

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

**Nelson Mandela at the UN:
'Help us dismantle apartheid'**

PAGES 8-9

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 55 / NO. 46 DECEMBER 20, 1991

New facts emerge on Puerto Rico hit squad

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

Hearings by a Puerto Rican Senate committee have exposed the involvement of U.S. officials in the harassment and murder of pro-independence and other political activists in Puerto Rico. The hearings, which began in late October, are investigating the 1978 ambush and killing of two pro-independence activists by police.

Testimony at the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings revealed that the chief U.S. marshal on the island organized a death squad with the goal of assassinating supporters of Puerto Rican independence, socialists, and unionists. The group's existence was covered up by the FBI for years.

The hit squad, which called itself "Friends of Democracy," has been tied to the 1979 machine-gun attack on a bus outside the Sabana Seca Navy base, the 1980 bombing of the Puerto Rican Bar Association, and harassment of activists in the movement against the U.S. Navy occupation of Vieques island. Death squad members have also been implicated in the 1979 assassination of Carlos Muñoz Varela, a leader of the Antonio Maceo Brigade.

The death squad was organized in the
Continued on Page 12

South African political parties set negotiations

BY DEREK BRACEY
AND GREG MCCARTAN

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Full-scale negotiations between representatives of some 20 political parties are scheduled to begin here December 20-21.

Called the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, or Codesa, the multiparty talks will center on the way in which a new constitution for South Africa will be drawn up and on arrangements for an interim government that will be put in place prior to the election of a new parliament.

A preparatory meeting involving the parties took place November 29 where the agenda and procedures for the convention were set and a steering committee elected.

"The successful conclusion of the preparatory meeting marks the opening of genuine negotiations," African National Congress (ANC) secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said. "More than ever we are convinced that we are walking the last mile" toward the establishment of a nonracial, democratic South Africa.

The convention will focus on several main points according to Stanley Mabizela, the ANC's deputy director of International Affairs. Following the two-day event, working committees will be established to hammer out differences between the parties on major issues.

First, are "principles that should underpin a new constitution," Mabizela said, and the "mechanisms for drawing up a new constitution." The Patriotic Front, a broad anti-apartheid coalition formed in October to which the ANC belongs, favors the election of a constituent assembly, on the basis of one person one vote, as the body that would draw

Continued on Page 9

U.S. court bars forced repatriation of Haitians

BY ESTELLE
DeBATES

A Federal district court in a December 3 ruling upheld a temporary ban on the forced repatriation of Haitians caught by the U.S. Coast Guard while fleeing repression in their homeland. The Haitian Refugee Center in Miami brought the case against the U.S. government. The United States says it now has over 6,300 Haitians in its custody.

The court rejected arguments from the Justice Department and immigration officials that, because Haitians were taken in custody in international waters, they have no rights under U.S. law. "It's 'we the people' who are protected by U.S. law," said Solicitor General Kenneth Starr, who presented Washington's defense. U.S. officials said that they would immediately take the case to the U.S. Court of Appeals.

The district court also ordered the Immigration and Naturalization Service to develop new procedures for screening Haitians to assure that none will be returned who have a legitimate fear of persecution.

Since the September 30 military coup that ousted Haiti's president Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a reign of terror has been carried out by the military. This has resulted in a massive flight from Haiti, a country of 6.5 million people. In the capital, Port-au-Prince, it is estimated that one third of the city's 1.2 million people have fled to the countryside, while others are fleeing the country altogether.

Washington is using the plight of the Haitian people to expand its operations at the U.S. naval base in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. The U.S. occupation of this part of the island has long been opposed by the Cuban people.

A U.S. military officer said December 1



U.S. marine patrols Haitian refugee camp at Guantánamo base in Cuba. Washington has set up camps there to deflect criticism from its continued attempts to force the refugees back to Haiti. The U.S. government is using the situation to expand its operations at the base.

that the Navy would further enlarge its "emergency center" at Guantánamo. The previous week 850 military personnel were sent to Guantánamo to work on construction of temporary facilities in addition to the 2,400 troops stationed at the base.

The Pentagon now says it is preparing facilities for 12,500 Haitian refugees on the base, including 2,500 refugees to be held at Camp Bulkeley and 10,000 at a nearby airfield.

Jean Casimir, Haiti's ambassador to the United States under Aristide, addressed 300 people November 30 at the Horace Mann school in Miami.

Casimir discussed the embargo against Haiti which was initiated by the Organization of American States October 8.

He noted that many in the new government

claim the embargo is against Blacks and is hurting the poor in Haiti. But when these people start defending Haiti based on the poor, he said, "they are not really defending Haiti, they are defending their rights and privileges. When they say we need to give the poor people food, they are defending their right to give food when they want to."

Casimir stated that the embargo is an important weapon to pressure those who overthrew Aristide. It wasn't the embargo that made Haiti poor, he said, adding that since 1804 Haitians have lived with a lot of embargoes — against freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and against the right of the majority of Haitians to have food. It was in response to these conditions that Haitians rose up, overthrew the Duvalier

Continued on Page 7

Duke presidential bid spotlights growing polarization in U.S. politics

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The December 4 announcement by David Duke that he is entering the race for the Republican party presidential nomination puts a national spotlight on the sharpening political polarization in U.S. politics today.

Duke, who plans to participate in every Republican primary except New Hampshire, received 700,000 votes in his 61 percent to 39 percent loss to Democrat Edwin Edwards in the November 16 election for governor of Louisiana.

Duke received a wide hearing by posing as a spokesperson for the "little man" up against the corruption and inefficiency of "big government." While advocating many

of the same right-wing proposals put forward by Bush and other Democratic and Republican politicians, Duke has taken a more demagogic approach, appealing to middle-class layers and sections of the working class on the basis of their fears about the impact of the economic crisis.

Citing some of the same themes that brought him to national prominence in the gubernatorial race, Duke stated, "We've had a bigger government under the Republican Administration; we've had bigger taxes, we've had affirmative action, we've had an increase in the welfare system, and we've had an increase in foreign aid."

Duke charged Bush with "selling out" the

Republican Party by signing the recent civil rights bill and failing to protect American workers from U.S. capitalism's competitors abroad.

Japan-bashing

Echoing the increasingly common theme of Japan-bashing, Duke called for a more aggressive trade policy. "I come from Louisiana," he stated. "We produce rice. We must go to the Japanese and say, 'You no buy our rice, we no buy your cars.'"

In the name of protecting the values of "Western Christian civilization," Duke called for stronger anti-immigrant policies, a theme

Continued on Page 12

Detroit welfare cuts make more homeless

Protests denounce city for evicting occupiers of abandoned apartments

BY STEVE CRAINE

DETROIT — The worsening conditions for poor people in this area, and the refusal of government officials on all levels to address their plight, have given rise to several recent protests. On October 29 and again on November 11, Detroit police invaded a city housing project and arrested homeless people, who were attempting to move into unoccupied apartments, and their supporters. The first of these occupations involved 250 demonstrators.

The actions have been organized by Michigan Up and Out of Poverty Now Coalition. The Jeffries Homes projects have a vacancy rate of nearly 50 percent. Building D, where the occupation and others protests took place, has 112 apartments, but only 22 are now occupied.

Many current Jeffries tenants welcomed the attempts to move into vacant units. DeLores Eaton, an eight-year resident, helped a homeless woman sweep out an empty apartment October 29. "These are easy to make livable," Eaton told the *Detroit Free Press*. "You see the condition of this place? The only thing wrong with it is that it's been empty for the last eight years."

Welfare cuts boost homelessness

Homelessness in Detroit, already estimated at as many as 40,000, increased sharply when the state government discontinued the General Assistance program as of October 1, leaving 82,000 Michigan residents with little income. Half of the former recipients live in Detroit. Eviction proceedings against some 5,000 tenants of residential hotels are now underway.

At a tent city organized by Up and Out of Poverty Now, Bernard Wilson explained that he had been living at a YMCA on the city's east side until his welfare payments were terminated October 1. Since then he has been forced to leave his old neighborhood and join the large concentration of homeless people near downtown where more shelters, soup kitchens, and other services are located.

The first death from hypothermia this year was reported in the first week of November, when an unidentified 70-year-old man was

found dead after temperatures dipped into the teens.

Workers discuss housing crisis

The timing of the assistance cutoff and other revelations of government indifference have fueled the outrage many working people feel over the inhuman conditions facing the poorest sections of the working class. The cuts have been a major topic of discussion in factories and workplaces around the city.

"We should have a million people march on Lansing [the state capital] to protest these cuts," said one member of the United Auto Workers (UAW) during a discussion in a Detroit auto parts plant.

Federal Housing and Urban Development (HUD) officials visiting the city earlier this year declared Detroit's public housing the worst in the country — and the worst managed. A federal government audit last year revealed there were 3,634 vacant apartments in the city-owned public housing system, while 1,300 eligible tenants were on the waiting list.

Detroit mayor Coleman Young responded to the heightened discussion and debate over homelessness, proposing that volunteer labor and donated materials be used to fix up 260 apartments by the end of the year. He also announced the opening of four shelters around the city.

Earlier, denouncing the occupation of vacant apartments, Young said that homelessness is a state and federal problem. "Anything that we do at this level of government is minimal," he claimed.

"You cannot occupy housing anywhere in the world without money," added the mayor. "Do they want to live in them for free? That's an unrealistic approach."

Another response to homelessness was seen in Wayne and Macomb counties, where sheriff's deputies rounded up the homeless and offered to house them in the county jails. The *Detroit News* reported few had accepted the offer.

Other facilities are going unused for lack of funding. A family shelter with seven fully furnished and heated apartments stands vacant on the city's west side because the neighborhood association that



Militant/Steve Craine

Tents erected by protesters have been repeatedly dismantled by Detroit cops

operated it lost its state grant.

Protest activities are continuing. On November 11, following the second public attempt to occupy apartments at the Jeffries Homes, Michigan Up and Out of Poverty Now set up tents on the project's grounds. Within hours, police forced them off the city property. The tent city has relocated several times since and each time

has been closed down by the city.

A statement circulated by the Detroit Socialist Workers Party calls for an immediate end to the evictions, opening all publicly owned housing to homeless people, a massive public works program to build and repair housing, and a reduction in the workweek with no cut in pay to provide jobs for the unemployed.

'Militant' announces new publication schedule

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Effective this month, the *Militant* has a new publication schedule designed to regularize and professionalize the paper's production.

The *Militant* will now be published weekly except for the next to last week in December and biweekly from mid-June to mid-August. Over the past year the paper has had a more irregular schedule, including a two-week break at the end of December and the unscheduled skipping of weeks during the summer.

According to the new schedule, the *Militant* will publish issue no. 47 next week, then take a one-week break. The following week Volume 56 issue no. 1 will appear, with the cover date of January 10, 1992. During this break the *Militant* editorial staff will be moving into newly reconstructed and modernized editorial offices on the 5th floor of the Pathfinder building.

A regular one-week break at the end of December, rather than two, will mean that the paper will be less likely to miss important political developments.

The paper's biweekly summer schedule will allow better planning of shutdowns for participation in conventions and edu-

cational conferences of the Socialist Workers Party, enable staff members to take two-week vacations, and make possible the annual reorganization of the *Militant's* records and files.

Beginning with issue no. 45 published last week, the *Militant* has also changed the time it goes to press from Tuesday afternoon to Monday evenings at 7:00 p.m. This move is designed to facilitate the production of the paper's Pacific edition, which is printed each week in New Zealand and from there distributed throughout the South Pacific, Australia, and the Philippines.

With the new schedule, film negatives of each page of the *Militant* are air expressed to New Zealand for a Thursday morning arrival. The paper is then printed and shipped to distributors in New Zealand and Australia in time for Saturday morning sales and political campaign activities. Previously the paper would not arrive in Australia and parts of New Zealand until after the weekend.

The *Militant* will continue to be mailed out of New York City on Tuesday evenings. The deadline for bundle orders and *Militant* Labor Forum and calendar announcements remains Monday, 9:00 a.m. EST.

Subscribe to the Militant

You don't want to miss a single issue!



☐ 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
12 weeks of the *Militant* outside the U.S.: Australia and the Pacific, \$A10 • Britain, £6 • Canada, Can\$12 • Caribbean and Latin America, \$10 • Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, £10 • France, FF80 • Iceland, Kr800 • New Zealand, NZ\$10 • Sweden, Kr60

The Militant

Closing news date: December 9, 1991

Editor: GREG McCARTAN
Managing Editor: George Buchanan
Business Manager: Brian Williams
Editorial Staff: Derek Bracey, Estelle DeBates, Seth Galinsky, Martín Koppel, Argiris Malapanis, Janet Post, Brian Williams.

Published weekly except for next to last week in December and biweekly from mid-June to mid-August by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Fax (212) 727-0150; Telex, 497-4278.

Pacific edition printed in Wanganui, New Zealand, by Wanganui Newspapers, Limited.

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

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

MASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 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: Send New Zealand \$75 to P.O. Box 8730, Auckland, New Zealand. Australia, Philippines, Pacific Islands: 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.

Abortion rights actions across the U.S.

BY ESTELLE DEBATES

Across the country people are organizing to meet the continuing attacks by the government and rightist forces against a woman's right to choose abortion.

In *Hawaii* 500 abortion rights supporters gathered November 3 at the State Capitol rotunda. The action, sponsored by the Hawaii Reproductive Rights Coalition, was called to demand an end to the statute in Guam that outlaws almost all abortions there, making it a misdemeanor to disseminate information about abortion and a felony to perform the operation. The statute was enacted in the U.S. territory of Guam in March 1990 and is being challenged in court.

The following day 300 supporters of abortion rights again turned out to protest at the courthouse.

In *Chicago* 750 gathered at a march and rally November 16 to kick off a week of pro-choice activities in response to Operation Rescue's national days of actions. The rally was organized by the Pro-Choice Action Committee, which includes several women's rights organizations. Edith Scripps of The Emergency Clinic Defense Coalition (ECDC) told the rally that Operation Rescue had predicted their assault on the Chicago clinics on November 23 would be "the most massive clinic rescue yet."

Instead, the week's events in Chicago proved a source of renewed confidence and determination for pro-choice supporters.

On November 23 pro-choice "spotters" were sent to all of the city's clinics. They telephoned the ECDC office to report two clinics were being targeted by the rightists. At the office, 300 had gathered before dawn



Militant/Dennis Chambers

Seven hundred and fifty marched in Chicago November 16 to support women's right to abortion. The march kicked off a week of pro-choice activities in Chicago responding to Operation Rescue's national days of action.

to be dispatched to defend the clinics. By the time the clinic defenders arrived on the scene, cops had arrested 80 Operation Rescue members, and 20-30 rightists remained at each clinic.

The dispirited Operation Rescue members

huddled together, singing and praying. They were unable to prevent women from entering the clinics, which remained open all day.

Referring to recent setbacks suffered by Operation Rescue in Boston and Rhode Island, the Chicago clinic defenders chanted

slogans such as "Pray — you need it; your cause has been defeated."

In *Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania*, a walkathon for reproductive rights was organized by students and members of the National Organization for Women (NOW). The event was called in response to an October 21 ruling of the Third U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upholding the Pennsylvania abortion control law, one of the most restrictive in the country.

The law requires a 24-hour waiting period before a woman can obtain an abortion; states that physicians, counselors, and social workers must use only state-approved material to advise women contemplating abortion; and that minors seeking abortion must get the consent of one parent or a court order.

NOW leader Rita Greene called for defenders of abortion rights to attend the April 5 march on Washington, D.C. NOW is organizing the national action under the theme, "We Won't Go Back!"

Marc Viglielmo in Honolulu, Carol Burke and Pat Smith in Chicago, and Helen Myers in Philadelphia contributed to this article.

Atlanta cops kill boy in raid on home; community meetings debate response

BY MACEO DIXON

ATLANTA — Outrage has broken out in Atlanta with the recent killing of 8-year-old Xavier Bennett. He was caught in the middle of a November 13 shoot-out between Atlanta cops and his stepfather, Bobby Bowman. Ballistic reports show the 8-year-old was killed by a bullet from narcotics detective Michael Polvilitis' 9-millimeter pistol.

That morning at 2:15 cops raided the home of Xavier, his mother, and stepfather at the East Lake Meadows housing projects. Cops claim they had purchased drugs from the apartment three times previously. They came back with an arrest warrant. Conflicting stories emerge at this point. Cops say they knocked on the door, announced who they were, and said they had arrest warrants. At that point they claim Bowman fired at them from inside with a shotgun and only then did they return the fire.

Xavier's mother, Kathy Smith Bowman, says otherwise. She says the family was asleep when the cops entered and Bobby Bowman thought they were being robbed. Kathy Bowman says the cops never identified themselves, so her husband began shooting.

One police officer shouted that Bowman was escaping through a bedroom window. Officer Polvilitis, from the outside, began firing into a window, hitting Xavier who was in bed in another part of the house.

The stepfather and a cop were also wounded. Bobby Bowman has been charged with aggravated assault, drug violations, and the murder of Xavier. According to Police Chief Eldrin Bell, even though a cop shot Xavier, the "death of this child is the direct result of the felonious acts of Mr. Bowman."

The media is trying to portray policeman Polvilitis as a victim and the residents of East Lake as criminals or the "underclass." They bemoan the fact that Polvilitis has to live with this for the rest of his life.

Several public meetings have been held to deal with this issue. On November 16, 150 people came to a meeting organized by city councilwoman Davetta Johnson. One third of those present were uniformed cops.

Johnson's answer to the killing is to demand more cops. She calls for putting a mobile police command unit in the pro-

jects, for 24-hour cop patrols, and for firing the executive director of the Atlanta Housing Authority. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development is spending \$480,000 to put a security fence around East Lake Meadow and \$1.5 million is being sent to Atlanta to pay for more cops, solely for public housing surveillance.

During the meeting there was time for discussion from the audience. Virginia O'Riley, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, called for the arrest of Polvilitis for

murder. O'Riley explained, "The only reason such indiscriminate shooting could occur is because of the attitude of cops toward Black working people. As Malcolm X would say, 'The Black community is portrayed as a criminal community. And if it's portrayed as a criminal community any type of acts the cops carry out could be justified' — no matter how brutal."

At the same time this meeting was being conducted, cops shot and killed 27-year-old Sterling Lamar Akens in southwest Atlanta.

Youth killed by cops at Baltimore high school

BY JEFF POWERS

BALTIMORE — "We cannot let this become an everyday occurrence in our communities. If we don't protest, tomorrow it will be another mother's son," Shawishi Martin told the Militant Labor Forum here October 26. Martin's son, Sadiq "Deek" Martin, was killed by Baltimore County police.

