

# THE MILITANT

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convicted in Quebec

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## Defend abortion rights!

### Operation Rescue fails to close D.C. clinics

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Fifteen hundred abortion rights demonstrators rallied here January 22 to show their opposition to the annual so-called March for Life, which marks the anniversary of the 1973 Supreme Court *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion. It is believed to be the first time in 19

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years that pro-choice supporters demonstrated directly along the route of the anti-abortion groups.

Many of the pro-choice demonstrators were also among the hundreds that gathered at 5 a.m. that day at the building where the National Organization for Women (NOW) has its national office. Mainly students and other youth, they came out to defend the clinics in this city from another day of attempts by Operation Rescue National to shut the clinics down. Many said that this was the first such activity they have been involved in.

The U.S. Supreme Court's January 21 announcement that it would rule on a Pennsylvania law that severely restricts abortion rights added to the militancy of the pro-choice activities. The case poses the possibility of overturning *Roe v. Wade*.

The January 21-22 actions were touted by



Washington, D.C., protest January 22. A major national action for abortion rights has been called for April 5 in Washington.

Operation Rescue as the largest since it led a five-week siege on clinics in Wichita, Kansas, in the summer of 1991. The siege drew thousands into street actions that captured the nation's attention. The plans to blockade Washington's clinics were in defiance of a July 30 court injunction won by NOW in the District of Columbia. Under the order, a \$50,000 contempt sanction would be imposed on Operation Rescue for violating the injunction, with the fine to be paid to the facilities the group targets.

The rightists' actions were met with stiff resistance. The Washington Area Clinic De-

fense Task Force, which has 2,000 members, organized the clinic defense effort, putting out a call for supporters in the area to join in defeating Operation Rescue. For weeks organizers mapped out a plan to defend the area's 38 clinics.

Those gathered by the NOW office waited for instructions on which clinic they should go to, while spotters were sent out ready to call organizers to report where "rescuers" were going.

By 6:00 a.m., several clinics were protected by chains of volunteers with linked

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## Super Bowl protest hits use of anti-Indian symbols

BY KIP HEDGES

MINNEAPOLIS, Minnesota — Three thousand marchers demonstrated outside the Super Bowl stadium here January 26. The majority Native American crowd was protesting racist stereotypes of Indians used by football teams and other sports groups.

The protesters chose the Super Bowl, where the top two teams in the U.S. National Football League fight for the annual championship, because of the offensive symbols used by the competing teams: the Washington Redskins and the Buffalo Bills. The Super Bowl is one of the most-watched sports events in the year, drawing tens of millions of television viewers.

The Redskins use as their logo an Indian brave with feathers. Team mascots dress up as caricatures of Indians and dance around the playing field during the games.

During the rally to kick off the march Clyde Bellecourt, national director of the American Indian Movement, said that "some people say we are making a big deal out of nothing. Don't we have more important things to do?"

"We do," he stated, "like getting rid of the 70 percent dropout rate of our children, the Indian suicide rate which is seven times the national average, or the 70 percent unemployment rate among our people here in Minneapolis. But we must get rid of the racist stereotypes before we can take on the rest."

Randell Osburn of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference also addressed the crowd. "We know what's in a name," the civil rights leader said. "We know what it's

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## Socialists file brief against write-in vote ban

BY GREG McCARTAN

The Socialist Workers Party filed a brief with the Supreme Court January 23 in support of a lawsuit challenging the state of Hawaii's ban on write-in voting.

The *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) brief, backs Hawaii resident Alan Burdick's legal action, which argues that the state's restrictions are unconstitutional. The Supreme Court agreed to hear Burdick's appeal of the decision by the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit upholding the Hawaii law. The hearing is expected in March.

New York attorney Edward Copeland filed the brief on behalf of the SWP. He is with the noted constitutional rights law firm Rabinowitz, Boudin, Standard, Krinsky & Lieberman.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) is representing Burdick. The ACLU appeal explains why barring write-in voting is a serious violation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, provisions that uphold the right to freedom of expression and association.

In the appeal, ACLU attorney Arthur Eisenberg cites numerous court rulings defending the write-in ballot over the past 20 years. It also describes how the use of the preprinted ballot was not introduced until the late 1800s. Prior to that voters would simply write down the names of the candidates of their choice and hand them in at the polling place.

Emergency Civil Liberties Union director Edith Tiger said in an interview that the case is an important democratic rights issue because, "the original elections only

had write-in ballots." A ruling in favor of Hawaii would be a blow to the "freedom of choice and the right to dissent from the existing candidates."

James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president in 1988, appealed to supporters of democratic rights to aid in the fight by discussing the issues with coworkers, students, and others. He encouraged contributions toward the expected \$10,000 in legal and publicity costs of the

SWP's Supreme Court brief.

"This case goes to the heart of the rights of the electorate to cast a ballot for the candidate of their choice, whether or not the candidate's name appears on the ballot," Warren said in an interview. He pointed to his own candidacy as an example. Because of undemocratic ballot laws, supporters of Warren and his running mate Kathleen Mickells were able to get the candidates on

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### Join in defending the write-in vote!

Yes! Here is a donation for the SWP's amicus brief

The Socialist Workers Party has filed an amicus brief with the Supreme Court in support of Alan Burdick's suit to overturn Hawaii's ban on write-in voting. \$10,000 is needed to cover the legal and publicity expenses. You can join this fight by helping to publicize the constitutional issues involved in the case and by making a donation to help defray the costs of the brief.

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Send to: Socialist Workers Party, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tax-deductible contributions can be made out to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Inc., earmarked for the SWP Hawaii ballot fight. Send checks to: PRDF, P.O. Box 761, New York, N.Y. 10008

## 5,000 rally to back strike at Caterpillar

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

PEORIA, Ill.—Some 5,000 people gathered for a rally here January 26 to support the fight by the United Auto Workers for a contract at Caterpillar.

The rally was organized by United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 974, which represents the 8,000 workers at the massive Caterpillar complex across the Illinois river in East Peoria.

It was one of a series of rallies being organized by the union locals at Caterpillar plants across the country this week.

Caterpillar has refused to negotiate with the UAW. The union called a selective strike involving 400 workers in East Peoria and 2,000 in Decatur, Illinois. In retaliation, the company locked out 6,000 workers here.

While the majority of the participants were Caterpillar workers on strike or locked out, there were also Caterpillar workers still on the job. They punctuated the rally with calls to be put on strike. There were also UAW members from locals in Chicago and St. Louis.

The main speakers at the rally were local union officials. Jerry Baker, the chairperson of the local bargaining committee, told the gathering. "If the company succeeds, you will be working under their contract, not yours."



# Court clears way to deport Joe Doherty

BY MARC LICHTMAN

NEW YORK — The U.S. Supreme Court delivered a blow to the right of political asylum in a decision January 15 that clears the way for the deportation of Irish republican Joe Doherty. In a 5-3 decision, the Court denied Doherty the right to a hearing on his application for political asylum. A Justice Department spokesman said, "We will deport Mr. Doherty as soon as we are legally able to do so. We anticipate that will be soon."

Doherty, who turns 37 on January 20, faces a life sentence in British-occupied Northern Ireland for his role in a 1980 armed encounter between the Irish Republican Army and an elite British unit, in which a British officer was killed. He was sentenced in absentia after escaping from prison during his trial in 1981.

Doherty came to the United States and worked in construction and then as a bartender until he was arrested on an immigration warrant in 1983. Since then he has been in prison, continuously denied bail.

In 1984, Doherty and his attorneys defeated an attempt to extradite him to Northern Ireland. U.S. District Court Judge John Sprizzo ruled that the offenses Doherty was charged with were political rather than criminal, and that he could not be extradited under the then existing extradition treaty with Britain. Sprizzo's decision was upheld against two government appeals.

But the U.S. Justice Department insists that it has the right to deport Doherty to the same country that the courts ruled he couldn't be extradited to. When the Supreme Court heard oral arguments in his case last October, Justice Harry Blackmun asked U.S. attorney Maureen Mahoney the following: "Are you saying that, even if there is substantial evidence that someone would be persecuted and tortured, the attorney general can return them to a country because it serves our foreign policy interests?" The U.S. attorney answered, "Yes." Now the Supreme Court has also answered in the affirmative.

A protest rally in New York on the evening

of the decision was attended by about 50 activists. Three congressmen and several other officials were there to denounce the decision, and the rally drew considerable media coverage.

A friend of the court brief by 132 members of congress had been joined in Doherty's Supreme Court case. Similar briefs were filed by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Amnesty International, and the

American Civil Liberties Union. The AFL-CIO passed a resolution in 1989 supporting Doherty's right to bail and to political asylum.

Doherty's lawyer Mary Pike said in an interview that the decision "makes it possible for the U.S. attorney general to carry out a political agenda relative to any refugee whose views he may disfavor." But she affirmed that she and Doherty view the nine-year fight they had waged as having been a worthwhile effort.



Militant/Marc Lichtman

Attorney Mary Pike speaks to press at rally to protest denial of asylum to Joe Doherty

## Mackin wins asylum in U.S.

NEW YORK — On January 7, a week before the Supreme Court decision in Joe Doherty's case, another Irish republican from Belfast, Sean Mackin, received a decision in his political asylum case, which has been before the federal immigration court since 1985. Mackin, who had a deportation order against him suspended, his wife Philomena, and one of their children became the first Irish people ever to be granted political asylum in the United States. Their other two children were born here and were not subject to deportation. Attorneys for the U.S. government did not appeal the decision.

Mackin, a longtime political activist, had been arrested by Northern Ireland security forces over 200 times. He was regularly beaten during interrogation, and his case was frequently cited by Amnesty International in their reports on torture. He was never convicted of any crime.

Several of his close friends and political associates were assassinated by loyalist death squads, who target republican activists and also frequently kill people simply because they are Catholic.

The Northern Ireland cops, the Royal Ulster Constabulary, filed an affidavit in his case, stating that if he returned to Northern Ireland they would have to warn him that his life was in danger because his police files had been leaked to loyalist gangs. The RUC and British Army frequently collaborate with

these ultrarightist thugs. In February 1989, Mackin's attorney in Northern Ireland, Pat Finucane, was killed by loyalists.

While Judge Elstein stressed that her decision was not "in any way a condemnation of British policy in Northern Ireland," the facts presented in the case speak for themselves about the plight of Irish nationalists living under British rule. —M.L.

## Pathfinder Mural celebration in Seattle

BY PAT O'REILLY

SEATTLE — Thirty people attended a meeting here January 11 to celebrate the Pathfinder Mural and the work of South African artist Dumile Feni. The six-story mural is painted on the wall of the Pathfinder Building in New York City.

The meeting explained the project that is currently under way to open a new Pathfinder bookstore adjacent to the mural, and raised \$500 towards the mural's maintenance.

The meeting attracted a range of people including anti-apartheid activists, young people, some members of the International Association of Machinists, and longtime supporters of the mural.

The mural depicts 150 international revolutionary leaders and fighters including Malcolm X, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Mother Jones, Maurice Bishop, and Thomas Sankara,

many of whom are published by Pathfinder. Feni, who died in October 1991, painted the portrait of Nelson Mandela on the mural.

Fred Dube, a veteran African National Congress activist and friend of Dumile Feni, recalled the hardship of Feni's life after his exile from South Africa in 1968. He described Feni as "short on words but long on representing his views and feelings" when portraying oppression in South Africa and elsewhere.

Selma Waldman, an artist and anti-apartheid activist, reported that although she only met Feni in 1987 she had been acquainted with his drawings since 1971. "It was always gratifying to show his work, especially his work to students who had never seen it — to be able to thereby challenge them to challenge apartheid," she said.

Waldman read from an article she is writing in which she proposes the recently opened Seattle Art Museum acquire a statue by Feni. In the article she states, "Dumile, who was living for many years in exile in New York before his recent death, was arguably the most gifted, visceral, and forceful of contemporary artists from the sub-Saharan African continent and a force in the world. His sculptures and graphic works reflect the bitter experience of apartheid, but with a splendid largesse of wit, irony, sensuality, severity, and sustained power."

She closed her remarks saying, "Dumile's work will remain as an inspiration to the young of South Africa who are craving a future in which to realize their own creativity — and also to artists everywhere, and to all

of us who need his vision. Now, more than ever, one is grateful for his work on the Pathfinder Mural. We have lost a great artist. Dumile Feni lives!"

Michael Nixon, a South African graduate student at the University of Washington, expressed his tribute to Feni by playing a South African song on the flute.

The final speaker was Mark Severs who had worked as fund-raising coordinator during the mural's construction. Severs explained that Pathfinder approached the ANC to locate an artist to paint Nelson Mandela on the mural and they sent Dumile Feni.

Severs reviewed the contributions of Feni to the project. "In addition to his portraits of Mandela and the youth of Soweto, Dumile became an ambassador for the project, working with many other artists on the wall, encouraging them, especially the young artists. He traveled to several cities, spoke about the mural, and helped raise funds for its completion. For Dumile, his art was his contribution to the struggle against apartheid with no separation between the two."

Severs narrated a slide show on the making of the mural that showed what it took to coordinate the efforts of the many artists from around the world who worked on the project.

Following the program, participants viewed reproductions of a number of Dumile Feni drawings on display in the bookstore.

For more information on the mural and the new bookstore project, contact friends of the Pathfinder Mural, 191 7th Ave, New York, NY 10011. Phone (212) 727-8421.

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## The Militant

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# 3,000 attend rally in New York; seek 'Peace for Cuba'

BY SETH GALINSKY

NEW YORK—More than 3,000 people turned out for an enthusiastic "Peace for Cuba: International Rally" here January 25.

The meeting was organized around three main slogans: End the U.S. blockade against Cuba; lift the travel ban; and no U.S. intervention.

Administrators at the state-owned Javits Convention Center had tried to force the cancellation of the event on the pretext that there might be violence. Leading up to the event, many of the Spanish-language radio stations in the area had broadcast hourly appeals for a counterprotest against the "Pro-Castro communist traitors."

But Peace for Cuba organizers went to court and won a restraining order against the cancellation. The meeting took place without any serious incidents.

For many of the participants in the action, which was overwhelmingly youthful, this was their first meeting in solidarity with the Cuban people. University students from New York, New England, and Pennsylvania attended. A large number of Dominican and Puerto Rican workers from the New York area were present.

Nathaniel Brown drove to the rally in a van with 15 students from Penn State University. "The blockade is terrible," he said. Brown attended because he wanted "to learn more about what is really happening."

A Haitian worker in New York had not planned to attend the rally. But when he saw all the coverage in the news media and the attempts to cancel the rally he decided to take a day off from his job and show his opposition to attempts to limit democratic rights.

Many of the participants had first learned about current developments in Cuba by attending a lecture by Cuban economist Carlos Tablada. Tablada toured dozens of U.S. universities in October and November 1991 and in 1990.

The rally program was broadcast on New York-based WBAI radio and retrans-

mitted live in Cuba.

"We are here to demand that Cuba be allowed to live in peace and dignity," explained rally co-chair Don Rojas, "to demand an end to the inhuman blockade that has been in effect for more than 30 years; to demand the right for Cubans to travel to the United States and for people in the United States to travel to Cuba; to demand an end to the occupation of Cuban territory by the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo."

Many of the speakers pointed to the social gains made in Cuba as a result of the revolution: high-quality health care, the low rate of infant mortality, free education, free and legal abortion, giant strides against racism.

"These achievements alone would be reason enough to defend the Cuban revolution," stated Brazilian priest Frei Betto.

Speakers at the rally included Cleveland Robinson, United Auto Workers District 65; Esmeralda Brown, U.S. Hands Off Cuba Coalition; Ben Dupuy, Haitian ambassador at-large for the government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide; Kingsley Makhubela, deputy-chief representative for the African National Congress of South Africa to the United Nations; Andrés Gómez, Antonio Maceo Brigade; Ramsey Clark, former U.S. attorney general; Tony Benn, British Labour Party Member of Parliament; Angélica Arévalo, Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front; and many others.

A message from Cuban president Fidel Castro was read to the meeting. Calling the drop in trade with the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe "a second blockade," Castro noted that the U.S. government "believes that the Cuban people will not be able to resist."

Washington has been stepping up its hostile plans, he said, including "new plans for assassinations of our revolution's leaders."

Castro said that there is talk that socialism does not offer a solution to the problems of humanity "but the last word has not yet been said."



Militant/Marc Lichtman

January 25 'Peace for Cuba' rally in the Jacob Javits Center, New York City. Meeting demanded an end to U.S. blockade and lifting of the travel ban.

Noting the grave problems in Latin America and the rest of the world that are caused by capitalism, he wrote that "in order to talk about the failure of socialism it would be necessary to talk about some other solution."

"We are confident that the future belongs to us and that right is on our side," Castro concluded.

Interest in learning more about the Cuban revolution, socialism, and the struggle of working people around the world was a feature of the event. Seventy-four single copies of the *Militant*; 10 *Militant* subscriptions; 24 subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*, 65 copies, in English and Spanish, of *How Far We Slaves Have Come!* which contains speeches by Nelson Mandela and Fidel Castro; and 20 copies of *New International*, including 14 copies of the Spanish-language edition of the Marxist magazine on "Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism" were sold to participants.

Some 5,000 counterdemonstrators marched from Times Square to the Javits Convention Center to protest the Peace for Cuba rally.

The anti-Cuban revolution organizations called for an end to the "Castro/Stalinist Dictatorship" and a tightening of the U.S. em-

bargo against Cuba. They advocated right-wing terrorist groups should be able to openly organize attacks against Cuba from the United States, and demanded "free elections" in Cuba.

While this was perhaps the largest demonstration of its type ever, it was made up almost entirely of middle-aged and older Cubans and Cuban-Americans, with just a scattering of young people.

Among the organized contingents were veterans of the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba; Alpha 66, a right-wing terrorist organization; and the Cuban-American National Foundation. They carried hand-lettered signs with slogans such as "Soviets Out of Cuba," "Castro: Jailer of Cuba," and "Keep the blockade on evil Fidel."

