

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Washington threatens war against Iraq

— PAGE 11

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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Big stakes in fight against Caterpillar

The four-month-long strike by 10,800 United Auto Workers (UAW) members has put Caterpillar workers on the front lines of the labor movement. Their fight against a company that is trying to shore up its profits by taking back hard-won gains in wages, working conditions, and benefits deserves the support of all working people.

Caterpillar claims that global competition won't allow for a contract that doesn't in-

EDITORIAL

clude significant givebacks. The recent company declaration of an impasse, with the implied threat of hiring scabs to replace strikers, has raised the stakes of this fight.

Thousands of workers from the Midwest and across the country demonstrating in Peoria, Illinois, Caterpillar's international headquarters, on March 22 will be a powerful counter to the company's attacks on the union. Continued solidarity activities with UAW members on strike will help get out the truth about the struggle against Caterpillar to working people across the country. This will be needed to win the strike.

Caterpillar workers are veterans of many long and bitter strikes. The wage levels that they enjoy today have been a result of those struggles, not because of the generosity of a "globally competitive" company.

Caterpillar is an industry giant with plants all over the globe. It's a company with a commanding share of the worldwide market for earth-moving and construction equip-

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ment. But, like all capitalist corporations today, depression conditions in this country and a worldwide economic downturn are driving them to push harder for concessions from workers.

If Caterpillar wins its demands for two-tier wages, reduced health-care coverage, cuts in pension benefits, fewer union representatives on the job, loss of rights for laid-off workers, and other takebacks, it will weaken the fight of all workers to maintain our standard of living today and fight for better conditions in the future.

The outcome of this fight is especially important for auto workers who will certainly

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U. of Minnesota will register whites-only group

BY GREG ROSENBERG

MINNEAPOLIS — The University of Minnesota has declared its intention to register the ultrarightist White Student Union (WSU) as a student organization.

University president Nils Hasselmo said March 9 that the group, led by fascist-minded student Tom David, will be allowed to register and receive student fees, should a request for such fees be submitted and approved.

Hasselmo claimed that an earlier announcement by vice-president for student affairs Marvalene Hughes that the group would not be allowed to become an official organization or receive any funds was due to "confusion."

The furious debate over the group, which

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New York socialist opens Senate election campaign

Says working-class unity needed to fight capitalism's wars, economic catastrophe

BY GREG McCARTAN

NEW YORK — "The fact that several prominent opinion columnists now recognize one of the five major candidates for U.S. President as a distinctly 'American fascist' shows the stakes shaping up in the class struggle for working people around the world," Ed Warren said at a press conference here.

At the March 16 event announcing his campaign for U.S. Senate, Socialist Workers Party candidate Warren said the assessment by some opinion writers of Patrick Buchanan, the Republican challenger to President George Bush, is correct. "The reactionary proposals advanced by Buchanan and other ultrarightist and fascist-minded forces around the country are a product of the bipartisan shift to the right by the Democratic and Republican parties.

"These two parties, and the super-rich ruling families they represent, have tactical disagreements over how to respond to the 'new world disorder' and the consequences of the crisis of the market system," the senatorial candidate said. "But all agree on one thing: they must bring untold hardship, violence, and economic deprivation on broader and broader layers of the working class to try and salvage their system."

Warren, a worker in the city's meat-packing industry, is currently unemployed. He is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 174. Radio station WBAI and the New York Daily News attended the press conference. Warren visited several other radio and newspaper stations during the day.

Born in Memphis, Tennessee, Warren became involved in political and union struggles early in life when he joined the fight to unionize the city's sanitation workers. Thirty-nine years old, he has joined in the numerous protests against police brutality in New York over the past four years.

Supporters of the campaign will begin an ambitious petition effort later this year to get the socialist ticket on the ballot in the state, he said.

"The Democrats and Republicans, with their plans for launching new wars against Iraq, Korea, or Libya within months if not weeks, have no plans to relieve the effects of

the economic crisis on working people," Warren told the press. "They seek only to defend the interests of the ruling capitalist families in the United States against their competitors abroad and against working people when they resist or mount fight-backs here at home and around the world."

