, the Young Socialists explain. It is the problem. There will be more poverty, imperialist wars, and environmental destruction until working people succeed in ending capitalist domination.

Eileen Koschak and Karen Stockert from Salt Lake City; Maurice Peret and Ken Knudsen from Morgantown, West Virginia; and Felicity Williams from New Zealand all contributed to this week's column.



Militant/Roni McCann

Air Force officials have recently moved to open special security file on Jason Coughlin (pictured above). Coughlin is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Free speech forum in Australia features SWP national secretary

BY BOB ANDREWS

SYDNEY, Australia — A wide-ranging discussion covering the future of the Soviet Union, the prospects facing the Cuban revolution, and the worldwide crisis of capitalism took place at a Militant Labour Forum here. Speaking at the September 20 event was Jack Barnes, national secretary of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

Barnes told the meeting that the imperialists' "fear is the reality — there is no new world order. There is a growing world disorder that comes from the decline of the old world order."

"There is no easy gobbling up of the Soviet bloc by imperialism: hundreds of millions of new gravediggers of capitalism have to be confronted and fought," he stated. "There is no way to defeat the Cuban revolution and the Cuban people without fighting them, and the prospect of doing that can lead to the greatest social conflicts in the United States since the Vietnam war. If this should happen in a period of economic disaster the results will be more than that."

"It is this that is the reality," Barnes noted, "not the reality of the capitalists. And it is this that is worth fighting for."

Thirty-six people attended the forum. Participants asked Barnes for his views on the recent congresses of the ANC and its armed wing, in South Africa, and on Che Guevara's reliance on "moral incentives" to build socialism. One participant questioned whether the title of *New International no. 7* — "The Opening Guns of World War III" — was too sensationalist, while another expressed the

view that the defeat of the coup in the Soviet Union was a setback for socialism.

The Socialist Labour League, a small anti-labor outfit, which has been campaigning in Australia and New Zealand to support the police frame-up of Mark Curtis, attempted to disrupt the meeting. They harassed people coming to the forum and rushed at the car bringing Barnes. But they were kept at a distance to allow Barnes to enter. This outfit previously tried to disrupt a tour of Australia and New Zealand by Kate Kaku, Curtis' wife and a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

Forum supporters had organized a defense team to bar the group from entering the meeting hall and to protect Barnes as he arrived. Ron Poulsen, who chaired the meeting, explained that this was necessary to defend the democratic rights of those organizing and attending the forum so they could take part in an open discussion within the labor movement.

Commenting on the events outside, Barnes added, "I've learned over the last 30 years to never take for granted a free-speech meeting that's built around the interests of working people. And as the years go by in the 1990s we will come to appreciate that more and more, so I'm grateful for those who made this meeting possible."

At the end of the forum four copies of *New International no. 7* and two copies of *Nueva Internacional* in Spanish were bought by participants.

While in Sydney, Barnes gave a 20-minute interview on radio station 2SER.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Demonstration in East Los Angeles August 10. Young Socialist Alliance members have participated in marches to protest the August 3 killing of Arturo Jimenez by L.A. County sheriff's deputies. YSA is actively involved in protesting police brutality from New Jersey to California.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Latin America: What Way Out of the Economic and Political Crisis? Speakers: Juan Villagómez, Young Socialist Alliance; Nilton Mejía, Young Socialist Alliance, activist in Central America solidarity movement. Translation to English. Sat., Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

South Africa: The Fight Against Apartheid Today. Speakers: Paris Mashile, African National Congress; Zolani Ngwane, South African International Student Congress; Rich Gaeta, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America Local 5488. Sat., Oct. 5, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

The Deepening Attacks on Abortion Rights: How Can We Defend a Woman's Right to Choose? Panel discussion. Sat., Oct. 12, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Workers Fight Back in Canada — Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Representative Communist League of Canada. Sat., Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

The Fight for Black Rights: Which Way Forward? Speakers: Keith Ellison, lawyer, anti-police activist; Sikivu Chagulia, co-founder Akephran Society; James Mac Warren, National Committee Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America Local 3247. Sat., Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

The Oppression of Women: Historical Roots and the Fight for Abortion Rights Today. Panel discussion, eyewitness report from Wichita. Sat., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

Romanian miners protest in capital

Continued from Page 10

country's president. He dropped any pretense of building socialism or speaking in the name of communism, and initiated measures to try to integrate Romania's economy into that of world capitalism.

In a rare admission of the problems of even heading in the direction of restoring capitalism, the *New York Times* noted that the regime "has fallen victim to a backlash against the market reforms that Eastern European countries are imposing to revive their economies."

Prime Minister resigns

Hoping to placate the miners, Prime Minister Petre Roman resigned September 26.

Bush nuclear weapons cuts leave massive U.S. arsenal intact

Continued from front page

weapons have the capacity to wipe out humanity many times over. Far from cutting back on these weapons of mass destruction, Bush is pressing ahead with the development of new weaponry, in particular the B-2 Stealth bomber and the "Star Wars" antimissile program.

A central goal of the Bush announcement is to move rapidly to place pressure on the Soviet Union to remove nuclear weapons from the hands of individual republics. Four republics (Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Kazakhstan) have long-range missile sites, and short-range nuclear weapons are located in most republics across the Soviet Union.

Leaders in Kazakhstan and the Ukraine, for example, have suggested that nuclear weapons located on their soil should be controlled by the governments of the republics.

Washington would like to see the Soviet Union's nuclear weapons under the central control of political forces it considers more "reliable."

The U.S. military has many tactical nuclear weapons in South Korea. The government of North Korea and broad forces in the South have long called for their removal. But Washington officially denies the presence of these weapons.

While Bush did not explicitly refer to South Korea in his announcement, if nuclear weapons are withdrawn from there it will be a significant victory.

"If the United States really withdraws its weapons from South Korea," said a North Korean press agency statement, "the way will be opened for our signing the nuclear safeguards accord." The North Korean government has insisted that U.S. nuclear weapons in the South be withdrawn before it will allow inspection of nuclear power plants in the North.

Officials of the miners union had earlier urged members of Parliament to take some steps to stem the workers' actions. While thousands protested outside, one official told Parliament, "Who is to blame if you do not find a solution and the miners outside cause new bloodshed?"

After Roman's resignation, top union officer Miron Cosma took a similar conciliatory stance when he told the miners their "task was completed." Although several trainloads of miners then returned to central Romania, many stayed, vowing to continue the protest until Iliescu fell.

On September 28, Romanian security forces fired tear gas to disperse some of the remaining protesters in Bucharest's University Square.

More than 50,000 miners had gone on strike demanding better pay and working conditions and a halt to the closure of what the government claims are unprofitable mines. Despite the dispersal of these protests, the Mining Trade Union Confederation has vowed to continue its strike.

The miners' actions hold particular significance because of their role during rallies in June 1990 against the National Salvation Front government. At that time Iliescu was able to bring miners into the capital to rough up demonstrators. Six people died in the resulting clashes.