## Solidarity in Britain

BY DEBBIE DELANGE

MANCHESTER, England—The Cuba Solidarity Campaign was launched at a meeting here January 13. Terry Marsland, a national organizer for the Manufacturing, Science, and Finance Union, told the meeting, "Nine national unions have so far signed a statement" defending Cuba's right to self-determination.

Manchester city councillor Iqbal Sram, said that "one of the greatest advances in Cuba was the fight against racism." He noted that while other governments went around the world to deny people their independence, Cuba instead supported liberation struggles.

Helen Warnock, who recently visited Cuba as part of the José Martí international brigade, also spoke. Warnock referred to the role of Cuban volunteers who fought in Angola, helping to defeat an invasion by the South African army.

"For us," she said, "it's a real antidote to the protectionist attitude of bosses at home to see bridges being built with workers in other countries."

## Turkey meeting: 'End Cuba embargo!'

BY SEVDA BEYOGLU

ISTANBUL, Turkey — Nearly 1,000 people gathered here January 8 to call for an end to the U.S. embargo against Cuba and show solidarity for the Cuban revolution.

The meeting was organized by the Friends of Cuba, a committee that includes writers, lawyers, reporters, publishers, and artists.

"The blockade by Washington on the courageous and determined people of Cuba is a blow to our human rights," said Yalcin Kucuk, a well-known journalist, at a press conference the day before the event. "It is our responsibility to build and show solidarity."

Standing under a banner which read, "Long Live the Cuban Revolution, Socialism, and Free Cuba," Bilgesu Erenus welcomed participants to the rally.

"Cuba is not the only country that the U.S. government is trying to invade and control,"

she said. "The fight against imperialism is the fight of workers all over the world."

The meeting participants included workers, young people, students, and Kurds.

Osman Toker told the audience, "We and the world must recognize the exemplary developments of Cuba. It is a small country that has achieved so much in the last three decades in spite of countless setbacks and the attacks by imperialist states."

"We have to recognize," he said, "the problems the revolution still faces, as the Cuban leadership does."

Toker noted that bureaucracy and corruption grew on the island in the mid-1970s. In the 1980s the Cuban leadership began to challenge this through the rectification process.

"The people of Cuba and their leadership are working together and only in this way can they take the steps forward in fighting back and adding to their achievements," he added.

Friends of Cuba announced that it will be participating in an international campaign against the blockade, which will be launched in Turkey on January 25.

## Cuba executes sabotage squad leader

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

A Cuban exile was executed in Havana January 20 after he and two others were convicted of preparing to carry out acts of terrorism and sabotage in Cuba. The three, Eduardo Díaz, Daniel Santovenia, and Pedro Alvarez, were captured with arms and explosives December 29 shortly after they landed on Cuba's northwestern coast in a dinghy. Santovenia and Alvarez, who had been sentenced to death along with Díaz, were given commuted sentences of 30 years' imprisonment.

Díaz, the leader of the group, admitted in the trial that their goal "was to create panic" by planting firebombs in public places and economic targets. "We were thinking of targeting sugar mills, theaters, tourism centers, etc.," he said.

Before leaving Cuba nine months ago, Díaz had been arrested several times for black market trafficking in commodities ranging from lobsters to foreign currencies. In the trial, which was broadcast on Cuban television, he described how he joined a paramilitary group in Miami called Commandos L that decided to launch an armed attack in Cuba.

Most of the 22 Cuban exiles in the original group, including the mastermind of the plan, bailed out at the last minute, citing such reasons as high blood sugar and family problems. Díaz took over the military expedition and recruited Santovenia and Alvarez. Santovenia had taken part in military training in southern Florida with the counterrevolutionary exile group Alpha 66.

The defendants said they had trained for an armed attack on Cuba with the knowledge of the U.S. government. Washington has denied the charge. The Bush administration also criticized the death sentences and called on the Cuban government not to execute the convicted terrorists, while stating there was "not a lot" the U.S. government could do on behalf of the three because they were not U.S. citizens.

The governments of Spain, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica also asked the Cuban government not to carry out the executions. Colombian novelist Gabriel García Márquez and Daniel Ortega, leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua, appealed for clemency for the three while condemning the U.S. government for promoting terrorist at-

tacks against Cuba.

Cuba's Supreme Court commuted the death penalty for Alvarez to 30 years' imprisonment and upheld the sentence for the other two. The Council of State then reviewed the case and commuted Santovenia's sentence. It ruled that Díaz, who was executed by firing squad, was the most directly responsible for the armed raid.

The terrorist raid takes place in the context of stepped-up aggressive actions by the U.S. government against Cuba. For years counterrevolutionary groups have been training openly in camps in southern Florida to carry out such attacks. The *New York Times*, for example, reported January 21 that Alpha 66 "holds weekend combat training sessions in the Everglades."

Cuba's Council of State pointed to Washington's "spectacular incompetence" in failing to prosecute Cuban exiles who train individuals on U.S. territory for attacks against Cuba.

In response to these charges, the FBI said it was "looking into this matter" in order to "determine if there are any violations of any statutes."

**San Francisco**

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# Quebec court convicts Mohawk Indians who defended land against cops and army

BY ROSEMARY RAY

ST. JEROME, Quebec — Two Mohawk Indians who defended Mohawk land against the Quebec Provincial Police and the Canadian Army in 1990 were convicted January 22 of 29 charges, including aggravated assault, in Quebec Superior Court. Ronald Cross and Gordon Lazore, both ironworkers, face jail terms of up to 14 years.

A third Mohawk, Roger Lazore, was acquitted of all charges.

This has been a "fair trial," claimed *La Presse*, one of the main newspapers in Quebec, in a January 24 editorial. "Ronald Cross and Gordon Lazore have been convicted, not for political actions, but for genuine common law crimes."

"There is nothing common and nothing criminal about their actions," said Owen Young, one of the Mohawks' lawyers, when he gave his summary to the jury during the trial.

"We did it for the [Mohawk] nation and we would do it again," said Ronald Cross after the trial.

In the summer of 1990, the Lazores and Cross went with dozens of other Mohawks to Kanesatake, where the Quebec Provincial Police was preparing an assault against a peaceful barricade erected by Mohawks four months earlier to stop the expansion of a golf course onto their land. Kanesatake is 30 miles northwest of Montreal.

A July 11, 1990, assault by 100 heavily armed Quebec provincial police failed. One police officer died in the attack. A few hours later, Mohawks on the Kahnawake reserve, on Montreal's south shore, set up a solidarity blockade on the Mercier Bridge.

The Quebec government called in the Canadian army. More than 3,500 soldiers, with tanks and aircraft, were deployed.

## Racist mobilization

While this happened, racists mobilized night after night in Chateaugay, on the other side of Mercier Bridge. They burned effigies of Mohawks from street lamp posts and called on the army to attack the Mohawks. One of these demonstrations drew up to 10,000.

On August 28, a car convoy of 150 Mohawk women, children and elderly people was attacked by a racist mob of 200 rock-throwers while the cops stood by and did nothing. Twelve Mohawks were injured. One died of a heart attack a few days later.

Quebec Court Judge André Chaloux dismissed the charges against two racist rock-throwers, Stéphane Vincke and Jean-Louis Lizotte, saying that a criminal record would



Canadian army troops confronting Mohawk Indians who set up barricade over Mercier bridge, near Montreal, July 1990. The Mohawks were defending their land. For 78 days they resisted the assault by 3,500 troops, sent in by the Quebec government.

jeopardize their future job prospects. Vincke had enlisted in the Canadian Forces and Lizotte was looking for a job as a security guard.

Tens of thousands of Natives, workers, farmers, and students across the country identified with the resistance of the Mohawks, who withstood the army assault for 78 days.

Solidarity demonstrations spread throughout Canada. Montreal saw sustained demonstrations of up to 1,000. On Sept. 3, 1990,

thousands of participants in the Labor Day Parade in Toronto wore red armbands in solidarity with the Mohawks. Natives blockaded roads and tracks across the country.

Governments in Quebec and Ottawa are still refusing to recognize the Mohawks' demand that the Quebec Provincial Police and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police get off their land. In Kahnawake, cops regularly harass and rough up Mohawks. In November, 1991, an RCMP cruiser back-ended the car of three

Mohawk women, one of whom was pregnant.

Racists are threatening to take up arms against the Mohawks in Kahnawake. In a December 4 press conference, the mayor of Chateaugay, Jean-Bosco Bourcier, talked about the possibility of "White Warriors" groups forming.

## Resistance continues

The Mohawks are resisting. In early December, they slowed car traffic for two days on Highway 138, which crosses Mohawk territory.

The government will not succeed in "breaking the Mohawk spirit," said Khan-Tineta Horn in an interview during a break in the trial. Horn has been monitoring the trial in St. Jerome for the Mohawk Nation Office in Kahnawake. She participated in the Mohawk barricade at Oka and is scheduled to go to trial with 39 other Mohawks in March. "We know that there is no justice for Natives in the courts. But whether we get off or are found guilty we know we did the right thing to defend our land."

"Ronald Cross and Gordon Lazore have been jailed because they fought for Native rights," said Michel Prairie, Communist League candidate in the provincial by-elections that took place on January 20 in Anjou near Montreal. "Their conviction is a blow to all working people across Canada who defend democratic rights."

Khan-Tineta Horn asked that donations to help pay the Mohawks' legal fees be sent to: Mohawk National Liberation Fund, P.O. Box 645, Kahnawake, Quebec, Canada. JOL 1BO. Tel: (514) 638-4750.

Rosemary Ray works at Roll-It Inc. and is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 7599.

## Attempts fail to frame up Birmingham mayor

BY JOHN HAWKINS

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — After spending less than twenty-four hours at Maxwell Air Force Base federal prison camp outside Montgomery, Alabama, Birmingham mayor Richard Arrington returned to his home January 24 ending, for the time being, a much publicized tug-of-war between City Hall and the local U.S. attorney.

On January 17 Arrington had been ordered to spend eighteen months in jail — Thursday evenings through Monday mornings — by

U.S. District Judge Edwin Nelson on contempt of court charges for refusing to turn over to a federal grand jury his personal appointment logs for 1986 through 1991.

Arrington's 1979 election as this city's first Black mayor came on the heels of widespread popular protests mounted by the Black community against police brutality and the cop murder of Bonita Carter.

Arrington's popularity rose further when he acceded to demands to replace the city's police chief.

Arrington charges that U.S. Attorney Frank Donaldson, who is carrying out an investigation into the possibility of corruption in City Hall, is motivated both by a personal vendetta against him and by racism.

In last minute appeals to the Justice Department, the 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals and U.S. Supreme Court Justice Anthony Kennedy — all of whom denied his appeal — Arrington offered to turn over the records to the U.S. Attorney General or an appeals court judge if he received a guarantee that they would not be used to frame him.

"I find myself in a very difficult position," Arrington told a local newspaper. "I strongly believe the law supports the position I have taken that I have been subjected to unlawful harassment by the local U.S. attorney and his assistants."

"Any reasonable person could feel that without the protection of the court... the records may be used in an abusive manner to incriminate me."

While Donaldson's office has been investigating Arrington for at least the past three years, no indictment has been handed down. Last fall a consultant was tried and convicted of defrauding the city of \$200,000 in connection with the city's Civil Rights Museum construction project. Her case is being appealed.

Arrington's release Friday came in the wake of negotiations between his attorneys and the Justice Department as a result of which he agreed to turn over the records to Nelson.

Arrington's earlier refusal to bow to the dictates of the grand jury and the U.S. attorney met with approval among wide sections of Birmingham's Black community.

The annual Martin Luther King Day parade here was dominated by signs protesting

the actions of the court and Donaldson against Arrington.

Rallying at the 16th Street Baptist Church, parade participants heard speaker after speaker urging them to turn out to march January 23 with the mayor to the federal courthouse where he would surrender to federal marshalls.

Estimates place the crowd that marched with Arrington to the courthouse at as many as 3,000.

More rallies and demonstrations in support of Arrington are planned.

## — CALENDAR —

### CALIFORNIA

#### San Francisco

**Free Mark Curtis!** Speakers: John Studer, coordinator of Mark Curtis Defense Committee; Piri Thomas, poet activist; Bobby Castillo, coordinator, Political Prisoner Project, International Indian Treaty Council; Nicki Maguire, Committee for Information on Ireland; Dwayne Hall, activist against Alameda police racism. Sun., Feb. 2, 2p.m. reception, 3p.m. program. International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Hall, 255 9th Street. Donation: \$5-\$15 sliding scale. Sponsored by Bay Area Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense. For more information: (510) 891-9776 or (415) 586-3654.

### NEW YORK

#### Brooklyn

**Haiti After the September Coup: What's Really Happening?** Speakers: Jean Casimir, Haiti's Ambassador to the United States under the Aristide Government; Anne Fuller, National Coalition for Haitian Refugees, recently returned from a fact-finding mission in Haiti; Sabine Albert, Haitian Resistance Movement (NY); an' Alex Dupuy, author of "Haiti in the World Economy." Fri., Jan. 31, 7:30 p.m. Park Slope United Methodist Church, 6th Ave. & 8th St. Sponsor: New York Coalition for a Free Haiti. Donation: \$3. For further information: 212-781-5157.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

#### African National Congress 80th Anniversary Celebration

Guest speaker from South Africa, cultural presentation, craft vendors. Sat., Feb. 8, 7p.m. reception follows. First Congregational Church, 945 G. St., NW (near Gallery Place Metro). Admission free. Sponsor: African National Congress. For more information: (202) 543-9433.

## Hundreds mobilize in Dubuque against racist march



Militant/George Chalmers

Chanting "No Duke in Dubuque," and "Hey hey, ho ho, the racists have got to go," 150 people lined the streets of Dubuque, Iowa, at the site of a racist march. Seventy-five members and supporters of the Nationalist Movement, a white supremacist group based in Learned, Mississippi, participated in the January 18 march to oppose an integration plan being discussed in the city. The racists carried U.S., Confederate, and Ku Klux Klan flags. Simultaneously 250 people gathered at the Allyson Henderson city park for a Martin Luther King anniversary celebration. Speakers at the celebration called for further anti-racist actions.



# Des Moines rally will protest cop brutality

BY CHRIS REMPLE  
AND JOHN STUDER

DES MOINES, Iowa — Three hundred angry protesters crowded into Union Baptist Church January 23 to discuss the next steps to take to win justice for Larry Milton.

Milton, a 35-year-old Black worker, was savagely beaten December 28 by Des Moines cops. Since the beating became public, thousands of people have attended meetings and protests to demand that the cops who attacked Milton be arrested and prosecuted. Others have called for the resignation of Des Moines police chief William Moulder.

Since the protests against the brutality began, the cops have organized a countercampaign, painting the cops who beat Milton as the victims of Milton, who they allege was driven by drugs and alcohol into a "superhuman" frenzy.

Outrage over the public display of police hostility and racism helped build the January 23 meeting, called by the Committee for Justice.

Kalonji Saadiq, manager of radio station KUCB, the city's Black community-based radio station, opened the meeting by repeating the call to "turn up the heat."

M.C. Little, an 11-year-old musician, sang a rap song he wrote entitled "No Excuse." This is the most popular slogan at protests against the police beating.

Calls for public action were met with enthusiasm from the crowd. Sonya Palmer, who helped organize a new group called Mothers and Wives Against Police Brutality, announced plans for a march from the state capitol to Nollen Plaza in downtown Des Moines on Saturday, February 1, for a 2:00 p.m. rally. Flyers for the rally are being posted in supermarkets, community centers, and laundromats throughout the city.

Pam Williams, chairwoman of the Community Support Force, announced her group will be sponsoring pickets at the City Council meetings until justice is won.

Sara Lobman, former Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor and member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431, spoke for the Young Socialist Alliance, urging stepped-up public protests. "What we

are doing here in Des Moines is important because we are fighting back," she said. "We have a big responsibility to continue this fight and others will join us. We will march on February 1 and if we reach out with bigger and broader protests we can build the pressure until we win."

Constance Hellums, a friend of Milton whose three sons have all been victims of police brutality, told the audience that God had opened a door for them to take a stand. "Now let's not let it go," she urged.

Cleve Andrew Pulley, another member of the UFCW and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, spoke. He led the crowd in a spirited chant of "No Excuse! Jail the guilty cops!"

Patricia Rincón, a victim of the cops' brutality against the city's Mexican-American community, praised those at the meeting. "Efforts to win justice for me faded out. My beating was swept under the rug," she said. "The rug is too full, so please don't let Larry Milton go under. This is so inspiring to me to see this large crowd and what you are doing to involve people for Larry Milton."

On January 20, a crowd of 250 police with their families and friends and led by the assistant chief of police, rallied at the Des Moines City Council meeting. The overwhelmingly white crowd turned the council meeting into a pro-police brutality rally. One of the few Blacks in the crowd of cops wore a sweatshirt bearing the pictures of the three cops who beat Milton and the words "Our Respect — Our Support."

Cops mobilized at the meeting to oppose a proposal by State Representative Jack Hatch for possible state legislation to create civilian review agencies to hear charges of police misconduct. The cops also opposed planned public hearings on police brutality. Two weeks earlier the council had voted to hold such hearings.

Assistant Chief of Police Kayne Robinson denounced civilian review boards. Robinson is a right-wing political spokesperson as well as a high-ranking cop. He is on the board of directors of the National Rifle Association, has served as president of the Iowa Association of Chiefs of Police, and has written pro-cop campaign material for President George Bush.

Robinson previously supervised Sgt. Joanne Pollack, one of the three officers who admit having beaten Milton. Pollack is responsible for "sensitivity training" concerning "minorities" in the police department.

Dozens of the cops at the council meeting were in uniform, including David Murillo, representing the Police Bargaining Unit. Murillo argued that a civilian review board would turn cops into "report writers, ticket givers, and wimps."

Another cop at the police rally was Joseph Gonzalez, the chief prosecution witness in



Militant/Shirley Peña

Hundreds demanded justice for Larry Milton at January 6 City Council session

the frame-up trial of union and political activist Mark Curtis in 1988.