Talk of a "New World Order" by ruling-class politicians following the war against the Iraqi people has now been replaced with more sober assessments, Warren noted, pointing to former President Richard Nixon's statement that Washington has not yet won the Cold War and in fact faces the question of "who lost Russia?"

"Documents by Pentagon planners also highlight how U.S. imperialism recognizes rising world instability and heightened economic competition — which logically heads

toward World War III — with its rivals in Japan and Germany," he added.

"Working people have no interests in fighting the bosses' wars — whether against

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Militant/Jim Little

Ed Warren, socialist candidate for U.S. Senate in New York.

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Nixon says U.S. risks losing Cold War

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

"The United States and the West risk snatching defeat in the cold war from the jaws of victory." This was the central message of a memorandum written by former U.S. president Richard Nixon and sent to influential figures in governing circles. The memorandum was entitled "How To Lose the Cold War."

"While the candidates have addressed scores of significant issues in the presidential campaign, the most important issue since the end of World War II — the fate of the political and economic reforms in Russia — has been virtually ignored," warned Nixon. "We have heard repeatedly that the cold war has ended and that the West won it. This is only half true. The Communists have lost the cold war but the West has not yet won it."

Pointing to the enormous economic and social instability in the former Soviet Union, Nixon assailed President George Bush for what he called "pathetically inadequate" aid to the Russian regime of Boris Yeltsin. "The West has failed so far to seize the moment to shape the history of the next half century. . . . If Yeltsin fails, the prospects for the next fifty years will turn grim," he said.

"What has the United States and the West done so far to help Russia's first democratic, free-market oriented, non-expansionist government?" Nixon asked. "We have provided credits for the purchase of agricultural products. We have held a photo-opportunity international conference of fifty-seven foreign secretaries that was long on rhetoric but short on action."

The Bush administration's support to

Yeltsin so far has been primarily \$3.75 billion in commercial credits to buy grain from the United States and an international aid conference in Washington that produced a onetime airlift of food and medical supplies left over from the Persian Gulf war.

The disintegration of Russia's economy has accelerated since the lifting of many state price controls by Yeltsin's regime January 2. Consumer prices have jumped by an official 350 percent while the cost of many staple foods has leaped 10-fold. Incomes, meanwhile, have not kept pace.

A second shock is due this month, when most remaining price controls are to be lifted. Consumer prices are expected to jump by as much as 75 percent in April alone. On April 20, Yeltsin's government plans to lift con-

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How abortion rights were won in 1973 — pages 8-9

Racists attack in Washington, Pittsburgh

BY NELSON GONZALEZ

WASHINGTON, D.C. — In what has been described as a "heinous" racial attack, two white men were charged with attempted murder and hate crime violations when they chased and assaulted two Black women in Wheaton.

The attack took place at 3:00 a.m. on March 3 as the two women, Myrtle Guillory, 29, and Johnie McRae, 39, were walking to a pay phone at the Aspen Manor Shopping Center on Georgia Avenue.

Both women described seeing a car drive by them several times when suddenly the car stopped abruptly and two men "jumped out like madmen." As they fled the two women became separated and Guillory described how one of the assailants, Sean Riley, "chased me down like an animal, like he was out on a deer hunt. He said, 'I'm going to kill you over and over again.'" Guillory was able to escape when she broke away from Riley and ran into the house of a neighbor.

Meanwhile, McRae, who had run in the direction of nearby woods, was caught and beaten by John Ayers Jr., the other assailant, who proceeded to rip her clothes off, douse her with lighter fluid, and then tried to set her on fire.

Ayers told police that he ran away from McRae when he noticed the lights of the police cruisers that were called in. McRae described how Ayers knocked her down, and sat on her chest, beating her and shouting racial slurs before she blacked out.

A *Washington Post* article then described that police saw her wander out of the woods later, naked from the waist up, bleeding from cuts to her head and covered with charcoal lighter fluid.