Aurel Potoroacu, who works at a mine in Petrosani, told reporters that he was lured into backing Iliescu last year because of government propaganda.

"That June, television was the terrorist," he said. "At home I looked at the television and I saw burning cars, fighting people. I thought they were terrorists. I feel what we do now is justice. What we did then was a terrible mistake."

Where to find Pathfinder books and distributors of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International*, *Nouvelle Internationale*, *Nueva Internacional*, and *L'internationaliste*.

UNITED STATES

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

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

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

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

GEORGIA: Atlanta: 172 Trinity Ave. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Zip: 60607. Tel: (312) 829-6815, 829-7018.

IOWA: Des Moines: 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

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

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

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

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Video showing of *The Frame-up of Mark Curtis*. Sat., Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. 1622 S. Broadway. Donation: \$3. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Defend Abortion Rights Against Right-Wing Assaults! Panel with Kate Barnhart, Students Taking Action for a New Direction; Christine Rice, Action Vice President, National Organization for Women, New York City; Melissa Harris, Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from Wichita. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 727-8421.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Corporate Profits vs. Workers' Lives. Discussion and video showing of *Out of Control*. Sun., Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

Pittsburgh

The Fight for a Better World is the Fight for Socialism: Hear the Socialist Workers Party Candidates. Speakers: Joanne Kuniansky, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate and member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-174; Michael Pennock, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Pittsburgh comptroller, member United Steelworkers of America Local 1176; Sarah Button, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Allegheny County Commission, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

Socialist Workers Party-Building Fund events

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.; program 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$4 reception and dinner; \$5 program. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

IOWA

Des Moines

The World Capitalist Crisis, Stalinism, and the Fight for Socialism. Speaker: George Buchanan, *Militant* staff writer. Sat., Oct. 19, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$5. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

The Battle to Defeat Apartheid: African National Congress Fighters Face the Coming Challenges. Speaker: Derek Bracey, national organizational secretary Young Socialist Alliance, attended 48th National Conference of the ANC in Durban, South Africa. Sat., Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$5. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

The World Capitalist Crisis, Stalinism, and the Fight for Socialism. Speaker: Roni McCann, national secretary Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Oct. 19, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Protest Attacks on Immigrant Rights. Speakers: John Boonstra, executive minister, Washington Association of Churches; Tomás Villanueva, president, United Farm Workers of Washington State; Ken Kawakubo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Seattle City Council. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Oct. 6, 6 p.m. 1405 E Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

CANADA

Montreal

Quebec Sovereignty and the Fight to Unite the Working Class in Canada. Speaker: Michel Dugré, representative Communist League. Sat., Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. 6566 boul. St-Laurent. Donation: \$4. Sponsor: Forum ouvrier militant. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Wichita: A Major Attack Against the Right to Abortion in the United States. Speaker: Neil Callender, Young Socialist Alliance in Boston. Sat., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m. 6566 boul. St-Laurent. Donation: \$4. Sponsor: Forum ouvrier militant. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Toronto

The Crisis of World Capitalism, the Disintegration of Stalinism, and the Fight for Socialism Today. Speakers: Communist League candidates Michel Prairie, Joe Young, Colin McKay. Sat., Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400. Donation: \$4. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

Lessons of the CUPW, PSAC, and ATU Strikes. Sat., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400. Donation: \$4. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

Ave. Donation: \$5. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

The World Capitalist Crisis, Stalinism, and the Fight for Socialism. Speaker: John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., Oct. 12. dinner 6:30 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. 1622 S. Broadway. Donation: \$10 Dinner and program, \$5 program only. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

The Capitalist Crisis and the Fight for Independent Labor Political Action. Speaker: James Mac Warren, Socialist Workers 1991 candidate for mayor of Chicago; member, United Steelworkers of America Local 3247. Sat., Oct. 19. Reception 6:30 p.m., program 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$5. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Battle to Defeat Apartheid: African National Congress Fighters Face the Coming Challenges. Speaker: Derek Bracey, national organizational secretary Young Socialist Alliance, attended 48th National Conference of the ANC in Durban, South Africa. Fri., Oct. 4. Reception 6:30 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. 523 8th St. SE. Donation: \$5. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 5019½ Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: 1622 S. Broadway. Zip: 63104. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

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

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

NEW YORK: Albany: P.O. Box 6185. Zip: 12206. **New York:** 191 7th Ave. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 727-8421.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: 2000 C.S. Elm-Eugene St. Zip 27406. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cleveland: 1863 W. 25th St. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: 1906 South St. Zip: 19146. Tel: (215) 546-8196. **Pittsburgh:** 4905 Penn Ave. Zip 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

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

UTAH: Salt Lake City: 147 E 900 South. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

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

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: 242 Walnut St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

AUSTRALIA

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

BRITAIN

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

Manchester: Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Postal code: M4 4AA. Tel: 061-839 1766.

Sheffield: 1 Gower St., Spital Hill, Postal code: S47HA. Tel: 0742-765070.

CANADA

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

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

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

ICELAND

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

NEW ZEALAND

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

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

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

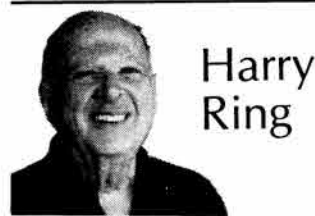
SWEDEN

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

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.

Call toll free 1-800-521-3044. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

Dr. Feelbad — In a survey, 80 percent of "top" U.S. economic forecasters insisted that the recession ended during the second quarter of this year. However, one conceded, "If the test of recovery is feeling better, then this is not a recovery."



Harry Ring

Neurotic Asians — In a 1957 meeting with Japan's foreign minister, then secretary of state John Dulles scoffed at Japanese concern about the devastation wreaked from the U.S. atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. According to recently declassified documents, Dulles advised, "We realize that the Japanese government has a special problem that is more emotional than reasonable. The American people, perhaps, reason about this, while the Japanese view the problem emotionally."

Good and careful — Even though Uncle Sam will co-sign, few bankers are offering to join in lending the Soviet regime \$600 million to buy U.S. grain. Berating them for not seeing the great investment opportunities, a U.S.-based academic

specialist on the Soviet Union wailed, "We're not acting like good capitalists."

Pure chance — The Labor Department reported that white men with four or more years of college get paid one-third more than Black men with equal education. But, the feds assure, much of the discrimination is unintentional. Like, college-educated Black men tend not to live in suburbia, where many new job openings are. Also, many of them work in service industries where the pay is lower.

Mr. Oilbags — During the past decade, the oil biggies increased their share of the retail gas market by 25 percent. They still drop prices

at the pump to drive small dealers out, then hike them. A study found that the added rip-off is as high as a dime a gallon. Commented a Chevron economist: "Throw it in the round file and forget it."

Better than glue — Perfume companies are researching the use of fragrances as mind-altering substances. One Japanese firm reportedly pumps through its offices a particular fragrance that assertedly makes customers more amenable to buying. Also, it's noted, an allergic or toxic effect is near-impossible to trace.