Cops repeatedly pointed to government agencies such as the FBI, the Justice Department, and the state Ombudsman's Office, which currently can investigate charges of police misconduct. Cop after cop argued that these were more than enough, that any "independent" review board would only become a vehicle for "social activists" to attack the police.

A few opponents of police brutality were present. "What are you afraid of?" Kaoline Saadiq, general manager of KUCB, asked the cops. "The citizens of Des Moines have a right to know about what you do."

"It would be a real political error to conclude that the composition of tonight's meeting represents Des Moines," SWP leader Andrew Pulley told the council members.

The speakers opposing cop violence were interrupted and heckled. When Saadiq left the meeting, one cop supporter yelled out, "Go home, Black Panther."

Few political forces outside the police themselves were drawn to participate in their rally. One speaker, who identified himself as a representative of the Building and Construction Trades Union, supported the cops' demands against public hearings and civilian review.

In the face of the vicious beating of Larry Milton, the cops have had difficulty rallying popular support. At the same time the media has given voluminous space to police arguments justifying the beating and slanders against Milton.

Under the cops' pressure, the City Council

voted against meeting with state representatives to discuss civilian review legislation and deadlocked on whether to proceed with the hearings it had voted to hold.

In a small article buried in the January 25 *Des Moines Register*, it was reported that the City Council also voted to approve a 4 percent pay increase for cops in each of the next two years.

City Manager Cy Carney has proposed that if hearings on the conduct of the police are held, they should be decentralized in the four city wards and all testimony concerning actual incidents of brutality should be barred. Instead, speakers would be limited to discussing general police procedures and equipment.

In the Council meeting, Mayor John Dorrin explained that any testimony about real cases of police brutality might open the city to legal action. "Some of these people, like Milton and Curtis, have already got litigation in the works," Dorrin said.

At the Union Baptist Church meeting, NAACP president Larry Carter reported on the decision of an absent Council member to break the deadlock by voting for the hearings to be held. Carter criticized the proposed format for the hearings. "It would be like going fishing without a rod, without a hook, and without bait," he said.

At the end of the meeting, a woman in the last row of the audience yelled out, "So what do we do next?"

"We all go to the City Council meeting on Monday," Saadiq answered. "The police will be there and so will we."

## Mark Curtis Defense Committee meeting denounces police beating of Milton

DES MOINES — Thirty people attended a special Mark Curtis Defense Committee meeting January 19. It was called in response to the outcry over the cop beating of Larry Milton and to discuss Curtis's fight for justice.

Constance Hellums told the meeting that brutality was "standard operating procedure" for Des Moines cops. She described how her sons had been beaten on three different occasions. Her 15-year-old son was beaten twice. "They kicked him. They split open his head with a flashlight. They beat him on the knees with a flashlight," she stated.

The second time they beat her son, Hellums added, "he was kicked in the groin by a woman cop, handcuffed, hit in the legs, and sprayed in the face with mace."

She also described the beating of her 22-year-old son, whose ankle was broken by the cops. When she complained to the police, they told her they had acted properly and her son had broken his own ankle.

Harold Ruggless, vice-president of United Auto Workers Local 270 and a supporter of Curtis's fight, spoke about the importance for the labor movement of winning justice for Milton.

Maurice Williams spoke for the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Curtis, a meat-packer, was victimized after speaking out at a public protest meeting in defense of 17 coworkers from Mexico and El Salvador, Williams said. The packinghouse bosses, aided by the authorities, continue to attack workers' wages and working conditions by pitting immigrant workers against native-born.

Williams described the recent arrest of three of his Mexican coworkers at the Monfort meat-packing plant in Marshalltown, Iowa. They were charged with fraud for allegedly using false work documents to file unemployment claims when they were laid off.

—C.R.

## Socialists get out 'Militant' to oil workers

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The chart below lists the goals taken by socialists in nine major industrial unions of weekly sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, subscription renewals to these periodicals, and sales of the new Pathfinder book *How Far We Slaves Have Come!*

The initial sales figures recorded in the chart reflect the fact that only a few areas reported their results to the *Militant* business office. The weekly sales results should be faxed to the *Militant* by Thursday, 8:00 p.m. EST.

To assist socialist unionists in the campaign to encourage other members of their union to re-subscribe, the *Militant* will be sending out a special letter in the coming week to all our trade union subscribers.

From our fax: Willie Mae Reid from the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW) in Houston reports, "We sold three *Militants* at the monthly union meeting, which was larger than usual because of the local elections. Three more papers and two books were sold to coworkers. Four *Militants* were sold by a regional team that went out to talk to oil workers at Chevron plant gates following news reports on plant closings in Port Arthur, Texas."

Dan Fein from the OCAW in Miami reports selling two books and two *Militants* to coworkers who fuel planes at the Miami International airport. One of those buying a

paper was a Cuban who opposes Fidel Castro but wanted to read a socialist paper. "He thought the articles on the Caterpillar strike, the Malcolm X conference, and the interview with an ANC leader looked interesting," writes Fein.

*Militant* supporters who are members of the United Food and Commercial Workers union in Des Moines, Iowa, exceeded their

weekly sales goal of 15 last week. They sold 20 papers and three subscription renewals.

In Britain, 57 *Militants* and one *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold to participants in the January 18 demonstration in London against the Asylum Bill.

Keep sending in those reports on interesting sales experiences, and reactions by coworkers to articles in the *Militant*.

### Sales to industrial unionists

Union	Weekly sales goal	No. sold Militant #3*	Percentage sold of weekly goal	Subscription renewal goal	No. of Renewals sold	'How Far We Slaves Have Come' Book goal	No. of Books sold
ACTWU	20	0	0	12	0	25	1
IAM	70	9	13	25	0	45	0
ILGWU	14	0	0	3	0	-	0
OCAW	40	16	40	19	1	50	8
UAW	40	4	10	20	0	40	0
UFCW	60	21	35	15	3	25	0
UMWA	8	0	0	7	0	17	11
USWA	45	5	11	30	0	30	0
UTU	75	10	13	35	0	-	0
Totals	372	65	17	166	4	232	20

\* Includes copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* sold this week.

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



# Economic crisis devastates New Hampshire

## Presidential candidates make feeble attempt to identify with workers

BY RUSSELL DAVIS

PORTSMOUTH, New Hampshire — When President George Bush visited here on January 15 to campaign for the state primary election, he visited three factories that were supposed to be "competitive" and doing well despite the recession.

The next day one of them, Davidson/Textron, an auto parts maker in nearby Dover, announced the temporary layoff of 90 workers and possible permanent layoffs in the near future. Workers at the plant and local residents were reported as "shocked and angered" at the company's announcement and its timing.

The layoffs, and people's reaction to them, are more and more common here as New Hampshire enters its third year of a recession that looks more and more like a depression. Officially some 50,000 people are out of work and the state's unemployment rate of 7.1 percent is close to the national rate of 7 percent. In fact the real figures are much higher.

The state has lost 10.7 percent of its jobs since 1989, and the population has declined for the first time in years as thousands of workers move elsewhere in search of jobs. Ten percent of workers are listed as "underemployed," and jobs at places like McDonald's that were paying \$7 an hour in 1988 are now down below \$5 an hour.

Here 1,000 civilian jobs were lost with the closing of Pease Air Force Base, and people are worried over the fate of the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard, which employs 7,000. Most factories in the state are either closed, laying off, or have hiring freezes "until the economy improves."

Bankruptcy filings have increased 94 percent since 1989 and the number of families on welfare has jumped by 160.9 percent. The impact of the crisis is felt even more because as late as 1988 the state economy was booming. Though this masked the decline of much of New Hampshire's traditional industries like paper and textiles, many believed it would go on indefinitely. Beginning in 1989 the national recession, a glut in computers, military cutbacks, and other factors combined to deal blows that wiped out most of the jobs gained in the 1980s.

The population of New Hampshire is only 1.1 million, but this represents an increase of 20 percent since 1980. Hundreds of companies, mostly related to computers, electronics, and the military, moved here during the 1980s, especially to the southern part of the state. Many companies in neighboring Massachusetts closed unionized plants and opened new nonunion shops here.

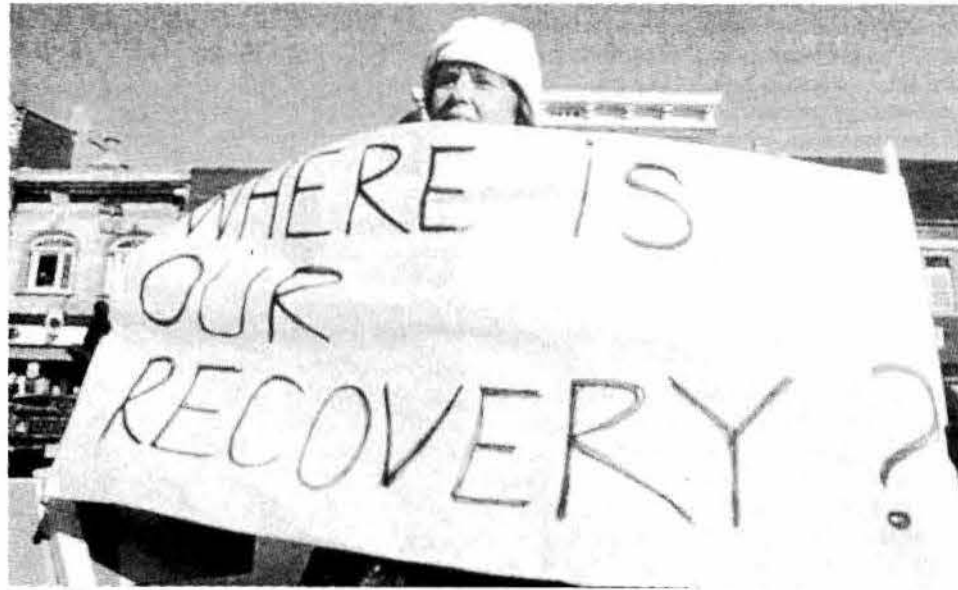
The New Hampshire AFL-CIO, which claims 40,000 members, has been hit hard by layoffs at unionized mills and factories and the collapse of the construction industry. It is currently fighting an attempt to pass a "right-to-work" bill in the state legislature. Most of the new industry remains nonunion, including big plants of companies like Digital, General Electric, and Lockheed.

The rapid industrialization in turn caused booms in real estate and retail trade as thousands of condos and hundreds of mini-malls were built on what used to be farmland. The recession has caused a crash in both and today many of those condos and stores sit empty.

Foreclosures represent 20 percent of all real estate transactions here and the state's largest auctioneer has reported that its foreclosure business went from 150 in 1988 to 1,800 in 1991. Real estate values have dropped at least 20 percent, often more. With two-thirds of the state's families owning their own homes, many workers have seen their life savings wiped out. For many their outstanding mortgage, negotiated when prices were inflated, is now more than the market value of their house.

Tourism, at \$3 billion a year a big part of the economy, is also down as vacations are cut back. The six New England states, from which many of the tourists came, have lost 563,000 jobs since 1989, the steepest drop since World War II. Manufacturing employment has declined in New England for seven years straight.

One of the most devastated areas of the state is rural Coos County, the so-called "North Country" that borders Quebec. It was largely passed by in the boom of the 1980s and its traditional industries of logging and paper are in deep crisis. Sawmills, many family-owned, are closed and the paper mills



New Hampshire protester. Workers there have been angered by massive layoffs.

are laying off or closing down. Candidates from both parties ritually troop up to the James River paper mill's plantgate in Berlin to shake hands and promise more jobs if they're elected. But as one worker was quoted as saying, "They said the same thing in 1988 and it's just gotten worse since."

Dairy farmers here, like in other New England states, have been hit hard by the drop in milk prices and some have lost their farms. The biggest farming sector, which grows mostly fruit vegetables, has remained relatively stable as more families cut costs by buying directly from farmers throughout the state. Many farm families, however, are forced to work off the farm to make ends meet and have been hit like other workers by the layoffs and cutbacks.

The crisis has also caused a meltdown of the state's banking system. Last October the state's five largest banks were closed by the FDIC and merged into two. All told, in 1991, 16 banks, holding one third of all the state's deposits, failed and more are expected. In 1990 New Hampshire saw a net drop in deposits of \$1 billion and 1991 is expected to be worse. The banking crisis has in turn caused a credit crunch for many homeowners and small businesses as banks call in even current loans and refuse to extend new ones, forcing further bankruptcies, layoffs, and, eventually more bank failures.

Local politicians, as part of their attempt to portray the state as conservative, like to tout New Hampshire as being "tax-free" because it has no state income or sales taxes. The reality is that working people are being taxed to the hilt by skyrocketing property taxes and increases in fees for everything from garbage collection to hunting licenses. The state ranks lowest in the country in per capita spent on education and recently a seven-year-old and his mother filed suit because he was not provided textbooks at school. Welfare and unemployment compensation are low, as many workers find out for the first time after being laid off.

Into this atmosphere of crisis and decline have stepped the presidential candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties. Voting in the primary election, the first in the country, is on February 18.

The anger and frustration working people here feel have surprised candidates from both parties who make feeble, and not generally appreciated, attempts to "identify" with people's hardships. When Bush appeared here last week he was met by angry and spontaneous protests almost everywhere he went.

Patrick Buchanan is attempting to tap into some of this anger, campaigning hard at unemployment offices, plantgates, and shopping malls. Some of his arguments are echoed by workers and small business people hurt by the recession. "I think we should stop sending all that money overseas and use it to help people here in New Hampshire," one retired teacher said to this reporter.

Others see a danger in Buchanan's message. "I think the guy is dangerous," said one unemployed youth. "He seems to want to blame the Blacks, or welfare mothers, or the Japanese for all our problems. He's anti-Semitic too."

When Buchanan spoke at Dartmouth College he was met by a protest of 100 students. At a senior citizens forum he was raked over the coals for not having a national health care

proposal. When he ran into a homeless man in a parking lot who asked Buchanan what he would do for him if he got elected, Buchanan smiled and said, "Probably nothing."

None of the top five Democratic candidates spark much enthusiasm. Bill Clinton, Bob Kerrey, Tom Harkin, Paul Tsongas, and Jerry Brown have all attracted audiences of several hundred, but many walk away uninspired. Their probusiness message leaves many wondering about the difference between them and Bush. One woman, whose husband has been laid off from three different jobs in the past year commented that she wanted to vote Democrat to protest the state of the economy but didn't really like any of them. Several other people said that they aren't even following the race because it wouldn't make any difference who got elected, none of them would do anything for working people.

Also on the Democratic ballot are former senator Eugene McCarthy, Ralph Nader, New Alliance Party candidate Lenora Fulani, and *Born on the Fourth of July* author Ron

## Buchanan faults immigrants, promotes Japan-bashing views

BY SETH GALINSKY

Rightist candidate Patrick Buchanan is taking advantage of the depression-like conditions in New Hampshire to gain a broader hearing for his ideas.

With the support of the *Manchester Union-Leader*, the state's main daily, Buchanan has signed up more than 1,000 volunteers, heading toward the February 18 primary. He is campaigning on the theme of "America First."

"George Bush came to this state four years ago and promised he would be the legitimate heir of Ronald Reagan — and No New Taxes," Buchanan tells the crowds. "Then he went to Washington and broke his word."

Buchanan signed a pledge of his own to not raise taxes when elected and challenged Bush to "take the pledge again — and mean it."

As part of the demagoguery that is the basis



Patrick Buchanan

Kovic, all of whom are running "against the establishment." Ultrarightist Lyndon LaRouche, currently in Federal prison, is also running as a Democrat.

The candidates all face the problem that people want specific proposals from them on how to get out of the devastating social crisis that continues to advance here. "What's your program? What's your program?" several people screamed at a startled Clinton on one of his campaign stops. He smiled and waved.

Supporters of the *Militant* have been going around New Hampshire the past few weeks to take part in the discussions and debates taking place on how to get out of the crisis. From unemployment offices in Manchester, to housing projects in Nashua, to plantgates in Hudson and Portsmouth, they have found a friendly and open reception to the ideas in the *Militant*. Many liked the idea of a shorter workweek with no cut in pay and other proposals in the *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*, although several pointed out that "it's not coming, it's here!"

At a public housing complex in Portsmouth a team quickly sold out of the *Militants* they had, and one team member was invited to join a discussion six unemployed youth were already having on the cause of joblessness. They bought a *Militant* and said they would try to get together the money for a subscription.

Interest has also been high at meetings on campuses for various candidates. At a plantgate in Hudson a union textile worker said, "I'm glad to see there are still socialists. We need someone who's for the working class." Many people asked if the socialists were fielding a candidate in 1992, and several said that they would be happy to vote for one.

"As long as we don't do something for ourselves these guys will just keep coming back every four years and lying to us and things will just keep getting worse," said a laid-off construction worker. He then pulled out \$1.50 and bought a copy of the *Militant*.

of his electoral effort, Buchanan has deepened his Japan-bashing statements.

In Manchester, the right-wing Republican burst into the stock room of a Ford car parts dealership.

"Ford is supposed to be an American corporation," he told the stunned manager. "Did you know Bush's campaign manager is a lobbyist for the Jap car parts industry?"

"These guys in Washington should be wearing kimonos," Buchanan declared. "The Bush campaign is starting to look like a wholly-owned subsidiary of Japan Inc."

In a recent interview with the *London Sunday Telegraph*, the presidential candidate showed his prejudice against immigrant workers. He told the paper that when his wife, Shelley, visited downtown Washington, she was horrified to see that "these guys were sitting on the corner playing bongo drums. I mean, this is the town I grew up in." Bongo drums are African-style drums that are also popular in much Latin American music.

For those who still doubt the racist character of Buchanan's defense of "our Western heritage," the interview made his views clear.

"The U.S. should stand up for values — shared values," Buchanan said. "Why are we more shocked when a dozen people are killed in Vilnius [Lithuania] than [by] a massacre in Burundi [Central Africa]? Because they are white people. That's who we are. That's where America comes from."

Buchanan let his populist mask slip in a speech to the American Association of Retired Persons in Concord, New Hampshire, which was reported in the *London Financial Times*.

"When I go to the doctor — and I am a wealthy man," he said, "these [insurance] forms are so complex I can't fill them out. I just tell my wife: 'Send them a check.'" The report noted that "the response in the audience was hostile."