The attack provoked an immediate response from families living near the area

where the attack took place. Close to 40 people made up of neighbors, local civil rights leaders, and friends participated in a rally along Georgia Avenue in Wheaton the day following the assault. Many held signs denouncing racist attacks and asking passing motorists to honk to protest racism, which many did. "We want these women to know that there are people in this community who are opposed to racial violence," said Fawn Ackerman, who organized the rally.

Local news media described the incident as one of the most violent racially motivated crimes in Montgomery County in the last decade. Alan Dean, director of the Montgomery County Human Relations Commission, said he could recall two incidents as serious as yesterday's: the shooting of a Black man five or six years ago and the 1989 beating of an Asian man by three "skinheads."

The Montgomery commission received 195 complaints in 1991, including 35 complaints of assaults motivated by race or religion.

A *Washington Post* article on March 5 quoted McRae describing how she felt during the attack, "I felt like I was going to die, I just didn't think there was any hope."

McRae and Guillory said they want to see their attackers receive long prison terms.

BY LEROY WATSON

PITTSBURGH — Tyrone Hopson said he was "angry, surprised and disappointed" when he discovered yesterday that two bricks painted with racial epithets had been hurled through windows of his home in Lawrenceville, a section of Pittsburgh. Hopson has lived in the Stanton Avenue home for three years without any problems, he said.

The bricks were thrown into the house

February 20. Painted on the bricks were swastikas, a cross, profanity, and the words "white power" and "get out niggers." Hopson's daughter was afraid to go to school the next day, but he said he told his children "not to worry and not to have any fear. We have the right to live here just like they do."

Hopson told the *Militant* that his neighbors have given him support, telling him he has every right to stay. Door-to-door *Militant* sales to people in the neighborhood found the same response. Two Lawrenceville youth, ages 16 and 17, were arrested February 25 and charged with ethnic intimidation and criminal mischief.

However, the Hopsons were again the target of vandalism February 27. Two rocks hit the house, breaking the same window that had previously been broken. Pamela Hopson, Tyrone's wife, said she heard someone yell

"nigger" after the rocks were thrown. "Children are not brought into the world hating," she commented.

Meanwhile, on February 22 Black actors Angelo Reid and Chrystal Bates, leaving the Laurel Highland Regional Theater, were assaulted by a gang of 20 youths. The gang shouted racial insults and threw beer at them.

Reid was hit three times in the head. He said he saw several people coming toward them, yelling, "Let's see if you are bad," and "Nigger, stay out of Lawrenceville." Reid and Bates escaped when a friend drove up in a car.

City Councilman Jim Ferlo called the February 22 incident at the theater "outright racial violence," but local businessmen are trying to play it down, claiming it was not racial.

New York socialist campaign

Continued from front page

the people of Iraq, North Korea, or Libya. We have no interest in the employers' Japan-bashing either. Japanese workers face the same kinds of problems that we face in the United States. They are our allies, not our enemies," he said in a press statement.

The Democratic candidates for U.S. Senate in the state — Al Sharpton, Geraldine Ferraro, Elizabeth Holtzman, and Charles Abrams — say that "the problem is that a Republican, Alfonse D'Amato, is in the Senate," Warren said. "It is true that D'Amato is an anti-working-class politician. But neither liberal policies or conservative policies are the cause of the problem — capitalism is."

'We will take on Buchananism'

He urged fellow working people and youth to join the only socialist alternative in the 1992 elections to the course represented by the Democratic and Republican party politicians.

"We will take on Buchananism in all its forms — whether it be rallies defending cops who brutalize us, Operation Rescue's street mobilizations, Minnesota's White Student Union, and others. We will explain," the socialist said, "why instead of succumbing to the demagoguery and scapegoating of these incipient fascist forces, working people need to fight to break down the divisions between us bred by capitalism — both inside the United States and with fellow workers abroad."

He pointed to a pamphlet called the *Action Program*, a set of fighting proposals put forward by his party. It calls for mounting an international fight for jobs, affirmative action, and cancellation of the onerous foreign debt of the semi-colonial world. By charting such a course working people will begin to address and organize a struggle around the pressing needs of those most affected by the capitalist economic crisis. This would strengthen the fighting capacity of the entire working-class movement, he said.