Definitely alters bank balances — Those "pure" fragrances, retailing for as much as \$150 an ounce,

are 95 percent synthetic, derived from aromatic chemicals. On this, the U.S. industry alone grosses \$3.7 billion.

For the rear guard — The Neiman-Marcus Xmas catalog is featuring a his-and-hers set of Hummers, the all-terrain Army vehicle used in the Gulf war. \$5,000 apiece. Air conditioning and cassette deck extra.

\$1,000 points of light — The state of California is suing the Children's Wish Fund for fraud. With the claimed function of granting the last wishes of dying children, 1 percent of the foundation's income reached the intended youngsters.

'Labor Party Advocates': independent politics?

Continued from Page 3

into an open-ended insurance policy for crime, mismanagement, and speculation." But for Nader, it is still "our" government.

Nader bemoaned trade talks between the U.S., Mexican, and Canadian governments as "surrendering our sovereignty on the pedestal of the Fortune 100, since hard-won health and safety standards can be challenged as 'non-tariff trade barriers.'" Citing the U.S. ban on asbestos and air pollution standards that could be challenged by business interests in other countries as "too strong," Nader said, "When do these standards ever go through

Congress or the agencies too strong?" he asked. "They're only too strong by comparison with Namibia, or Brazil, or Peru, or Korea, or Taiwan, or Indonesia."

According to Nader the answer lies not in a serious campaign by the unions and their allies to join in a common effort with workers in other countries to fight for improved health and safety, a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay, or cancelling the enormous foreign debt of the semicolonial world that serves as a massive transfer of wealth into the coffers of banks in imperialist countries.

Instead, he urges workers to take sides in

the debate between competing big business interests over "protectionism" and "free trade."

Nader said he became disappointed with the Democratic Party during Walter Mondale's campaign for U.S. president in 1984. Saying he realized at that time Mazzocchi's call for a "new party" was "right," Nader then urged the OCAW convention to launch a campaign in the 1992 Democratic primaries for Hightower.

This self-styled populist Democrat spoke at the convention two days later and was urged by the convention to run for president on the Democratic ticket.

Hightower blasted "corporate greed," ridiculed the wealthy, and extolled the virtues of working people and the middle class. He pressed the theme that a return to the "old" Democratic Party was needed.

"What's missing is any political party that's standing straight up on their hind legs and saying: 'We are the party of working people. We are the party of the dirt farmers, and the small enterprises, the old people and children, and we're going to take on the powers that be.' That used to be what the Democratic Party did, and you are looking at a yellow-dog Democrat from Texas. I hope it'll be the Democratic Party again that does that."

Hightower laid on his populist rhetoric: "I want my country back from the greedheads and deadheads and the conglomerate bosses and the central bankers, the speculators, the spoilers, the politicians, the plunderers, and

the big boys and bastards."

So the OCAW officialdom is lending itself to the formation of a "labor party" organizing committee that seeks to enlist 100,000 dues-paying members while continuing to adhere to Democratic Party politics. No break with the capitalist political framework has been made or contemplated.

Instead, this effort amounts to a threat to the employers and their government by the union officials, a threat they hope will regain them a little space in bourgeois politics and ease the pressures on the unions today.

It is these pressures from the ruling class, and not a rising rank-and-file movement or broader labor battles, that the union officialdom is responding to. The fact that the employers' offensive has been so broadly mounted against the labor movement as a whole has put the entire officialdom on the defensive, including the AFL-CIO right wing led by Lane Kirkland. They feel pushed into a corner.

The OCAW convention proposals seek to reverse the fortunes of the labor tops, gaining more elbowroom for the left wing of the officialdom in the process.

Joel Britton is an oil worker and member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union. He was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California in 1990 and for Los Angeles mayor in 1989. Britton attended the recent OCAW convention

Supporters of the right to abortion protect North Dakota women's clinic

BY ELIZABETH SWENSON AND ROGER BLAND

FARGO, North Dakota — A group called the "Lambs of Christ" has attempted to block access to the Women's Health Center here. It is the only clinic in the state that performs abortions.

Lynn Gifford, who has organized defense of the clinic, described the actions of the rightists, which began March 24, as "even more obnoxious than those of Operation Rescue." Operation Rescue is a right-wing outfit which organized mobilizations to try to shut down abortion clinics in Wichita, Kansas.

Gifford explained that the "Lambs" typically attempt to surround and stop the cars of women approaching the clinic. They then place wooden blocks in front of the rear wheels and try to crawl beneath the cars and handcuff or chain themselves to the axle. Gifford also described the rightists' July 9 effort to shut down the clinic, when they climbed into a fenced area where patients enter and have their identification checked.

No one has been turned away from the clinic by the rightists, however. Supporters of women's rights have organized to defend the clinic since its opening 10 years ago. Responding to an ad placed in a local newspaper by clinic supporters, nearly 200 volunteers have come to the clinic to de-

fend it and escort patients.

These volunteers have ranged from 14-75 years of age and come from various political, religious, and economic backgrounds. Ruth, a member of the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), has volunteered since the clinic's opening because "women have the right to obtain a medically safe procedure without people harassing them."

Liz LaVenuta, a student at North Dakota State University in Fargo, has been a volunteer since the "Lambs" began their attack. She is starting a campus chapter of NARAL because "people want to do something on campus. I'm concerned also that people understand that this is not just about abortion, it's about freedom and our rights."

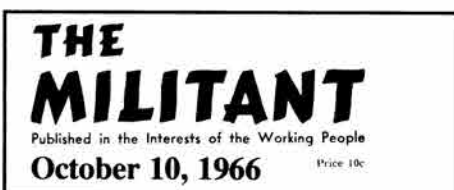
Not only have defenders of abortion rights volunteered their time, they have also sent money. An eight-foot tall wooden fence has been built around the driveway, and supporters are about to begin a clinic beautification project.

The local police have said clinic defenders should not "aggravate" the rightists in any way, but instead "be the perfect victims" and let the police take care of any problems. Clinic defenders have been making citizen's arrests, however. Every volunteer carries either flexcuffs or handcuffs, and 50 percent of the nearly 100 arrests have been made by them.



Four hundred defend Iowa City, Iowa, clinic. In wake of Wichita new forces around the country are joining fight against rightist attacks, including in Fargo, North Dakota.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



President Johnson's intervention to force postponement of the General Electric strike constitutes one more threat to the independence of the trade union movement.

The government intervention is on behalf of the giant electrical monopoly. Particularly sinister is Johnson's jingoistic demagoguery about Vietnam war production.

If the flag-waving demagoguery about the Vietnam war is permitted to go unchallenged, it will mean that from now on every union demand, no matter how modest, will be greeted with the refrain: "Don't you know there's a war on!" It will become a major weapon in the drive to curb strikes. This is one more reason why labor should oppose the war in Vietnam.