# A visit with Cuban 'rockers' on a voluntary work brigade

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

GUINES, Cuba — The agricultural youth camp El Paraíso here was inundated for two weeks in late November with loud rock music. Iron Maiden and other rock groups could be heard at breakfast, lunch, and dinnertime, and at the night disco.

The occasion? Not a big celebration but a voluntary work brigade picking bananas and composed in its majority of a group of young people known as *los roqueros* — the rockers.

From teenagers to youth in their mid-20s, the rockers wear for the most part their hair long. They are dressed with torn jeans, mini-skirts, and colorful T-shirts; several of them hand-painted. Many had dropped out of school or had been without jobs before coming to the camp.

At the lunch break the rockers take a breather from the hard work in the fields, their clothes covered with mud. Like other youth, they work long days as part of a two-week stint at the camp.

El Paraíso, about 50 miles south of Havana, is an agricultural camp organized by the Union of Young Communists (UJC). Hundreds of thousands of young students and workers are organized year-round by the UJC in volunteer work brigades — most of them in the countryside to help increase Cuba's production of basic food items.

While the youth are paid a nominal wage per hour, the motivation is not primarily financial, but a desire to help solve the pressing economic problems Cuba faces today.

"This is a new experience for us," said Rita María Martínez, one of the 40 rockers at the camp. Only one of the group was a member of the UJC. About a dozen other UJC members, including some of its national leaders, worked on the same brigade.

Many of the rockers explained that they faced deep social prejudices against rock music and their appearance. "I was kicked out of the house by my family," said Oscar Asencio Piscioti. "In the neighborhood I am looked down upon because of my hair. We get stopped by the police all the time, asked for ID, sometimes get arrested. Many older people think rock is counterrevolutionary music."

"But the camp is a big success. There is no discrimination here," he said.

*Juventud Rebelde*, the weekly newspaper published by the UJC, reported that things did not start out so rosy when the rockers arrived. The day after the rockers came to the camp the whole group took a Sunday afternoon walk in the park in the nearby town of Güines. "The attraction their presence provoked — many passersby surrounded them to take a look — ended much like a public scandal. The night ended in the police station," the paper wrote in a full page article.

Alexander Hernández Zuniga, nicknamed Freddy the Punk, told another story. When he went to look for work at a cheese factory he was asked to show his hair hidden under his hat. "There is no work for you here," said the woman in charge of hiring after realizing he wore his hair down to the waist.

This response is not universal, though. Eriberto, one of the rockers, said he never had any problems on the job. He worked as a carpenter at a company named EMPI in Havana. Luis Alfonso, a 21-year-old worker with shoulder-length hair, said he got a UJC



Cuban youth known as 'los roqueros' — the rockers — at El Paraíso, an agricultural camp organized by the Union of Young Communists.

award for his job performance working as a lathe operator. His problem is with his girlfriend's parents. They say he has to get a haircut to be able to marry her.

During a visit to El Paraíso by leaders of the U.S. Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), there was great interest among these young people to discuss politics in the United States. Recent protests against police brutality attracted particular interest.

Many asked if they could get a YSA T-shirt with the slogans "Viva Cuba. End the U.S. blockade and the travel ban." A popular YSA button was one with the slogan "Stop police brutality." There were also a lot of questions about new rock groups in the United States.

## Initiative by a young worker

Juan Manuel Montoto, a 27-year-old worker who is Black, was the only UJC member among the rockers. Montoto worked as a mechanic in a factory and he liked rock music, which was how he ran into the rockers back in 1987.

When he first started hanging out at Vedado, a neighborhood in Havana where hundreds of youth spent time at bars with rock music, coworkers were suspicious. "What is a member, or even more the secretary of a chapter of the UJC, doing wasting his time with the long-hairs?" Montoto was asked. "In the thick of it," said Montoto while picking dry leaves between banana trees, "most cadre of the UJC thought I was crazy."

"These young people are not against the revolution, but the social prejudices against them lead many to become alienated," the UJC leader said. Montoto made it his project to convince the UJC leadership to try to involve as many of the rockers as possible in projects such as voluntary work brigades, wage a campaign to combat the prejudices against them, and in the process attempt to win as many as possible to the communist youth organization.

Montoto and other UJC leaders at El

Paraíso said most Cuban youth realize that the economic difficulties that Cuba faces today stem largely from the legacy of imperialist domination and the continued economic blockade by the U.S. government. In addition, errors UJC leaders believe were made in copying practices and methods from the Soviet economic model have added to the hardships.

Many Cuban youth, including some of the rockers, speak with pride or respect about the revolution's accomplishments since 1959, when workers and peasants overthrew the U.S.-backed dictator Fulgencio Batista. But there are many youth who don't care what the source of the problems is. They just want a better life.

"Our work with the rockers is an important step in taking on the challenges the revolution faces," said Montoto.

In 1989 Montoto convinced Roberto Robaina, UJC national secretary, to meet with a group of rockers. Other meetings followed involving a broader section of the central leadership of the UJC at Patio de María, a square where these youth hang out.

"That's where we decided to form the first work brigade," the UJC leader said. About 400 rockers have been involved in this project so far.

Leading this effort has involved a lot of hard political work. Many meetings were held to discuss through problems or questions that came up in the course of the two weeks. Some of the older workers in the camp were still somewhat uneasy about the presence of the rockers there. "Meeting this challenge will help us to advance the revolution," Montoto said, "by involving more young workers and students. There are thousands of youth like this group of rockers."

Ana-María López, who worked on loading bananas, said that after nearly two weeks of work the overwhelming majority of the brigade took great interest in the work in the fields and how it was related to solving the problems of food supplies in the country. "We never used to think of social problems in this way," she said. "The work here has made me more political."

Another rocker, Etien Fresquet Hoyos, grabbed a copy of the magazine *Perspectiva Mundial* from YSA leader Chris Nisan, with a translation of the speech by Malcolm X entitled, "I am not an American but a victim of Americanism." "It's great having this in Spanish," he said. He had heard of Malcolm X and seen his autobiography before, but his English was too poor to understand it.

As the brigade wound up the two-week stint at El Paraíso, most wanted to stay on working in the fields. "We had a different opinion," said Robaina in an interview a couple of days after the final meeting with the brigade. "We proposed they go back and recruit more of their friends to join the brigades." Most of the rockers agreed.

Celebrating the return back in Havana, the brigade cosponsored a rock concert with the UJC.

## WORLD NEWS BRIEFS



### Protests on rise in Venezuela amid capitalist economic upturn

The capitalist economy of Venezuela, which has a population of 11 million, is going through an upturn. Inflation is at its lowest level in five years, the official unemployment rate has edged down from a high of 10 percent in 1990, and the economy grew by a rate of 9.2 percent in 1991.

More than 5,000 street protests by workers and students have rocked the government of Carlos Andrés Pérez in the last three years. By the end of 1991, 10 students had been killed and more than 100 wounded by gunfire in clashes with the police.

Protesters charge that Pérez's measures of ending state subsidies and privatizing state companies have caused high unemployment and a widening of the gap between rich and poor. The real minimum wage has fallen to 44 percent of 1987 levels, electricity rates have increased tenfold, and telephone calls cost five times more.

### London takes political advantage of bombing attacks in N. Ireland

In the wake of a series of bombings by the Irish Republican Army (IRA), the British government dispatched an additional 600 troops to Northern Ireland January 19, bringing its forces there to 7,500.

During a visit to Belfast January 20, British prime minister John Major said the IRA "is not winning and will never win." Politicians associated with the British-backed colonial regime have urged curfews, sealing the border with southern Ireland, and the issuing of compulsory identity cards.

These events unfolded as the IRA claimed responsibility for a bombing in County Tyrone, Northern Ireland, January 17. Seven construction workers were killed and seven others wounded from the explosion. They were on their way home from a construction site at a British army barracks.

### Israeli government vows to continue settlements

In a speech to cheering settlers in Betar Illit, near Jerusalem, Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir said that "no power in the world would stop this construction" of settlements in the West Bank and Gaza.

Shamir's finance minister added that if Washington insisted on halting settlements as the price for granting the Israeli request of \$10 billion for housing loan guarantees, he would rather forego the assistance.

Recent opinion polls suggest many Israelis are opposed to Shamir's settlement policy. The economy in Israel has plunged deeper into recession. Unemployment surpassed 10 percent in 1991 while the number of Israelis who live below the poverty line jumped to 14.3 percent.

### Algeria's military regime moves to ban opposition political parties

The military regime that took power in Algeria after forcing president Chadli Benjedid to resign January 11 is taking moves to ban opposition political parties.

Hundreds of members of the Islamic Salvation Front, which swept the first round of parliamentary elections and was expected to win a majority in the second, have been arrested in the last week. "I think we are heading toward dissolution of the Islamic Salvation Front," said a government official. Officials hinted that other political parties will be banned.

The coup has caused a split in the ranks of the National Liberation Front (FLN) that controlled the government before the elections.

### UN demands Libya hand over suspects, threatens sanctions

The United Nations Security Council passed a resolution January 21 demanding that the Libyan government hand over two agents accused by Washington and London of blowing up a Pan Am flight over Scotland in 1988. The resolution also calls for Libyan cooperation in an investigation into the destruction of a French airliner in 1989.

If Libya declines to meet the demands, another resolution calling for economic sanctions has been threatened. The Libyan government, which has arrested the two agents, says it will cooperate with any investigation but it will not extradite its nationals.

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# Trotsky's 'Revolution Betrayed' analyzes roots of the crisis in former Soviet Union

Spanish-language edition of historic work reprinted by Pathfinder

Following is the publisher's preface to Pathfinder reprint of *La Revolución Traicionada*, the Spanish translation of *The Revolution Betrayed: What Is The Soviet Union and Where Is It Going?* by Leon Trotsky.

BY STEVE CLARK

At the very moment this classic Marxist work is being brought back into print at the opening of 1992, its main scientific analyses and political perspectives are being confirmed by unfolding events in the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The seeds of the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and the exhaustion of the relative stability of the bureaucratized regime, had all been planted by the mid-1930s when Leon Trotsky completed *The Revolution Betrayed: What Is The Soviet Union and Where Is It Going?* In these pages, Trotsky provides a materialist analysis of the social roots of the most contradictory historical development in the 20th century: the rise and subsequent degeneration of the Soviet workers' state.

In 1917 the urban and rural toilers of Russia overthrew the old monarchical regime and took political power from the exploiting landlords and capitalists. The Bolshevik-led revolution in October brought to power a government of the workers and peasants that initiated a thoroughgoing land reform, guaranteed the right of national self-determination to oppressed peoples, and, by mid-1918, expropriated capitalist property in large-scale industry and trade. The world's first workers' state had been established, opening the road, its leaders believed, to constructing the foundations of a new socialist society as part of advancing revolutionary struggles in other countries.

For reasons explained by Trotsky in the following pages, however, the workers and peasants — exhausted initially by three years of imperialist aggression and of civil war organized by the landlords and capitalists — lost their hold on political power to a rising bureaucratic caste motivated by individual advancement and gain; by the late 1920s Joseph Stalin had become its dominant political representative.

Stalin's regime combined brutal terror, personal corruption, and bureaucratic arbitrariness to demoralize and destroy the communist leadership of the workers and peasants forged under the leadership of V.I. Lenin. The toilers were blocked by the bureaucracy from using the Soviet state, Communist Party, and mass organizations as revolutionary instruments to transform themselves and their political consciousness as they continued transforming the social relations of production in industry and agriculture. The caste tore apart the alliance between the working class and the toiling peasant majority in the USSR.

During the quarter century culminating in the years just after Stalin's death in 1953, tens of millions of working people died either at the hands of the regime's secret police and jailers, or from the disastrous results of the caste's policy of forced agricultural collectivization initiated at the end of the 1920s.

## Soviet Union remains workers' state

Despite the deep-going political and social consequences of the Stalinist counterrevolution, it remained Trotsky's unwavering judgment that one fundamental conquest of the Bolshevik-led proletarian revolution survived: the expropriation of the capitalist class and establishment of state property in the basic means of production, transportation, banking, and wholesale trade. The imperialist bourgeoisie had not succeeded in reincorporating the Soviet Union into the world market system; it had not put the labor of Soviet workers and peasants under the discipline of capital and the lash of competition for profits. So long as those proletarian conquests endured, Trotsky insisted, the USSR remained a degenerated workers' state.

As Trotsky explains in these pages, "As a conscious political force the bureaucracy has betrayed the revolution. But a victorious revolution is fortunately not only a program and a banner, not only political institutions, but also a system of social relations. To betray it is not enough. You have to overthrow it. The October revolution has been betrayed by the ruling stratum, but not yet overthrown. It has a great power of resistance, coinciding with the established property relations, with the living force of the proletariat, the consciousness of its best elements, the impasse of world capitalism, and the inevitability of world revolution."



Demonstration in Petrograd, October 1917. Bolshevik-led revolution brought workers and peasants to power. It also began a thoroughgoing land reform.

In this sense, Russia, Ukraine, and other former Soviet "republics" remain workers' states even today, although horribly disfigured by decades of domination by a petty-bourgeois social layer that — as Trotsky details — apes the corrupt life-style, coarsened and self-centered values, and dog-eat-dog morality of the capitalist ruling classes.

As 1992 opens, rival sections of the bourgeois-minded social layers that dominate various components of the former Soviet Union are each seeking to defend their own grip on political power and its accompanying privileges in face of an accelerating economic and social crisis. The roots of this crisis, which go back more than six decades, are to be found in the anti-working-class course in planning and management described by Trotsky in these pages.

New governments across the former USSR and eastern Europe are attempting to resolve the crisis at the expense of working people's access to jobs; to affordable food, clothing, and other necessities; and to education, housing, and medical care. Rifts and conflicts are sharpening within the castes, as top bureaucrats try to pin blame on each other for worsening conditions as they jockey for position. It is already clear that none of these regimes can reimpose what they call the "market system" — that is, capitalism — without facing working-class resistance to the devastating initial results of this course.

These events confirm that the social contradiction between the original conquests of the Bolshevik-led workers' and peasants' government and the subsequent consolidation of a police-minded petty-bourgeois caste remains irresolvable, short of the realization of one of two alternatives outlined by Trotsky in *The Revolution Betrayed* more than fifty years ago:

- Either the world bourgeoisie, with the aid of wings of the caste, must take on the working class and devastate them in battles class against class, thereby clearing the long road back toward functioning capitalist property relations in production and exchange.

- Or the working class, as part of a new rise in revolutionary struggles around the world, will forge a genuine communist leadership capable of sweeping aside the caste in revolutionary struggle and beginning the political reorganization of economic planning and management along proletarian socialist lines.

If neither of the above two alternatives is posed today in the short term (as seems clear from initial experience), then the economic and social crisis of these regimes will remain unresolved and will increasingly intertwine with what accumulating evidence points to as a deepening crisis of the world capitalist system.

## Trotsky foresaw revolutionary battles

When *The Revolution Betrayed* first appeared in 1936, Trotsky anticipated that new

developments in world politics and international advances in the anticapitalist struggle — either prior to an outbreak of world war or, surely, in its aftermath — would give an impulse to revolutionary battles in the Soviet Union that could culminate in toppling the bureaucracy and restoring political power to the workers and peasants. He knew there was a sufficient layer of workers in the USSR who remained true to the communist and revolutionary lessons learned by their class in Lenin's time to provide the cadres for a leadership of such a political revolution. That was not how the next several decades of the 20th century were to end up, however. By the time of the 1974–75 world recession, at least, any revolutionary continuity between the Bolshevik-led Communist International and politically active working people and youth in the Soviet Union and the Eastern European workers' states had been broken. Workers in these countries have no revolutionary leadership, and the oppression imposed by the caste for decades in the name of socialism has resulted in the virtual wiping out of communist consciousness in the working class.

Trotsky himself had been a central leader of the Bolshevik-led October 1917 revolution, of the workers' and peasants' republic it brought to power, and of the Communist International. Following the death of V.I. Lenin, Trotsky led the struggle in the USSR during the mid- and late 1920s to defend the Bolsheviks' communist course against Stalin's counterrevolutionary policies. By the end of the 1920s, Trotsky had been driven from all leadership responsibilities in the Soviet state, Communist Party, and Communist International and forced into exile. By then the mere labeling of a communist's point of view as "Trotskyist" was sufficient to make any objective consideration of it illegitimate. Despite relentless persecution throughout the 1930s by both the imperialist ruling classes and the regime in Moscow, Trotsky continued to fight to rebuild a world communist movement. In August 1940 he was assassinated by an agent of Stalin's secret police.

Trotsky's final political battle, fought in 1939–40, was against a petty-bourgeois minority in the international communist movement who — panicked by the approaching world war, demoralized by Stalin's crimes, and buffeted by bourgeois public opinion — were abandoning defense of the Soviet workers' state against imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution. The record of this fight is contained in Trotsky's book, *In Defense of Marxism: The Social and Political Contradictions of the Soviet Union*.

## Communist political course

While it was the internationalist duty of every class-conscious worker to defend the Soviet Union, Trotsky explains in *The Revolution Betrayed*, nationalized property re-

## Pathfinder's reprint plans

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

The main article on these pages is the publisher's preface to a new Spanish-language reprint of *The Revolution Betrayed: What Is the Soviet Union and Where Is It Going?*, by Leon Trotsky, which has just been published by Pathfinder. This work has been out of print in the Spanish language for the past decade.

This edition appears under the imprint "Pathfinder Reprint Classic," a new designation for reprints of this type. It is a facsimile reprint of a translation by Andrés Nin, a Spanish revolutionist who at one time supported the communist opposition in the Soviet Union led by Trotsky that sought to continue Lenin's revolutionary and internationalist course. Nin was murdered by Stalin's secret agents in 1937.

The facsimile reprint format has enabled Pathfinder to rapidly make this book available at a time when Trotsky's analysis of the degeneration of the Russian revolution is burningly relevant. A number of inaccuracies in the translation have been corrected.