"Sadiq was murdered at Woodlawn High School," Martin explained. "He had just gotten off work at the post office at 7:00 a.m. and driven to the school with some friends."

The police claim that one of the youths was involved in the theft of a car stereo. The police said the car that Sadiq Martin was driving attempted to elude them and that the ensuing chase brought them to the High School ball field. There they hemmed the vehicle in.

"Twenty to twenty-five police responded; that's unusual. Seven shots were fired; that's unusual," Martin said. "The theft of a car radio is no cause to take someone's life."

"Since they fired so many shots, it is obvious the police officer shot to kill the driver. What they did was so irresponsible. With so many kids playing in the field, it is lucky that no one else was hurt."

She explained the runaround that the family received from the authorities when they tried to follow up on their son's whereabouts after they heard something might have happened to him. "We learned that they canceled the helicopter they originally called to the high school. If they really wanted to save Sadiq's life they wouldn't have done that."

Martin said she learned later that the police congratulated each other back at the station after her son's death. "How can

they treat a human life so lightly?" she asked.

Following her son's death, a committee was formed that has organized several protests including a picket of the Woodlawn police station. Despite their protests the cop who shot Martin was recently exonerated and is back on the streets.

"We have suffered some harassment since

we started protesting," Martin said. "We are trying to keep this officer from killing again."

Ken Morgan from the Baltimore Socialist Workers Party also spoke at the forum. Morgan expressed solidarity with the family's struggle and explained that the Martin killing was similar to a number of other cop killings that have taken place all over the United States.

Group protests U.S. Korea policy

BY DON DAVIS

CHICAGO — A Korean church coalition has called on the U.S. government "to cease its belligerent campaign against North Korea" and to withdraw its nuclear weapons from South Korea.

Responding to U.S. government claims that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea may be building nuclear weapons, the first annual conference of the Korea Church Coalition for Peace, Justice, and Reunification, held here November 21-23, declared:

"We believe the best way to encourage North Korea to allow international inspection of its nuclear facilities would be a rapid removal of all U.S. nuclear weapons from Korea and an end to the targeting of the Korean peninsula with nuclear weapons by the United States."

"The current U.S. campaign against North Korea, painting it as a renegade enemy state, reminds us of the psychological build-up prior to the Gulf War, leading us to believe that the threat of war in Korea is indeed serious," the statement said.

The coalition went on to "urge the U.S.

campaign of isolation, sanctions, and threats of military force against North Korea be abandoned and that the issue of development of nuclear weapons be placed in the context of disarmament and a comprehensive peace settlement."

The statement was adopted at the end of a three-day conference that called for a campaign in Korean-American churches for support of Korean reunification leading up to 1995, the 50th anniversary of the division of Korea.

About 100 people, many of them ministers of Korean-American churches, participated in the conference. Several expressed satisfaction that, in a departure from most such meetings in the past, a delegation from North Korea was able to participate.

The Korea Church Coalition was founded in May 1991 with the fusion of the North American Coalition for Human Rights in Korea and the Campaign Committee for Peace and the Reunification of Korea. The coalition says its work will focus on raising the questions of peace and the reunification of Korea in Korean-American churches.

Jailed unionist wins more local support

BY CHRIS REMPLE

DES MOINES, Iowa — Activists from around the region participated in a November 23 rally for justice for Mark Curtis. The meeting took place on the eve of the trial in his lawsuit against the Des Moines police for the brutal beating they inflicted on Curtis March 4, 1988, after his arrest on frame-up charges of rape and burglary.

Curtis was active in his union, the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), and was involved in discussions and protests against an Immigration and Naturalization Service raid on the plant where he worked. A member of the Socialist Workers Party, Curtis is currently serving a 25-year sentence in Iowa. On November 19, he was turned down for parole by the Iowa State Board of Parole.

The rally was chaired by Harold Ruggless, vice president of United Auto Workers Local 270 in Des Moines, and Hazel Zimmerman, treasurer of the defense committee.

Messages were read from four workers currently held in Iowa prisons who knew Curtis and had themselves been the victims of police brutality.

Rex Giebeck, who is imprisoned along with Curtis at the John Bennett Correctional Center in Fort Madison, won \$29,000 in damages against the Davenport cops in a brutality suit. He described the difficult nature of fighting police beatings in the courts.

"I feel this needs to be brought out into the open. This is an ongoing thing, not just in Los Angeles or Davenport. Most cases are just like mine, my word against nine officers who stick together like flies."

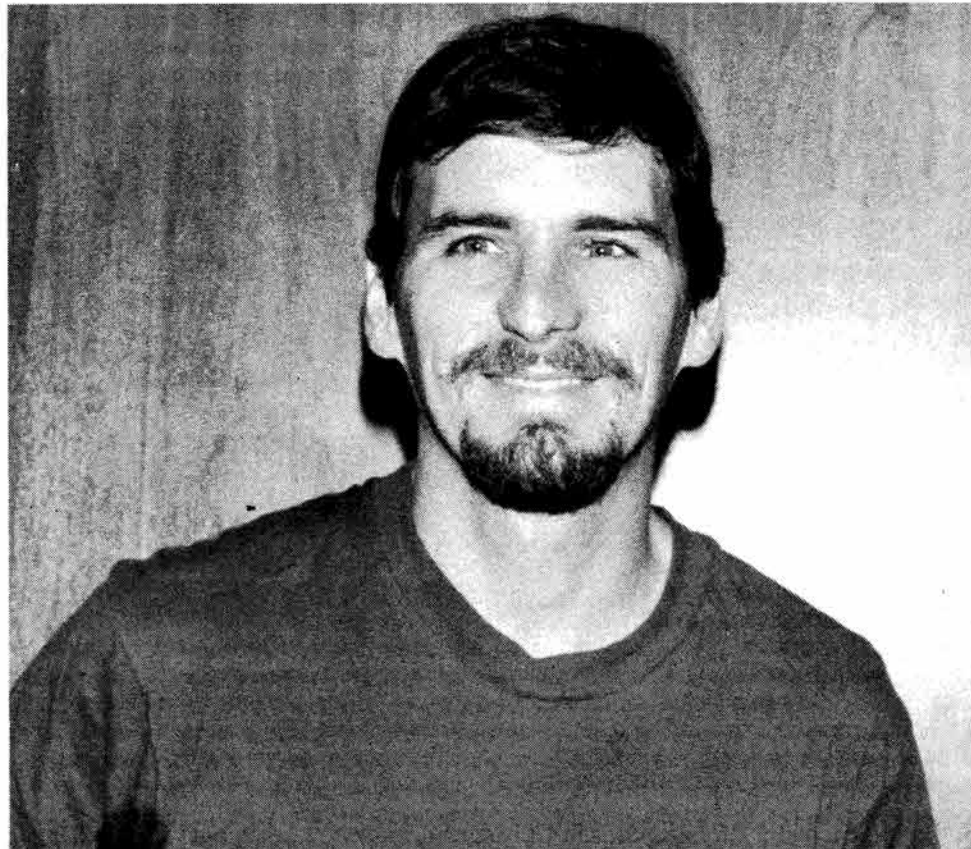
Anthony Mure, another prisoner in Fort Madison, wrote how the cops beat him when he came to the assistance of his wife who was being brutalized.

"There isn't a doubt in my mind that Mark was treated unjustly because I've dealt with the police in the past and known them to be aggressive and disobedient," Mure said in the letter. "I hope Mark wins his case and the lawsuit."

A number of other speakers were prevented from attending the rally by an icy winter storm. Messages were received from Jane Harlan, an attorney in Newton, Iowa, who successfully fought against brutal treatment of women prisoners in Mitchellville, Iowa; Hollis Watkins, a civil rights leader in Mississippi and a longtime supporter of Mark Curtis; and Larry Ginter, a farm activist in Iowa.

Mary Dietrich, secretary of the Lee County Central Labor Council, sent greetings to the rally, as did Bonnie Fugate, a victim of racist police brutality in Des Moines, and Jorge Luis Sierra, on behalf of the Mexican Commission for the Defense and Promotion of Human Rights.

"The frame-up of Mark Curtis exists in the



Mark Curtis at Iowa Men's Reformatory in Anamosa, Iowa.

Militant/Brian Williams

framework of the big events in the world and the big battles to come," said John Studer, coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. "It's not a fluke or an accident. The political stakes are high in this case because they want to make an example of Curtis as a warning to other fighters. Mark Curtis was framed for acting along with others. This made him a dangerous man in the eyes of the authorities."

The use of criminal charges such as those Curtis was framed up on is not unusual against labor activists, fighters for Black rights, and others, he said, pointing to the example of Johnny 'Imani' Harris, who served 22 years in prison on frame-up rape charges and was only recently paroled.

"Within the labor movement, the idea that an injury to one is an injury to all hasn't been won," Studer said. "For those labor officials who identify with the political perspectives of the capitalist class, when the cops say someone is criminal, they agree. Mark Curtis

fights for the unity of the working class, including with immigrant workers. He doesn't think supporting the company is the way forward. That's the opposite of the view of many union officials."

That is why some labor officials join in the campaign to discredit the Curtis defense effort and join in promoting the prosecution's frame-up case. They claim Curtis was not a union activist, meaning he was not an official and was acting in a way that runs counter to the labor officials' interests.

"Mark Curtis is going to win his fight for justice," Studer said. "Working people are won to his case whenever they hear the facts of the fight. Through the lawsuit against the police beating, we have obtained more evidence of their brutality and their lies."

"Our fight outside helps defend Mark's space to continue being politically active in prison. His activity, along with winning support among other Mark Curtises and those he was struggling alongside at the time of his

arrest is the best way to broaden this fight," Studer said.

The defense committee leader encouraged supporters to continue to use the picture taken of Curtis after his beating by the cops. The photo is one of the best ways to show the truth about the brutality meted out to him and thousands of other working people. In addition, he said, supporters can point to what the cops told Curtis during his beating, words that accurately pinpoint Curtis's crime in the eyes of the employers and their enforcers: "You're a Mexican lover, just like you love those coloreds."

DES MOINES — Supporters of Mark Curtis gained a hearing among many people throughout Iowa prior to the trial of Curtis's suit against the Des Moines police.

In Iowa City, 15 people attended a showing of the video, *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis*, which was produced by Hollywood director Nick Castle. Supporters of Curtis at the University of Iowa publicized the meeting and a team of activists leafletted the campus. The discussion after the video showing lasted more than an hour and many participants volunteered to help the defense campaign.

Supporters also went to a nonunion turkey processing plant in West Liberty, Iowa. They were invited to the home of one worker to show the video on Curtis's case. A number of immigrant workers from the plant came over and joined the discussion. They pledged to show the video to others and raise money for the defense effort.

Bob Roethig heard about Curtis's case in the *Militant*. He is an activist in the fight against a wave of racist cross burnings that have recently been carried out in Dubuque, Iowa. The trial against the police was the first time he had made the four-hour journey to Des Moines to attend a defense activity. Roethig videotaped a meeting at the Curtis defense office after the trial to show to antiracist activists in Dubuque.

Roethig invited defense committee supporters to Dubuque to participate in actions against the cross burnings and to meet with leaders of the antiracist fight there.

Mitchel Rosenberg, a meat-packer at the IBP plant in Perry, brought two coworkers to the trial. One of them, Miguel, was incensed at the lies of the police. "It made no sense what they were saying," he said. —C.R.

Iowa meat-packers debate immigration raid

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

MARSHALLTOWN, Iowa — Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents, accompanied by cops, raided the Monfort meat-packing plant here and arrested several workers from Mexico November 19.

The following morning there were strong rumors that the INS cops would return to the plant to arrest additional day-shift workers in the cut and kill department. Fearing further harassment by immigration authorities, a few workers concerned about deportation quit their jobs and left the plant.

A lively discussion ensued in the plant. Some workers felt it was okay for the cops to arrest the "illegals." Others saw it as an attack on the company, saying, "Every illegal caught in the plant means a \$10,000 fine against the company."

Mexican workers were outraged. Some blamed the company, saying, "If they were against workers not having their papers, they should have checked before hiring them."

Some workers approached the union president, Ross Boyer, about organizing a special union meeting to discuss the situation. Boyer said he would try to get the international involved.

One Mexican worker born in the United States commented, "We may not be able to get something done about this, but at least we can try. It might help prevent this from happening again."

The raid occurred only days after workers at the plant had discussed the Mark Curtis defense case. Curtis is serving a 25-year prison sentence for a crime he did not commit.

Seven Mexican workers watched the video, *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis*, at a November 13 meeting in Marshalltown and discussed the stakes for working people in this fight. Longtime political activist Hector

Marroquín, who fought an 11-year battle against immigration authority attempts to deport him, explained the importance of the Curtis fight.

"We have to stand in solidarity with Brother Curtis's fight for freedom because his fight is our fight. He was framed-up and railroaded to prison because of this defense of immigrant coworkers in trying to strengthen the unity of working people."

The workers listened closely as Marroquín spoke about the bosses' attempt to divide working people, cut wages, and speed up production.

One of the workers from the Monfort plant

described the racist treatment given to Mexicans as they come to the United States looking for work. The exploitation by landlords is extensive, he explained. The slumlords raise the rent for immigrant workers looking for a place to live. He lives with several friends in a one-bedroom house for \$425 a month.

This worker also mentioned some of his personal experiences with racism in the plant and the solidarity he received from other coworkers there.

After the discussion, participants decided to organize a broader meeting with more coworkers to see the video.

Pathfinder bookstore in Omaha gets support against death threat

BY GREG PRESTON AND PAT LEAMON

OMAHA, Nebraska — On November 28 the Pathfinder bookstore here received a phone message from an anonymous caller threatening to kill those associated with the store unless it closes down. The space that houses the bookstore also serves as offices for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The death threat is the latest in a series of threats against political activity and minority groups in Omaha. The Great Plains Black History Museum received threatening letters from the Ku Klux Klan; the University of Nebraska at Omaha Multicultural Center has been the target of racist phone calls; the Indo-China Refugee Assistance Center was badly vandalized this spring; and gay people have been assaulted on the streets. No one has been

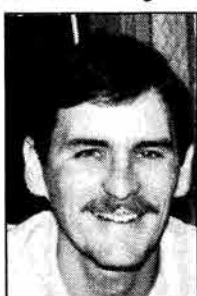
arrested for any of these crimes.

In a press conference at the bookstore attended by four local TV stations and three radio stations, Arnold Weissberg, director of the Pathfinder bookstore, noted that the store had been the target of two previous attacks. In 1989 and again in February 1990 its windows were shattered.

Melanie Williams, representing the Omaha Young Socialist Alliance, made a statement connecting the attacks against abortion clinics with this incident. Letters denouncing the death threat and supporting free-speech rights were received from Omaha Mayor P.J. Morgan; Doug Lee-Regier, a prominent community activist; Father Jack McCaslin; Rowena Moore, President of the Malcolm X Foundation; and Mark Cohen, an attorney who represents Airman Jason Coughlin, a member of the YSA fighting for the right to free speech at Offutt Air Force Base.

from *PATHFINDER* The Frame-up of Mark Curtis A Packinghouse Worker's Fight for Justice by Margaret Jayko

This pamphlet tells the story of Mark Curtis, a unionist and fighter for immigrant rights, who is serving a 25-year sentence in an Iowa prison on trumped-up rape charges. 71 pp., \$5.00.



Available at Pathfinder bookstores on page 12 or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. (Include \$3.00 for first copy for postage and handling and \$.50 for each additional copy.)

The U.S. naval station at Guantánamo

Nine decades of illegal occupation in violation of Cuba's sovereignty

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

More than 2,400 foreign troops are stationed on a major military base in Cuba. The base has an additional 7,000 military and civilian personnel and family members. It also has two airfields, an underground arsenal, and is surrounded by a giant minefield and a 12-mile barbed-wire fence guarded by armed sentries.

Large-scale naval, amphibious, and air maneuvers involving thousands of troops are periodically carried out on and around this military facility, which is strategically located in the Caribbean.

This is not a Soviet base. In fact, the Soviet government announced in September that it was pulling out all its military forces from Cuba.

It is the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo, which occupies Cuban territory against the will of the people of Cuba. In the latest provocative move, U.S. authorities are now using the base as a concentration camp for thousands of Haitians fleeing military terror in Haiti.

For years, Washington has used the presence of Soviet military personnel in Cuba to justify its occupation of Guantánamo. However, the day after the Soviet withdrawal was announced, Cmdr. Gregg Hartung, a Pentagon spokesman, declared, "The Department of Defense is not considering pulling out of the naval base at Guantánamo Bay."

The Soviet decision to pull out its military forces, "taken unilaterally, unconditionally, and without any prior consultation... amounts to giving the United States a green light to carry out its aggressive plans against Cuba," warned a September 14 editorial in *Granma*, the daily newspaper of the Communist Party of Cuba.

U.S. military provocations

On October 26 Cuba denounced several recent violations of its national territory "by U.S. combat aircraft from the territory occupied by the Guantánamo Naval Base."

"Since October 1, using the situation that was created after the coup in Haiti and the hypothetical need to evacuate U.S. citizens from that country as a pretext, the U.S. government has increased its combat troops, as well as the number of cargo airplanes and helicopters" at Guantánamo, said *Granma* November 1. As part of their provocations, the newspaper explained, U.S. forces "simulated the massive entry through different border points of Cuban civilians disenchanted with the revolution and practiced the total evacuation of all the American and foreign civilians who reside on the base." In some incidents, U.S. planes and helicopters flew over Cuban troops.

At the same time, provocative "news" reports were broadcast over radio and television in Florida falsely claiming the Cuban air force had contingency plans to attack a Florida nuclear plant.

Calling the base a "permanent focus of tension, provocations, and aggressive maneuvers," the Cuban statement pointed out that "the Yankee enclave in Guantánamo represents one of the instruments of pressure and threats that the U.S. government is using against the Cuban people and their unshakable determination to save the nation, the revolution, and socialism."

For more than 30 years the Cuban govern-



UPI
Marines at Guantánamo during Washington's October 1962 confrontation with Havana. Base is used for staging provocations against Cuba.

ment has demanded that Washington remove its military base from Cuban soil.

The U.S. government claims its occupation of Guantánamo is the result of a legitimate agreement between the two countries.

"The U.S. arrived during the Spanish-American War, when marines landed at Guantánamo for a campaign in the nearby hills. After the war, in 1903, a treaty gave the U.S. rights to the base indefinitely," was how Washington's version of history was summarized in a 1985 feature in the *Christian Science Monitor*. Guantánamo is the oldest foreign base continuously occupied by the U.S. military anywhere in the world.

An article in the *Washington Post* described the base as "45 acres of strategically prime land leased in perpetuity to the United States under Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy."