"As a candidate for U.S. Senate I will be standing alongside everyone who is looking for ways to fight back and to defend the rights of working people," he said. "I urge young people and unionists to join me in Peoria,

Illinois, March 22 for a national rally in solidarity with the strike by members of the United Auto Workers union against Caterpillar's concession demands and at the April 5 rally to defend abortion rights in Washington, D.C."

Warren concluded by saying that he is running for Senate on the Socialist Workers Party ticket to "provide a working-class alternative to the increasing reactionary, bipartisan drive that will result in war and economic and social catastrophe."

"Put yourself in the shoes of a working person or young person in 1932. The Depression was underway. Fascism was conquering in Europe. World War II loomed on the horizon. We know what the outcome of the last great social crisis of capitalism was and the fact that it could have been prevented if the struggles of working people had either not been diverted or drowned in blood. We face the same challenge today. Becoming a part of the fight for a workers' and farmers' government that would open the struggle to replace capitalism with socialism is the only answer to the new crisis we face."

Anti-Semitic attacks rise in United States

BY DEREK BRACEY

Anti-Semitic attacks in the United States hit a record level in 1991, a report from the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) details. In addition, for the first time there were more attacks on Jewish people than on their property.

The February 6 report says 950 incidents of anti-Semitic harassment, threats, and physical assaults occurred in 1991. There were 929 acts of vandalism.

There were 60 politically related anti-Semitic assaults in 1991, twice the number for 1990, as well as 49 acts of arson, bombing, and cemetery desecration and 101 anti-Jewish incidents reported at 60 colleges. Abraham Foxman, the ADL's national director, said most of these attacks occurred during the war with Iraq.

University will register racist group

Continued from front page

last fall was responsible for physical assaults on student protesters, continues in the pages of the campus *Daily*. Some letters from students oppose the granting of student organization status to the WSU. Others defend the WSU on the basis of free speech.

Tom David, in a letter to the *Daily* published March 13, said, "The University administration has said that the white student cultural center will not receive any funding. Yet, Asian, African, Hispanic and Indian cultural centers all receive funds from the University."

Chris Nisan, Socialist Workers Party can-

didate for U.S. Congress from Minneapolis and a leader of the fight against the WSU, said David's points "are a trap. The clear basis for denying registration and funding to the WSU is its white-exclusive character. Free speech is not the issue. Nor is this a fight over one 'cultural center' versus another."

Nisan said that "the WSU is part of an ultrarightist vanguard, like Patrick Buchanan, that is on the offensive. The battle over this deadly threat must be taken up by all students and the labor movement."

Students are discussing the next steps to take in the fight as the winter quarter draws to a close.

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

Thousands attend farmers rally in Ottawa, Canada

BY JIM UPTON

OTTAWA — Calling for the maintenance of protectionist import quotas and domestic marketing boards in dairy, egg, and poultry production, 30,000 farmers, their families, and supporters from across Canada rallied here February 21 in front of Parliament buildings. Two hundred farmers also traveled by bus from the United States.

Organized by the Canadian and Ontario Federation of Agriculture, the Union of Agricultural Producers of Quebec (UPA), and Dairy Farmers of Canada, along with egg, turkey, and chicken marketing boards, the demonstration was one of the largest ever organized by farmers in Canada.

The Ottawa rally was called to oppose proposals being discussed in the current round of international negotiations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) that would threaten the existence of a highly protected domestic market administered by marketing boards.

The goal of the GATT negotiations is to reach international agreement on regulations

governing trade in more than a dozen sectors of economic activity, including agriculture.

A proposal to reduce agricultural trade barriers submitted to the talks by GATT director-general Arthur Dunkel in late December would allow governments to use tariff barriers to protect domestic agricultural products from imports and maintain production at current levels.

However, over a period of six years these tariff barriers would have to be lowered by a minimum of 15 percent and an average of 36 percent.

This proposal would eliminate a section of article 11 of the GATT, which currently allows countries to impose highly restrictive quotas on imports where domestic production is controlled by marketing boards.