This book, as well as being the first in the Pathfinder Reprint Classic format, is also a part both of Pathfinder's expansion of Spanish titles and its current ambitious reprinting program of titles from the Pathfinder catalog.

Pathfinder also has in the works in Spanish a reprint of the pamphlet *Habla Malcolm X* (*Malcolm X Speaks*). It plans to expand the pamphlet's contents and reprint it in book format later this year. *El Socialismo y el Hombre en Cuba* (*Socialism and Man in Cuba*), by Ernesto Che Guevara and Fidel Castro, is also due for expansion



into a book format.

Pathfinder has been busy in the past several weeks running reprints of nearly all of its titles by Malcolm X in anticipation of large sales in February, which is Black History month. And in preparation for Women's History month in March, the publisher is reprinting *Cosmetics, Fashion, and the Exploitation of Women* by Evelyn Reed and Joseph Hansen, and *Woman's Evolution*, also by Reed. These reprints will have attractive new covers.

Within a month, *Fascism and Big Business* by Daniel Guérin, which examines the development of fascism in Germany and Italy, will be reprinted. Also due for reprinting are an anthology of writings of Trotsky entitled *Leon Trotsky Speaks*, and a collection of his writings on literature and art.



lations — the fundamental surviving conquest of the October revolution — do not in and of themselves advance society even a single step toward socialism. That requires a revolutionary political course to lead working people in taking more and more control over the political direction of economic planning and management, as well as the governing of the country. Trotsky documents that this was the communist course Lenin advanced during the five years of his active political life as a leader of the Soviet workers' and peasants' republic. It is the path fought for by the Bolshevik-Leninists led by Trotsky against the caste's encroaching power in the mid- and late 1920s. And, we can add today, it is the line of march consistently fought for by Ernesto Che Guevara as part of the revolutionary team led by Fidel Castro that opened the first socialist revolution in the Americas at the beginning of the 1960s. (Readers interested in looking into these matters more thoroughly can consult the writings of V.I. Lenin from the early years of the Soviet republic; other writings by Trotsky, including the three-volume *Challenge of the Left Opposition* and *The History of the Russian Revolution*; and the works of Ernesto Che Guevara, as well as the book *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*.)

The historical contradiction of the deformed Soviet workers' state has remained unresolved longer than proletarian revolutionists considered possible prior to World War II. The Soviet workers' victory over German imperialist aggression in that war, the explosive postwar rise of the colonial revolution, and the Soviet government's development of nuclear weapons and missile technology in the 1950s and 1960s all convinced growing sections of the world bourgeoisie that a successful military overturn of the Soviet workers' state was not on the agenda for the foreseeable future. Instead, through a combination of economic, political, and military pressure, the capitalist rulers in their majority sought to come to terms with the caste in a deal to preserve the world status quo. As Trotsky explains, this has been the goal of the bureaucracy itself since the mid-1930s. (The Kremlin's open support to U.S. imperialism's slaughterous war against Iraq in 1991, for example, did not mark the emergence of some "new world order." Similar counterrevolutionary policies led Stalin's regime — anxious to strike deals with various "democratic imperialist" governments — to oppose anticolonial struggles in India, Vietnam, Algeria, Morocco, and elsewhere in the period leading up to, during, and after World War II. The current rush by foreign ministries of the various former Soviet "republics" to add their voices to Washington's chorus of vilification and slander against revolutionary Cuba follows the same political trajectory.)

#### Illusion of permanence

The framework of world politics during what became known as the "Cold War" gave rise to the widespread illusion that the caste could somehow organize production based on state property in such a way as to ensure economic, technological, and social progress

over a prolonged period. Certain sections of liberal bourgeois public opinion, in fact, came to view what existed in the Soviet Union under Stalin and his heirs as permanent.

Through political reform and accommodation, they argued, this regime over time would converge with a benign and social welfare-oriented capitalism toward universal goals to advance human progress. (This was the mirror image of another, equally wrong view — once common among bourgeois right-wingers and certain social democratic currents in particular — of a worldwide political convergence toward bureaucratic, totalitarian societies.)

The myth of the historical viability of the bureaucratized regimes in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe was reinforced by counterrevolutionary notions promoted by parties and organizations the world over that looked to Moscow for leadership and resources, as well as by other class-collaborationist forces seeking to divert working people from struggles to advance their own class interests. Even revolutionary leaders of national liberation movements frequently came to look to the Soviet bureaucracy as a permanent — even if untrustworthy — source of diplomatic backing and material support.

The Stalinist bureaucrats themselves took advantage of this illusion in the permanency of their "new social system," anointing it as "actually existing socialism." In fact, as Trotsky explains, it wasn't a historic social system at all, nor even a system of economic planning and management; it was simply graft, hoarding, primitive barter, mutual back-scratching, and other forms of privilege-seeking on a grand scale. Trotsky's assessment that the bureaucratic caste is *not* a historically necessary social class has been confirmed many times over.

Nor are the shifting notions put forward in Stalinist manuals and propaganda over the years truly theories in any scientific sense; instead, they are evolving ideological rationalizations for the gross social inequality and injustice that characterize daily life for the toiling majority in the deformed workers' states. Readers of *The Revolution Betrayed* will discover in these pages, for example, that "family, faith, and country" — a watchword of ultraright politicians everywhere — became an apt description of the social course of the privileged caste in the USSR:

- The regime of Stalin and his heirs reinforced the family as an oppressive institution of class society that maintained the dependency and subjugation of women and shifted many economic and social responsibilities off the workers' state and back onto the individual family unit. Above all, the family served the caste as a convenient social medium through which to pass along prevailing bourgeois values and reactionary notions from one generation to the next. "The most compelling motive of the present cult of the family," says Trotsky, "is undoubtedly the need of the bureaucracy for a stable hierarchy of relations, and for the disciplining of youth by means of 40,000,000 points of support for authority and power."

- Behind the caste's official "atheism," the Stalinists in fact promoted "faith" in two, intertwined ways: (1) fostering layers of the clergy in the traditional Orthodox Church and other religious institutions who were eager to accommodate the regime's anti-working-class policies; and (2) employing age-old practices of idolatry (from Lenin's preserved corpse in the Moscow mausoleum, to ubiquitous statues and portraits of Marx, Lenin, and current Soviet heads of state) in order to gut the scientific and revolutionary content of the Marxist political legacy of Bolshevism.

- Stalin and his heirs reinforced nationalism and national chauvinism. In Lenin's time the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had been formed as a voluntary federation of soviet republics. Its goal was to promote growing class unity of workers and peasants throughout the Soviet Union. The Bolshevik leadership sought to advance industrial and agricultural development, redress economic and social inequalities between Russia and



**Moscow garbage dump.** Soviet working people currently have no voice that speaks for them and no organization that acts on behalf of their historic class interests.

the oppressed nations and nationalities of the old tsarist empire, and combat all forms of social discrimination and Great Russian chauvinism. The reactionary notion of a "Soviet motherland" was a product of the caste's political counterrevolution, including its anti-internationalist conception of building socialism in one country.

#### Internationalism

Lenin, Trotsky, and other Bolsheviks never sought to organize workers and peasants to forge a new "Soviet nation" or a new "Soviet man." To the contrary, the Bolsheviks sought to turn the fact that (to paraphrase the *Communist Manifesto*) "the workers have no country" from a recognition of the toilers' oppressed condition under capitalism into a liberating assertion of their common international class interests in the struggle for socialism. The Stalinists reversed all this, brutally reimposing Russian domination of oppressed nations (now dressed in "Soviet" garb), thus exacerbating national antagonisms and prejudices throughout the USSR and dealing terrible blows to international class solidarity.

Today the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the collapse of the old bureaucratic apparatuses there and throughout eastern Europe, and the accelerating economic and social crises in all these countries have confirmed the accuracy of Trotsky's insistence that no wing of the caste can make these bureaucratized societies work. The instigators of the August 1991 coup in the USSR merely represented a section of the caste, a minority as it turned out, who sought to maintain the perks, privileges, and power of the bureaucracy in one particular way. Tens of thousands of working people courageously took to the streets and blocked this effort by secret police-minded apparatchiks to narrow the toilers' space to organize and speak their minds. But neither Mikhail Gorbachev, Boris Yeltsin, nor any other officials in Russia or the other republics represent a different social layer from those who staged the abortive coup. Soviet working people in city and countryside currently have no voice that speaks for them and no organization that acts on behalf of their historic class interests.

In *The Revolution Betrayed*, Leon Trotsky pointed to the working class as the key to putting the Soviet workers' state back on the road to socialism as part of advancing the world revolution. The class enemy of the Soviet workers and peasants, he explained, is the international bourgeoisie. And the petty-bourgeois caste is the central transmission belt for bourgeois pressures, values, and ideas in the workers' states and working-class movement. (History has proven Trotsky's description of Stalinism as the "syphilis of the labor movement," which many considered extreme, to be chillingly accurate in fact. The problem that has confronted the working class in the closing decades of the 20th century is not and has not been the legacy of Stalinism, but its *actuality* in politics and the

class struggle the world over. To verify this fact, one needs to look no further than the assassinations just in the past decade of revolutionists such as Melida Anaya Montes [Commander Ana Maria] in El Salvador, Maurice Bishop in Grenada, and Thomas Sankara in Burkina Faso, or the mass slaughter organized by the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia; all of these horrifying crimes were a direct consequence of Stalinist political influence inside workers' organizations and national liberation movements.)

#### A more overt turn to imperialism

The various petty-bourgeois political forces now heading governments in the deformed workers' states — from those represented by Yeltsin in Russia to Vaclav Havel in Czechoslovakia, from Lech Walesa in Poland to Nursultan Nazarbayev in Kazakhstan — are more overt than their predecessors in turning for help to the imperialist bourgeoisie. These bourgeois-minded politicians desperately seek incorporation into the world capitalist system and imperialist institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and European Community. They declare their universal goal is somehow to surrender to and be organized by the "market system." These regimes, however, face two enormous obstacles along this road.

First, they have not even begun to try to inflict the kinds of devastating defeats on the working class necessary to reimpose the dominance of the capitalist market system. The violence and repression involved in doing so, and the level to which living standards and job conditions would have to be driven down, would pose big risks of political upheaval at home. Moreover, in today's world the consequences of such assaults would be unacceptable to the international working class and even sections of liberal bourgeois opinion. The first, halting steps in Poland, Russia, and elsewhere have rapidly exacerbated economic and social conditions and been met by working-class resistance. The castes are already vacillating and dividing in the face of such pressures.

Second, the backward, decrepit state of the industrial and other infrastructure and the regimes' incapacity to break workers' resistance makes these countries far from attractive targets for capital investment from the United States, western Europe, or Japan. Moreover, the fact that the world market system has entered the initial stages of a global depression places even greater constraints on the willingness of imperialist governments and businesses to pour capital or aid into these countries. Far from being a boon to a stagnant world capitalism, as most commentators were trumpeting only a couple of years ago, recent developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are in fact one more manifestation of the accelerating crisis of the world market system.

There is a convergence between capitalism and the bureaucratic regimes in the de-

Continued on Page 10

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# Gov't link to 1979 murder in Puerto Rico

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

Further revelations have emerged in Puerto Rico about the involvement of government officials there in death-squad activities. The leader of a death squad organized the 1979 assassination of Carlos Muñiz Varela, a young Cuban who led an organization supporting normalization of U.S. relations with Cuba. A Puerto Rican senator and three right-wing Cuban exiles contracted the murder. Two policemen were the triggermen.

*Claridad*, the weekly newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, made these charges in its January 24-30 issue. In a two-page feature article, the newspaper cited names, dates, and places.

The paper said New Progressive Party senator Nicolás Noguera, together with well-known exiled Cuban businessmen Julio Labatud, José Canosa, and Waldo Pimentel, met with police colonel Alejo Maldonado to propose the assassination. The meeting took place at the Metropol restaurant, part of a chain owned by Canosa.

Directed by Maldonado, two cops ambushed Muñiz in San Juan on April 28, 1979, and shot him to death. *Claridad* reported that the two gunmen were Luis Ramos Grateroles, former head of the police department's theft unit, and Hiram Vázquez, former chief of the homicide division.

Maldonado himself admitted in an earlier interview with journalist José Esteves that Labatud had offered him and Ramos a payment of \$25,000 to kill Muñiz. Labatud raised the money with the help of Sen. Noguera, the paper reported.

Maldonado has been identified as the leader of a hit squad that operated inside the police department. This outfit overlapped with another death squad organized by José López, the top U.S. marshal in Puerto Rico for 10 years. The members of this group also included a U.S. Navy lieutenant, several Puerto Rican policemen, and some exiled Cuban rightists. Its existence was revealed during the recent Puerto Rican Senate hearings investigating the 1978 police murder of two young independence supporters at a site known as Cerro Maravilla.

## Series of attacks

This death squad targeted supporters of Puerto Rican independence, socialists, and unionists. It has been tied to a 1979 machine-gun attack outside a Navy base, the 1980 bombing of the Puerto Rican Bar Association, and other terrorist activities.

The terror gang headed by Maldonado has been tied to several assassinations, including the murder of Teamster union organizer Juan Rafael Caballero in 1977.

Carlos Muñiz Varela, who was 26 years old when he was killed, was a founder of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, an organization of young Cubans living in the United States and Puerto Rico that opposes the U.S. embargo against Cuba and encourages better relations with that country. Muñiz ran Viajes Varadero, a travel agency that organized tours to Cuba by Cubans in Puerto Rico. He was also active in proindependence organizations. This is what earned him the hatred of the U.S.

government, rightist Cubans, and the death squads.

The young activist's murder took place during a wave of right-wing terrorist attacks in the United States and Puerto Rico. Their targets were not only supporters of the revolution but also the growing number of Cuban-Americans who favored a dialogue leading to better relations between the United States and Cuba. In the late 1970s there were more than 100 such attacks.

The month before Muñiz's murder in 1979, two bombs were set off in New Jersey at a pharmacy that sent medicines to Cuba and a community agency run by Eulalio Negrín, a Cuban-American who favored the dialogue. In May of that year, a bomb exploded outside the Cuban diplomatic offices in Washington. In November Negrín was fatally gunned down in Union City, New Jersey. In October and again in December, terrorists bombed the Cuban Mission to the United Nations in New York. In September 1980 a diplomat at the Cuban Mission, Félix García Rodríguez, was assassinated on a busy New York City street.

## FBI made no arrests

In almost all cases right-wing Cuban exiles calling themselves "Omega 7" publicly took credit for the attacks. The FBI and police, however, made no arrests. They were "unable to find any members of Omega 7," they said, although it is well-known that many such terrorists were trained by the CIA to carry out attacks against revolutionary Cuba.

Muñiz himself had been publicly



Carlos Muñiz, a young Cuban activist, was murdered in Puerto Rico in 1979. Two Puerto Rican cops, a senator, and right-wing Cuban exiles were involved.

threatened many times. On January 4, 1979, the Viajes Varadero office was hit by a powerful bomb. According to Raúl Alzaga, a friend and colleague of Muñiz and now the director of the travel agency, there are indications that the death squad led by the U.S. marshal was responsible for this attack.

At the same time, a right-wing newspaper called *La Crónica*, put out by Cuban exile Gloria Gil, was carrying out a campaign of

threats against Muñiz, labeling him a "Cuban consul" and "communist." It even published private information about the security system the travel agency had installed to protect itself from further attacks.

A few days after Muñiz was ambushed and killed, a communiqué was sent to the press in the name of "Commando Zero" taking credit for the assassination and warning that anyone else traveling to Cuba would suffer the same fate. Senator Noguera issued a statement praising his friend Gloria Gil and blaming the Cuban government for Muñiz's death.

"The information published by *Claridad* confirms what we [colleagues of Muñiz] had been saying for years about the role of the cops in this assassination," said Raúl Alzaga of Viajes Varadero in a phone interview. "It backs up our claim that there have been death squads operating in Puerto Rico with the complicity of the government."

Alzaga said that when the FBI questioned him during its initial investigation of the murder, "they treated me like I was a suspect."

He pointed out that even though the authorities have been given many leads over the years, "the FBI has never made a single arrest in the case of Carlos's murder."

Alzaga noted that more evidence is expected to come out in the next round of Senate hearings on the Cerro Maravilla case, which are due to resume in February. The hearings in the fall already revealed a little bit of the FBI's role in covering up the Cerro Maravilla killings as well as the existence of the death squads.

# 'Revolution Betrayed' published in Spanish

## Continued from Page 9

deformed workers' states — but not the rosy visions concocted by bourgeois liberals, Soviet bureaucrats, and many social democrats in past decades. Instead, it is a convergence of, on the one hand, the rightward course of bourgeois politics and mounting pressures on workers' rights and individual liberties throughout the imperialist world and, on the other, trends toward irresolvable social instability and anti-working-class social and political solutions by the dominant petty-bourgeois layers in the Soviet Union and throughout eastern Europe.

There is no guarantee that the working classes in the various former Soviet republics and in eastern Europe will emerge victorious from the struggles that are coming. Today the political initiative remains in the hands of the world's ruling capitalist classes and of the privileged castes in the deformed workers' states, divided and weakened though they may be. But the crumbling of the Stalinist apparatuses has broken down the brutally enforced isolation of Soviet and eastern European workers from struggles by working people and the oppressed in other parts of the world. What's more, the structure of world production and trade at this stage in the decline of imperialism ties together — more closely than ever before — the fates of working people in the workers' states, the imperialist bastions, and the Third World.

Not only was the regime of the bureaucratic caste headed by Stalin not socialism, Trotsky insisted in *The Revolution Betrayed*; it also — and most importantly — was not permanent. "The proletariat of a backward country was fated to accomplish the first

socialist revolution," wrote Trotsky. "For this historic privilege, it must, according to all evidences, pay with a second supplementary revolution — against bureaucratic absolutism. The program of the new revolution depends to a great extent upon the moment when it breaks out, upon the level which the country has then attained, and to a great degree upon the international situation."