The walkout of 20,000 GE workers in defiance of Johnson shows the rank and file is ready to fight for its rights. However, if the officials of the International Union of Electrical Workers, and those associated with them, continue to go along with Johnson on his fake Vietnam "emergency," labor will pay a very heavy price.



October 11, 1941

A popular underground movement of bitter intensity harasses German rule in

Czechoslovakia — invaluable munition works are blasted to the ground, calls for [a] general strike appear on the walls of the cities, German soldiers walk in danger of their lives on Czech streets. In Yugoslavia a Serbian guerrilla army of 12,000 descends to towns and villages, wiping out whole German garrisons. The slogan "Hail Croatia's revolutionists!" is found written on all the walls.

Factory production is low or irregular for the Nazis in other lands — Norway, France, Holland, Belgium, Denmark. Demonstrations of open opposition to Nazi rule take place everywhere.

Despite the fact that there is no likelihood of Allied military intervention in their favor at the present time, the peoples of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia are today offering the stoutest and most militant resistance to Nazi domination.

And thus they give the lie to British imperialism's claim to having provided inspiration to the underground movements of revolt of the oppressed peoples under Hitler's heel. Their struggle has no visible connection with the war of the imperialist enemies of imperialist Germany.

Their class nature is revealed to us in the class nature of the reprisals, which cut broadly into the mass of the working class. Most of the sabotage takes place in situations where obviously only workers can be concerned — as, on railroads, in factories, etc.

Their class nature is also revealed by the timing of these uprisings, so obviously inspired by the magnificent resistance of the Soviet workers and soldiers to the onslaught of Hitler's armies.

More imperialist wars, not peace

Does President George Bush's proposed reduction in the deployment of U.S. tactical nuclear weapons mean that the world is headed towards peace? Will this move "make the world a safer place," as Defense Secretary Richard Cheney claimed?

The answer is no. Washington is removing some short-range weapons for which it had no immediate purpose, while maintaining its massive military capacity intact. Delivery systems for weapons of mass destruction, such as the B-2 Stealth bomber, are being steadily expanded and modernized.

It is not weaponry that has led to wars. It is the fact that imperialist governments, faced with a fundamental economic and political crisis, must more and more resort to wars and military adventures to maintain their crumbling system. Washington's brutal war against Iraq and the slaughter of at least 150,000 Iraqi civilians and soldiers signaled the opening of an era of more such wars around the world; not the end of imperialist military intervention.

The U.S. threats to bomb Iraq, the French and Belgian military intervention into Zaire, and the push by the Japanese government to send its military forces abroad are the most recent examples of this.

Sharpening economic rivalry between the imperialist powers drives them to use their military might abroad to advance their competing interests. As with World War I and World War II, these trends drive the imperialist powers toward another, more devastating world war.

In his July 26 speech, Cuban president Fidel Castro put his finger on the difficulties confronting the billionaire U.S. rulers today: "Militarily the United States is more powerful than ever, and politically it has enormous influence. But economically it is weaker than ever and has very serious problems." These facts, Castro concluded, explain why "imperialism should not sing victory songs."

Bush's moves are partly a response to the fact that the U.S. government has had to pay a growing political price for keeping weapons stationed in Europe. Aimed at Poland, eastern Germany, Hungary and other nearby countries, the weapons have become something of a liability for Washington. In addition, there is widespread opposition to the presence of nuclear weapons in Europe and elsewhere in the world. In South Korea, opposition to the U.S. nuclear weapons based there, combined with protests against the repressive regime in Seoul, has reached massive levels.

Working people throughout the world have every interest in supporting calls for the withdrawal of all the nuclear weapons.

To achieve a world that is truly free of wars and the threats of war — nuclear or "conventional" — working people will have to mobilize in mighty struggles to replace the imperialist warmakers with a workers' and farmers' government. Only such a government can move humanity forward to a society based on human solidarity instead of the wars and brutality of capitalism.

For Quebec, Native sovereignty

There are big stakes for working people in the debate opened by the Canadian government's new proposals for constitutional amendments.

The stakes lie not in the various plans to restructure Canadian state institutions, but in what position the labor movement takes on the right of the *Québécois* and Native peoples to self-determination and on the sovereignty these oppressed national minorities within Canada have demanded.

Will workers and their trade unions adopt a position that is independent of all capitalist parties throughout Canada and supports sovereignty?

Or will the unions allow officials who claim to speak for working people continue to identify with the bourgeois nationalist "unity" campaigns of the capitalist rulers in either English-speaking Canada or in Quebec?

Following the first course is crucial for workers and their organizations to unite and strengthen their class in its resistance to employer austerity and government attacks on democratic rights and in its fight for political power.

Ottawa's proposal to recognize Quebec as a "distinct society" is a hollow phrase that denies the Quebec government any of the political, economic, and social powers that it has demanded and which are broadly supported by the Quebec people.

The federal government refuses Natives' demand for recognition of their right to immediate self-government. Instead it proposes a 10-year waiting period for a "self-government" whose character would be shaped to a large extent

by Ottawa, provincial governments, and the courts.

New Democratic Party leader Audrey McLaughlin and union officials such as Canadian Auto Workers president Robert White welcomed the federal proposals on Quebec and Native rights, basing themselves on their longstanding support for "Canadian unity."

In Quebec, officials from the Confederation of National Trade Unions and the Quebec Federation of Labour oppose the proposals from the bourgeois nationalist standpoint of the capitalist *Parti Québécois*.

On the same basis the union officials supported a wage freeze on Quebec government employees for the "good of the Quebec economy." They also support development of the Great Whale hydroelectric project in northern Quebec over the protests of the Cree Indians.

Working people across Canada, confronted with a worsening economic and social crisis, need unity among themselves to fight together for their rights. They will be able to do so only on the basis of support for the national rights and demands of *Québécois* and Native people.

A glimpse of the class unity that can be forged in action was shown by members of the Public Service Alliance union in Ottawa. Thousands of French-speaking and English-speaking government workers from Ontario and Quebec joined in mass, bilingual actions to press their demands against the federal government's wage freeze. Their example needs to become the framework in which labor answers "No" to Ottawa's proposals.

Hands off Iraq and Zaire!

The true face of imperialism and the deepening economic and social crisis it faces are revealed by the French-Belgian military intervention in Zaire and the continuing saber rattling carried out by Washington against Iraq.

When workers and students began joining soldiers in growing protests against the 26-year dictatorial rule of President Mobutu Sese Seko, Paris and Brussels rushed troops to Zaire with the aid of U.S. military transport planes.

Behind the imperialists' claim that the troops are there to protect their citizens lies the goal of ensuring the restoration of capitalist stability in Zaire.

After relying on and backing Mobutu's brutal regime for more than 25 years, the imperialists know that Mobutu can no longer do the job for them. But they fear what might happen without him. "It is not in our interest that Mobutu suddenly disappear," explained an anonymous senior Western diplomat to the *New York Times*. "What may replace him is unclear, and meanwhile, the situation could prove chaotic."