Under the government-established system in Canada, a farmer who wishes to produce and sell dairy, egg, or poultry products, for example, must first buy a production quota from the appropriate marketing board. The board determines the total number of quotas



30,000 farmers and their supporters rallied February 21 in Ottawa, Canada.

available based on market demand, establishes the cost of each quota, and guarantees the price to farmers.

Strict federal import controls prevent the purchase of cheaper products available on the world market. Many farmers defend this supply management system as the only alternative to competing in an unstable market over which they have no control.

In Canada, only between 1.5 percent and 7.5 percent of milk, chickens, and eggs are imported. The remainder is supplied by the 38,000 domestic producers of these items.

Farmer organizations fear that the elimination of import quotas and marketing boards and a gradual reduction of tariff barriers would open up the Canadian market to a flood of U.S. dairy, poultry, and egg products, which are lower in cost.

"Are we going to allow the United States to bully our government into signing a GATT deal that lets them steal our markets?" Louis Balcaen, chairman of the Dairy Farmers of Canada, asked.

Deputy prime minister and finance minister Donald Mazankowski drew applause when he pledged that the Conservative government would continue to fight against proposals to eliminate import quotas and marketing boards.

"We are not your enemy," he told the farmers. "We are your friend. We are defending your interests" in the trade talks.

Liberal Party leader Jean Chrétien, New Democratic Party leader Audrey McLaughlin, and Quebecois Bloc leader Lucien Bouchard stressed their willingness to join the government in opposing any weakening or elimination of article 11 in the GATT.

The Canadian government opposes freer trade in dairy, poultry, and egg production, where its exports are negligible, but, as a major exporter of grains, it is pressing for freer trade in this sector of agricultural production. To this end, it has joined the Cairns Group of 14 countries, led by Australia and

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Court sentences Mohawk activists

BY ROGER ANNIS

MONTREAL — Ronald Cross and Gordon Lazore were sentenced by a Quebec provincial court February 29 to 52 months and 23 months in jail respectively.

The two Mohawk Indians were convicted January 22 on 29 charges arising out of the 1990 assault by Quebec and federal police and the Canadian Army on the Mohawk territories of Kanesatake and Kahnawake, near Montreal. They were the first Mohawks to be convicted by a jury on charges arising out of the 1990 police and army operation.

To date, 30 other Mohawks have pleaded guilty or have been convicted in non-jury trials arising from those events.

The guilty rulings against Cross and Lazore include mischief, possession and use of firearms, and, the most serious charge, aggravated assault.

The assault allegedly occurred against Francis Jacobs, a Mohawk resident in Kanesatake during the police and army siege. Jacobs testified at the trial as the chief witness for the Quebec government prosecutors.

Kanesatake and Kahnawake were under attack for 11 weeks. The crisis was provoked July 11, 1990, by a Quebec provincial police raid at Kanesatake on a group of Mohawks protesting the attempt by capitalist interests in the neighboring town of Oka to expand a local golf course onto land claimed by the Mohawks.

Cross and Lazore joined scores of Mohawks and their supporters who went to Kanesatake after July 11 to support the land rights fight there.

"Why should they go to jail," said Phyllis Montour, after the sentencing. "After all they were defending our land and you could say it was like war. One side had guns, so what did they expect the other side to have?"

Neither Cross nor Lazore testified at their trial. Their lawyers explained that this strategy was intended to keep the full burden of proof on the prosecution.

The two Mohawks launched an appeal of their convictions February 20. Some \$200,000 is owed to their lawyers.

Quebec government prosecutors announced February 24 that they will appeal the acquittal of Roger Lazore, a third Mohawk who stood trial with Cross and Gordon Lazore, as well as the decision by the judge to set aside several dozen other charges originally brought against the three due to lack of proof.

The prosecutors also argue that defense lawyer Owen Young should not have been allowed to include the subject of Native rights in his summation to the jury.

Mohawk activist Kahn-Tineta Horn held a press conference February 18 to kick off a defense and fund-raising campaign for 39 Mohawks and supporters whose trial began with jury selection March 2. Horn is one of the 39. They, along with Cross and the

Lazores, were the last group to hold out against the police and army siege.