## Worldwide challenge

Building a communist leadership of the working class capable of meeting the challenges of politics and making a revolution in Russia and the other republics today is part of building such leaderships in the United States, Mexico, Britain, Australia, South Africa, India, and everywhere else. While a political revolution in the former Soviet Union of the sort Trotsky described in *The Revolution Betrayed* is not on the immediate agenda, the historic alternatives today remain just as they were in 1936: either forward to socialism as part of the world revolution; or backward toward capitalism, counterrevolution, and fascist barbarism in order to maintain the domination of the world market system. That is the great unresolved contradiction of world politics, Trotsky argues, and history teaches that the workers will have opportunities to impose their revolutionary solutions before the bourgeoisie gets its chance.

Helping to prepare the workers for these historic battles was Trotsky's purpose in writing *The Revolution Betrayed: What Is the Soviet Union and Where Is It Going?* While this book remains a masterful scientific dissection of the social origins and dynamics of a privileged caste, its aim is not ultimately

analytical. Its author was seeking above all to offer a communist political compass to help guide working-class fighters and revolutionists everywhere in the world away from dependence on bureaucratic apparatuses of any kind and toward reliance on the conscious and organized power of workers and their allies among other exploited producers.

This Pathfinder reprint edition of *The Revolution Betrayed* makes this classic study available once again to Spanish-speaking readers.

Andrés Nin, the translator, was a founder of the Communist Party in Spain. In 1927 he was expelled from the Communist International for his support to the communist opposition led by Trotsky that sought to continue Lenin's revolutionary and internationalist course.

Nin translated the book during the months following the outbreak of the civil war in Spain in mid-1936. The previous year he had broken with the international communist organization led by Trotsky and joined in forming the centrist Workers Party of Marxist Unification (POUM).

During the civil war Nin briefly held a cabinet position in the bourgeois government in Catalonia. Recognizing the potential for disorientation of working-class fighters as a result of Nin's break with Marxism on the eve of the most momentous class battles in Spanish history, Trotsky polemicized sharply against the capitulation by Nin and the POUM to the class collaborationism of the international Stalinist forces. In June 1937, Nin was kidnapped in Spain by Stalin's secret agents and murdered soon after.

# Socialists challenge write-in vote ban

## Continued from front page

the party has run numerous write-in campaigns since 1938. Between 1988 and 1990 alone, some 210 Socialist Workers candidates were barred from the ballot and ran write-in campaigns instead.

Warren said the ability to run a write-in campaign gives candidates who are not on the ballot a legitimacy not otherwise available. Restricting this right would severely limit access to the media, public speaking events and debates, and broader public interest in the candidate.

"From the moment the Constitution was adopted," he said, "working people have fought to extend the right to vote to broader layers of the population." This includes non-property-owners, Blacks, women, and those between the ages of 18 and 21. "Other restrictions, such as literacy tests, poll taxes,

and other undemocratic measures have been challenged by the labor movement and in the civil rights battles of the 1950s and 1960s."

The SWP brief says that the party "has from its inception been opposed to restrictions on the franchise. It has engaged in both litigation and broader political action along with others to expand voting rights of all individuals in our society and to make meaningful the right to vote."

"The franchise is undermined without the right to cast a ballot for the candidate of choice," the brief explains.

Funds are urgently needed. Tax deductible contributions can be made out to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Inc., earmarked for the SWP Supreme Court brief and sent with the coupon on page 1.

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# Conspiracy charges against Puerto Rican activists dropped

BY TIM CRAINE

HARTFORD, Connecticut — Six and one half years after the arrest of 15 Puerto Rican independence activists on charges of conspiracy in connection with a 1983 robbery, the U.S. government dropped the most serious charges against six of the defendants. This action came at a January 13 hearing in the Federal courtroom of Judge T. F. Gilroy Daly in Bridgeport, Connecticut. At that hearing Judge Gilroy announced that a trial for several defendants will commence on April 13.

In August 1985, the independence activists were arrested in Puerto Rico and brought to Hartford to stand trial. At that time the government and the media alleged that the 15 were members of a "terrorist" organization called *Los Macheteros*, and used this charge as a pretext to deny the right to bail. Most of the defendants were held in jail without bail for sixteen months, and two of them were held for nearly three years before a public outcry forced their release. The legal justification for this blatant denial of democratic rights was based on two counts of the indictment against them, which charged that, as members of *Los Macheteros*, they had entered into a conspiracy to commit armed robbery of a Wells Fargo depot in West Hartford, Connecticut.

It is now precisely those two charges which the government has withdrawn. In fact, all charges against one of the accused, Elías Castro Ramos, have been dropped. Four other defendants, Yvonne Meléndez Carrión, Angel Díaz Ruiz, Orlando González Claudio, and Luis Colón Osorio, face trial on lesser charges involving the alleged transportation of stolen money. A sixth defendant, Isaac Camacho Negrón, has pleaded guilty to reduced charges and will be sentenced on March 13.

## New statistics show depth of poverty in U.S.

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

New statistics reveal the extent to which working people are being driven into poverty in the United States.

The Agriculture Department reports that new records continue to be set for the number of people forced to depend upon food stamps. In October 1991 this figure reached 24.16 million, up 400,000 from September, and 3.23 million higher than a year ago.

Last fall, the Census Bureau reported that in 1990 an additional two million people fell below the federal government's official poverty line, which is \$10,419 annually for a family of three, or only \$868.25 per month.

Some 13.5 percent of the population is officially classified as poor. This includes record numbers of children.

The extent to which sections of the working class are being devastated by this crisis is revealed by the fact that the number of families receiving welfare has increased more in the last two years than in the previous 16.

According to a new survey carried out by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities and the Center for the Study of the States, programs for the poor were cut more sharply in 1991 than in any year since at least the early 1980s. Benefits in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program, which covers 13.2 million people, were frozen or cut in 40 states.

State-funded general cash assistance programs, which provide funds to the extremely poor, were also sharply cut back in 1991, affecting nearly half a million people. Michigan terminated its entire program, ending minimal payments to 82,000 people. Twenty-six other states cut their programs or froze available benefits.

Legislation passed on January 20 in New Jersey makes this state the first in the nation to deny the minimal \$64 additional monthly payment to women on welfare who then have another child.

The government has not dropped the more serious charges against three of the defendants — Filiberto Ojeda Ríos, Jorge Farinacci García, and Hilton Fernández Diamante — and all of the defendants facing trial may receive prison sentences. Nevertheless, this concession by the prosecution is seen as a political setback in the U.S. government's campaign to use the case of the Puerto Rico/Hartford 15 to attack the independence movement.

### 'Terrorist' argument fails

"Now we are in a better position to go to trial since the government can no longer maintain its argument that we are terrorists," Yvonne Meléndez stated in an interview. "This is a victory for the independence movement and shows that, in spite of the repression against us, our struggle continues."

Meléndez pointed to the support the Hartford 15 have received both in Puerto Rico and in the United States as evidence that the U.S. government is failing in its attempt to isolate the independence movement. "This case has given us the opportunity to explain our struggle against colonialism to the people of the U.S.," she stated.

The case of the Hartford 15 has been marked by numerous denials of democratic rights. Most of the evidence against the defendants is based on tape recordings of conversations collected by the FBI in violation of the Puerto Rican constitution and U.S. law. Repeated motions by the defense for a change of venue to Puerto Rico so that the accused may be tried by a jury of their peers have been denied.

The first trial of five defendants in 1988 and 1989 resulted in four convictions and one acquittal. During that trial the identity of the jurors was concealed from the public, supposedly to protect the jurors from the threat of "terrorist" acts. This practice of having a so-called anonymous jury is highly prejudicial to the defendants.

In all aspects, the prosecution of the Hartford 15 has been politically motivated, but the government has denied the accused the



Militant Yvonne Meléndez and Elías Castro Ramos. All charges against Castro have been dropped. Meléndez still faces charges of allegedly transporting stolen money.

right to explain their political beliefs to the jury, stating time and again that this is just a "simple robbery" case. However, when it came to sentencing Juan Segarra Palmer, one of those convicted in the first trial, unsubstantiated FBI allegations about the *Macheteros* were entered into evidence. As a result, he received a 65 year sentence for charges that normally would carry at most 15 years.

Elías Castro pointed to similar government hypocrisy in his own case. "They kept me in prison without bail for 16 months, because they alleged that I was a central figure in a conspiracy. Now they've dropped all charges against me, saying that I'm just a 'fringe' figure. They can't have it both ways."

At the April trial, Filiberto Ojeda Ríos is expected to be tried in absentia. In 1990 Ojeda and Colón announced that they had gone into hiding in Puerto Rico to continue

the struggle for independence. Ojeda has stated that he will only accept judgment by a jury of Puerto Ricans and has instructed his attorney to limit his actions at the trial to denunciations of the proceedings. The government has announced that Colón will not be placed on trial unless he is captured. Farinacci, who is an attorney, will be allowed to represent himself in the proceedings.

Whereas the first trial was held in Hartford, where the case is well known, the government's decision to move the trial to Bridgeport may be designed, in part, to make it more difficult to organize solidarity activities. The Connecticut Committee Against Repression has responded to this move by beginning to organize educational meetings around the case in the Bridgeport community. The Committee may be contacted at P.O. Box 260535, Hartford CT 06126, phone (203) 296-3963.

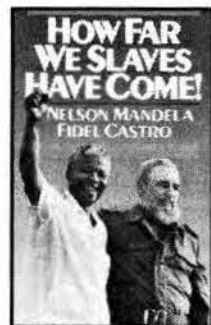
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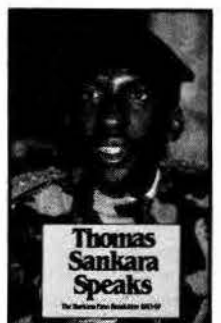
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**The Struggle Against Apartheid Today.** Speaker: Jim Kendrick, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Feb. 1, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

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## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**Protest U.S. Death Squads in Puerto Rico: New Revelations in the Cerro Marravilla Case.** Speakers: Benito Torres, community organizer for the Washington Peace Center, Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Collective; Nelson Gonzalez, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 1, 7:30 p.m. 523 8th St. SE. Donation: \$3. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

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**South Africa: New Stage in the Struggle to End Apartheid.** Speaker: Pete Clifford, Communist League, recently returned from South Africa. Feb. 1, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut. Donation: £2. Tel: 071-928-7993.

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## SWEDEN

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# Pro-choice rally in Washington, D.C.

Continued from front page

arms. Signs proclaiming, "This Clinic is Open" and "Keep Abortion Safe and Legal," were posted. Many people stayed, in bitterly cold conditions, for five hours or more until the threat of a "hit" was over.

This reporter arrived at the Hillcrest Women's Surgi-Center at 7:30 a.m. where dozens of Operation Rescue activists lay at the front door singing the civil rights song "Eyes on the Prize." The police had earlier ordered pro-choice pickets to move away from the clinic, allowing the blockade by Operation Rescue to take place. Pro-choice supporters and opponents of abortion were ordered to the other side of the street, while the cops slowly arrested the blockers, a process which took more than one-and-a-half hours. NOW president Patricia Ireland joined in chants and the singing of "Happy Birthday" to the *Roe v. Wade* decision.

Randall Terry, founder of Operation Rescue, also made an appearance, but the clinic remained open, with escorts taking in patients.

Only one other clinic, the Capitol Women's Center, was assaulted by Operation Rescue. When Randall Terry arrived there he was surrounded by a crowd of youth for abortion rights. They chanted, "Operation failure" and "Racist, sexist, anti-gay. Born again bigot, go away!"

In total, 140 antiabortionists were arrested January 22, while 386 arrests were made the previous day. Their effort to shut down clinics had failed miserably.

Many of the clinic defenders went on to the pro-choice rally, scheduled only days

earlier, along the Constitution Avenue route of the antiabortion March for Life. Dozens of government workers on their lunch hour joined the pro-choice gathering. Organizers set up an open microphone, where participants spoke about the attacks on abortion rights and the need to fight back. Many urged a big effort to build the April 5 March for Women's Lives in Washington, D.C., called by NOW.

The 1,500 participants in the rally then lined the sidewalk as the antiabortion demonstration of 70,000 approached. Police formed a solid line between the two groups.

As the antiabortion march came into view, its most visible signs were three massive red banners reading, "Tradition, Family, and Property." Organizations at the march included Right-to-Life, Libertarians for Life, Boston College Pro-Life Coalition, and several church organizations. Marchers carrying "Feminists for Life" signs drew shouts of "Shame" from the counterdemonstration, as did youth in the demonstration who had been let out from Catholic schools to attend.

Demonstrators carried placards such as, "Abortion: A doctor's right to make a killing," "Equal Rights for Unborn Women," and "Save America, Stop Abortion." Another read, "Foreign workers in the U.S. because Americans abort their babies." Some demonstrators carried signs in support of ultraright presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan.

The youthful counterdemonstrators stayed on the line for the entire hour it took for the

march to pass, chanting, "Not the church, not the state, women will decide their fate" and "What do we want? Choice! When do we want it? Always!" Heated exchanges took place the entire time, as counterdemonstrators confronted the antiabortionists.

"Come back on April 5," some pro-choice supporters yelled, in reference to the upcoming march on Washington in defense of abortion rights.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky  
January 22 action in Washington, D.C.

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## Events in Minneapolis defend abortion rights

BY KATE BUTTON

**MINNEAPOLIS**—Three events were held here by supporters of abortion rights to mark the 19th anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*.

A January 18 meeting featured Dr. Susan Wicklund, who has stood up to severe harassment from the antiabortion groups Lambs of Christ, Pro-Life Action Ministries, and Operation Rescue.

Wicklund's home was surrounded by a chanting and praying mob, and Pro-Life Action Ministries is distributing a "wanted" photo with her name, address, and other details. Her story will air on the February 2 edition of the prime-time TV program "60 Minutes."

Two hundred rallied at the state capitol the following evening. The recurring theme throughout this event was the need to build the April 5th action in Washington, D.C., called by the National Organization for Women (NOW).

Under the slogan "We won't go back," 200 students marched on the University of Minnesota campus January 22 in defense of abortion rights.



**Capitalism, the equitable system** — According to a Congressional study, during the 1980s, families with income of more than \$63,000 enjoyed a 15 percent in-



Harry Ring

crease in income. Meanwhile, families with incomes of less than \$35,000 saw their income stagnate or decline — despite longer hours worked.

**And half a brain is better than none** — Hustling votes in Southern California, the nation's vice prez halted his motorcade at a Burger King displaying a "now hiring" sign. This, he declared, shows the economy is rebounding. The manager said the jobs were part-time, \$4.25 an hour. Responded Quayle: "You have a part-time job, you have a job. That's better than no job at all."

**Hardly worth mentioning** — An explosion at the Susquehanna nuke plant in Pennsylvania injured two workers, contaminating one with radioactive dust. It was designated "an unusual event" — the lowest level of nuclear emergency.

**Up to Uncle** — Members of the Dominican community in Puerto Rico protested when five Cubans who came in illegally were permitted to immediately apply for political asylum. Meanwhile, Dominican refugees are forcibly repatriated. An immigration cop explained that, because they're from a communist country, U.S. law gives Cubans the right to asylum in Puerto Rico, or any other U.S. territory.

**Helps lighten the purse too** — The new, "light" Milky Way II, reportedly contains "25% fewer calories." And it will only cost 22 percent more.

**The 'New World'** — The Pinta,

Niña and Santa María sailed from Spain to the Virgin Islands to be part of a film about Columbus starring Marlon Brando. In the Puerto Rican port of Mayaguez, 22 seamen were left on the dock when they protested the firing of a crew member. A press account said, "There were many organizational problems with the voyage, not the least of which was that the crew was not being paid regularly."

**Take a break from job-hunting** — Check into the Four Seasons in Beverly Hills for their two-night package deal. A corner suite, plus Russian vodka, caviar, and use of a chauffeur-driven limo. \$2,000.

**Stalinism up in smoke?** — According to Philip Morris magazine, Gennadi Gerasimov, a diplomat of the former USSR, spoke in Utah and had the audience in stitches. "There is much discussion about a new name for the USSR," he said. "Philip Morris is sending us billions of cigarettes. So some people suggest our new name should be Marlboro Country."

**Didn't have eyes on the prize** — Jerry Rubin, the 1960s Yippie, is currently organizing "individual entrepreneurs" to peddle "Nutrients for the Brain" and other powders and potions. He has but one regret about his youthful activism: "I wish in the '60s I wasn't so negative about amassing money."

# Largest steelmaker asks union to reopen contract

BY MICHAEL PENNOCK

PITTSBURGH — USX, the largest steel maker in the United States, has asked the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) to reopen its labor contract. The current three-year pact went into effect in March of 1991. The company's goal is to "reexamine and adjust our labor cost structure to be more responsive to our real problems," said USX president Thomas Usher in a Dec. 26, 1991, letter to the USWA.

What this means for workers was hinted at when Usher said, "Many other domestic steel companies, who operate nonunion plants or reconstituted facilities with more favorable labor agreements, continue to report profits..." Another major steel company, Inland Steel, is also asking the union to reopen its contract.

USX cited operating losses, cutbacks at General Motors and other major customers, and the continuing recession as reasons for the reopener. The company announced a \$344 million loss for the first nine months of 1991. This includes, however, a \$344 million charge for "restructuring" the business. That is, closing various plants and departments within currently operating mills.

USWA president Lynn Williams said the contracts will not be reopened, although he did agree to meet with the companies and "listen to your concerns in greater depth."

The 1991 contract grants wage increases for the first time in a decade. It is supposed to bring USX workers up to the level of other major steel companies' workers by 1994. It will not make up for purchasing power lost to inflation or do anything for the tens of thousands permanently laid off.

Reaction at USX's Clairton Coke Works near Pittsburgh is, at this point, against reopening the contract. Some anger is directed against the company. "We should reopen the contract because we should get more," said one worker.

Michael Pennock is a member of USWA Local 1196 at Allegheny-Ludlum Steel in Brackenridge, Pennsylvania.

BY BETSY FARLEY AND JULIE WOLENSKI

FAIRFIELD, Alabama — Here at USX Fairfield Works, many workers are reacting with skepticism to the request by the company to reopen the labor agreement with the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). Most do not believe the cry of poverty from the country's largest and most profitable steelmaker, and several point out that USX has never hesitated to shut down plants when they feel they are not making enough of a profit.