That's why the French rulers have stated their readiness to maintain troops in Zaire for a period of time.

The continuing savage economic blockade of Iraq has now entered its 14th month. By preventing the Iraqi people from obtaining necessary food, medical supplies, and materials for rebuilding the country's devastated infrastructure, Washington and its imperialist allies, under the cloak of the

United Nations, are continuing their brutal assault on the workers and peasants there.

The UN weapons inspection team sent to Iraq is carrying out gross violations of Iraq's sovereignty. This group claims the right to fly anywhere, enter any building, and seize whatever documents it desires. When the Iraqi government objects to this, Washington with the support of its British and French allies renews its call for toppling the Iraqi government and threatens "punitive" bombing raids if Iraq doesn't comply.

Despite the U.S. rulers' military victory last February, they failed to remove Saddam Hussein from power and replace him with a more subservient regime capable of defending imperialism's vast interests in the region. The continuing embargo and provocations against Iraq are aimed at achieving this goal.

As the crisis of imperialism deepens, we can expect to see more of these kinds of aggressive moves and growing attacks against working people, from Africa to the Mideast to here at home.

Working people everywhere have no interest in backing the interventions in Iraq and Zaire, and should join in demanding an end to the criminal economic blockade of Iraq, and that Belgian and French troops be withdrawn from Zaire.

FROM OUR READERS

A number of letters have arrived since we asked readers to write down their questions and comments on articles in the *Militant*, layout and design, factual inaccuracies, or suggestions for future articles.

Several are printed in the letters column this week. We hope this is just the beginning and that readers will continue to send along notes with their ideas, objections, or questions.

A prisoner from Pendleton, Oregon, suggests it would be better for candidates of the Socialist Workers Party to spend their time on "agitational work for complete social change, not little pieces of it." He asks what a SWP candidate would do if elected to office.

The *Militant* has printed numerous articles over the years on the Socialist Workers' candidates, many of whom explain in press conferences and at public meetings why they are running for office.

This is a long-standing tradition in the communist movement, one advanced by the Bolshevik Party in Russia under the czar. Then, as now, communists seek to utilize every opportunity to win a wider hearing for their views among working people; provide a platform for those waging struggles against capitalist exploitation and oppression; and rebut the lies, distortion, and propaganda of the parties of big business.

Socialist candidates don't moderate their program in order to "win" elections; instead they build opposition to imperialist war, racist assaults, attacks on women's rights, and attempts to weaken the unions. In press interviews, speeches, discussions, and at public meetings and plant gates they point to the need, as the writer from prison does, to wage a revolutionary struggle for a workers' and farmers' government. Such a victory would open the fight for socialism.

If elected to office in the years ahead, SWP candidates would utilize these posts to mobilize working people to defend their class interests, speak out and propagandize about important issues in the class struggle, and expose the anti-working-class designs of the capitalist government.

The letter from Carol Cunradi is one of several on our coverage of the social explosion in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, and the anti-Semitic remarks by New York City College professor Leonard Jeffries. Both were reported on in our September 6 and 13 issues.

The issue of where the focus of our fire should be aimed when developments like the social explosion in Crown Heights take place is an important one. Further explanation of the *Militant's* editorial stance and how these developments have progressed over the past weeks is needed.

The articles by James Harris and our editorial brought out several points. The roots of the protest lie in the oppression and exploitation faced by the Black working-class community in Crown Heights, conditions that are a result of the workings of capitalism, enforced by the city, state, and federal governments.

Within Crown Heights there is a predominantly middle-class white enclave, made up primarily of members of a Hasidic Jewish sect. The rebellion was sparked when a Black child was killed by a member of the sect who lost control of his automobile.

In addition to denouncing the lack of resources from the city and police violence toward them, demonstrators expressed outrage at the armed patrols of the area by members of the Lubavitcher Jewish sect and the privileged relations the middle-class section of the community has with the cops and city government.

These facts helped highlight, we said, the changed class composition of the Jewish population in the United States. There is no "rift" between Blacks as an oppressed nationality and those who practice the Jewish faith, but there are expressions of a class conflict. Blacks remain overwhelmingly working class in composition. The Jewish population is now made up in its big majority of middle-class and professional layers.

Democratic Party politicians and the big-business media seized on anti-Semitic remarks by Jeffries and some anti-Semitic slogans during the demonstrations to politically attack the protests and justify the massive police repression against Black residents in Crown Heights.

Subsequent to Harris' articles *New York Times* columnist A.M. Rosenthal wrote a column titled "Pogrom in Brooklyn." Rosenthal wrote that "American Jews who do not understand that the same kind of political thugs will try to lead the same kind of street thugs to burn Jewish property and break Jewish bones in other cities are blind to reality, deaf to history — and suicidal."

New York mayor David Dinkins joined in the attempt to paint the protests as aimed at Jews and portray working-class Blacks as anti-Semitic.

"I cannot help but think how sad Dr. King would be to know that in New York in 1991, the mob that had to be restrained was not wearing hoods but came from the 'hood,'" Dinkins told the press, "and that the man of God they lynched was not a Black preacher who gave a fiery talk but a Jewish divinity student out for a quiet walk."

"Jeffries' reactionary conspiracy theories about Jews aid the rulers by obscuring an understanding of capitalism and let[ting] the capitalist system off the hook," the *Militant* editorial stated. "At the same time his statements put wind in the sails of those who wish to clamp down on academic freedom and limit democratic rights."

The editorial then went on to explain why working people need to combat all forms of anti-Semitism "in the battle to unify the working class against all forms of oppression and bigotry promoted by the ruling class to divide and weaken the fighting capacity of working people."

Jailed unionist 'deserves to be released on parole'

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is serving a 25-year prison term in the state penitentiary in Anamosa on frame-up charges of rape and burglary.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is leading an international campaign to fight for justice for Curtis. For more information

bour Party government in New Zealand from 1984 to 1989 and was well known internationally for his stance against nuclear warship visits. MP Elizabeth Tennet, who is Labour's associate spokesperson on women's affairs, also wrote to the parole board requesting Curtis' release. Labour Party leader Mike Moore wrote to the U.S. ambassador to New Zea-

Auckland University ask you in all fairness to allow the parole of Mark Curtis. Members of this University have perused the case in depth. Let us leave behind the political stumbling blocks and do what's humanely decent, giving one man a chance for a new lease on life. Is this too much to ask?"

Support for Mark Curtis' parole continues to broaden among supporters of civil liberties and prisoners' rights. The New Zealand Howard League for Penal Reform wrote the parole board: "We understand that Mr. Mark Curtis has an appeal pending in respect of his conviction. In our view that should not be a factor taken into account, one way or the other, in determining his eligibility for parole. We would trust that Mr. Mark Curtis's parole application would be considered on the basis of your usual criteria, completely disregarding that irrelevant factor."