A quick look at the history of Cuba, however, shows there was nothing peaceful, legitimate, or good-neighborly about the U.S. occupation.

The first lie told about Cuba in most U.S. history books is the very name "Spanish-American War," which implies that the Cubans had little to do with the conflict. In fact, what broke out in 1895 was a mass revolt by the Cuban people for national independence from Spain. As Cuba's revolutionary forces were on the verge of defeating the Spanish army in 1898, the United States intervened militarily to prevent the Cuban people from taking control of their own country.

Cuban revolutionary leader Jose Martí had

already warned, "Cuba must be free — from Spain and from the United States." The day before he died in battle in 1895, Martí explained, "My duty [is] to win Cuba's independence in time to keep the United States from expanding through the Antilles and falling with greater force on our American lands."

Infamous Platt Amendment

Washington took Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam from Spain and made them its own colonies. Cuba was placed under direct U.S. military rule for four years. Washington withdrew its 45,000 troops in 1902 only after forcing the new Cuban republic to put in its constitution an amendment — written by U.S. senator Orville Platt — giving the United States the "right" to intervene in the country's affairs at any time.

"To enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba," stated Article 7 of the infamous Platt Amendment, approved in 1901, "the Government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at certain specified points." On this basis Guantánamo Bay was leased to the United States "for the time that it may deem it necessary." Rent was set at \$2,000 a year.

Cuba remained a U.S. protectorate for decades. It was ruled by a string of dictators and politicians who answered to Wall Street and the White House.

The Cuban people fought U.S. domination tooth and nail. Washington again invaded Cuba in 1906 and occupied it for three years. And in 1917, U.S. Marines sent from Guantánamo reoccupied the country, this time for five years. Cuba was under the direct rule of U.S. general Enoch Crowder until 1926.

Roosevelt's administration found it necessary to scrap the Platt Amendment in 1934 but replaced it with a new treaty whereby Cuba would lease Guantánamo indefinitely to the United States unless abandoned by mutual consent. Just in case the Cuban government had any doubts about signing it, Roosevelt sent gunboats into Havana Bay as a reminder of who was in charge.

The imperial arrogance with which Washington viewed the Cuban people was expressed by the U.S. admiral at the base, M.E. Murphy, who in 1953 wrote, "Guantánamo Bay is, in effect, a part of United States territory, and it will probably remain that way as long as we have a navy, since we have a lease in perpetuity for this naval base and it is inconceivable that we would abandon it."

Six years later, the workers and farmers of Cuba made a revolution that overthrew the Batista dictatorship, won Cuba's complete

independence from the United States, and embarked on the road to socialism.

U.S. refuses to withdraw

The 1959 revolution brought to power for the first time a government that — expressing the long-held desires of most Cubans — demanded the withdrawal of U.S. troops from their land. The Eisenhower administration refused, claiming its perpetual right to Guantánamo. This has been the stance of every subsequent U.S. president.

Every year Washington sends a "rent check" of \$4,085. Every year the Cuban government refuses to cash it.

Meanwhile, the billionaire U.S. rulers have tried to make the Cuban people pay as high a price as possible for making a socialist revolution. Since 1960 Washington has imposed a ruthless embargo on trade in an attempt to bring Cuba to its knees. It organized the failed Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961.

In 1962 the U.S. government brought the world to the brink of nuclear war when it demanded the withdrawal of Soviet missiles from Cuba. The Soviet government withdrew them without consulting Cuba.

As *Granma* pointed out in its September 14 editorial, "If at least the withdrawal of the Yankee naval base at Guantánamo — from among the five conditions that our party and government presented as a solution to the crisis — had been defended [by the Soviet government] with the intelligence and strength that the situation called for, there would not be U.S. or Soviet troops in Cuba today."

The U.S. military has used the Guantánamo naval base to provoke and harass Cuba. Calling the base "a nest of thieves," Cuban revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara detailed some of these incidents in a 1964 speech to the United Nations: "The list covers minor provocations such as violation of the boundary line, launching of objects from the territory controlled by the United States, the commission of acts of sexual exhibitionism by U.S. personnel of both sexes, and verbal insults. It includes others that are more serious, such as shooting off small-caliber weapons, aiming weapons at our territory, and offenses against our national flag. Extremely serious provocations include those of crossing the boundary line and starting fires in installations on the Cuban side, as well as rifle fire. There have been 78 rifle shots this year, with the sorrowful toll of one death: that of Ramón López Peña, killed by two shots fired from the United States post." The number of such hostile U.S. actions totaled more than 1,300 that year, Guevara said.

Nonetheless, the Cuban government has refused to be provoked. Over the last 30 years it has continued to expose Washington's policy of aggression against Cuba, explaining that the occupation of Guantánamo is one example of the U.S. rulers' attacks on the rights of working people and the oppressed around the world. Guantánamo is part of the large U.S. military presence in the Caribbean, which also includes six U.S. bases in Puerto Rico, one in Antigua, and numerous smaller military stations, as well as 7,000 U.S. troops patrolling Caribbean waters.

At the same time, the Cuban people have demonstrated their determination to defend their revolution and not be cowed by imperialist threats or swayed by the maneuvers of the Soviet regime. Cuba's military, as well as economic, defenses are based on reliance on no force other than the political consciousness and mobilization of the Cuban workers and farmers themselves.

Following the Soviet announcement of its military withdrawal from the island, the Cuban government responded by pressing its campaign to direct the world's attention to Washington's war-mongering policies. In its September 14 editorial, *Granma* explained that now, with the proposed Soviet pull-out, "It would be immoral and unjustifiable to accept the presence of a Yankee base and its aggressive troops in Cuba's national territory."

What is called for, stressed the Cuban paper, is "the withdrawal from our country of the Soviet military personnel simultaneously with that of the U.S. military personnel."

"That would be the only equitable, just, and honorable solution."

Books on Cuba from Pathfinder

Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism

By Carlos Tablada

Examines Guevara's contributions to building socialism. Guevara explains why the "dull instruments" of capitalist methods can only lead away from new social relations based on growing political consciousness and control by working people. 286 pp., \$16.95

In Defense of Socialism

By Fidel Castro

In these speeches from 1988-89, Castro argues that the future belongs to socialism, not capitalism. Castro also discusses Cuba's role in helping to defend the peoples of Angola and Namibia against the apartheid regime. 142 pp., \$12.95

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12. Or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Please add \$3.00 shipping and handling for first title, \$.50 each additional title.

Canada's labor party gains in elections

Communists reevaluate approach toward vote for New Democratic Party

BY COLLEEN LEVIS

VANCOUVER, British Columbia — In October the New Democratic Party won provincial elections in Saskatchewan and British Columbia. "This reflected a groundswell of opposition among workers and working farmers to the efforts of these two capitalist governments to make working people pay for the rulers' economic crisis," said Margaret Manwaring, a leader of the Communist League of Canada.

Speaking at a Militant Labor Forum here November 23, Manwaring pointed out that those who voted for the New Democratic Party (NDP) included "unionists resisting government wage freezes, women's rights fighters defending the right to abortion, Natives fighting for their land and for sovereignty, and farmers protesting the worst conditions faced in agriculture since the 1930s."

The NDP, a social-democratic party with links to the union movement, now forms the government in three provinces including Ontario, Canada's largest and most industrialized province, and in the Yukon territory. The NDP defeated the Social Credit Party (Socred) in British Columbia and the Conservatives in Saskatchewan.

"Many believe that the NDP government will defend the interests of workers and working farmers," Manwaring said. "Others voted NDP primarily as a protest against the reactionary policies of the outgoing regimes, while remaining skeptical about how much things would change."

Manwaring, a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, cited the farmers from the Okanagan region who explained that they had decided to vote NDP, in many cases for the first time, to protest the Socred's "anti-farm-family" policies.

Farmer Richard Day explained, "The thing that always scared me away from the NDP was that the union guys always seemed to have an 'in' with them. But I feel now I have more in common with the NDP union members than I do with those fat-cat Socreds."

Shake-ups in politics

"The dramatic and resounding defeats of the Socred and Conservative governments are only the most recent in a series of shifts and shake-ups that are part of the growing polarization of politics and deepening class tensions in Canada," Manwaring stated.

Growing numbers of working people face impoverishment. Infant mortality, tuberculosis, other poverty-related diseases, and homelessness are on the rise. Forty thousand of the 250,000 farmers in Canada totter on the edge of losing their farms to the banks. The crisis affects not only working people, but also growing layers of the middle class.

In the face of the crisis of their profit system the employers and their governments have been carrying out accelerating attacks against the wages, conditions, and democratic rights of working people for the past two decades, the Communist League leader pointed out.

This has provoked growing resistance by workers and farmers such as this summer's strikes by 140,000 post office and federal government workers and protest rallies by more than 30,000 farmers.

At the same time, she explained, right-wing capitalist forces are attempting to win disgruntled or demoralized layers of both the middle class and the relatively better-off layers of the working class to the perspective of scapegoating the hardest-hit victims of the crisis. They blame immigrants, Blacks, Native peoples, and welfare recipients for every problem from unemployment to drugs.

"The most extreme right-wing forces don't just advance their reactionary program demagogically," Manwaring explained. "They have increasingly attempted to put it into action in the streets, from racist mob violence against Mohawk fighters and Blacks to violent attacks on abortion clinics and the burning of Quebecois flags."

"While they have singled out the most oppressed and vulnerable layers, their actions are a deadly threat to all working people. That's why it's such a crime that the top officials of the labor movement have done almost nothing to mobilize working people to defend the oppressed from these attacks by the ultraright."

Rightist forces

This mounting class tension and conflict is increasingly reflected in the polarization

and shake-up of electoral politics in Canada. In New Brunswick, the right-wing Confederation of Regions party formed the official opposition in the September elections after campaigning to transform New Brunswick, which is 40 percent francophone, into a unilingual English province.

In British Columbia, Social Credit crumbled after being in power for most of the past 40 years. Former premier William Vander Zalm enacted far-reaching attacks against workers, women and Natives with the support of the capitalist rulers.

But in the face of growing resistance to these policies, Vander Zalm and his party were no longer a viable tool for capitalist rule. Over the last several years the party has been increasingly torn apart by divisions over what course to follow. On the eve of the elections much of the capitalist press editorialized in favor of an NDP government.

"The capitalists backed the NDP for totally different reasons than the workers and farmers who voted for it," Manwaring explained. "The capitalists concluded that the NDP was better positioned to rule on their behalf than the widely discredited and crisis-ridden Social Credit regime."

In British Columbia and Saskatchewan the NDP campaigned for "fiscal responsibility" — a code word for capitalist austerity and cutbacks. Its leaders also counterposed the defense of Canadian "national unity" to the demands of the Quebecois, an oppressed nationality, for political sovereignty.

However, the big majority of working-class fighters supported the NDP as the only means of defeating the parties of big business in the elections.

NDP link to unions

Despite its procapitalist program the NDP is not financed or directly controlled by Canada's capitalist rulers as are the Liberals, Conservatives, and Socreds. Instead, it is directly linked to the unions, many of which are affiliated to the NDP. The British Columbia Federation of Labor, for example, raised tens of thousands of dollars and organized hundreds of trade union officials and activists to get out the NDP vote.

"Under conditions where the election campaign was sharply polarized against a hated capitalist government like the Socreds, communists should have stood with the workers who voted NDP. Unfortunately, this is not what the Communist League did in the elections," Manwaring said.

She explained that the Communist League ran candidates in three constituencies to advance the discussion on the way forward for working people in face of the capitalist crisis. The candidates also sought to build support



Militant/Michael Carper
Public service workers on picket line during recent strike in Vancouver. New Democratic Party's recent election victories in Saskatchewan and British Columbia reflect resistance by working people to effects of capitalist rulers' economic crisis.

for working people's struggles, such as the federal government workers' strike, the fights for abortion and Native rights, and demonstrations against cop brutality and racist violence.

"However, by not backing a vote for the NDP we, in effect, ended up calling for an abstention everywhere except in the three ridings where we ran candidates. Our supporters ended up in counterproductive arguments as to why workers shouldn't vote NDP instead of discussing the real question in politics — how to change the world through struggle," Manwaring said.

"To fight against the offensive of the employers and their governments, we need a program to unite us: for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to protect against the ravages of unemployment; for affirmative action for Quebecois, Blacks, women, and Native people in jobs, education, and housing; and for canceling the foreign debt of the world's semicolonial countries."

"Fighting for policies like these that can advance the interests of working people

against the employers and their governments is what independent working-class politics is all about," the Communist League leader emphasized.

"It is only through such battles that our unions can be transformed into weapons of working-class struggle and a mass working-class political party forged that can lead the revolutionary fight for a workers' and farmers' government."

"Such a government cannot be established through elections or a strategy of subordinating workers' struggles to the perspective of campaigning to elect the 'friends of labor' into office," Manwaring argued. "Rather, it will take the independent mobilization and organization of working people to advance their interests against the ruling rich."

"However, communists could only effectively advance such a perspective in the B.C. elections by standing shoulder-to-shoulder with those workers determined to sweep the Socreds out of office by voting NDP," she said.

FBI obstruction of justice unearthed in 1951 murder of civil rights fighters

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

Florida governor Lawton Chiles has ordered the reinvestigation of two murders committed Dec. 25, 1951, in Mims, Florida. The story of how the FBI played a role in hindering the prosecution in the "Christmas murders" was told in a December 3 *New York Times* article. Harry Moore, a leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and his wife Harriette were killed by a bomb that exploded in their bedroom.

Chiles reopened the case in September 1991 after a woman claimed that her ex-husband had bragged over the years that he was involved in the Moores' deaths.

In addition, although the state of Florida has been in possession of uncensored FBI information on the case since 1980, it has never chosen to act on the information. In 1985 a reporter received 1,000 pages of this file through the Freedom of Information Act, but the pages released had all but 3 percent of the contents blacked out.

In spite of the heavy censorship, the documents reveal how the FBI used its investigation into the murders at the time to further harass and spy on the NAACP and supporters of the fight against the "Jim Crow" system of racial segregation. The bureau hired infor-

ants to record the license plate numbers of the 600 people at the Moores' funeral, and then investigated all those who attended. An FBI report concluded that the agency considered the NAACP to be "a definite suspect" in the murders, and that "propaganda" and fund-raising purposes may be why the NAACP would have organized to kill the Moores.

The files released also revealed that the FBI urged the Justice Department to appoint a particular judge to preside over the federal grand jury and to appoint as prosecutor in the case a man they described as "a Florida native who understands these matters." When all was said and done the case against 12 Ku Klux Klan members, indicted in connection with the murders, was thrown out.

The FBI now admits that there are an additional 1,923 pages on the case and that it destroyed 30 pages to protect the bureau's inner workings and allegedly for reasons of "national security."

The case had big stakes for the advancement of civil rights and for the labor movement. The discussion of how to organize in response to the murders was chronicled in issues of the *Militant*. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) campaigned around the case

and distributed a pamphlet entitled, *Jim Crow Murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore*. Armed with these materials, members of the SWP advanced a "program to stop terrorism." The program included four points: "a nationwide work stoppage by all the unions to protest the murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore"; "formation of defense guards to protect lives and homes against violence that the authorities wink at and fail to punish"; "a mass march on Washington to show the government that the people will tolerate no more stalling"; and "mass demonstrations in every community to express the anger, determination and concern shared by every enemy of racism."

The *Militant* coverage includes reports on forums sponsored by the SWP and sales efforts in the campaign. A Jan. 21, 1952, edition of the paper reported the New York SWP's participation in campaigning around the case. "Over 500 *Militants* were sold in Harlem" said the report, "and 100 were sold in Bedford-Stuyvesant."

SWP national chairman and presidential candidate Farrell Dobbs urged leaders of 25 civil rights and labor organizations "to arrange for a mass march to Washington simultaneously with local demonstrations" to protest the murders.

Why labor must defend affirmative action

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

As President George Bush signed into law the civil rights bill approved by the U.S. Senate October 30, a debate erupted among capitalist politicians over the interpretation of the measure.

The November 21 signing ceremony was surrounded by a wrangle among White House officials over attempts by the Bush administration to limit the use of affirmative action programs outlined in the bill.

This divergence among government officials and Republican and Democratic party politicians reflects tactical divisions within the ruling class over how far and how fast to move in attempting to take away rights won in struggle by working people.

The bill aimed to reverse portions of Supreme Court rulings over the past two years that have dealt blows to workers' ability to fight discriminatory measures by employers.

The controversy over implementation of the bill reached a high point when the White House circulated a draft of a policy statement

ciety as a result of the lack of recovery from the recession. This was highlighted with the December 6 announcement by the U.S. Labor Department that an additional 241,000 workers lost their jobs in November.

The passage of the legislation was an indication that the more liberal congressmen felt some wind in their sails.

With criticism growing from right-wing Republicans over the compromise bill, the directive was an effort by the White House to accomplish through executive action what it had failed to do in its debacle with Congress.

Faced with widespread opposition to the implications of the White House order, Bush disavowed it as he signed the civil rights bill. "I say again today that I support affirmative action," he said. "Nothing in this bill overturns the government's affirmative action programs."

Administration officials blamed White House counsel C. Boyden Gray for allegedly circulating the policy statement without consulting Bush.

The controversy continued when a written White House statement on the civil rights bill was circulated after the signing ceremony. This statement orders all federal agencies to enforce the new law on the basis of an interpretation written by Republican senator Robert Dole.

Dole's interpretation declares that, for the most part, the new law leaves intact the 1989 Supreme Court ruling in *Wards Cove v. Antonio*. But as passed by Congress and signed by Bush the new civil rights legislation specifically overturns the decision.

In that case the Court declared that employment practices that are not discriminatory on the surface but have the result of disproportionately keeping women or minorities out of the work force are legal. Strength tests or the requirement for a high school diploma are two such frequently cited practices.

Republican senator John Danforth said the reference to the Dole interpretation was "plain wrong." "I think it contradicts the wording of the bill," he added.

"Some of the president's advisers are obviously trying to narrow the meaning of the civil rights bill," said Edward Kennedy, Democratic senator from Massachusetts.

Several aspects of the new legislation will strengthen the ability of women and minorities to fight employment discrimination.

Right to win cash damages

For the first time the law gives victims of intentional job discrimination based on sex, religion, or national origin the right to win cash payment for punitive damages under the 1964 Civil Rights Act not just limited compensation for back pay if a job was lost. Previously, only victims of racial discrimination could collect punitive damages.

Bush administration officials have attempted to limit the impact of the new law. They understand that the kind of job discrimination inherent in the capitalist system



Militant/Michael Pennock
1988 Pittsburgh picket. Left to themselves, capitalists will never enforce measures to insure equality in job market.

means racist and sexist practices on the part of the employers will continue.