This challenge by the company comes on the heels of a year of on-again, off-again work for steelworkers at the Alabama facility. Hundreds were laid off immediately upon the signing of the 1991 contract as a result of stockpiling by the company in preparation for the possibility of a strike by the union. In September, another cutback of 200 workers took place at the Seamless Pipe mill.

It is clear that the company is taking advantage of the recession and the threat of growing unemployment to try to cut production costs at the expense of the workers.

While USWA International President Lynn Williams told U.S. Steel President Thomas Usher that he is "willing to meet in order to listen to your concerns in greater depth," many workers feel there's nothing to talk about. "We ought to answer them just like

they answered us in 1989," one worker said, referring to the request the union made two years after the signing of the 1987 concession contract. USX had turned a profit and the union felt workers were entitled to reconsideration of the terms of the agreement. The company refused to discuss it.

"I don't even think they should call the meeting," explained another worker at Fairfield Works Tin Mill. "I'd tell them no to reopening, no to negotiating."

Others express the opinion that, if the company can prove that they're losing money, workers will be forced to accept some cuts in wages and benefits to keep them operating.

## 5,000 protest anti-immigrant bill in London

BY MARTIN HILL

LONDON — Five thousand people joined a demonstration called on January 18th by the London Area of the National Union of Students and the Refugee Forum to protest against the Asylum Bill. They chanted, "Refugees are welcome here," "They say go back, we say fight back," and "Black and white unite and fight, fight the racist bill."

The Asylum Bill, introduced in Parliament on November 1, is aimed at intimidating immigrant workers. It targets the rights of refugees, with the stated intention of eliminating "bogus claims" for refugee status. The bill includes provisions that a refugee must apply for asylum status immediately on arrival in Britain, must not have fled his or her own country through a third country considered 'safe' by the Home Office, and must prove they were unable to travel to a "safer part" of the country of origin. A refugee must not be involved in any activities in the UK "calculated to enhance his claim to asylum," phrasing widely understood to prohibit joining protests against the government of the country from which the refugee has fled. The right to free legal aid for asylum-seekers and other immigrants will be ended. Opponents point out the bill will mean that torture victims will be sent back to their deaths.

Banners on the march included those from more than twenty branches of NALGO (National and Local Government Officers), as well as branches (locals) of the National Union of Teachers, the Fire Brigades Union, General Municipal and Boilermakers Union, Managerial Scientific and Finance union, and NATFHE, the college teachers union. Student unions from Southampton, Bristol, Hackney, Vauxhall, and the London Institute of Education took part, as did groups representing Turkish, Kurdish, and Iranian immigrants.

Many marchers wore buttons or stickers supporting the Anti-Racist Alliance and the Anti-Nazi League — two coalitions recently launched to oppose racist violence and the activities of far right groups.

Demonstrators were addressed by a number of speakers, including Labour MPs Tony Benn and Bernie Grant and representatives of Tamil and Kurdish refugee groups. "Many young people here today are confronting racism and fascism for the first time," said Benn, adding that recession and economic slump are breeding grounds of fascism.

Grant asked, "What's wrong with economic migrants?" — referring to government claims that many of those seeking asylum are not "genuine" refugees. "Seventy-seven percent of people admitted last year were white economic migrants. The only

Still others think the company is bluffing, that the reopener threat is a trial balloon to see what the union's response will be in the face of a worsening economic situation.

In 1983 Alabama union officials cut a deal with the company to reopen Fairfield Works after an 18-month shutdown. The "Fairfield Agreement" redrew the local contract — eliminating incentive rates, all past practices, outstanding grievances, and arbitration cases. This agreement has no expiration date, and workers continue to live under its onerous conditions.

In 1986, USX Corporation locked out its 18,000 workers nationwide for six months

when they voted down a contract proposal containing further concessions.

Whatever their immediate intention, the owners of USX Corporation, like other U.S. capitalists, are feeling the pinch from increased international competition and a worsening market for their products. They are driven to try to boost their profits at the expense of steelworkers, and this fuels their drive against the union and their threat to reopen the 1991 agreement.

Betsy Farley and Julie Wolenski are members of USWA Local 2122 at USX Fairfield Works.

problem is when those migrants are Black." He welcomed a promise to fight the bill by Roy Hattersley, a leader of the opposition Labour Party, but added, "I'm a bit skeptical. It's up to you to put the pressure on them. If there's a Labour government after the election, it must be pushed to get rid of the bill."

Supporters of Brian Grogan, Communist League candidate for the parliamentary seat of Southwark and Bermondsey, handed out a statement condemning the recent raid on Smiths Meters, a South London factory, where the entire night shift of 240 workers was herded into a canteen for questioning by police and immigration officials. Grogan ex-

plained that the rise in racist attacks and the Asylum Bill were both products of the recession.

"The ideas of far right groups like the British National Party (BNP) are being made respectable by Tory politicians like Margaret Thatcher and Norman Tebbit. The main threat to working people comes not from the BNP but from bourgeois political leaders," said Grogan, who noted that the Asylum Bill will embolden both racist groups and the cops.

Martin Hill is a member of the Transport and General Workers Union 11935 branch at IBC Vehicles, Luton.

## — 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —



Those who fail to see that the only way to effectively cope with the great problems of the day is to break through the trap of capitalist politics, often wind up chasing after some pretty dismal hopes. A current example of this is the contingent of antiwar liberals, and even some who consider themselves radicals, who have actually been looking to Robert Kennedy as an alternative to the warmakers.

This has not disturbed Kennedy. A cynical politician on the make, he has made a point of not openly shattering these illusions although, it must be admitted, he never really did anything that gave grounds for such hopes. Last week, however, he apparently felt the need to make his position clear. He did so in a speech at Oxford University where he defended U.S. policy in Vietnam against the vigorous criticism of the students.

The Jan. 29 *New York Times* reported: "In response to repeated questions about Vietnam, the Senator made it clear that he was backing the Johnson administration in its policies there."

"The Senator said he was convinced that the Johnson administration wanted a peaceful solution in Vietnam that would provide an opportunity for the people there 'to choose any kind of government they want.'" The report added that though he was generally well-received, Kennedy drew hisses when he remarked that "if the people of south Vietnam want the Commies, President Johnson said he would abide by the results." For a minute

there, Kennedy must have forgotten he was in liberal-minded England and thought he was back in the good old USA during the days when he was a counsel to the Commie-hunting McCarthy committee.



In its efforts to pin the responsibility on Kimmel and Short for the success of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the report of the Roberts Commission showed in detail that Washington had fully expected the outbreak of war in the Pacific. The report stated further that Washington had believed that the war was "inevitable" because "the policy of the United States as to affairs in the Pacific was in conflict with the policies of other governments."

Winston Churchill now claims he got assurances at the Atlantic conference from President Roosevelt before the attack on Pearl Harbor that "the United States even if not herself attacked would come into the war in the Far East."

To understand the basic causes of this war, to understand why Japan launched the attack on Pearl Harbor, to understand why Roosevelt gave assurances that the United States would enter the war in the Pacific even if not herself attacked, workers must consider more than the first military acts of the war. They must also study and come to understand the conflicting policies, economic and political, as to affairs in the Pacific and elsewhere, which motivated the contending governments in their acts before the outbreak of military hostilities.



## Build April 5 abortion action

This year's "March for Life" in Washington, D.C., drew an angry response from hundreds who came out to defend a woman's right to choose abortion.

The pro-choice protesters were overwhelmingly young women and men who spent two days defending clinics from attempted blockades by Operation Rescue, and held a counterdemonstration along the route of the anti-abortion march. Their militancy and determination show the potential for organizing a powerful response to the increasing government and right-wing assault on abortion rights.

The events on this year's anniversary of the *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion highlight the need for all those who support abortion rights to build the April 5 national March for Women's Lives in Washington, D.C.

The need for a national mobilization is further underlined by the January 21 announcement by the Supreme Court that it will rule on the constitutionality of a Pennsylvania law restricting access to abortion. This law requires notification of a woman's husband before an abortion can be performed, parental consent for minors, a 24-hour waiting period, and notification by the doctor about the alternatives to abortion. The Supreme Court review of this case opens up the possibility of *Roe v. Wade* being severely gutted or overturned.

Arguing that *Roe v. Wade* is dead, top officials of Planned Parenthood and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed a petition in November asking the court to "make clear its intentions on abortion" by hearing this case. On January 22, the ACLU took out a full page ad in the *New York Times* reading "ROE V. WADE — 1973-1992?" The ad announced

a "new strategy" of lobbying for an Act of Congress guaranteeing abortion rights by federal statute, or by a Constitutional amendment, which would not be subject to court interpretation. The ACLU proposes a letter-writing campaign to members of Congress and senators to advance this perspective.

National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) Executive Director Kate Michelman looks to this year's elections to achieve legislation that will defend abortion rights.

But *Roe v. Wade*, and the right to abortion it incorporates, are not dead. Whether the Supreme Court rules to undermine *Roe v. Wade* will reflect the political price the ruling class is prepared — or not prepared — to pay for making such a decision. There is nothing new about the ACLU's proposed strategy of relying on Congress, and concentrating on electing "pro-choice" politicians to defend fundamental rights. The end result of limiting the fight for abortion rights to the electoral and parliamentary arena since 1973 has been precisely the curbing of abortion rights for working-class and young women.

The right to abortion is a democratic conquest that strengthens women's ability to participate as equals in the workforce — thus further unifying and strengthening the labor movement itself. For this reason the labor movement should endorse and build the April 5 action, joining in the effort to raise the stakes that the employers' government must consider as it presses its assault.

**All Out for the April 5 March for Women's Lives!**

## Answering Buchanan demagoguery

Patrick Buchanan is gaining a hearing for his right-wing demagoguery today because of the deepening crisis of capitalism. No credible alternative to his rightist perspective is being advanced, either in bourgeois politics or from the labor movement whose leadership fits entirely within the framework of bourgeois politics.

Growing unemployment and deteriorating living conditions have created a sense of desperation among many working people and parts of the middle class as the United States continues in depression conditions.

The mainstream Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives alike, all start from the same premise; they want to do what is best for U.S. capitalism. None of these politicians even dare call for increased government spending to respond to the crisis, because they fear this would start an inflationary spiral that would weaken the dollar and the competitiveness of U.S. industry.

The Democratic and Republican contenders offer working people nothing besides a goal of balanced budgets and no tax increases.

Many working people see through pieces of the Buchanan propaganda. But in the absence of a fighting labor movement and with union bureaucrats echoing the Japan-bashing and anti-immigrant rhetoric of the bosses, Buchanan is making headway.

In Los Angeles, union officials under the guise of "Buy American" were key in mobilizing opposition to the city's plan to grant a contract to a Japanese company for building mass transit. But in doing so the labor misleaders only line up workers behind the demands and needs of the bosses.

Buchanan takes advantage of the economic crisis and the empty rhetoric of his electoralist opponents to push ideas that are anti-working-class to the core. The ultimate logic

of implementing Buchanan's themes would be to cripple the labor movement.

Buchanan charges that the George Bush campaign is "Japan Inc." The purpose of this Japan-bashing and baiting is similar to his anti-Semitism. Its goal is to create a scapegoat to divert working people from seeing their real enemy: the capitalists rulers who profit from our labor and who make the decisions about when factories are closed and workers are to be laid off. Unemployment is not caused by Japanese workers. It's caused by a system that puts profits before human needs.

Buchanan's anti-immigrant remarks have the same roots as his anti-Japanese scapegoating. They are directed at dividing working people.

The working class has a common enemy: the owners of the mines, mills, smelters, and factories and their governments. And they have a powerful ally: working people around the world, like the fighting workers at Hyundai in South Korea shown on the facing page, and workers and farmers from El Salvador and Cuba to the Philippine islands and South Africa.

Proposals for uniting working people to defend their class interests against capital can be found in the *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*, presented by the Socialist Workers Party.

Among the proposals are: a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to spread around the available work, affirmative action to overcome the effects of discrimination against women and oppressed minorities, and a call for canceling the Third World debt. A fight led by the labor movement around these demands is the only effective way to unite working people and meet the challenge posed by Buchanan.

## Japan-bashing divides workers

In a bellicose speech in Detroit, on his return from accompanying President George Bush to Tokyo, Chrysler Corporation chairman Lee Iacocca launched into an anti-Japan tirade.

"I for one am fed up hearing from the Japanese, and I might say from some Americans, too, that all our problems are our own damn fault," he complained.

Just a week later Japanese legislator Yoshio Sakurachi said that American workers are "lazy" and that a third of them "cannot even read."

Virtually all the U.S. presidential candidates from Republican Patrick Buchanan to Democrats Paul Tsongas and Robert Kerrey are jumping on the bandwagon of "Buy American."

The bosses often use the crudest methods to promote this line. The President of the Franklin Bank in Southfield, Michigan, was so inspired by Iacocca's Japan-bashing that he is offering \$100 to customers who buy a car made by GM, Ford, or Chrysler. The Monsanto Company in Missouri is offering \$1000 to any of its 12,000 workers who buys a car assembled in North America before July 31.

Frankly, why should any worker give a damn whether a car or part of a car or any product was made in Tokyo or New York?

Japan-bashing in the United States and its counterpart in

Japan have to do with nothing but the dog-eat-dog competition between capitalists, and their attempts to pull "their" workers in to aid their side in the competitive battle.

This begins with workers subjecting themselves to the bosses' needs in industry, and ends — as in World War II and other wars — with workers slaughtering each other in their "masters'" cause. But U.S. and Japanese workers are not enemies; they are allies who have everything important in common, from the fight against speedup and anti-union bosses, to the struggle against the militarism of the capitalist class in each country. The slogan of the Communist Manifesto written nearly 150 years ago, that "working people have no country," has never been more true than today.

The road to fighting for jobs and higher wages and against concession contracts, racial discrimination, and other scourges of capitalism does not lie with accepting the framework set by the Iacoccas and the Democrats and Republicans, but by rejecting their attempts to divide the working class.

The January 26 rally of 5,000 in support of the striking workers at Caterpillar — the first of a series of such events — is an example for working people everywhere. The event was a serious discussion of the way forward for the fight, in which Japan-bashing had no place. The fight back by the workers at Caterpillar shows what is needed today.

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 in the paper.

Readers across the United States and Canada will have an opportunity to discuss and find out more about issues raised in the columns of the *Militant* at several weekend regional educational conferences in February.

The conferences, sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, are open to all who want to participate.

Each weekend event will include a keynote talk and discussion on the rising class tensions and political polarization in North America today. Among other political questions, these sessions will look at the new wave of ultrarightism — from Patrick Buchanan to Operation Res-

## DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

cue, its significance, and how to fight it. They will examine the underlying crisis of capitalism, what has led to the depression that has begun in the world capitalist economy, and how workers and youth can make progress in the fight for a just world.

The conferences will also look at recent strides forward in the historic struggle, led by the African National Congress, for a democratic, nonracial, nonsexist South Africa. Speakers on this topic will include *Militant* editor Greg McCartan and others who in December completed a reporting trip to South Africa.

The program of the conferences will vary slightly from place to place. Other topics planned for some of the conferences include classes on "The roots of racism and the myth of race" and "The origins of women's oppression."

These conferences provide an ideal opportunity to learn, ask questions, and raise your point of view.

Conferences are already planned for the weekend of February 8-9 in Boston and Toronto and February 15-16 in Los Angeles and Seattle.

Readers in nearby regions can take advantage of transportation being organized to these weekend events. For example, *Militant* supporters from Detroit and Montreal will be attending the Toronto weekend; those from the northeastern United States will travel to the Boston conference.

Details will appear in next week's *Militant*; to find out more, contact the offices listed in the directory on page 12.

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*Militant* readers can help out the paper by sending in photographs that can illustrate news articles.

In particular we need an up-to-date file of photographs of some of the major industries — from steel to garment — that articles cover. Useful pictures show workers at work or at shift changes, illustrating the character of the work force and the surrounding buildings, plant, company signs, etc.

Each time you are preparing an item of workers' correspondence for the paper, try to figure out a way to get an illustration to send in with it. The right picture can really bring a story to life.

\* \* \*

The weekly *Calendar* and *Militant Labor Forums* columns are a useful place to advertise coming political events. Readers are reminded that the deadline for receiving information — by mail or fax — to go into these columns is 9:00 a.m. Monday, EST. The paper's publication schedule — we go to press at 7:00 p.m. each Monday evening — precludes accepting material received later than this.

The deadline for orders for *Militant* bundles is also 9:00 a.m. every Monday.

## Super Bowl protest

Continued from front page

like to be born a 'nigger' and still be called a boy at age 65. Names are part of how they keep us down."

The rally and march to the Minneapolis Metro Dome, where the Super Bowl was held, was sponsored by a national coalition that included the National Congress of American Indians, the National Organization for Women, the NAACP, and some Minneapolis-area unions.

During the week before the Super Bowl some players on both the Buffalo Bills and the Washington Redskins had expressed solidarity with the Indians, including Charles Mann and Andre Collins of the Redskins. "Truthfully I would have to agree," said Collins. "The name is derogatory."

While many of the football fans were not interested in the protest, others were curious. Some fans expressed sympathy with the cause.

One Washington Redskins fan said, "I saw one sign that had the Webster's definition of redskin. It said 'offensive and derogatory.' I have to agree."

The day before the Super Bowl protest, several dozen protesters attended a basketball game at the University of Minnesota. They were protesting the University of Illinois team's mascot Chief Illiniwek, an Indian caricature. When the protesters unfurled signs, they were attacked by police. Four demonstrators were arrested.

The University of Minnesota wants the demonstrators to be charged with felony aggravated assault on police officers. Video-tapes viewed later that night at the Peace Maker Center, an Indian community center, backed up claims that the campus police had acted without provocation.



# Striking Seattle Teamsters say 'no' to concessions

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

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

"We have no coffee breaks," a picketer explained, "and sick leave and seniority rights were taken away in previous contracts." He added that "they want concession contracts every three years, and we've gone on strike every time."