Prominent lawyer Shirley Smith wrote in a similar vein, "All I ask, as a lawyer, is that you do not hold against Mark Curtis that he continues to maintain that he is not guilty. My plea is that you judge Mark Curtis according to the usual conditions of time served and good behaviour; and on this basis I trust that you will find that he deserves to be released on parole."

Others writing letters calling for Curtis' parole were Colin Chiles, executive director of the New Zealand chapter of Amnesty International; Rev. James Considine, co-ordinator of Prison Chaplains; Jocelyn Armstrong and George Armstrong, for the International Affairs Committee of the Conference of Churches in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Mark Curtis is winning support from St. Louis auto workers because

of work his defenders have done in auto plants and in locals of the United Auto Workers in that city.

Curtis supporters launched an effort to get individual coworkers to write letters urging the Iowa parole board to release him. Several coworkers did so, including one union committeeman and the chairperson of one UAW local's civil rights committee. An executive board member also sent in a letter with a donation to the defense committee commenting, "What is it going to take to get this man out of prison?"

Three new supporters from auto plants were among 30 workers from the greater St. Louis area who attended a benefit barbecue for Curtis' defense. Those present discussed the campaign to win parole for Curtis, and heard from Priscilla Schenk, a Des Moines UAW member who had toured Mexico to present the Mark Curtis case to trade unionists and human rights organizations.

The barbecue raised \$400 for the defense campaign.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee has received the endorsement of two leaders of the Union of Young Communists (UJC) of Cuba. Manuel Aguilera de la Paz, head of the international relations department, and Carmen Elena Herrera, a national committee member, signed endorsement cards on behalf of the UJC. The case of Mark Curtis has been reported in a number of Cuban publications over the past year.

Many letters urging that Mark Curtis be released have been sent to the Iowa State Board of Parole. Following are excerpts from some of these:

"Right now I am involved in a

union fight for justice in my local, Local 271 of the United Food and Commercial Workers. I feel that former business agent Tom Assman has been fired from the local for political reasons and I am willing to fight for my convictions.

"Similarly, Mark Curtis was willing to fight for his convictions and he was framed up for his political activity.

"Curtis should have been given parole a long time ago. His behavior as a prisoner has been good. Not giving him parole at this time is just a continuation of the political, rather than the criminal, basis for his imprisonment."

Johnny McGraw, shop steward, Local 271, United Food and Commercial Workers Union.

"I would like to draw your attention to Mark's record as a social activist who was dedicated to securing justice for disadvantaged people. The Ottawa and District Labour Council, together with many other individuals and organizations in Canada and elsewhere in the world await the day when Mark Curtis is permitted to resume those worthy activities."

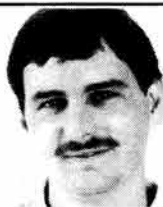
Anthony F. Dale, executive secretary, Ottawa and District Labour Council.

"We have stayed informed about his [Mark Curtis'] case and will keep following it as long as necessary. We are not only concerned about how Mr. Curtis is treated, we also find this case to represent the general state of justice in Iowa and the United States."

Roger Høllhag, international secretary, Social Democratic Youth of Sweden.

James Robb from New Zealand and Dennis Gallie from St. Louis contributed to this column.

DEFEND MARK CURTIS!



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

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

Former prime minister David Lange is one of twenty prominent figures in New Zealand who have recently written to the Iowa State Board of Parole seeking the release of Mark Curtis.

Lange wrote that Curtis "has demonstrated a capacity to be responsible in the prison system and evinced confidence that he would keep out of trouble on release. . . . He has served more time in prison than is a reasonable expectation of people convicted on similar charges.

"His continuing detention would reinforce suspicions that the punitive process may owe more to political than to any justice considerations."

Currently a member of parliament, David Lange headed the La-

land concerning parole for the jailed unionist.

Trade union officials and student leaders wrote many of the letters. "This union joins with the world community in raising our plea for the Board to grant Mark Curtis parole," wrote Secretary Graham Cooke and Assistant Secretary Ross Evans, of the Auckland-Tomoana Freezing Workers Union (ATFWU), one of the two main unions of meatpackers. Other supporters of the parole fight who have sent letters include: the New Zealand Seafarers Union; Dave Eastlake, Makarewa Sub-branch of the New Zealand Meat Workers Union (NZMWU); W.J. Hamilton and Olive Hawira for the Maori Workers Committee of the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions; Edward Ross, delegate for the United Food and Chemical Workers Union; Dion Martin, organizer for the Central Distribution Union; Frank Barnard, former president of ATFWU; and Mike Farrell, a former official of NZMWU.

Doug Sadlier, president of the Auckland University Students Association, wrote, "The students of

LETTERS

A disservice to readers

I believe you did your readers a disservice by printing the article "Opponents of fight for Black rights seize on New York professor's anti-Semitic remarks" (Sept. 13, 1991 issue). The title alone turns the entire situation upside-down by casting the anti-Semitic perpetrator in the role of a victim.

The article should have focused on the thoroughly reactionary role Prof. Jeffries has played by raising the poisonous and false issue of "the control . . . Russian Jewry had over the movies". He himself, by virtue of his remarks, has helped derail the struggle against racism in education, and diverted attention away from the real tasks at hand of eliminating the causes of unequal education.

The editorial "Blacks and anti-Semitism" did address some of these points; however, the analysis concerning the "rightward political direction of the major Jewish organizations and major sections of the Jewish population" can itself be construed as a weak apology for anti-Semitism. For example, the editorial seems to suggest that since the U.S. Jewish population is "overwhelmingly . . . middle-class" and "professional" in composition, and since there has been "an adoption by many Jews of right-wing positions . . .", there is some justification for other (oppressed) groups to see Jews as the (class) enemy.

In addition, it is misleading to discuss the "rightward direction" of the middle-class Jewish population, while failing to mention similar shifts in the middle-class Black population, or the middle-class white population in general.

Finally, any discussion of anti-Semitism that fails to mention the role of the Holocaust in shaping the politics and composition of the mod-

ern Jewish community is historically weak and lacking in political clarity.

I hope the *Militant* will address these issues in future editions.

Carol B. Cunradi
Albany, California

Difficult times

These are difficult times both ideologically and economically. You continue to provide insightful analysis and timely coverage.