This is important for the labor movement because the billionaire ruling families profit from the oppression of women, Blacks, and other minorities. They not only reap higher profits out of the lower wages paid to these sections of the working class, but divisions fostered by the rulers sap the ability of all workers to wage common struggles in their own interests.

Such discrimination is institutionalized in capitalist society. Moreover, the very way that capitalism operates day in and day out constantly reproduces and reinforces these inequalities. Left to their own devices, the capitalists will never enforce measures to insure equality on the job market and in the workplace.

Final effort needed to reach \$150,000 goal by December 15

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

With the December 15 deadline fast approaching, supporters of the Socialist Workers 1991 Party-Building Fund have a big job over the next few days. The challenge is to collect \$26,000 in outstanding pledges and send them in on time. This would put the \$150,000 fund 9 percent over the goal!

Backers of the fund in St. Louis have set a real example of the kind of spirit the drive needs in its remaining days. Readers may have noted that this city, which has had the highest percentage paid up for quite a number

1991 Party-Building Fund

Collected: \$137,301 Goal: \$150,000



of weeks, has dropped down on this week's scoreboard. That is a result of raising their overall goal, which they did to take on the challenge to make the national drive as successful as possible. Supporters in five other cities have also raised their goal in the course of the drive.

Supporters in St. Louis took note that they were well ahead of schedule in the drive — having collected and sent in 96 percent of their goal with over two weeks remaining. Their last payment included a note explaining the decision to raise their goal by \$1,800. St. Louis supporters are confident they will collect on all pledges and meet the December 15 deadline.

Every city across the country needs to use the remaining days to organize to pay in full and on time.

In the United States and the world today

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, NY 10014.

On the contrary, as the employers drive to make working people pay for the economic crisis, they will attempt to deepen and politically justify their discriminatory practices.

Quotas content inevitable

For this reason any measures that reinforce affirmative action, strengthen workers' ability to fight discrimination and harassment on the job, or make employers think twice about carrying out racist or sexist policies do have a quotas content to them.

Affirmative action though, cannot be limited to hiring, education, and housing.

A disproportionate number of those working at minimum wage are young, Black, Latino, or female. The employing class, through oppression and prejudice, has kept the price of the labor power of these workers lower than that of the class as a whole.

Affirmative action is needed to combat widening wage inequality, as well. Raising the minimum wage would be an important affirmative action measure that would help increase the wages of all working people, particularly benefiting those who are the lowest paid.

These sections of the working class are also disproportionately affected by the growing crisis in health care. As the cost of health care continues to rise rapidly more than 37 million people are without a medical plan nor eligible for Medicaid or Medicare.

Guaranteed government-financed health care for all would be an affirmative action measure.

In the same sense the fight to defend women's right to choose abortion is essential to combating employers' attempts to make women accept lower wages and poorer working conditions. It is part of the fight against the rulers' divide-and-rule tactics.

By championing such measures the labor movement would increase the unity and political strength of the working class.

it is clear capitalism has nothing to offer humanity but poverty, disease, and war. The working class will have its chance to take power and for the first time in history run the world in the interests of the vast majority of humanity. But for this to be the future, a communist party must be built today that is capable of leading working people to victory. This is exactly what contributions to the fund are all about.

Socialist Workers 1991 Party-building Fund

Area	Goal	Paid	%
San Diego	2,000	2,090	105
Atlanta	5,500	5,492	99
Omaha	3,000	2,930	98
San Francisco*	12,000	11,500	96
Newark	9,700	9,212	95
Miami	2,400	2,264	94
Greensboro*	2,350	2,160	92
Detroit	8,500	7,675	90
Twin Cities*	9,160	8,286	90
Baltimore	3,000	2,629	88
New York	16,300	14,253	87
Boston*	5,500	4,679	85
Pittsburgh	5,500	4,615	84
Salt Lake City	6,500	5,435	84
Houston	4,800	3,970	83
St. Louis*	7,300	5,785	79
Washington, D.C.	6,000	4,725	79
Seattle	5,000	3,876	78
Los Angeles	15,000	11,520	77
Des Moines	3,525	2,507	71
Birmingham*	6,500	4,644	71
Morgantown	2,800	1,937	69
Chicago	8,000	5,440	68
Cleveland	3,000	1,979	66
Philadelphia	5,000	2,346	47
Other U.S.	4,815	4,908	102
International	2,130	440	21
Total	165,280	137,301	92
Should be		141,176	94

*Indicates raised goal

NEWS ANALYSIS

the day before the signing ceremony. The directive ordered all federal agencies to end affirmative action programs and the allocation of quotas for minority and women workers in hiring and promotion.

The proposed directive said that "any regulation, rule, enforcement practice or other aspects of these programs that mandates, encourages, or otherwise involves the use of quotas, preferences, set-asides" or other devices on the basis of race, sex, religion or national origin are "to be terminated as soon as is legally feasible."

"This statement would be a surrender to Jesse Helms and David Duke," said Ralph Neas, executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. Helms, a North Carolina Democrat, and Duke, a Republican candidate for president, have vigorously campaigned against affirmative action.

"It's not a prohibition of affirmative action," said a Bush administration official of the directive, "it's a prohibition of quotas." Bush had used the same argument earlier to explain his opposition to the civil rights bill.

Refusing to mount any real fight to defend affirmative action, the Democrats added wording to the legislation that said quotas are "an unlawful employment practice." One day before agreement was reached between the White House and Congress, administration officials were still insisting that Bush would veto the legislation because it was a "quotas bill."

Bush fears override of veto

In signing the bill Bush had to take into account the growing possibility of congressional override of a veto. He also had to consider widespread disenchantment in so-

U.S. court bans forced repatriation of Haitians

Continued from front page

dictatorship, and organized to support Aristide, he explained.

Casimir said the actions of Latin American governments to enforce the embargo are important and these acts of solidarity with the Haitian people are appreciated. But he urged people in the audience to organize their own activities to keep the pressure on and to be vigilant, noting some of the governments involved are not at all popular regimes. Some European countries, he noted, while refusing recognition to the current government, have taken no steps to end trade with Haiti.

Most of Haiti's trade, he pointed out, is with the United States. He urged people to take steps to appeal to union members to "give us a hand" and not to rely solely on politicians. It would be very important if unions decided not to work on boats going to Haiti, he said.

A member of Konbit Rezistans, the group sponsoring the meeting, asked Casimir to comment on the calls for some kind of mul-

tinational military intervention in Haiti. Konbit Rezistans is opposed to any such military action. Casimir responded that he too is opposed to such a move and added that no member of Aristide's government supports military intervention.

He noted, however, that many Haitians are in favor of this. He explained the Haitian people would not be in control of such an intervention and would have no control over what would happen afterwards, pointing out that permission is not asked when a military intervention is organized.

Casimir added that while the Haitian army has committed many sins, any foreign army sent in to fight would hit those in and out of uniform. It would be working-class areas, where the army has prevented people from demonstrating against the coup, that would likely be hardest hit, not the areas where rich people live. Many pro-coup forces, he said, would like to see an intervention.

Laura Garza in Miami contributed to this article.

Nelson Mandela at the United Nations: 'Help us dismantle the apartheid system'

Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress, arrived in New York December 2 to begin a one-week tour of the United States. He will also visit Washington, D.C.; Pittsburgh; and Houston.

On December 3, Mandela addressed the United Nations General Assembly during an agenda point on the "Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa." His speech is published in its entirety below.

Your excellency, Mr. Samir S. Shihabi, president of the General Assembly; your excellency, Dr. Javier Pérez de Cuellar, secretary-general of the United Nations organization; secretary-general-elect, Mr. Boutros Ghali; your excellencies, permanent representatives to this organization.

Friends, ladies and gentlemen:

We would like to thank you most sincerely for giving us the opportunity to address this 46th session of the General Assembly as it discusses the question of South Africa.

We say this because we are acutely aware and deeply appreciative of the role that this organization has played since its foundation in the struggle for the emancipation of our people from the tyranny of racial oppression.

We meet here today shortly before the political formations of our country gather together in a "Convention for a Democratic South Africa," to begin the process that will lead to the adoption of a democratic constitution.

As our country starts on its final lap towards the realization of the goals enshrined in the UN charter, the declaration on human rights as well as the declaration on South

"We envision a South Africa which shall, in all respects, belong to all who live in it, black and white..."

Africa adopted by this assembly two years ago this month, the leadership of the ANC thought that it was important that we should come back to New York to share with you our views on the subject of your agenda.

Mr. President:

Thanks to the joint efforts of our people and governments and peoples represented here, South Africa has embarked on its own race to normality.

We can see rising on the horizon the new glorious entity which shall no longer be spoken of as the pariah among the nations, the detestable example of what is impermissible in the ordering of human relations. The home land of a crime against humanity.

We are beginning to see emerge a new country which, because it arrives so late at the festival of liberty, must surely value freedom like the apple of its eye and strive hardest to live up to the dream of all humanity throughout the ages for emancipation, prosperity, happiness, and peace.

We envision a South Africa which shall in all respects belong to all who live in it, black and white. Its political life will be governed by a thoroughgoing democratic constitution, based on the principle of one person one voter without any distinction on grounds of race, color, gender or creed, and without any element whatsoever of racial domination and discrimination. This will bring to its demise the present constitution of South Africa which this organization categorised as null and void.

We also want to see entrenched all the necessary provisions ensuring the fullest possible protection and advancement of the fundamental human rights of every South African citizen. As part of this and to ensure the rule of law, there will have to be created an independent and non-racial judiciary, as visualized in earlier documents adopted by the General Assembly.

At the same time, the new South Africa will have to address the burning question of

mass poverty, which afflicts millions of our people, especially the black population. Also to be dealt with as a matter of urgency are, of course, questions of the gross racial imbalances in the distribution of income, wealth, land, and opportunity.

It is common cause among the majority of our people that the political settlement we seek to reach cannot survive for very long if these questions, relating to the standard of living of the people as a whole and the quality of life, are not addressed.

That is why the issue of the growth of the economy and its restructuring to serve the needs of the entire population, has to be an integral part of the process of the reconstruction of South Africa as a democratic, peaceful and stable country.

The new South Africa will, of course, seek to normalize its relations with the rest of the world. In this context, we must make the point that we fully respect the position spelt out in the General Assembly consensus declaration on South Africa, concerning the conditions that our country must meet, to provide the basis for an internationally acceptable solution of the South African question and for its full integration among the community of nations.

Such integration would undoubtedly have to take full account of the fact that we are an integral part of the region of southern Africa and an integral part of the continent of Africa.

In a world in which regional associations of various kinds have become an important part of the system of international relations, the new South Africa will seek to bring whatever it can to the process of strengthening both the region of southern Africa and our continent as a whole.

Not yet liberated

But of course, the reality is that we have not yet liberated our country. It is still ruled by a white minority regime, under an apartheid constitution. Therefore we are faced with the continuing challenge to pursue the struggle until freedom is won.

It has now been agreed that the "Convention for a Democratic South Africa" to which we have referred should be held as of the 20th of this month. This will mark an important step forward in the process leading to a negotiated resolution of the political problems facing our country.

As you are undoubtedly aware, the convention will discuss such matters as the principles that will underlie the new constitution, the mechanism to draw up this constitution, an interim government that will take charge of the country until a new democratically elected government is formed, the incorporation of the bantustans into South Africa, the time frames for the transitional period as a whole and the role of the international community. As you can see, these are all very important matters on which we will seek speedy decisions.

Of decisive importance to the work of the convention is the requirement that the ruling National Party make a clear commitment that the decisions of the convention will be given

"In our view, the constitution-making body should be an elected constituent assembly..."

legal force. Unless this is done, the convention will be no more than a mere talking shop. Obviously, this cannot be allowed.

In the aftermath of the conclusion of the work of the convention, we will need to move as quickly as possible to establish the constitution-making body.

In our view, this should be an elected constituent assembly. Once established, we see no reason why this assembly should not conclude its work of drawing up the new constitution within the year.

Precisely because we have not as yet

reached the goal of liberation towards which all of us have striven, we believe that there is need for continued international pressure to encourage speedy movement forward towards ending the system of apartheid. Sanctions therefore continue to be important.

At the same time we believe that such sanctions should be lifted in phases corresponding to actual progress being achieved within South Africa. The two major phases ahead of us would be delineated by the establishment of the interim government, and secondly, the election of the new government

"Sanctions continue to be important. We appeal to you to heed the voice of the oppressed on this..."

in terms of a democratic constitution.

We would therefore urge this assembly and its member states to handle the issue of sanctions in this manner. We are convinced that this is the best way to use this form of pressure to realize our common objective of securing a speedy end to the system of apartheid. We appeal to you all to heed the voice of the oppressed on this matter. They who, after all, asked you to come to their assistance by imposing these sanctions.

It is also critically important that the international community should support the peaceful process leading to the democratic transformation of South Africa. We are pleased that the United Nations as well as other international organisations will be invited to send observers to the convention for a democratic South Africa.

This will put the peoples of the world in a better position to help determine the precise ways by which they can support the peace process in our country. The point, however, also needs to be made that this organization, representing the nations of the world, has always taken a firm position as an opponent of apartheid in favor of the perspective spelled out in its own charter and the declaration on human rights.

We would therefore expect that as it participates in the political processes in South Africa, in whatever way it does so, it will be doing so as a combatant for democracy, justice and peace.

There have been discordant voices by some in our country. But we are confident that the people of South Africa are winning and will win our liberation whether they like it or not.

Those who sideline themselves will eventually be sidelined. We as an organization are prepared to discuss with them a peaceful resolution of our problems. We have no doubt that our views are identical not only with the views of democratic forces in our country, but with those of democratic forces around the world.

Quest to end violence

Mr. President;

Your excellencies:

You are also aware that in our quest to end the violence against the people, which has threatened to derail the peace process, various formations in our country, including the ANC, signed a national peace accord almost three months ago. This is a very important agreement and should contribute to the establishment of a climate free of violence and therefore conducive to free political activity.

We would like to take advantage of this occasion to reiterate the call we made when we signed the peace accord, that the international community should take such measures as it deems fit to censure and sanction any organization in South Africa that by fomenting violence, acts in a manner contrary to the purpose of the accord.

This will greatly help in the process of creating a climate free of violence, as was visualized in the 1989 consensus declaration

on South Africa.

The new South Africa will also need to embark on an extensive program of socioeconomic transformation. This will be necessary both to address existing needs and to ensure the permanence of the democratic political outcome of the process of negotiations.

We require international support

It will clearly be impossible for us to carry through this program of socioeconomic changes by relying exclusively on our own resources. We will therefore require the support of the international community. This support should be seen as part of the completion of the task of ending the apartheid crime against humanity by helping us to dismantle the apartheid system and liquidating its destructive consequences.

We would therefore urge this organization to take the necessary decisions and make the relevant preparations which will enable it to enter this area of activity as soon as the situation permits. We would argue that your direct intervention will be necessary as soon as we establish the interim government to which we have referred.

As was agreed earlier the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] had to intervene before this to assist in the process of the repatriation of exiles. We are very pleased that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has now set itself up in the country.

We are also keenly interested that this organization should help us to resettle these returnees. This is going to require considerable resources, especially in the light of the fact that the overwhelming majority of these have to be reintegrated with urban communities.

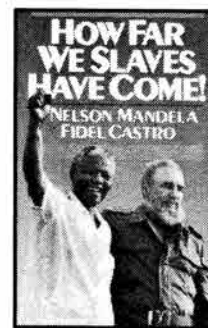
We therefore renew our appeal both to this organization and its member states to extend generous assistance to the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees to enable it to carry out this very sensitive humanitarian program. In this regard, we hope that the UNHCR will receive such assistance from other agencies of the United Nations as it may need to enable it to carry out its tasks properly.

Mr. President:

Democratic South Africa will rejoin the international community in a situation in which a new world order is being born. As this new order will of necessity impact on our own destiny, we cannot avoid commenting, however briefly, on what we believe it should be.

It is our view that this new world order

How Far We Slaves Have Come!



Speeches by Mandela and Castro at July 26, 1991, celebration in Cuba explain the links between the battle to uproot the apartheid system and the fight to strengthen the internationalism and communist direction of the Cuban revolution. 83 pp. \$7.95.

In Spanish, \$9.95.

Write Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. Please include \$3 shipping for first copy, \$5.00 each additional copy. Or visit the bookstores listed on page 12.

NOW AVAILABLE IN SPANISH!

should be characterized, among other things, by:

- A democratic system of international relations;
- Respect for the right of nations to self-determination and independence;
- Respect for human rights;
- The elimination of poverty, deprivation, and economic backwardness;
- Ending the practice of the resort to force to settle international disputes; as well as,
- Protection of the environment;
- Strengthening and democratizing the institution of this organization to ensure that it plays its role as one of the principal architects of that new world order. The world is becoming ever more interdependent. What each one of us does as an independent nation impacts on others. We have therefore no choice but to build a system of relations which, while it guarantees such independence and seeks to exclude the possibility of one country imposing its will on another, creates the possibility for each to have a meaningful say in how we should live together in one peaceful, stable, prosperous, and free world.

This outcome cannot allow of a situation in which the form and the content of the new world order is decided by some and has to be accepted by the rest. If we proceed in this manner, we will continue to build conflict

“There can be no new world order while some are super-rich and others remain abysmally poor...”

and instability into the world order, however much we might describe it as new.

Equally, there can be no new world order while some are super-rich while others remain abysmally poor. Indeed the very struggle for democracy and human rights throughout the world is made more difficult precisely by these levels of poverty.

Clearly, what might appear an almost superhuman effort has to be made to address the issue of gross imbalances in the world economy, which have resulted in such ills as negative growth rates for many countries, an



UN photo 176005

Nelson Mandela at the United Nations in 1990. This year ANC leader called for continued sanctions, to be lifted in stages as progress toward a democratic constitution is achieved.

onerous debt burden, and declining standards of living.

The issue of disarmament and the elimination of weapons of mass destruction remains one of the important issues of the day. We would therefore like to commend those countries concerned for progress that has been made in these areas and encourage them to register even more forward movement towards the final resolution of these questions.

In this regard, we would urge the International Atomic Energy authority to move with all speed to inspect the nuclear installations in our country to ensure full observance of the provisions of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

For the resolution of these and other questions, there can be no doubt that this organization must play a central role. To do so successfully it must become truly an instrument in the hands of all member states, without any feeling that they are mere pawns.

The reality of the matter is that there is no institution other than this organization, and its various organs, which can provide the means by which to build an equitable and stable world order. To play this role, it must itself enjoy the support and respect of all

states throughout the world and function effectively and efficiently.