Another said, "Ten years ago we had a better way of life. It's been all concessions since then." And an-

## ON THE PICKET LINE

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

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines to let other *Militant* readers know what is happening at your workplace or in your union. If there is an interesting political discussion going on at work, we would like to hear about that too.

Fifty warehouse workers who are members of Teamsters Local 117 in Seattle, Washington, have been on strike against Alaskan Copper and Brass Co. since Sept. 17, 1991. The company's truck drivers, organized by Teamsters Local 174, are also on strike. The drivers began a sympathy strike for the warehouse workers in early October but are now themselves on strike. Their contract expired December 31.

The main issue is not wages but health and welfare benefits. The company wants to make the workers pay \$200 per month for dependent coverage on a medical plan and wants to take away a paid holiday.

other summed it up saying, "They just want to chip away at our life-style." Wages have been reduced from more than \$14 per hour to the current \$11.70 per hour.

The strikers were frank about the difficulties they face. "The company does not want to compromise; it's take their offer or nothing." The company and union have not talked since November. The company has been advertising for strikebreakers and, according to strikers, has returned production to 80 percent of normal.

Strikers are not eligible for unemployment compensation. The company froze vacation and holiday pay and has given workers' holiday bonuses to the scabs.

Nevertheless, the strike has remained solid, and the strikers vow to persevere.

### Paperworkers on strike in Australia win court victory

Workers at Vista Paper Products, Emu Plains, New South Wales, won a victory in court in their fight against the company's attempt to break their union. The workers, members of the Printing and Kindred Industries Union (PKIU) won a favorable ruling by the Industrial Relations Commission, which instructed the company to reinstate the workers and to



Striking auto workers rally at Hyundai's Ulsan plant, the largest car plant in South Korea. The plant's 30,000 workers voted to strike Dec. 17 demanding increased bonuses. Hyundai closed the plant, which is now occupied by 5,000 workers.

compensate them with full back pay. "A year ago I would not believe that we would stick together and support one another," commented striker Alan Mallitt.

The Industrial Relations Commission also ordered the company to negotiate any proposed changes in work practices with the union.

The workers have maintained a picket line since March, when 39 of the plant's 70 workers were fired for refusing to accept an Australian \$1-per-hour (about US\$.75) pay cut, an extension of the workweek from 35 to 40 hours, and to sign individual contracts.

In an attempt to maintain production, the company hired workers to

break the strike, including workers from a prison release scheme and from a government-run unemployed workers service. Union delegate (shop steward) Ron Broom estimates that production at the plant is still only at a third of the previous level.

In the course of the dispute the pickets have been faced with violent attempts to break the strike. The caravan that serves as a picket headquarters had gun shots fired into it while pickets were inside. Fortunately no one was injured. A picket-line tent at a side entrance was burned down and one striker had his car firebombed. No one has been arrested for these attacks.

The strikers won support from

unions across Australia. Some A\$150,000 was donated from a fund set up by the Australian Council of Trade Unions.

The company has three weeks to decide whether to appeal the Commission's decision, which can stall a final decision for an additional six months.

"This is a great victory, it's not just for us, it's for other workers," said striker John Roertson. "But we don't count on receiving our back pay until it's in our pockets."

Bob Cantrick in Seattle; Paul Roberts and Bob Aiken in Sydney, Australia, contributed to this week's column.

## LETTERS

### Israeli repression

We would like to provide some information about the arrest of Amneh Mafargeh, an activist in the General Federation of Trade Unions (GFTU). On November 12, Amneh's house was raided by Israeli security officers. She wasn't home at the time, but the security officers left a note summoning her to appear at the Russian compound in Jerusalem that day. The Russian compound is a police interrogation center.

Since that time until December 16 her lawyer Lea Tsemel managed to visit Amneh only once. Now her family visits her regularly.

The GFTU reached a conclusion that Amneh was arrested because she is a union activist. We consider Amneh a prisoner of conscience and the continuation of her arrest violates the Geneva Convention. In coordination with many organizations, including Israeli democrats, we are waging a solidarity campaign in order to ensure the freedom of our colleague Amneh Mafargeh.

Sami Samaan  
General Federation of  
Trade Unions  
Ramallah, West Bank

### 'Jewish' state?

In the back page article "Israel 'strongly condemned' by UN for deportation of 12 Palestinians" in the January 24 *Militant*, there is the following formulation: "The growing divergence between Tel Aviv and Washington came to the surface last fall, when Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir requested that the United States provide guarantees for \$10 billion of loans that the *Jewish state* (emphasis added) claimed it needed to build housing

for immigrants."

I think that it is wrong to refer to Israel as "the Jewish state." Actually Israel is a *Zionist* state that—despite the claims of its apologists, beginning with Theodor Herzl, who I believe first used the term "Jewish state"—acts in reality *against* the interests of the Jewish people.

Reactionary elements as well as anti-Semites have often used the pretensions of Zionism to be in the interests of Jews to blame Jewish people for the crimes of Zionism.

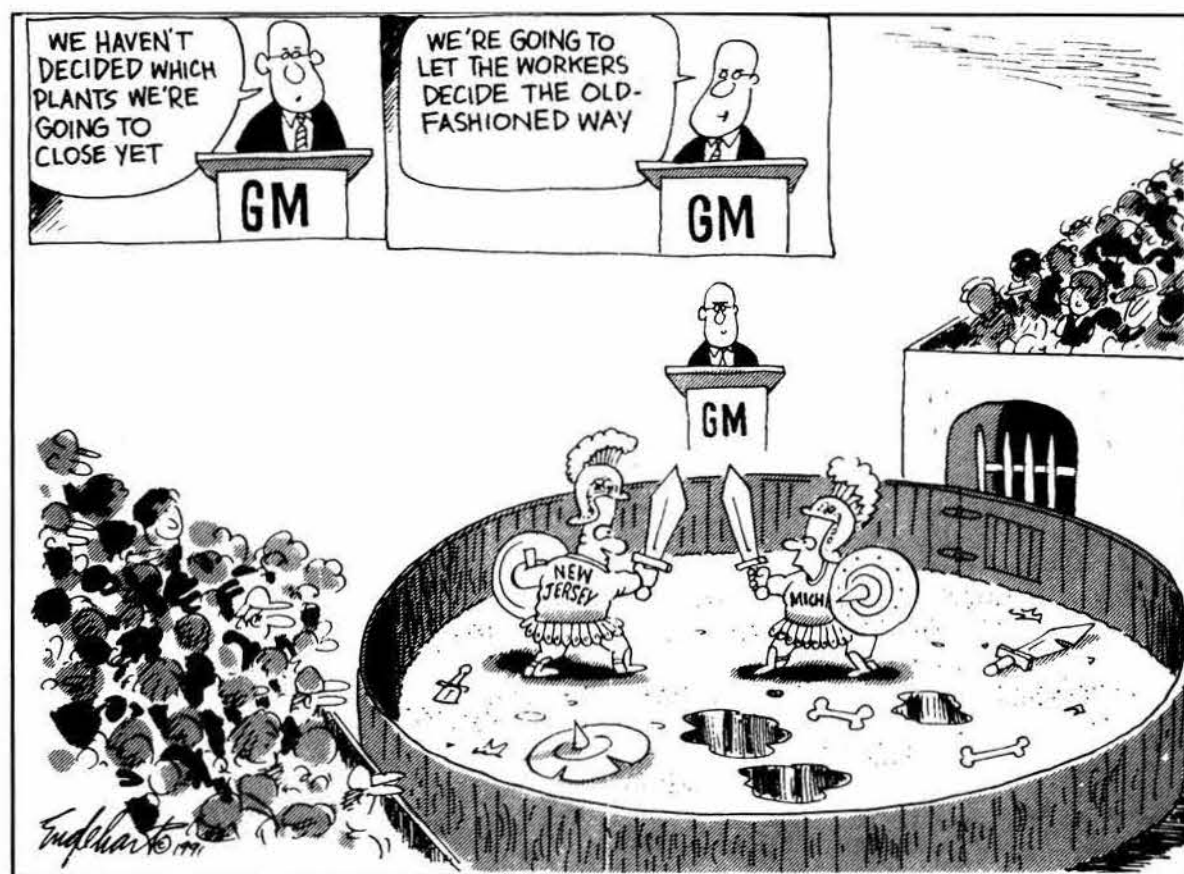
Moreover, the use of this term tends to lump all Jewish citizens of Israel into a block with the reactionary policies of the Israeli state at the very time when revolutionaries around the world take heart from the "beginning of resistance by workers" inside Israel that as the *Militant* correctly notes, "show the increasing possibilities for Palestinian activists finding allies among Israeli workers."

Pete Seidman  
New York, New York

### Racism on railroad

Recent articles in the *Militant* around the fight against a white student union at the University of Minnesota and the conference there on the Myth of Race have been helpful in a discussion which has erupted where I work.

Several weeks after the company newsletter ran a lead piece on the progress of dealing with diversity within the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA), two white supervisors were caught by surprise when their racist "private discussion" was transmitted over the air. The microphone was inadvertently left on in the company vehicle in which they were driv-



ing. The *Philadelphia Daily News* carried the story saying in their headline that SEPTA was "red-faced over red-necks discussion."

The chat in the company car lasted for some 20 minutes. They were quoted saying that blacks are only good for "smoking crack, having babies, and serving on the frontlines in Vietnam."

What is really important is the serious political discussion among the ranks that this incident has provoked. There is a petition being circulated by the United Transportation Union which represents conductors and passenger attendants on the regional commuter trains. The petition expresses outrage at the behavior of

the supervisors and lays out a series of steps the company should take, including "sensitivity training," to avoid recurrences in the future.

In the tower where I work there has been an ongoing passionate discussion. There were some who believed the supervisors should have been fired. But as an engineer challenged, can you really advocate firing people for their ideas?

There are some white workers who attempted to jump from this incident and then project the term "racism" onto black workers they believe are "prejudiced" against white people. We've also had a lively discussion over the differ-

ences between the character of a white student union and why a black student's association is not racist.

This discussion has been valuable because as the events in places like Dubuque, Iowa indicate, we can expect more of these incidents and discussions in the near future.

Craig McKissic  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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.



## Protests against police brutality from New Jersey to California

BY DEBORAH LIATOS  
AND DAVE HURST

HACKENSACK, New Jersey — The trial of Teaneck cop Gary Spath opened here January 15. Spath is charged with one count of reckless homicide in the April 1990 shooting death of Phillip Pannell, a Black teenager.

Of the most prominent cases of youth killed by police in New Jersey over the last two years, this is the only case where a cop has been put on trial.

The trial has brought forward substantial evidence to prove that Pannell had his hands in the air when he was shot in the back as he was running away from cops who were chasing him. The evidence includes a forensic pathologist who concluded that Pannell's arms had to have been raised above his head for the bullet hole in his jacket to line up with the wound in his body.

Many witnesses at the scene testified that Pannell was running with his hands up, attempting to turn around and surrender when shot down. One witness, nurse's aide Dorothy Robinson, said that she was prohibited by police at the scene from administering cardio-pulmonary resuscitation to Pannell after he was shot.

Spath's attorneys claim that the killing of Pannell was justifiable self-defense because Spath feared the youth was reaching for a handgun in his coat pocket. Spath is white. There are no Blacks on the jury.

On the night after the killing of Pannell, 1,000 people attended a candlelight vigil in Teaneck. As the vigil ended, participants were confronted by police in riot gear wielding nightsticks. This provoked a rebellion in which five people were arrested.

Because of community outcry, Spath was



Family of youth slain by Teaneck, New Jersey, police, attending trial (left). Phillip Pannell, slain youth (right).



suspended from the police force with pay. A grand jury investigating the killing cleared Spath of any wrongdoing. But because of efforts by the Pannell family and their supporters, as well as inconsistencies in the evidence surrounding the shooting, a second grand jury indicted Spath on the reckless homicide count.

Throughout the trial, Spath's lawyers have attempted to discredit Pannell as a "threat to the community." Attempts have been made to discredit and intimidate prosecution witnesses as well, many of whom are Black.

Minutes after leaving the witness stand where he testified that he saw Pannell with his hands up attempting to surrender, Melvin Deberry, a 36-year-old Black resident of Teaneck, was arrested by police in the courthouse lobby and charged with a two-year-old parole violation.

In an interview after the arrest, Thelma

Pannell said, "I'm angry. [Spath's attorney Robert] Galantucci is trying to discredit witnesses and paint my son as a criminal. That's the way the police department does it. I hope the jury will listen to the witnesses. My son was shot in the back. Spath should not walk away from this free."

## 'Los Angeles police must go'

BY JOHN EVENHUIS  
AND THABO NTWENG

LOS ANGELES — The Henry Peco Justice Committee is demanding that the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) be banned from patrolling the Imperial Courts housing project in Watts, a predominantly Black and Latino neighborhood in the southern part of this city.

Henry "Tiny" Peco was shot and killed by two cops Thanksgiving weekend during an electrical blackout at the Imperial Courts project. Police say it was "justifiable homicide" in response to an alleged assault on them by Peco. But family and friends confirm that Peco was unarmed and that the shooting was unprovoked. He was trying to escort children home safely out of the darkness of the power outage.

At a news conference, Carl Washington, a leader of the justice committee, put forward the demand to prohibit LAPD policing at Imperial Courts. "We don't want the Los Angeles Police Department's presence here anymore. We are tired of being treated like animals."

Imperial Courts is patrolled by two police forces, the LAPD and the Los Angeles City Housing Authorities. Residents have aimed their grievances at the LAPD because of their particularly severe and pernicious conduct.

A January 16 rally and speak-out, held at Imperial Courts, was the latest event in a series of protests organized by the Henry Peco Justice Committee. It was also sponsored by a number of Imperial Court- and Watts-based organizations. About 250 people attended the rally, most of them residents of the housing project.

Featured speakers were Jesse Jackson,

Congresswoman Maxine Waters, and leaders of the struggle at Imperial Courts. Posters plastering the rally site read "Stop LAPD's Brutality," "Support the struggle in Ramona Gardens/Justice for Ortiz, Hernández, [Arturo] Jiménez," — the names of three recent victims of slayings at the hands of the LAPD and the LA County Sheriff's Department, and "Gates Must Go." Daryl Gates is the Chief of the Los Angeles Police Department.

At the January 16 rally, Carl Washington made the point that the LAPD would not be patrolling at the rally site that day and that rally supporters had organized their own security forces to oversee the event.

At the rally, a public discussion took place on which way forward for their struggle. Theresa Allison, the aunt of Peco and a central figure of the Justice Committee, remarked, "Gates and [Mayor Tom] Bradley don't give a damn about our children and our tomorrow." They are part of "a system and city that is dirty and corrupt." She pointed to the day's event as a "victory" because of the broad range of people attending.

Later that afternoon, after the event was over, a LAPD patrol car drove through the project. This sparked a small crowd of people to protest with repeated chants of "LAPD Must Go!" which forced the cops to retreat.

Then, on December 30, the police orchestrated a pre-dawn raid on the housing project. Thirty-five cops made their way into people's homes serving outdated warrants, most of which were for public drinking and traffic violations. In all, 44 arrests were made. Police officials say that this attack was only a pre-emptive maneuver to control gunfire on New Year's eve. No guns were found.

## Cover-up attempt in Florida

BY ANDY TOWBIN

WEST PALM BEACH, Florida — Public anger at the West Palm Beach Police Department is mounting after the release of a December 26 Internal Affairs investigative report that failed to find police guilty of using excessive force in the beating death of Robert Jewett.

On Nov. 24, 1990, officers Stephen Lee Rollins and Robert Thurlow arrested Jewett, who was hitchhiking, and beat him to death. The officers were acquitted in a 1991 jury trial. A protest march of 800 people and a tumultuous town meeting followed the verdict.

In response to a request by U.S. representative Harry Johnston, the Justice Department said it will investigate the police-custody death for civil rights violations.

"I think they did try to cover things up," said the victim's mother, Louise Jewett, "and I think they tried to cover up their cover-up with the investigation."

The Internal Affairs panel found that the seven cops at the scene of Jewett's death may have violated 40 departmental rules. The supervisors left Rollins and Thurlow alone to guard the scene, failed to interview them, and did not provide first aid for Jewett.

Police Sergeant Timothy Finnerty resigned from the force one week after the panel's report was made public. The report accused him of lying when he denied calling Police Benevolent Association (PBA) officials rather than rushing to the scene.

Sloppiness, and not a cover-up, was the reasons for the mistakes made by cops at the scene, said Police Chief Billy Riggs after the report was released. "We screwed up royally," Riggs said. "Am I going to have to say it for the rest of my life? We did lose some of the citizen's confidence. I want to regain that."

The panel noted without comment Rollins' claim that he put Jewett in a fatal choke hold accidentally. The other injuries were caused by a fall, the panel said.

The erosion of public confidence in the police deepened after the release of the Internal Affairs report.

"The investigation showed that once the seriousness of Mr. Jewett's injuries became clear, there was a deliberate attempt to hamper any investigation," wrote columnist Randy Schultz in the Jan. 5, 1992, *Palm Beach Post*.

"When you have this many [officers] engaged in a cover-up, you have a network — a mentality. You can deal with two bad cops. What do you do when you think that you have a bad department?" he wrote.

## Cop violence on video in Alabama

BY EVAN ROBERTS

HUNTSVILLE, Alabama — Several marches protesting police brutality have taken place here since local TV stations showed footage of a Huntsville cop striking a Black man. The videotape showed police officer Jim Smith punching Kenneth Stevens, who was standing with his arms at his sides. Stevens was knocked to the ground and later treated at a hospital for a bruise on the left side of his face.

Officer Smith has not been prosecuted, fired, or otherwise disciplined. This has sparked several protests, including one of 700 people on December 15 and one of 250 on December 22. Most protesters were organized through their churches.

The Coalition of Concerned Citizens for Equality and Justice, which organized the protests, initially called for the firing of Officer Smith and Police Chief Ric Ottman. Currently, however, it is placing more emphasis on a demand for the hiring of more Blacks as police officers. The coalition is also calling for a consumer boycott of Huntsville businesses until these demands are met.