M.E.
Denver, Colorado

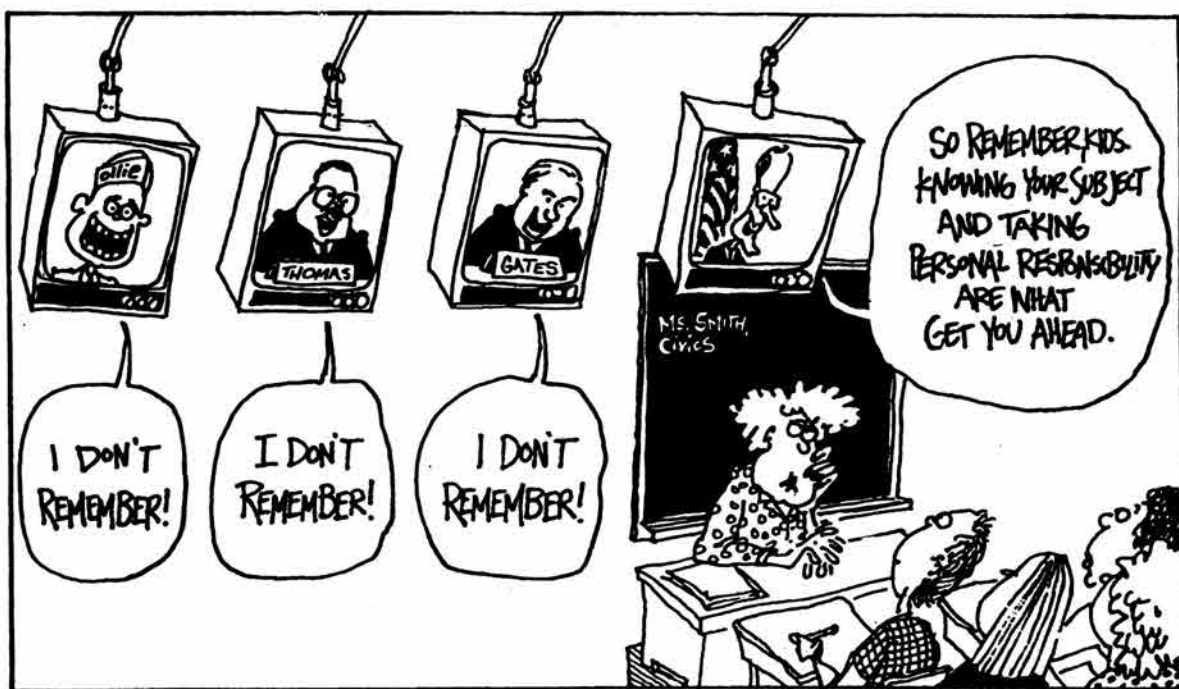
Capitalist elections

I am writing in response to your call for letters for your upcoming column addressing questions. I am an anti-racist activist from Portland, Oregon, who was framed up on assault charges earlier this year. I am now serving a 16-month sentence in prison.

First, I would like to thank the SWP and YSA in Seattle for their support and help with my case. I am a communist myself who has studied Marxism-Leninism. The question I have is concerning the SWP's participation in the capitalist controlled election process.

I was speaking to one of the Seattle candidates before my conviction, and asked why the SWP participates in the process when Marx and Lenin clearly showed us that we must overthrow their system completely and replace it with socialism. They pointed out that permanent social change could only be won through the destruction of the ruling class' instruments of suppression. The SWP candidate replied that he did not expect to win; that running was just to make a point.

I am wondering what the party's view on this is and wouldn't it be more practical to spend the energy that is spent on these campaigns on



Signe Wilkinson

agitational work for complete social change, not little pieces of it. And I'm wondering if someone is elected to office how they expect to affect the ruling class on its own territory.

A prisoner
Pendleton, Oregon

Lebanon

Do you think that now that the Communist Party has been dissolved in the Soviet Union, that things will have a chance to get back to a situation of national unity in countries like, say, Lebanon, where pro-Moscow communist parties energetically participated in the militia fights among family and religious sects — a disunity that had been fostered in Lebanon by the European Imperialists there in the early 20th century?

What are some arguments I could give to my Lebanese co-workers, who, like many Lebanese are angry at the dividing up of their country

into sects by the divide-and-conquer methods of the British, French, and now the U.S. imperialists, but feel in the civil war — which continues — it has just gone too far, and see the demise of the "communists vs. the pro-imperialists" now as at least one factor that will be missing?

Denis Hoppe
Dearborn, Michigan

Still wants 'Militant'

I am a United Rubber worker. Should I really be buying the *Militant* if communism is dead? I think I should. I have to still read the *Militant* to make comparisons of what is really going on.

I ordered no. 2 and no. 7 of the *New Internationalist*, also 1 year of the *Militant*. I made a check out for \$70.00. The rest (\$9) can go to the prisoners fund.

K.N.
Lemoore, California

Needs untainted account

With the seeming fall of the U.S.S.R. and the mass media's reporting, I am in need of an untainted account of the socialist movement.

Accordingly, please place me on your prisoner mailing list.

Also if you still have copies of the *Militant* that covered the role that Cuba and its troops played in Angola and its help and support in assisting Namibia repel the South African government troops, it would be most appreciated in both regards.

A prisoner
Napanoch, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Quebec rejects Ottawa proposals

BY ROBERT SIMMS

MONTREAL — Canadian government proposals unveiled September 24 for amending the Canadian Constitution were immediately denounced by several Quebec capitalist politicians, officials of Quebec's main union federations and farm organization, and Native leaders across Canada.

Two polls held after the announcement of Ottawa's new proposals show that between half and three-quarters of all *Québécois* are dissatisfied with them.

On September 25, 100 Algonquin Indians from Ontario and Quebec protested the new proposals on Parliament Hill in Ottawa.

Quebec Liberal legislator Guy Bélanger declared that the proposals amounted to "less than [Quebec's] minimum demands in the Meech Lake Accord," which was an effort at constitutional revision that failed to get ratification last year. Quebec Federation of Labor president Fernand Daoust had a similar response.

Ovide Mercredi, president of the Assembly of First Nations, the main Native organization in Canada, termed Ottawa's proposals a "betrayal" of Native rights.

Quebec Liberal premier Robert Bourassa welcomed the proposals as "useful" and a "first step" but "incomplete."

The new federal proposals fall far short of the Quebec provincial government's own policy calling for effective Quebec autonomy. Ottawa's proposals include:

- A clause in the constitution recognizing Quebec as a "distinct society within Canada."

However, both Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Constitutional Affairs Minister Joseph Clark have taken pains to make clear that this clause does not mean more powers for Quebec.

The proposal does not mention Quebec's right to veto future constitutional amendments, which is included in the Meech Lake Accord for certain questions.

- A proposal to transfer exclusive control over job training to all 10 provinces, and to extend the sharing of powers between federal and provincial governments in the areas of immigration, culture, and broadcasting. The ruling Quebec Liberals' own adopted policy demands that Quebec "exercise full sovereignty" over 22 areas of government jurisdiction currently shared with or under the domain of the federal government.

- A proposal for Native "self-government" with its scope to be defined by Ottawa, the 10 provinces, and Natives. If agreement is not reached, then the courts would decide Native government powers. Ottawa proposes that these Native government bodies not take effect for up to 10 years.

The Assembly of First Nations demands immediate enactment of self-government, with Native people having the right to determine its scope.

- Proposals for a stronger "economic union" to break down provincial protectionist barriers. One clause, counterposed to Quebec autonomy, would give the federal government the power to "exclusively make laws in relation to any matter that it declares to be for the efficient functioning

of the economic union."

- A proposal for an elected Senate with limited consultative powers in place of the present appointed Senate.