We would like to take this opportunity to congratulate his excellency Dr. Boutros Ghali on his election to the high post of secretary-general of the United Nations and wish him success in all his endeavours. On him will fall the task of leading the processes which have begun of placing this organization on the sort of footing which will enable it to play the role we have been speaking of.

Permit me, Mr. President, in the name of the African National Congress and on my own behalf, to pay tribute to the outgoing secretary-general, his excellency Dr. Pérez de Cuellar, for his sterling performance at the helm of this international body. His outstanding efforts in the search for world peace have contributed immensely to the realization of this world body's primary principles and purposes. We are also highly gratified by the role he has played in assisting us in our search for peace in South Africa.

We wish him well in his future endeavors.

We would also like to urge that everything be done as quickly as possible, in the context of the decisions of this organization and the OAU [Organization of African Unity], to

carry out the measures that are necessary to resolve the conflict in Western Sahara.

Equally, we would like to salute all those who have been and are involved in the process of searching for a negotiated, just and stable peace in the Middle East, an important element of which is recognition of and respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. We wish them speedy movement forward in the effort to reach a comprehensive settlement.

We also wish the people of Cambodia success in their own efforts, supported by the UN, to bring to a close a dark chapter in their history during which millions of innocent people have been butchered like wild beasts.

We look forward to the resolution of other conflicts in the world such as those in Afghanistan, Cyprus, East Timor, and elsewhere. We hope that this organization will play its historic role of a peacemaker to help resolve these and other conflicts.

Final steps to ending apartheid

Mr. President;

Your excellencies:

We are taking the final steps towards ending the apartheid system of white minority domination. Acting together, we have the possibility to bring into being a new country which you will be proud and happy to readmit into the ranks of this assembly.

As we have done in the past, let us continue to act in concert so that we achieve our common purpose as quickly as possible. Through our common victory over the apartheid system in South Africa, we will also strike an important blow against racism in general, which seems to be raising its ugly head in other parts as well.

By its involvement in the struggle to liberate our people, not only has this organization been true to the purposes for which it was founded. It will thereby also help to build a new country which will make its own contribution to the creation of a new world order of equality among the nations, the defence of human rights, development and prosperity for all, peace and stability.

We thank you all for the contribution you have made to bring our country and people to where we are today. We count on your continued support and involvement until our common victory has been achieved.

Thank you.

South African political parties set negotiations

Continued from front page
up the new constitution.

Another central part of Codesa's tasks will be discussion on the establishment of an interim government, a transitional body that would oversee government functions and organize the constituent assembly elections. "The major parties have in principle accepted the idea of an interim government," Mabizela said. "The ANC would like the interim government to take over all government functions."

Reincorporation of Bantustans

Other points of discussion will be the reincorporation of the Bantustans into South Africa and the role of the international community. The Bantustans are ten rural areas the apartheid regime established as part of its drive to force Blacks out of most parts of South Africa. Comprising only a small percentage of the least arable land, the Bantustans became a vast pool of migrant labor for the country's capitalists and areas of high unemployment and poverty for the millions forced to live in them.

The parties that will attend Codesa include the ANC; the ruling National Party; the Inkatha Freedom Party, based in Natal Province and headed by Bantustan official Mangosuthu Buthelezi; the Democratic Party, a liberal party that has functioned in parliament during the years of apartheid; representatives of the four Bantustans designated as "independent countries" by the regime — the Transkei, Bo-

phuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei; and other minor parties in the country.

Four parties did not participate in the preparatory meeting: the Azanian People's Organization, an anti-apartheid group that opposes the ANC's perspective of forging a new South African nation of Blacks and whites, instead advocating the perspective of Blacks fighting for a "socialist" South Africa; the right-wing Conservative Party (CP), the official opposition in parliament; and two ultra-rightist organizations, the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

The ANC is trying to convince these groups to participate in Codesa. "It is necessary for us to say to all formations that remain outside this process: the entire South African people demand their involvement," Ramaphosa said.

As a means to draw in the Conservative Party, whose leadership is divided on participation in the convention, the ANC has expressed a willingness to place a discussion on the creation of a "white homeland" on the agenda. The CP has demanded such a discussion as a precondition for participation in the talks.

Pan Africanist Congress walks out

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) walked out of the preparatory meeting after accusing the ANC of making secret agreements with the government, making the decisions of the preparatory meeting a fait accompli. The PAC is a member of the Patriotic Front, and as such



Militant/Margrethe Siem
ANC rally. Two-day general strike and formation of Patriotic Front prompted apartheid regime to accept ANC proposals for talks.

had come to wide agreement with the ANC on the central demands the front would raise in the negotiations.

PAC leader Dikgang Moseneke said the group will hold a special congress December 16 to decide whether to continue to participate. The ANC dismissed the accusations. "PAC alleges collusion between the government and the ANC in order to create the

perception that they are the true revolutionaries of our country," ANC president Nelson Mandela said.

Two major developments that mark steps forward by the revolutionary-democratic movement led to the regime accepting most of the proposals of the ANC on the framework for Codesa. One was the formation of the Patriotic Front, a historic bringing together of a wide range of previously fractured anti-apartheid organizations. The Patriotic Front meeting included top officials of most of the Bantustan governments, structures that the regime had earlier hoped to have on its side of the negotiating table.

Second was the two-day general strike of 3.5 million in early November against the newly imposed Value-Added Tax. Both of the major trade union federations, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions, supported by the forces making up the Patriotic Front, staged the most massive strike in the country's history to protest the unilateral decision by the government on an important economic matter. The tax hits working people the hardest, adding 8 percent to the cost of most food items, for example.

Members of the ANC here report the membership in the revolutionary-democratic organization swelled following the strike, as confidence increased among the working people and others in their own capacity to organize and have an impact on bringing as rapid an end as possible to the white minority regime.

Delegates debate character of Communist parties

(Seventh in a series)

Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!, recently published by Pathfinder, contains the full record of the Second Congress of the Communist International, or Comintern, held in soviet Russia in 1920.

The *Militant* is serializing the introduction to the book by its editor, John Riddell. These excerpts are copyright © 1991 by the Anchor Foundation and reprinted by permission of Pathfinder Press.

The section printed last week described some of the centrist and ultraleft parties and political forces that were attracted to the new Communist International and attended its Second Congress. Many of these forces had recently emerged from, or were still a part of, the Socialist International.

* * *

The working sessions of the congress began on July 23. After a report by Zinoviev on the role and structure of a Communist party had been discussed in two plenary sessions and in commission, theses on this topic were unanimously adopted.

These sessions on the Communist Party served to introduce the discussion on conditions for admission to the Comintern, which produced what subsequently became known as the "Twenty-one Conditions." These theses were oriented to the ranks of the many parties with Social Democratic origins that had joined or were considering joining the International but were still marked by opportunist practices. They aimed to provide a standard by which the members of these parties could judge their leaderships and measure their organizations' progress toward becoming Communist parties.

The immediate problem before the congress was to clarify the meaning of the applications to join the Comintern by centrist-led parties in France and Germany. In the commission on this point most of the discussion focused on the stand of the four USPD [Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany] delegates.

On July 21 the Executive Committee held an initial meeting with the USPD representatives, questioning them on how they squared their party leadership's stated desire to join the Comintern with its centrist conduct since the party's formation. Following the meeting, Stoecker and Däumig of the USPD left wing proposed that the four USPD delegates write a response to the Executive Committee's questions, acknowledging that "since its founding the Party has harbored conflicting opinions" expressed in both a "pacifist" and a "revolutionary" wing. Now, their draft reply stated, a "revolutionary outlook dominates the entire party." Even this

mild self-criticism, however, was rejected by Crispin and Dittmann, and in the end no reply was written.

In a July 21 meeting with the four USPD representatives, Cachin and Frossard made clear that they no longer supported the proposal to regroup Communist and centrist-led parties in a new International. The USPD delegates thereupon gave up on the scheme.

In the sessions of the Commission on Conditions for Admission, the USPD delegates remained united, persuading it to make a number of modifications to the proposed theses. They also avoided an open breach in their ranks when they spoke from the congress floor in plenary sessions 7 and 8.

On July 26 the commission adopted, by a vote of 5 to 3 with 2 abstentions, a proposal by Lenin aimed at ensuring that when a centrist-led party joined the Comintern, those who had favored affiliation prior to the Second Congress would make up a clear majority of the party's central committee. Subsequently, sizing up the deep division on this point in the commission, the delegation from Russia withdrew this proposal.

Evaluation of centrists

As the congress proceeded, however, the centrists' political performance influenced many delegates, leading to several proposals to make the conditions for admission more stringent. In the plenary debates of July 29-30, delegates warned repeatedly against concessions to the centrist leaders. Among the new proposals was one by Bordiga [of Italy] reintroducing Lenin's amendment on the composition of central committees.

The question of conditions for admission had also arisen in another commission—that on the tasks of the International. The two bodies therefore set up a joint subcommission to consider the various amendments to the draft conditions for admission. This subcommission proposed a number of significant changes, which raised the number of conditions to twenty-one. Its proposals were reported in session 16.

After the adoption of the theses and the close of the congress, the USPD delegates met again with the Executive Committee. When asked their opinion of the Twenty-one Conditions, Däumig and Stoecker expressed full agreement, but Crispin and Dittmann voiced major reservations. The die was now cast. The split in the USPD delegation was out in the open and was soon carried into the party leadership and ranks back in Germany.

The USPD's October convention in Halle voted by a 60 percent majority to accept the Twenty-one Conditions and join the Comintern. In December, the majority fused with the Communist Party of Germany; the mi-



Drawing by Isaac Brodsky

Gregory Zinoviev, who reported to Comintern Congress on role and structure of a Communist Party. Congress adopted a set of conditions for admission, clarifying the differences between communism and the centrist positions of leaderships of several organizations seeking to join.

nority continued for a time under the name USPD before rejoining the SPD.

The French Socialist Party delegates Cachin and Frossard had already taken a stand prior to the congress that their party should accept the Comintern's conditions and affiliate to it. Their plan was to leave after the first few sessions of the congress. Frossard recounts that on July 26, when he and Cachin received the Presiding Committee's draft letter to the party in France they were "dumbfounded" by the scope of its criticisms and demands. Further alarmed by reports that the conditions for admission were being made more stringent, Cachin and Frossard stopped attending the congress sessions altogether.

Cachin soon abandoned his objections, but Frossard, according to his later account, insisted on changes in the letter and obtained some. On July 29, the day of their departure, the two delegates submitted a declaration to the congress, read by Cachin, in which they repeated their defense of Longuet but promised to work for their party's affiliation.

In the ensuing struggle back in France, Cachin and Frossard headed up the pro-Comintern wing of the Socialist Party, which won a three-quarters majority at the party's congress in Tours at the end of December. The majority organized itself as the Communist Party, while the minority split away, retaining the name of the old party.

Italian Socialist Party

Italian Socialist Party delegates were pulled in many conflicting directions during

the congress. Ludovico D'Aragona, head of the main labor federation in Italy, refused to break in writing from the reformist Amsterdam trade union International, and was therefore denied congress credentials. Serrati, whose conduct was sharply criticized by several congress delegates, found no support from the Italian delegation. Pressure on Serrati was further increased by moves to strengthen the conditions for Comintern membership—efforts assiduously promoted by Bordiga, among others.

Although no delegate was present from the Turin-based *L'Ordine Nuovo* tendency, its influence was strongly felt. Point 17 in Lenin's draft theses on Comintern tasks underlined the correctness of this current's statement on the crisis in the Italian Socialist Party. The entire Italian delegation closed ranks to oppose this clause. Even when the paragraph was reworked to encompass the delegations' suggestions, Serrati still withheld his approval.

Following the adjournment of the congress, the delegates from Italy met with the Comintern Executive Committee and heard Bukharin's draft of the committee's proposed letter to the party in Italy. The letter castigated the Socialist Party's paralysis in the face of what the committee considered a truly revolutionary situation. It noted that the party made no effort "to introduce slogans, to give the movement an organized, systematic character, or to transform it into a decisive assault against the fortress of capital." The party must implement a revolutionary policy in parliament, lead the workers in transforming the trade unions, seek an alliance with revolutionary anarchists and syndicalists, drive from the party the right-reformist elements, and apply the Twenty-one Conditions, the letter stated.

Bordiga, Bombacci, and the youth delegate Luigi Polano expressed general support for this draft. Serrati, on the other hand, opposed the very idea of such a letter, contesting its assessment of political reality in Italy and voicing many detailed objections, some of which were encompassed in the final version.

On his return to Italy, Serrati cast aspersions on the authority of the Second Congress decisions, campaigned against the "opportunism" of its resolutions (especially those on the national and the agrarian questions), and stubbornly refused to organize a break with the right-wing Turati current. In the voting to elect delegates to the Italian Socialist Party's January 1921 congress held in Livorno (Leghorn), supporters of the Second Congress decisions won the backing of 35 percent of the membership. These forces split away at that congress to found the Italian Communist Party.

Conditions for admission into the Comintern

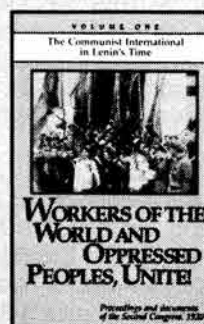
The "Twenty-one Conditions" for admission into the Communist International, adopted at its Second Congress in 1920, explained: "The Communist International is now frequently approached by parties and groups that only recently belonged to the Second International and now want to join the Communist International." This raised the "danger of being diluted by vacillating and irresolute groups that have not yet broken with the ideology of the Second International." The Twenty-one Conditions, designed "to define very precisely the conditions for admission for new parties and . . . the duties that are incumbent upon them," included the following:

- "All propaganda and agitation must have a truly communist character and correspond to the program and resolutions of the Communist International."
- Every group wishing to join the Comintern must "systematically remove reformists and centrists from all positions of any responsibility in the workers' movement . . . and replace them with reliable Communists."
- "In all countries where a state of siege or emergency laws make it impossible for Communists to carry out all their work legally, it is absolutely necessary that legal and illegal activity be combined."
- Every Communist party "is duty-bound to expose not only overt social

patriotism but also the duplicity and hypocrisy of social pacifism; to explain systematically to the workers that without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international body or arms reduction treaty "will be able to prevent new imperialist wars."

- Every Communist party "is obligated to expose the tricks of 'its own' imperialists in the colonies, to support every liberation movement in the colonies not only in words but in deeds, to demand that the imperialists of its country be driven out of these colonies . . . and to conduct systematic agitation among its country's troops against all oppression of colonial peoples."
- It must "carry out systematic and persistent activity in the trade unions" and other mass workers' organizations to win workers to the cause of communism. "The Communist cells must be completely subordinate to the party as a whole."
- It "must be organized on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism."
- Such parties must "formulate a new, communist program that corresponds to the specific conditions in their country and is in keeping with the resolutions of the Communist International" and "must change their name" to Communist Party.
- Those who reject such conditions of membership "must be expelled from the party."

The Communist International in Lenin's Time



Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!

PROCEEDINGS AND DOCUMENTS OF THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, 1920
This two-volume set tells how delegates met in Moscow to build an international organization dedicated to the world struggle for socialist revolution.
Special offer to Pathfinder Readers Club members until Dec. 31: \$45 (regular price: \$60) 1,147 pp.



Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International

DOCUMENTS 1907-1916: THE PREPARATORY YEARS
604 pp. \$31.95

The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power

DOCUMENTS, 1918-1919: PREPARING THE FOUNDING CONGRESS
540 pp. \$30.95

Founding the Communist International

PROCEEDINGS AND DOCUMENTS OF THE FIRST CONGRESS: MARCH 1919
424 pp. \$26.95



Offer available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12. Or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Please add \$3 shipping and handling for first title, \$.50 each additional title.

FBI fails to disrupt Tablada tour

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has unsuccessfully tried to disrupt the U.S. tour of Carlos Tablada, a Cuban economist and author who has been speaking at college campuses at the invitation of dozens of university professors and academic institutions.

In at least one city, Philadelphia, an FBI agent called professors who had invited the economist to speak at their campuses. The agent, professing concern about Tablada's safety, falsely reported that death threats had been made against the Cuban in the Southwest.

Tablada spoke at Temple University, LaSalle University, and the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia (see article on this page). The well-attended events, sponsored by a range of academics, attracted students and others interested in a rare opportunity to hear directly from a Cuban resident about the situation facing that country and to participate in an exchange of ideas about world politics today. Local organizers considered them a big success.

Nonetheless, in the weeks preceding Tablada's Philadelphia visit, Prof. Arthur Hochner of Temple University received two phone calls from an FBI agent. Hochner had been part of an effort by professors around the country to demand that the U.S. State Department grant the Cuban economist a visa to enter the United States.

Washington had initially refused to issue Tablada a visa. The government stalling forced tour sponsors in Philadelphia and elsewhere to change the meetings to a later date.

FBI calls professors

"About a week after the original date of Tablada's tour here," Hochner said in a phone interview, "I got a telephone call." The caller, who identified himself as David Jenchura of the Philadelphia FBI bureau, "asked if Tablada had come through town." When Hochner answered that the Cuban author's visa had been held up by Washington, "he told me he was 'just checking on the tour.'"

"Then, a week before the November 25 meeting" at Temple University, Hochner recounted, "he called again and said there had been some threats against Tablada in the Southwest, I believe. He said he thought I 'ought to know about it.' He left his name and phone number." The cop never called back.

FBI agent Jenchura also called Dr. Peter Vaughan at the University of Pennsylvania. Vaughan, like Hochner, had extended an invitation to Tablada to speak at his campus on the current situation in Cuba. Jenchura called him three times. He reported to Vaughan that Tablada had received death threats in the Southwest. The third time, two days before the event at the University of Pennsylvania, Jenchura claimed there had been threats against Tablada in Philadelphia. Vaughan, concerned about these reports, asked the FBI agent if he had informed the national coordinators of the tour in New York. Jenchura claimed he had done so.

Tablada spoke at several universities in California, but received no threats there. In spite of his alleged concern about Tablada's safety, the cop never contacted the national coordinators, the Faculty Ad Hoc Committee for the Tablada Tour, which is based at the New School for Social Research in New York.

When Vaughan learned of these facts and called Jenchura the day before the event, the agent backed off somewhat, admitting that

no threats had been made against Tablada in Philadelphia.

The efforts by the FBI to disrupt the tour in Philadelphia are not an isolated incident. Washington's attempts to interfere with academic freedom began with its initial denial of a visa to Tablada. When the Cuban author spoke November 7 at American University in Washington, D.C., the State Department demonstratively sent a film crew to videotape the entire meeting.

The day before Tablada was scheduled to speak at Rutgers University in Newark, New Jersey, campus and Newark police informed the student-run Rutgers Program Board, the event's sponsor, that "a reliable source" had told them there was a plan to kill Tablada. The sponsors took the threat seriously. Refusing to be intimidated, they decided to proceed with the meeting and reinforced security for the November 21 event, which drew 250 people.

A group of rightists, mainly Cuban exiles opposed to the revolution, tried to shout down Tablada and break up the meeting. They were unsuccessful.

The campus newspaper the *Rutgers Observer* reported on Tablada's talk in its November 26 issue. The article stated, "Sources who wished to remain anonymous confirmed that Tablada was concealing a gun." This allegation was false. When asked, the paper's editorial page editor and author of the article, Peralte Paul, told the *Militant* that the anonymous sources were in fact two



Cuban author (at far right) at Howard University. He spoke to thousands on his tour. Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Rutgers university cops.

Prof. Deborah Poole, coordinator of the Faculty Ad Hoc Committee for the Tablada Tour, commented, "The attempts by the FBI to disrupt Dr. Tablada's tour are a deplorable

attack on his right to speak. They are also an attack on the rights of people in this country to exchange ideas and hear different points of view. We need to hear more people like Carlos Tablada, not fewer."

Cuban author speaks in Philadelphia

BY STEPHEN FRUM AND KATHY MICKELLS

PHILADELPHIA — "We made our own independent revolution; we didn't ask anyone's permission. We didn't make our revolution with weapons from China or Russia," Cuban economist Carlos Tablada told a meeting at the University of Pennsylvania. "We made it with U.S. weapons that we took from the troops of the dictatorship. And when we confronted the United States, we didn't ask anyone's permission, and we didn't ask for anyone's help."

"But humanity gave us help, they gave us solidarity, and thanks to this we've been able to get as far as we've come," he continued. "The character of the Cuban revolution has been very much affected by this solidarity. We have an attitude of struggle, of always going forward. Capitalism shows us nothing that is better than what we have. So we're going to dig in on this position, we're going to be flexible to adjust to new conditions, but without leaving our principles behind. This is the path that humanity has shown us."

The University of Pennsylvania meeting, one of four lectures given by Tablada in the Delaware Valley leg of his national tour, was attended by 125 people. It was sponsored by the Christian Association; the Caribbean American Students Association; Dr. Robert Rutman, professor emeritus of Molecular Biology; and Dr. Edward Herman, professor emeritus, Wharton School of Economics. Dr. Herman accompanied Tablada on the platform, welcomed him to the university and expressed his support for an open exchange of ideas with the people of Cuba and for an end to the U.S. blockade. This stance was reiterated by community organi-

zations such as Bread and Roses and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, who helped to make this portion of Tablada's tour possible.

The interest expressed by students and faculty at the University of Pennsylvania was duplicated at Temple University, LaSalle University, and the University of Delaware. Some 400 students, professors, and others attended these lectures.

Diverse questions

At each meeting Tablada invited the audience to ask him any question about Cuba. He kept his opening remarks brief to allow maximum time to answer questions from the audience.

"What about abuses of human rights in Cuba? You talk about democracy but there isn't democracy in Cuba, there are no elections, no freedom of the press or religion, and don't you think 30 years is too long for Fidel to hold power?" one student asked.

"I'm very glad to answer this question," Tablada replied. "We do have elections. The Cuban people feel they are democratic. In 1976, we had a referendum where 98.3% of the country voted in favor of a new constitution. So in my country there isn't an electorate whereby 20 or 30 percent of the people vote." He went on to explain that Cuba holds elections every two and a half years.

"We have avoided the error which the Soviets committed," he said. "Candidates for these elections are not nominated by the Communist Party." Meetings in neighborhoods select from two to eight candidates and then secret balloting is conducted. "Those elected then elect representatives for the provincial and national level. It is an indirect system, such as in many capitalist countries."

"Fidel is not in power, not the owner of power. Power in my country is held by the people. Fidel still has the majority of support among the public," said Tablada.

Tablada pointed out that Cuba had opened its prisons and jails to inspection by delegations from the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Amnesty International, and the U.S. Association of Jurists. No evidence of torture or abuse was discovered, yet the U.S. public is not made aware of these findings," he noted.

"Is that freedom of the press in the U.S.?" he asked. "In the U.S. you have 22 monopolies controlling the mass media. They control 1,500 newspapers, 9,000 radio stations, and 1,400 TV channels. Seventy-five percent of television programs for the world come from these monopolies. But no national workers', students', or farmers' paper exists. In Cuba workers, students, and farmers all have their own news-

papers, funded by the government."

Students at LaSalle University and the University of Delaware asked what Cuba would be willing to do to establish better relations with the United States.

"Cuba did not cut off diplomatic relations with the United States. Cuba doesn't carry out an economic blockade. It's the U.S. that has done this and even invaded my country at the Bay of Pigs," Tablada replied. "It is not up to us to give up something."

"We have not taken the adversarial position," he said. "We are flexible but not on principle. Cuba will never go back to capitalism, which offers unemployment, beggars, and people sleeping in doorways. We respect each country's choice of government and expect to receive that same respect."

The class at LaSalle was sponsored by the Department of Psychology and Dr. David Oden, local area tour coordinator. Many of the 70 students who attended the meeting thanked Tablada for bringing a different point of view. "I'm disgusted with the U.S. government for keeping this information from us," said one young woman, voicing the sentiments of many of her classmates.

At each of the meetings, participants wanted to continue the discussion with Tablada. After the University of Delaware meeting, an informal reception held at the United Campus Ministries, one of the sponsoring campus organizations, drew more than 40 people. They pulled up chairs and sat on the floor surrounding Tablada and began to fire away with further questions.

One student who came to both events is writing a university paper on Che Guevara. While not convinced to become a supporter of the Cuban revolution, he wanted to know more about the Cuba that Tablada described as a country that "follows the path humanity has shown us."

"Cuba shows that a small people can struggle against a giant and win, if it has strong spirit, if it improves the human condition, if it does well by its people and if it gives a good example," Tablada said.

— CALENDAR —

MASSACHUSETTS Boston

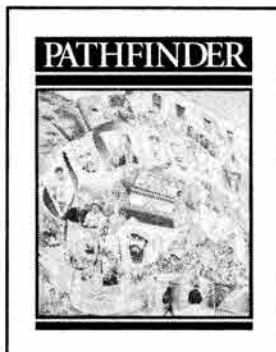
Free Mark Curtis! Stop Police Brutality! Speaker: Stu Singer, witness in the Curtis police brutality trial and a founding member of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Sun., Dec. 15, 2 p.m. Roxbury Community College, room 121. Sponsor: New England Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Suggested donation: \$5. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

The Pathfinder Readers Club

For an annual fee of U.S. \$10 (£5), members of the Readers Club receive a 15 percent discount on all Pathfinder publications at any of the forty Pathfinder bookstores around the world. Members also enjoy even higher discounts on special selected titles and receive a free Pathfinder catalog.

To join and to obtain a list of Pathfinder bookstores, send the annual fee to Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.

Discount does not apply to issues of *New International*, *Nueva Internacional*, or *Nouvelle Internationale*.



David Duke presidential challenge

Continued from front page
that is increasingly being raised in capitalist politics today.

"The time has come in America to limit and stop the illegal immigration into our society," stated Duke. "What's happening is, we are unraveling. We're losing our way. The country is overwhelmingly European descent. It's overwhelmingly Christian. And if we lose our underpinning, I think we're going to lose the foundations of America."

While holding out the option of launching an independent campaign for president if he fails to win the Republican nomination, Duke made a special point of urging his constituency to join up with the Republicans.

"I urge every working person across this country, every taxpayer across this country, and every person of the great middle class, to join the Republican Party," stated Duke.

White House spokesperson Marlin Fitzwater condemned the Duke campaign, declaring that he "represents the worst of American politics, [and] stands for bigotry, racism and other qualities that have no place in American life."

While quick to repudiate Duke's past activities, Bush has not had much to say in opposition to the specific political positions being put forward by Duke today.

Quayle: Duke's message not a problem

Vice president Danforth Quayle said the problem with Duke is the "messenger, not the message." Referring to this statement, a December 5 editorial in the *New York Times* said this suggests that Quayle "finds coded racist appeals acceptable if they don't come from people like Mr. Duke."

"What's worrisome," the paper said, "is that Dukeism threatens to add more hatred to mainstream political discourse."

For more than a decade capitalist politics as reflected in both the Democratic and Republican parties has shifted to the right. At the same time, forces in ruling class circles disagree sharply over how fast to move against the rights and living standards of working people as they inevitably must do in order to salvage their declining economic system. Duke's demagogic proposals are part of this discussion.

In a related development, Bush accepted the resignation of White House chief of staff John Sununu on December 3. Sununu was pressured to quit after Bush decided that he was becoming too big a political liability and could hurt Bush's re-election plans. Sununu was one of the most powerful conservative figures within the Bush administration.

This move has irked many of Bush's more conservative supporters. "George Bush is hanging by a thread," stated conservative fund-raiser Richard Viguerie. "If he makes the wrong choice at this critical time the Bush campaign will sink like a stone."

Commenting on Sununu's removal, the *Wall Street Journal* noted, "President Bush may have jettisoned a troublesome White House chief of staff, but he still hasn't shaken the trouble that has dogged his administration for months."

Citing "restiveness" in the Republican party, the *Journal* points out that some right-wingers within the party have been trying to convince "full-throated conservative" Peter Du Pont, the former Republican governor of Delaware and a member of a major ruling-class family himself, to launch a presidential challenge against Bush.

While declining the offer for the time being, Du Pont explained what he sees as the problem. "The Republican Party has drifted so far away from the positions that got us elected that it needs to be moved back," he said. "It's a disaster, and the majority doesn't support us any more."

Right-winger Patrick Buchanan, who served in both the Nixon and Reagan administrations, is expected to announce his presidential bid shortly. Duke has made clear that he sees Buchanan's conservative political agenda as similar to his own. He characterized Buchanan as a "fine candidate" and added that he could imagine throwing his support behind Buchanan at the upcoming Republican national convention.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

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

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

FLORIDA

Miami

Nelson Mandela in Cuba. Video. Speakers on struggle against apartheid in South Africa. Sat., Dec. 21, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Nelson Mandela's Visit to Cuba. Video. Sat., Dec. 14, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. SW. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

The Mideast Negotiations: A Step Toward Peace? Panel discussion. Sat., Dec. 14, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Restore Aristide! Enforce Embargo! Open the Borders to Haitians! Speaker: Representative, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 21, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Challenges Facing Cuban Youth Today: An Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Chris Nisan, Young Socialist Alliance, participated in recent YSA delegation that met with leaders of Union of Young Communists (UJC) in Cuba. Sat., Dec. 21, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

New facts emerge on Puerto Rico hit squads

Continued from front page

mid-1970s by José López, the U.S. government's top marshal in Puerto Rico for more than a decade. López now works for the U.S. Marshals Service strike force in Miami. The group patterned itself after right-wing death squads in Brazil and Argentina, according to testimony given by Ignacio Rivera to the Senate hearings.

Rivera, a prominent lawyer and former CIA agent, testified that he was present at a 1983 meeting in which Julio Andrades, one of the cops involved in the killing of the two independence supporters, discussed the activities of the death squad with the FBI.

U.S. officers involved

Members of the death squad also included U.S. Navy Lt. Alex de la Zerda; Lt. Col. Alejo Maldonado of the Puerto Rican police; Lt. Col. Enrique Sánchez, chief of the police riot squad; Lt. Andrades; policeman Jorge Derieux; the brothers Ernesto Gil and Abraham Arzola; and several Cuban rightists. López supplied the weapons from the U.S. marshals' office. De la Zerda provided bombs, grenades, ammunition, and other explosives.

De la Zerda was the U.S. Navy's community relations officer at its military base on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques.

Carlos Zenón, vice-president of the Vieques Fishermen's Association, said in a phone interview that "De la Zerda, together with López and other military officers, planted live mines on the beach to kill fishermen at Vieques who were protesting the Navy's target practice on our island in 1979."

Zenón was a central leader of the fight

by fishermen and other residents of Vieques against the U.S. Navy's occupation of that small island off the eastern coast of Puerto Rico. The struggle reached a high point during the 1970s and 80s, and attracted widespread international support.

Another member of the death squad, former policeman Alejo Maldonado, has been tied to the assassination of Carlos Muñiz Varela in the capital city of San Juan in April 1979, according to the November 29-December 5 issue of *Claridad*, newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Muñiz was a founding member of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, an organization of young Cubans that opposes the U.S. embargo of Cuba and encourages closer ties with that country. The murder of Muñiz was part of a series of right-wing terrorist attacks against Cubans in the United States and Puerto Rico who favored better relations with Cuba.

The hit squad, whose members also included Cuban exiles, met at Casa Cuba — a center frequented by right-wing Cubans — to plan their terrorist activities, reported *Claridad*.

The Puerto Rican Senate committee hearings have provided more evidence of FBI participation in the Cerro Maravilla case. This case is named after the hill where two independence supporters, Carlos Soto Arriví and Arnaldo Darío Rosado, were murdered by police.

Desiderio Cartagena, second-ranking police official at the time of the killings, testified that he twice telephoned FBI agent John Hinchcliffe on the eve of the killings to report that undercover cop Alejandro González Malavé — posing as an indepen-

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Capitalist Economic Crisis, Political Polarization, and Rising Class Tension. Speaker: Judy Stranahan, Socialist Workers Party, rail worker. Sat., Dec. 14, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Protest U.S. Death Squads in Puerto Rico. New revelations in the Cerro Maravilla case. Speaker: Seth Galinsky, *Militant* reporter; others. Sat., Dec. 14, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 727-8421.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Youth Against Apartheid: Panel of Youth Activists. Sat., Dec. 14, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

The Road to Peace in the Middle East. Sat., Dec. 21, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

dence supporter — was planning to lure the two young activists to the hill. There the two were ambushed by 15 cops, beaten, and summarily executed.

Cartagena testified that he "took it for granted" that FBI agents were present at the police ambush. He explained that the FBI had set up a joint task force with the police intelligence division, headed by Angel Pérez Casillas, to investigate "terrorist" activities. Pérez planned and supervised the whole police operation at Cerro Maravilla.

Books

by



Malcolm X

Malcolm X Talks to Young People

A new collection
110 pages, \$9.95.

Malcolm X: The Last Speeches

Six speeches and interviews from the last two years of Malcolm X's life.
189 pages, \$15.95.

Two Speeches by Malcolm X

47 pages, \$2.50.

Visit bookstores on page 12 or write Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. Please include \$3 shipping for first copy, 50 cents each additional copy.

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

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.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 5019 1/2 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

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

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Postal Address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 793-075.

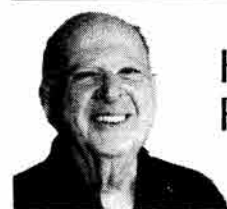
Christchurch: 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 656-055.

Wellington: 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Postal address: P.O. Box 9092. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

SWEDEN

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

There is something irrational — Several economic analysts are concerned about the psychological element in the economic slump. Some people, they feel, stubbornly



Harry Ring

refuse to accept that things aren't as bad as they think. Declared one analyst, "There's a very strong element of irrationality."

No comment — Last September a fire took the lives of 25 workers at a Raleigh, North Carolina, chicken processing plant where the fire doors were locked. The locked doors were justified by Bradford Barringer, a member of the state occupational safety advisory committee and owner of a construction company. Claiming the workers contributed to their own deaths by being dishonest, he said, "I imagine they stole chickens just as fast as they could go."

But look what they've done for us — In 1991, the average corporate top dog "earned" 91 times as much as the average blue-collar worker,

up from 25 times more in 1980.

He uses a different map — McDonnell Douglas, which just laid off 2,200 workers at Douglas Aircraft in Long Beach, California, will wipe out up to 3,800 jobs in the next 18 months. The company prez said Douglas isn't making as much as Boeing or Airbus, "so it's critical we continue our cost control efforts." He assured that the company is "moving in the right direction."

'With liberty and justice for all' — We reported about Candi Williams who was jailed by a High Point, North Carolina, judge for going to work instead of jury duty.

She supports her son, 2, and her mother, a jobless furniture worker. Then the judge dealt with the mother, who had called in saying Candi was sick. He gave the mother 30 days suspended, a year's probation, and fined her \$250.

Go out in style — The ad says, "The World's Most Luxurious Cigarette. Created for the House of Cartier. Perfect pearl-tipped Cartier Vendôme cigarettes. In unique packs of 10 and 20." It doesn't give prices. But, like they say, if you have to ask...

An inquiry is needed — A Miami Herald article noted the "distressing"

drop in consumer spending. A separate article reported there are exceptions, citing the Xmas items available to the prosperous — an \$8 million yacht, etc. The neatest item was a first edition of Adam Smith's, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. \$25,000.

Late bulletin — The prez ordered his cabinet to "assure the most effective implementation" of programs to aid those affected by "the current economic climate." An aide agreed the move has no practical significance. "The president," he explained, "simply wanted to make a point of the fact that we are in a time of serious economic difficulty."

New revelations on massacre in Dili, East Timor

BY JANET POST

New revelations have emerged on the recent brutal massacre of East Timorese people by the Indonesian army.

The massacre took place November 12 at the Santa Cruz cemetery in the capital city of Dili where a memorial service was being held for Sebastião Gomes Rangel, who was killed by Indonesian soldiers October 28. Gomes was shot at the Dili church where he had taken refuge after speaking out against the government.

In its December 9 issue, *The New Yorker* magazine published a firsthand report detailing the November army attack. It describes how, when the mass for Gomes concluded, a procession to the cemetery formed behind his family, with some people unfurling banners for East Timorese

independence. The route was lined with soldiers and police.

The *New Yorker* reporter writes, "As the procession got underway, first young men and then women and older men began making V signs at the soldiers as they passed. They shouted 'Viva Timor Leste [Long live East Timor]!'"

"By the time it reached the cemetery it had grown to several thousand. Even when there was no chanting, and no banners nearby, the marchers were talking — audibly — to the soldiers and among themselves. East Timor and its occupiers surely hadn't witnessed such a bold public display in years."

No soldiers appeared to be in the cemetery when the procession arrived, but soon the Indonesian army — in formation and carry-

ing M-16 rifles — blocked the cemetery road. The road was hemmed in on both sides by high walls with only a 100-yard gap between the procession and the troops.

"We watched in disbelief as the soldiers turned into the cemetery, raised their rifles, and took aim. Then, acting in unison, they opened fire on the East Timorese. Men and women fell, shivering, in the street, rolling from the impact of the bullets," the reporter continues.

"Some were back-peddaling, and tripping, their hands held up. Others simply tried to turn and run. The soldiers jumped over fallen bodies and fired at the people still upright. They chased down young boys and girls and shot them in the back."