These constitutional proposals are part of an attempt by the Canadian capitalists to confront a deepening political crisis, rooted in the world crisis of imperialism. For years, capitalists have tried to lower the living standards and democratic rights of working people.

The government's attacks on the national rights of *Québécois* and Native people aim to weaken and divide working people across Canada.

Resistance by Natives has dramatically increased in recent years. The Mohawks' fight to defend their land in an area near Montréal last year sparked the biggest mobilization for Native rights in this century.

The French-speaking *Québécois*, 80 percent of Quebec's population, constitute an oppressed nation within Canada. They are denied their right to political self-determination and face language and job discrimination, high unemployment, and inferior social services.

A 1982 constitution enacted by Ottawa and 9 of the 10 Canadian provinces stripped Quebec of some historic powers to defend *Québécois* from discrimination. It was rejected by a large majority of *Québécois*, including the trade unions and all Quebec political parties in the Quebec National Assembly, which refused to ratify it.

In 1987 Ottawa tried to fashion new amendments aimed at securing Quebec's rat-



Militant/Cheryl Pruitt

Celebration in Montreal after defeat of Meech Lake Accord in June 1990

ification, in what became known as the Meech Lake Accord. The agreement went down to defeat in June 1990.

Following the rejection of the Meech Lake Accord, nationalist sentiment in Quebec rose rapidly.

Both Bourassa and Parti *Québécois* leader Jacques Parizeau have focused their main

criticisms of these recent proposals on the exclusive powers for Ottawa to manage the "economic union." "It spells the end of Quebec Inc.," declared Parizeau, reflecting the views of a large section of Quebec capitalists who have used Quebec government assistance and protection in the past 20 years to carve out financial empires.

France and Belgium send troops to Zaire

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The French and Belgian governments, aided by U.S. military transport planes, rushed 1,750 soldiers to Zaire in an effort to quell growing protests against the dictatorial rule of President Mobutu Sese Seko.

The revolt began September 23 when 3,000 Zairian troops, who had not been paid for several months, mutinied at their base outside the capital city of Kinshasa. Civilians joined the protests, which rapidly spread to the copper mining town of Kolwezi and several other cities throughout the country.

Mobutu imposed an overnight curfew September 25, declaring that these demonstrations are "a real insurrection" and the worst unrest seen in the capital since Zaire won independence from Belgium 30 years ago.

Some of the demonstrators are demanding the return of an exiled leader of the Lumumba United Party.

Zaire has been rocked by a massive economic crisis over the past year. The world market price of copper, one of Zaire's main exports, has plummeted; inflation has skyrocketed to more than 1,000 percent; and growing food shortages have plagued the country. A recent devaluation of Zaire's currency means that the average soldier earns just \$3 a month.

Fueling this rebellion has been growing outrage over Mobutu's brutal repression of students and workers protesting against his regime. Last year, police stormed a dormitory in the southeastern city of Lubumbashi, stabbing to death as many as 63 students with knives and bayonets. Amnesty International consistently ranks Zaire among the worst abusers of human rights in Africa.

Staunch U.S. ally

The Mobutu regime has been one of the staunchest allies of the U.S. government for the past quarter of a century and a bulwark for imperialist interests in the region. Today, Zaire remains one of the leading recipients of U.S. aid in Africa. Over the years Zaire has been a key base for U.S. spying operations against liberation struggles in southern Africa and a center for supplying weapons to the South African-backed UNITA forces that were attempting to overthrow the Angolan government.

Growing labor strikes and political protests forced Mobutu to legalize some opposition political parties last year. However, the government stalled any further steps at a national political conference that opened August 7.

In response to the recent round of protests and in an effort to quell them, Mobutu agreed for the first time to form a coalition government with opposition forces from the Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDSP).

The imperialist powers remain concerned about what they see as growing instability in Zaire. They fear that deepening rebellions by workers, students, peasants, and soldiers could threaten to end the decades-long imperialist domination of the vast mineral wealth there. This is why they responded so

rapidly with troops.

A spokesperson for the French government, Jack Lang, insisted September 26 that the French troops were present only to "guarantee the safety of civilians," adding that French president François Mitterrand had held a long discussion with U.S. president George Bush about "the situation in Iraq, Yugoslavia, and Zaire." On all these subjects, said Lang, the two "were on the same wavelength and backed each others' positions."

Meanwhile the French ambassador to Zaire, Henri Rethoré, said that French troops would remain for a period of time. "Our presence is going to depend on the process that is undertaken" by the Zairian government, he added.

United Nations adopts resolution barring weapons sales to Yugoslavia

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

The United Nations Security Council adopted a resolution September 25 calling for an embargo of weapons and other military equipment sales to Yugoslavia.

The UN vote came after Yugoslav foreign minister Budimir Loncar said that his country needed help to avert "social and economic chaos" in Yugoslavia. "Yugoslavia cannot solve its crisis on its own," he stated.

U.S. secretary of state James Baker denounced the government of Serbia during the UN discussion. "The government of Serbia and the Yugoslav federal military bear a special and indeed growing responsibility for the grim future which awaits the peoples of Yugoslavia if they do not stop the bloodshed," he said. This is a slight shift from earlier positions of U.S. officials, who have tended to support the Yugoslav government's efforts to prevent Croatia's secession.

The civil war in Yugoslavia escalated dramatically the week before, with the engagement of air, naval, and heavily armored forces. Federal army and Serb military units intensified their attacks on Croatian towns. The conflict also spread geographically to the republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On September 26 Yugoslavia's federal au-

thorities reportedly struck a deal with Bosnian officials to prevent the civil war from spreading throughout that republic.

A cease-fire agreed to September 22 between Serbian and Croatian officials has already been violated dozens of times, although fighting between federal army troops and Croatian national guardsmen has subsided.

The fighting is a result of decades of bureaucratic rule by the Stalinist regime in Yugoslavia. Responding to the growing social and economic crisis over the past decade, wings of the ruling layers in the various republics are pressing, through force and violence, to enhance their own position and access to resources. While many working people have been drawn into the fighting, voices continue to be heard against the war.

Four Yugoslav republics—Bosnia, Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia—have refused to provide recruits for the federal army, and growing numbers of individual Serbs are following this example. The federal army announced September 28 that it was retreating from two Croatian towns after hundreds of Serbian reservists deserted and went home. The army also said that 600 Serbian reservists sent to Bosnia and Herzegovina had gone home because they were "dissatisfied."

Canada strike resumes

BY MICHEL DUGRÉ

MONTREAL — At noon on September 27, 100,000 members of the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) resumed their strike after negotiations with the government broke down.

Nine days earlier, the union officialdom had called off the strike on the sole basis of a promise by the government to resume negotiations and scrap back-to-work legislation.

Picket lines have been reestablished all across Canada. In Ottawa, thousands of strikers stormed the main entrance of the Parliament Building, knocking over metal barriers installed to keep protesters away.

The federal government has announced its intention to reactivate its back-to-work legislation.