On that day, it is estimated that more than one hundred East Timorese were killed and two hundred wounded.

New Zealand student killed

One of those killed was Kamal Bamadhaj, a 20-year-old New Zealand student attending the University of New South Wales. Along with other students, Bamadhaj had founded a group to support student organizations and human-rights workers in Indonesia.

Bamadhaj's murder was brought to light in a December 13 *Wall Street Journal* article written by his mother, Helen Todd, a Malay-

sia-based journalist.

She writes that, while her son and other foreign visitors to Dili were frightened to march in the Dili memorial procession, "they reasoned that a foreign presence might restrain the military." Bamadhaj "argued strongly for going."

Todd said her son had taken an interest in a November 3 fact-finding delegation to East Timor planned by Portuguese officials and brokered by the United Nations. In notes Bamadhaj left behind, he wrote that "Timorese of all ages and walks of life have been signing up to be on the list of interviewees for this Portuguese fact-finding mission."

The delegation, however, was cancelled. Bamadhaj's notes said that this "gives the Indonesian military the perfect opportunity to eliminate all those Timorese who had exposed their identity while preparing for the visit."

Todd's article, entitled "A Son's Death in East Timor," closes with thoughts from Bamadhaj's final note entries in which he predicted "another wave of genocide against the Timorese people."

He wrote: "Whether total genocide occurs in East Timor or not depends not only on the (remarkably powerful) will of the East Timorese people, but also on the will of humanity, of us all."

'Granma' special subscription offer

BY MIKE TABER

Pathfinder Press has announced a special offer for subscriptions to *Granma Internacional*, a weekly newspaper from Cuba published in English, Spanish, French, and Portuguese. Until December 31, yearly subscriptions can be purchased from Pathfinder for \$35, a saving of \$5 off the new annual rate of \$40.

For more than twenty-five years, *Granma Internacional*, formerly *Granma Weekly Review*, has been a unique source of information about the Cuban revolution. The paper's name comes from the boat aboard which Fidel Castro and other fighters traveled to Cuba in late 1956 to begin the revolutionary war that toppled the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista.

The weekly has been a primary source for following the speeches of Fidel Castro and other leaders of the revolution, as well as government policy statements. Since 1986 the speeches run in its pages have traced the efforts of the Communist Party of Cuba to rectify errors resulting from methods of economic planning and management borrowed from the Soviet Union, which reinforced bureaucracy and undermined the revolutionary mobilization of Cuba's workers and farmers.

Over the past few weeks, *Granma Internacional* has published major resolutions and speeches from the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, held in October.

Recently, the weekly printed background articles on Washington's latest efforts to stiffen its economic blockade and increase provocations around the U.S. military's naval base at Guantánamo. News reports it has carried describe the island's efforts to confront the economic crisis brought about by the dramatic drop in trade with the Soviet Union. Developments in Cuban culture and sports are also regularly featured.

For several years Pathfinder, the publisher of many books and pamphlets by Cuban revolutionary leaders, has helped gather subscriptions to *Granma* and made the newspaper available at Pathfinder bookstores throughout the United States.

Due to sharply rising costs, *Granma Internacional* recently announced a new and higher subscription price.

The special \$5-off discount is good until December 31 by writing Pathfinder at 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014, or by visiting the Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12.

Special offer — \$5 off before December 31

SUBSCRIBE TO
Granma
INTERNATIONAL

Until December 31 Cuba's weekly newspaper will be available at \$35, \$5 off the new annual price of \$40. *Granma Internacional* includes speeches by Fidel Castro and other Cuban leaders and important public statements from Cuba's government and Communist Party. It also includes news and features on

- The fight for socialism in Cuba
- Washington's economic blockade and occupation of the Guantánamo naval base
- Art, music, literature, and sports

Available in English, Spanish, and French (specify).
Make checks payable to Pathfinder.

PATHFINDER
410 WEST ST., NEW YORK, NY 10014

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People
December 19, 1966

Labor-baiters will no doubt derive satisfaction from the Supreme Court decision upholding the jury-tampering conviction of Teamster Union President James Hoffa. The high court ruling climaxes nearly a decade of efforts by the Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson administrations to get Hoffa and the Teamsters. It will be particularly relished by that sterling liberal, Robert Kennedy, who initiated the government persecution of Hoffa while counsel for the anti-labor Senate McClellan committee.

The government has used an assortment of dirty tricks to "get" Hoffa. In addition to the use of a planted, tainted stool pigeon, the government has used wire-tapping and electronic bugs. Indeed, its practices have been so raw that the ACLU [American Civil Liberties Union] was joined by the Association of Criminal Trial Lawyers in protesting.

Washington's claim that it is merely trying to protect the union ranks from "crooks" is just bull. More than one crooked union bureaucrat hustles votes for the Democrats and dines at the White House. The government's target is the Teamsters union itself, an initial drive it intends to widen.

THE MILITANT

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

December 20, 1941

The stakes of war in the Far East are tangible things that may be weighed and measured, bought and sold. Running like a bright red thread through the war dispatches, government communiques, press comments,

and statements of government officials issued at the outbreak of the war this week, are words like "tin," "oil," "tungsten," "rubber," "manganese," "copper."

For the United States, the Dutch East Indies, the British Malaya States and French Indo-China are indispensable sources of rubber, tin, tungsten and quinine. The Dutch East Indies in themselves present the lure of fabulous riches for imperial exploitation. Sixty-five million native slaves toil to wring from the soil of these islands a tremendous wealth for the ruling class of Holland. For the United States, England, and Japan alike, the rubber of the Dutch East Indies and Malaya is so vital an economic resource as to constitute in itself a cause for war.

And then there is oil, oil which Japan once bought from the United States and South America, fuel and lubricants without which her factories and machinery and transport would stand idle and rusted. The American and British embargo on oil to Japan has been a staggering blow. For this reason, the Dutch East Indies have become a major objective of Japan's imperialist drive.

The largest single source of tin and rubber in the world are the British Malaya States. From this colony, the United States obtains the major portion of these indispensable raw materials. British Malaya, acre for acre, is the richest British colony on the globe. It produces half the world's rubber, a third of its tin.

For the industrialists and bankers of the major imperialist nations, China is a potential market and field for financial investment which staggers the imagination. And here, moreover, is untold mineral wealth, never yet tapped, such as tungsten, coal, iron.

The newspapers may talk about principles, national honor, freedom of colonial peoples. But oil, tin, rubber, tungsten, rice, markets, slave labor — in a word, profits — these are the material stakes in this conflict whose flames now lick at the remotest corners of the earth.

Whose fault was Pearl Harbor?

The 50th anniversary commemoration of U.S. entry into World War II has been an occasion for the U.S. rulers to whip up patriotism and rally people around the flag.

However, attempts by Washington to blame World War II solely on the Japanese in the Pacific and the Germans in Europe presents an inaccurate picture of what really happened.

World War II was fundamentally an interimperialist conflict. It was the culmination of a period of sharply escalating economic competition over access to markets and resources among imperialist powers, including Germany, Japan, France, Britain, Italy, and the United States. This rivalry took place in a world stricken by a huge economic crisis and its accompanying reduction of markets.

The working class, after suffering a series of defeats and setbacks in the 1930s, was not politically strong enough to stop this carnage. Workers were dragged into the war as cannon fodder on both sides. Tens of millions lost their lives.

"We crushed totalitarianism," stated President Bush as he presented the U.S. rulers' justification for World War II at the Pearl Harbor commemorative ceremonies December 7. Washington, however, did not object to Japanese totalitarianism until it came into direct conflict with the U.S. rulers' economic interests in Asia.

Today, as in the 1930s, we are seeing increasing economic

competition between the United States and Japan for resources and markets throughout Asia and the Pacific.

"We're a Pacific nation," stated Bush in his Pearl Harbor commemorative talk, and "we want access to your markets." Under the banner of free trade aided by the use of protectionist policies where it deems it appropriate, Washington promotes its aggressive trading policy in the world.

In addition, Washington's readiness to wield its military power was signaled in a dramatic way by its war against Iraq, where the U.S. rulers deployed their forces in an area of the world that rival imperialist powers like Japan depend on for oil. This experience has already led Japan's rulers to begin dropping legal restrictions, that had been in place since World War II, on their ability to use military force abroad to advance their interests.

The deepening crisis of the world capitalist economy will keep driving the U.S. rulers and other imperialist powers toward ultimately settling the economic conflicts between themselves through war. However, a new world war is not inevitable. The central factor determining how events unfold will be the success of working people in organizing as an independent force capable of winning revolutionary victories in order to take power out of the hands of the imperialist warmakers and establish governments of the workers and farmers.

End the war in Yugoslavia

As the prospects fade for a rapid end to the civil war in Yugoslavia, the conflict is revealing itself as a major and prolonged one with a character similar to the murderous strife that swept the country in the early 1940s. Some estimates put the number of those already killed as high as 7,500. Almost half a million people have been driven from their homes by the war.

In addition to the heavy fighting, massacres of civilians or soldiers who have surrendered are becoming more frequent.

Amnesty International has documented incidents including the slayings by a special unit of the Croatian police force of 13 Yugoslav army officers and reservists who had surrendered and the killings in the village of Cetekovac of more than 20 Croatian civilians, including six elderly people, by Serbian militiamen.

A November 26 report by European Community (EC) observers accused the Yugoslav army of bulldozing Croatian villages and deliberately attacking civilian targets, including schools, churches, and hospitals.

Responsibility for this expanding and destructive war lies at the hands of the rival bureaucratic regimes in the republics of Serbia and Croatia whose goal is to maximize their control of Yugoslavia's resources. They are attempting to either expand or hang on to the borders of their fiefdoms regardless of the wishes of the people living there and the enormous cost of the war in lives and human suffering. The war is the outcome of decades of Stalinist misrule over working people there.

Attempting to build support among working people for their war, these regimes have demagogically appealed to the most narrow nationalism.

Long-standing national divisions promoted by capitalism

had been largely swept away through the Yugoslav revolution in the 1940s, as working people forged a broader unity in struggle against their common exploiters, the capitalists and landlords.

Working people in Yugoslavia, who gain only death and destruction through the civil war, are resisting it in many ways, from widespread refusal to join the fighting to the beginnings of street protests.

Thousands of students demonstrated against the war recently in Titograd, the capital of Montenegro, one of Yugoslavia's republics. The families of 40 Montenegrin soldiers ordered to the front staged a sit-in at the office of Miodrag Bulatovic, the republic's president, demanding their sons be returned. There are 35,000 Montenegrins in the Yugoslav army. These protests have put pressure on Bulatovic who has asked that all reservists from Montenegro serving in the Yugoslav army be allowed to return from the front.

The EC governments and Washington are pushing economic sanctions and raising the specter of intervening with military force in an effort to persuade the republic's regimes to end the conflict. On December 6 the U.S. government imposed economic sanctions on all six republics.

Working people have no interest in supporting these sanctions. These measures will only hurt the people of Serbia, Croatia, and the other republics. They are a step toward armed imperialist intervention, a step foreshadowed by continued EC probes to send so-called peacekeeping forces there.

While the bureaucratic regimes devour the country's resources, working people pay with their lives in the slaughter. The actions of working people demanding an end to the war point the way forward in Yugoslavia.

U.S. death squad in Puerto Rico

The revelation that U.S. officials organized a death squad in Puerto Rico targeting pro-independence supporters and other political activists shows the true face of the government in Washington. The existence of this hit squad is one of the many facts about federal government repression that have been revealed during the current Puerto Rican Senate hearings, which are investigating the police murder of two young independence supporters in 1978, in what is known as the Cerro Maravilla case. Evidence has also come out about the FBI's participation in this incident as well in the subsequent coverup.

The death squad, organized by the top U.S. marshal in Puerto Rico, was set up in the mid-1970s at a time of growing struggles by the Puerto Rican people for their national rights. The U.S. government has spared no effort to harass, frame up, jail, and smear supporters of Puerto Rican independence, as well as unionists and other political activists. They have done this under the cover of "fighting terrorism."

The FBI arrested 15 Puerto Rican independence supporters on frame-up charges of terrorism in 1985. Their trials have been going on in Hartford, Connecticut, for the last several years. Dozens of other independence fighters have also been framed up and are serving sentences in U.S. prisons.

The extent of the FBI's illegal harassment and victimization is evident from the FBI's so-called subversive list, which contains files on more than 100,000 residents of Puerto Rico.

But the activities of the death squad, the Cerro Maravilla killings, and other crimes show that the real terrorists are the FBI and their bosses in Washington. These facts also highlight the status of Puerto Rico as a colony of the United States.

The people of Puerto Rico are denied a fundamental right — the right to decide their own destiny. And the rulers of the United States want to keep it that way. They have used the FBI, CIA, grand juries, and other courts and cop agencies to help maintain their colonial domination of the island.

Washington also uses its cops and courts to attack the rights of working people in the United States. A successful lawsuit filed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance in 1973 helped expose how the FBI, CIA, and other political police illegally spy on and harass unionists, Black rights fighters, antiwar activists, women's rights organizations, and many others.

Workers, farmers, and other fighters for social justice have an important stake in opposing the use of the political police to attack the rights of the Puerto Rican people. The facts about this illegal FBI harassment and victimization, which are virtually blacked out in the big-business media, should be told. Supporters of democratic rights should demand that the members of the death squad, as well as all the government officials involved in the Cerro Maravilla case and its coverup, be prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

This column is devoted to a discussion with our readers — printing remarks, questions, suggestions, and other comments sent to the *Militant*. Where possible we will take up issues raised in notes and letters as a way to help clarify and expand on the coverage of the paper.

In his letter on the opposite page, Harvey McArthur takes issue with the article by Derek Bracey entitled, "Professor is disciplined for anti-Semitism," in the December 6 issue of the *Militant*. Bracey approved of the university authorities' disciplining of Professor Leonard Jeffries because of his anti-Semitic remarks in several speeches.

McArthur agrees that Jeffries has expressed anti-Semitic views, which he thinks should be answered. However, McArthur adds, "the article cites no instances of anti-Semitic actions by Jeffries." He says that to attempt to suppress

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

such ideas only gives reactionaries a wider audience, allowing them to claim violation of their democratic rights.

In his capacity as a professor, employed by public authorities to conduct education programs, Jeffries promotes anti-Semitism, which as Bracey noted, in this case points toward Blacks mounting a fight against Jews as a people, as the source of their oppression.

The disciplinary action taken against Jeffries took the relatively mild form of giving him a one-year probationary term of employment, instead of a longer contract extension.

This is not a question of Jeffries's freedom of speech, but rather that of whether action should be taken against professors and administrators who promote any form of racism within the education system.

Fighters against racist oppression should demand that action be taken against the promoters of racist ideas in the classrooms, whether this takes the form of anti-Semitism or reactionary ideas directed against Blacks, for example.

This stand parallels that taken by the Young Socialist Alliance in its statement, which McArthur also refers to, against the racist "White Student Union" at the University of Minnesota. Explaining that "the YSA does not support demands by other organizations calling for banning the racists from speaking on campus or censoring their statements," the YSA proposes that the White Student Union, as an organization based on the reactionary exclusion of anybody but whites from its ranks, should not be recognized as a student organization and should be denied access to funds available to recognized student bodies.

The YSA correctly demanded that the racists who carried out the assault be arrested and prosecuted. This stance, like the demand for disciplinary actions against promoters of racism within the classrooms, does not point to reliance on bourgeois institutions as McArthur suggests. It concentrates its fire on the government when rights won in struggle by working people are under attack. These demands are raised as part of a struggle by students and working people.

This is not a question of denial of freedom of speech but of the ability of students, workers, and others to take a concrete stand against concrete manifestations of racism.

* * *

Readers will have noticed that the *Militant* often indicates when the author of an article is a union member, noting the union they belong to. We want to do this in every case when a union member sends in a report, whether the article is on a union story or any other political issue or event. All such stories are described as workers' correspondence, which is one of the most important features of the paper. There has been an encouraging increase in these articles in recent weeks. Keep the stories coming!

* * *

Some corrections: The article by Kathie Fitzgerald, "Louisiana sugar workers oppose employers' assaults," on page one of the December 6 issue, contained a number of errors. The article described the displacement of large numbers of sugar plantation workers. The headline should have referred to garment workers, whose fight for union organization was described in the article.

Secondly, a typographical error left the phrase "One of four Fruit of the Loom plants" standing as a separate sentence. The paragraph should have read "The onslaught by the owners against working people has begun to meet resistance. Two thousand garment workers in Jeanerette, at one of four Fruit of the Loom plants in the area, are among 10,000 garment workers in the region. Efforts to organize a union among these workers are underway."

Thirdly, the article referred to the campaign for Louisiana Governor by rightist candidate David Duke, saying his platform "blamed working people, particularly Blacks, for the deepening economic crisis in the state." In fact, as the article on the front page of this issue explains, Duke appeals directly to middle class layers and sections of the working class, blaming economic ills on the corruption and inefficiency of "big government," as well as pointing to scapegoats such as immigrants and those on welfare as the cause of society's problems.

An article in the December 13 issue, "Trial of Curtis's cop brutality suit ends," by Chris Remple, referred to Studer speaking to "dozens of supporters of police brutality" at a meeting in the Mark Curtis Defense Committee's offices. It should, of course, have said that Studer addressed "dozens of supporters of Curtis's challenge to police brutality."

Colorado coal miners deserve labor solidarity

BY DAVID SALNER

SALT LAKE CITY — United Mine Workers of America Local 1799 is a small local fighting a big battle. Cyprus Minerals Co. forced the 160-member local out on strike at the Empire Mine in Craig, Colorado, May 13.

The big issues in this small community on the western slope of the Rockies are union rights and health care.

Delbert Archuleta, chairman of Local 1799's mobilization committee, has made several visits to Salt Lake City under sponsorship of local unions. He points out in his meetings that

UNION TALK

Cyprus is proposing terms that the company knows the union cannot accept. Cyprus has demanded brutal health-care cuts to force a strike and attempt to bust the union.

The company is pushing a contract that could cost each miner \$4,000 a year in out-of-pocket medical expenses. Cyprus has also gutted the benefits paid to the widows of six miners killed in separate mine accidents since the mid-seventies.

Since the strike began last May, the company has attempted to demoralize the union with fake negotiations. Now the company refuses to negotiate any fixed medical plan at all, Archuleta said. Cyprus obviously feels they have the upper hand since they can fill coal orders from a nearby nonunion mine — the Twenty Mile Mine. The state's major utility, Public Service of Colorado (PSC), buys the coal.

But as the strike enters its seventh month, solidarity with the local increases, Archuleta points out. Carloads of Local 1799 members have traveled widely in the Denver area to protest the PSC's strikebreaking role.

The union miners have also maintained a dialogue with nonunion workers at Twenty Mile Mine. The leaflets they hand out at the gate point to their common bond as victims of Cyprus's greed. It is widely known that if the United Mines Workers of America (UMWA) is defeated, conditions in the nonunion mines will quickly deteriorate.

The other big coal operators — like Peabody, P&M, and



Militant/Lisa Hickler
Strikers at Cyprus Minerals Empire Mine in Craig, Colorado. Strike is now in its seventh month.

FMC — are watching this struggle also. If Cyprus can bust the union in Craig, the others will attempt to follow suit. As a Local 1799 flyer points out, "To accept these unjust cuts in health insurance will set back everything the UMWA has fought for in Colorado and will ripple throughout the West."

As the United States sinks deeper into an international economic crisis, the actions of Cyprus Minerals Co. reveals the true attitude of the employing class: Human needs must be pushed aside to defend the almighty profit rate. The energy monopolists have built their profits on the corpses of working people, from the bloody Ludlow massacre of miners in 1914 to the Iraq war.

In the coal fields as well as other industries, decent

contracts can only be maintained through determined struggle. Eleven months on the picket line and a solidarity strike succeeded in winning a union contract at Pittston. The Decker miners had to fight for four years for a contract in the largely nonunion Wyoming coalfields.

Rights that workers took for granted are now coming under attack. Gains in occupational health and safety implemented throughout the industry because of the mine workers struggle for black lung benefits a quarter century ago have been called into question by the employer offensive.

As another Local 1799 leaflet points out, Cyprus, like other employers, is "trying to destroy our standard of living and turn back the clock to the days when the coal bosses said, 'You could always replace a dead miner, but a good mule was hard to come by.'"

The superwealthy and their political representatives in the Democratic and Republican parties do not care about workers health. That's why they will not implement what is possible — free quality health care for all. The AFL-CIO has put this on the top of its agenda, but as long as they rely on these politicians, they will get nowhere. However, we as working people can help make a broader health-care fight possible by supporting the Craig miners who are willing to fight on this issue. By supporting our own independent struggles and not relying on the employers, the politicians, or the courts we can defend union rights.

At a meeting, of United Steelworkers of America Local 8319 where Archuleta spoke, several Steelworkers raised the need to make a solidarity visit so the strikers wouldn't feel alone. A large donation was also made. We ended the meeting with an enthusiastic chant, "We are union!"

When an opportunity comes up to help brothers and sisters who are determined to fight, we should respond as rank-and-file unionists and workers. This is our job. We can't rely on anyone else. UMWA Local 1799 is calling for financial and moral support as well as solidarity visits. They deserve a big response. Send donations and messages to Cyprus Miners Relief Fund, 2029 West Victory Way, Craig, Colorado 81625.

David Salner is a member of USWA Local 8319 and active on the local's committee in solidarity with Craig strikers.

LETTERS

Defending GI rights

After reading the article about Jason Coughlin's right to express his political views while in the military, I can only say one thing: Continue the fight!

I am also a member of the U.S. military and although I have not yet received the harassment Jason has, I can understand his plight. My being stationed in Europe does not allow me one basic right: freedom of assembly. Not having that right does not allow one with a different view than that of the imperialists in Washington to express that view in an organized fashion.

Until the time comes when working people's rights are no longer oppressed, the fight must continue through papers like the *Militant*. Keep up the good work so one day we can have a true democracy in the United States and every other country where the rights of the people are oppressed.

Gary Harris
Ramstein, Germany

Uncompromising

The strength and the weakness of the *Militant* can both be described with one word: uncompromising. On the one hand, the *Militant* is my primary source of news precisely because of its upfront, strictly working-class presentation of world events, and its insightfully Marxist analyses. On the other hand, it is frustrating to see the *Militant* become almost dogmatic in its criticisms of NDP, DSA, Labor Advocates, Jesse Jackson, Rep. Sanders from Vermont, NOW, etc. Do they represent a "revolutionary perspective?" No, obviously not. Do they "show the road forward for the working class?" Again, I agree with the *Militant's* assessment that they do not.

Nonetheless, there are short-term gains to be had in alliance with some of these leaders and groups. A national health care program is likely to happen behind bourgeois leaders, and will be wholly within the capitalist structure. But even the most heinously bourgeois program imaginable is likely to help us pay a couple

medical bills — it will represent a "gain" for us as workers because, very practically, it will mean improved access to the health care we need. It should also be seen as an indicator of our power as a class — although it is a bourgeois reform, it is one that represents a concession on the part of the capitalists, one brought about, at least partially, by pressure from us as workers.

Don Bertschman
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Prison conditions

I have been confronted with a succession of violations, including the freedom of communications with the outside world, segregation behind the prison walls, the availability of access to the courts, and inadequate legal materials and legal assistance.

A lot of people confined behind these prison walls are innocent, a lot cut off from the outside world. Some don't know how to go about defending their rights. The immensity of the unjust system overwhelms prisoners who don't know the technicalities of the law and how to go about achieving their rights.

The *Militant* has come to my awareness as one of the concerned publications in publishing incarcerated inmates' comments in their diverse spectrums.

A prisoner
Pine City, New York

Anti-Semitism

The article "Professor is disciplined for anti-Semitism" in the December 6 *Militant* indicates support for the disciplinary action taken against CCNY Professor Leonard Jeffries for his expression of anti-Semitic views. Jeffries' views are certainly reactionary and need an answer. However, the article cites no instances of anti-Semitic actions by Jeffries. Instead, he is reported to have "made anti-Semitic remarks in several speeches," and "distributed booklets" with his reactionary views.

The article goes on to editorialize that "those who promote [anti-Semitism] as professors or administrators



Dear Mr. Claus: We have acquired your company, which must change if it is to continue to prosper in today's global competitive economy. The North Pole headquarters is being terminated, the workforce eliminated, and the concept of giving gifts to children is being seriously reconsidered....

in the educational system should be disciplined. As with any teacher advancing racism in his or her courses, disciplinary action signals to all who might follow suit that such practices will not be tolerated."

This seems to me to contradict the long-standing approach revolutionaries have taken to fighting reactionary views under capitalism. Such ideas arise out of the nature of class society itself and cannot be eliminated or their impact lessened by government edict or disciplinary action by those who voice them. In fact, such acts give the reactionaries a wider audience by allowing them to claim their democratic rights are being violated. They must be answered by political debate and protest actions by supporters of workers' rights and the rights of other oppressed.

In addition, such a position feeds the illusion that bourgeois institutions, whether it be the government or an academic institution, can be relied on to stamp out racist ideas or practices. And who decides what ideas are racist or reactionary?

Based on the facts in the article, Jeffries seems to pose a different sit-

uation than that with the White Student Union in Minnesota. There, the YSA is correct in calling for them not to be recognized as a student group, because of their racist acts: excluding non-white members and physically attacking an anti-racist rally. And the YSA is correct in opposing calls to ban these racists from speaking or disseminating their views.

Harvey McArthur
Seattle, Washington

Economic competition

There has been an increase in TV programs on the "vicious, unfair" business practices of Japanese capitalists and the effect of these on the U.S. economy. The aim is to gain support from the American (and Canadian) people to win back economic dominance for U.S. business. Since history shows that economic wars always end up in shooting wars with workers giving their lives for their respective bosses, it is important that we understand the situation and be able to explain it simply and clearly to other workers.

What are these so called unfair practices that are portrayed as exclu-

sively Japanese? Are they the cause of the failing U.S. (and Canadian) economies? Are Japanese, American, and Canadian workers being set up for WW III? Will the U.S. rulers use their control of the Middle East oil to reassert their economic dominance and how would they be able to do this?

Bea Bryant
Ontario, Canada

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.

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

50th anniversary of Pearl Harbor

Spotlight on growing interimperialist rivalries as economic crisis deepens

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Recent events commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor reveal a great deal about the inter-imperialist economic rivalry existing at that time. It also puts the spotlight on growing rivalries in the world today as capitalism once again enters the throes of a prolonged and still deepening economic crisis.

The Dec. 7, 1941, Japanese bombing, which killed 2,403 U.S. soldiers, wounded 1,178, and destroyed or damaged 21 ships and 347 planes, led to the official entry of the United States into World War II.

The eyes of the world once again focused on Pearl Harbor as more than 2,000 U.S. soldiers who survived the attack returned to participate in commemorative events. President George Bush flew in specially for the occasion.

Prior to his Pearl Harbor appearance, Bush made clear that he would not apologize to the Japanese for the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945.

"War is hell, and it's a terrible thing, but there should be no apology requested," stated Bush. He defended U.S. president Harry Truman's decision to use the bomb, claiming it ended the war and saved "millions" of American lives.

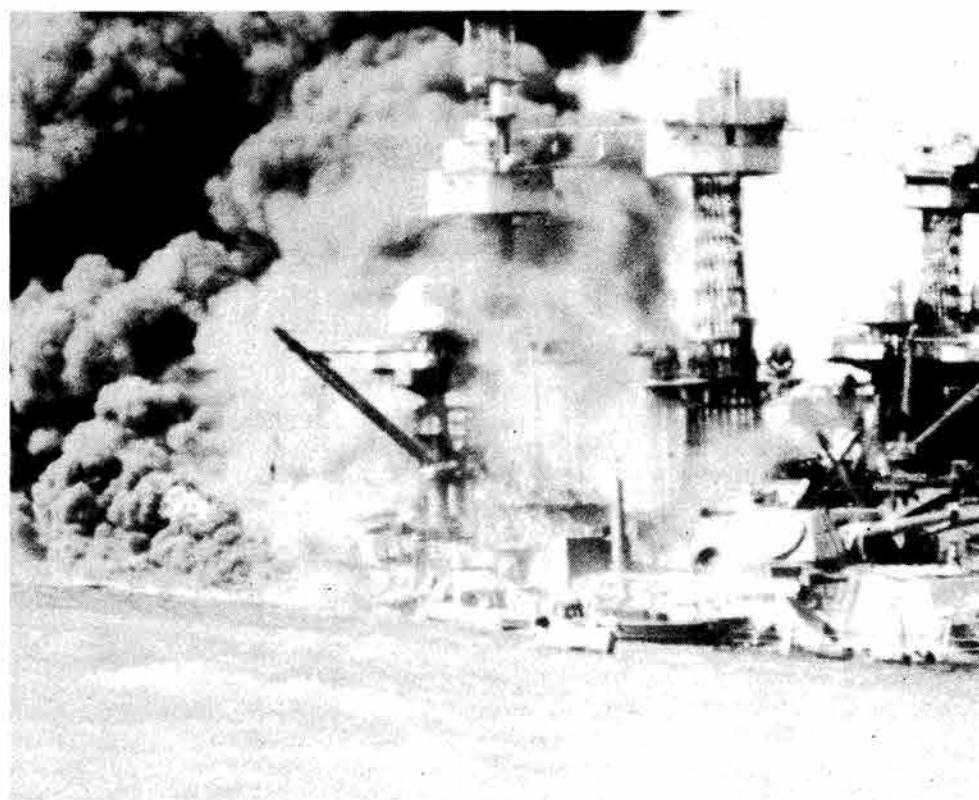
More than 200,000 Japanese died in these atomic bomb explosions, which had nothing to do with ending the war. At the time Japanese officials had already indicated they were willing to negotiate a surrender, but Washington went ahead with dropping the bombs anyway.

The Japanese Parliament also decided against passing a resolution expressing regret for Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor.

However, Japanese legislators are currently debating and are expected to approve a bill permitting Japanese armed forces to participate in military operations abroad—for the first time since World War II with the exception of a handful of minesweepers sent to the Arab-Persian Gulf after the war against Iraq—as part of United Nations "peacekeeping" missions. Japan already has a sizable army with a quarter of a million soldiers and the world's third largest military budget.

Tokyo seeks role in Cambodia

These new moves are designed to position the Japanese rulers to be able to take military action abroad in defense of their economic interests. One "peacekeeping" mission Tokyo is anxious to join is the UN force, which could be as large as 20,000 soldiers,



Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, culminating a decade of stiffening Japan-U.S. rivalry in Pacific and Asia, was not a complete surprise to U.S. rulers.

that will be policing Cambodia for the next two years.

The attack on Pearl Harbor was far from a complete surprise to the U.S. rulers. It culminated a decade of stiffening economic competition and conflict between the United States and Japan for land, markets, and resources throughout Asia and the Pacific.

In the 1930s both the United States and Japan were colonial powers in the Pacific. The U.S. maintained the Philippines as one of its colonies and the Japanese ruled Korea.

In 1931 Japan occupied Manchuria and opened a drive to conquer China. Economic warfare between the United States and Japan escalated dramatically in 1939 when Wash-

ington abrogated its commercial treaty with Japan. The following year the United States launched an embargo on scrap iron and oil shipments destined for Japan. In response Japanese forces began occupying large sections of Indochina.

In mid-1941, the United States, along with Britain and the Netherlands, launched a total oil embargo against Japan, demanding they relinquish all territories acquired since 1931. To an island country totally dependent on oil, this embargo amounted to a virtual declaration of war. Tokyo's response was the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

Writing in the *Militant* just before the Pearl Harbor attack, Joseph Hansen explained the

character of the military conflict that was about to erupt, in an article entitled, "American-Japanese War Preparations Hastened: Rival Imperialists Hold 'Peace' Talks as They Rush Plans for War in the Pacific."

"The economic blockade of Japan which Roosevelt organized in accordance with Wall Street's plan to hasten United States entry into World War II has now burned like a fuse to the very lip of the powder keg in the Far East," wrote Hansen. "The basic antagonism between Japanese and American imperialism in the Far East has been aggravated to the degree where diplomacy requires the bayonet to point its demands."

Rivalry sharpens

Fifty years later, we are once again seeing sharpening economic competition between the United States and Japan for Asian resources and markets.

"Japan's franchise is Asia," stated right-wing Japanese politician Shintaro Ishihara. Particularly since 1985, the Japanese have significantly increased their capital investment in countries throughout Asia, including Thailand, Malaysia, and Hong Kong. For the first time since World War II, Japan will conduct more trade with Asian countries than with the United States.

Richard Holbrooke, former U.S. assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, writing in *Foreign Affairs* warned Japan about its growing influence in Asia.

"Any nation that seeks to dominate any region of the world through either political or economic pressure risks massive economic retaliation from other major trading nations," stated Holbrooke. "Shooting wars may be out of the question... but trade wars, stimulated by powerful domestic interests, are still possible."

However, it was the trade wars of the 1930s, combined with escalating economic retaliation on both sides, that culminated in the shooting war that became World War II despite the earlier desires of the rulers on both sides to avoid war.

Frame-up victims in Britain released

BY ROBERT HIGLEY

LONDON—Amid jubilant scenes two of the Tottenham Three frame-up victims were released on bail November 27 pending the final outcome of their appeal.

The two, Engin Raghip and Mark Braithwaite, were convicted—along with Winston Silcott—of the 1985 murder of police officer Keith Blakelock. Silcott had been cleared two days earlier but remains in prison on another conviction, which he is also appealing. The three spent six years in prison.

The Tottenham Three were framed up following a street rebellion on the Broadwater Farm housing estate (project) in north London. Youth exploded onto the streets in response to the death of a local Black woman, Cynthia Jarrett, who collapsed with a heart attack as a result of an illegal police search of her home. Fighting broke out when police sealed off the estate and prevented a protest march to the police station.

In the days following the rebellion, police raids occurred daily. Many took place before dawn, and the sound of cops running through the corridor block, followed by sledgehammers splintering doors, became commonplace.

The cops took away bagfuls of personal possessions including clothes and food. Houses were stripped bare. Of 369 people arrested, 167 were charged and 40 imprisoned for up to six years. The Tottenham Three were given life sentences.

The Tottenham Three were convicted after a virulent racist campaign in the media. The only evidence presented

against the three were statements signed by two of them after days of isolation and interrogation by the police. Silcott refused to sign any statement. Police notes of incriminating remarks supposedly made by him at the time of his interrogation were the basis of his conviction.

Police fabricated evidence

Through the tenacity of the Tottenham Three Families Campaign, the government was forced to finally refer the case to the Court of Appeal. The court accepted that the police had fabricated the interview notes that convicted Silcott. Other notes were missing. New forensic evidence showed that crucial sections of the notes were subsequently added by the police.

The police officer who headed the interrogation, Graham Melvin, has been suspended pending a criminal investigation. Melvin had already been disciplined over the case of Jason Hill, who was acquitted in a trial over Blakelock's death. Hill was 13 years old at the time. He had been held for three days, wearing only underpants and with a blanket for cover, and denied access to relatives or a lawyer. He was interrogated for 15 hours.

The Tottenham Three Families Campaign stated that if criminal proceedings were not brought against the police then they would begin a lawsuit themselves. In a statement, Sharon Raghip, wife of Engin, said, "They were convicted because the police were able to fabricate evidence, deny access to solicitors, and violate the

civil liberties of suspects."

Mark Braithwaite said, "We are glad we are free but there are still innocent people in jail." He emerged from court alongside Billy Power, one of the Birmingham Six, Irishmen who were victims of an earlier frame-up and were released this year after 17 years in prison. Power had been with Braithwaite in prison. Braithwaite publicly thanked Power for the "hope and inspiration" he had given him. Amnesty International has called for an immediate review of the convictions of 19 others who served jail sentences following the rebellion.

In response to the appeals Metropolitan Police Commissioner Peter Imbert announced that the inquiry into the murder of Blakelock would now be reopened. He appealed to Broadwater Farm residents to come forward to assist the police.

Local Labour MP Bernie Grant, who has been associated with the campaign to free the Tottenham Three, welcomed the victory but called on local people to come forward and inform the police if they have any evidence.

Police Federation chairman Alan Eastwood called on the families and friends of the Tottenham Three to turn their efforts to finding the real killers of Blakelock. In a letter the Tottenham Three campaign replied, "We have neither the powers, resources or skills to mount such an investigation, nor as private citizens should we have. The police do have them—but six years ago... the police chose instead to pursue not justice but a vendetta."

Special Militant Labor Forums Political polarization and rising class tensions in North America

Saturday, December 14, 7:30

Baltimore

Speaker: Steve Clark, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Tremont Hotel, 222 St. Paul Street. For more information: 301-235-0013

Detroit

Speaker: Chris Hoepfner, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Downtown Days Inn, 231 Michigan Avenue. For more information: 313-831-1177

Miami

Speaker: Estelle DeBates, Young Socialist Alliance National Cochairperson. 137 NE 54th Street. For more information: 305-756-1020

Salt Lake City

Speaker: Luis Madrid, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. 147 East 900 South. For more information: 801-355-1124.