Several days later in Montreal, she spoke at the first of a series of planned fund-raising concerts, attended by 100 people. She explained that the 39 would use the trial to defend their actions in support of the long-standing Mohawk land claim at Kanesatake.

She summed up some of the arguments that would be presented.

"The government called on the army when negotiations could have resolved the conflict," she explained.

"When we ended the siege [on September 26, 1990], we were beaten and our rights were violated. The soldiers who did

this should be court-martialed.

"To this day, the Mohawk people are continually harassed by the police.

"Our movement is broad and international. It is made up of ordinary people who are fighting to defend their liberties and live without fear. Defending our rights means defending your own rights."

Horn appealed for donations to the Mohawk defense to be sent to: Liberation of the Mohawk Nation Defense Fund, P.O. Box 645, Kahnawake, Quebec, JOL 1B0. Tel: (514)638-4750

Roger Annis is a member of Local 1900 of the Canadian Auto Workers union.

Auto workers report increased 'Militant' sales

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Militant distributors continue to report a great deal of interest in following and supporting the strike by members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) against the Caterpillar earth-moving equipment manufacturer.

Sales to UAW members have been going extremely well at factories and at plant gates throughout the country. *Militant* distributors in the UAW report 99 papers sold last week — 248 percent of their goal!

From Chicago Pat Smith reports 24 papers were sold to UAW members last week — 22 of them in Peoria, Illinois, where one of the striking Caterpillar plants is located. Peoria will be the site of the March 22 UAW-organized solidarity rally.

From Boston Valerie Johnson reports UAW members purchased 18 *Militants* outside the plant gate of Northrup in Norwood, Massachusetts. One worker gave \$5 for two papers, which he planned to circulate in the plant. Johnson reports a positive response to the *Militant's* labor coverage — GM plant closings, Caterpillar strike, and West Coast longshoremen's strike — all of which were featured on the front and back pages of the paper.

At the Freightliner plant in Mt. Holly, North Carolina, where the UAW recently completed an organizing drive and waged a successful strike to win a contract, 6 *Militants* were sold. Many other workers made a point of waving in support of the sales team as they drove into the plant, reports *Militant* distributor Bob Rowand.

Socialists in the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) also did quite well last week, reaching 93 percent of their weekly goal. In Birmingham, Alabama, 20 papers were sold to USWA members. At Trinity Industries, a USWA-organized railcar plant, workers bought 17 papers and one subscription. "Workers were especially interested in the coverage of the Caterpillar

strike," reports USWA member Betsy Farley.

"Five supporters of the *Militant* from Pittsburgh spent a day visiting locked-out Steelworkers in Ravenswood, West Virginia, and sold 22 papers and one subscription," writes Matilde Zimmermann. Some 1,700 aluminum workers have been locked out by the Ravenswood Aluminum Corp. (RAC) for the past year.

"One retired RAC worker, a Navy veteran, bought a paper and told the salespeople, 'If a communist candidate came along right now, I'd vote for him,'" reports Zimmermann. "One woman who bought a paper said

she 'belonged to three struggles' since she was an American Indian, wife of a locked-out Steelworker, and related to union coal miners too. She asked to have information on Socialist Workers Party election campaigns mailed to her."

Reports listed on this week's "Sales to industrial unionists" scoreboard come from 18 areas in the United States.

The final scoreboard in this campaign will appear in next week's *Militant*. Supporters should be sure to send their final sales figures into the *Militant* business office by Friday at 9:00 a.m. EST.

Sales to industrial unionists, Jan. 18-March 19

Union	Weekly sales goal	No. sold Militant #10*	Percentage sold of weekly goal	Subscription renewal goal	No. of renewals sold	'How Far We Slaves Have Come!' book goal	No. of books sold
U.S.							
ACTWU	20	14	70	12	7	25	9
IAM	60	21	35	30	18	55	21
ILGWU	14	4	29	3	4	15	4
OCAW	40	4	10	19	13	50	38
UAW	40	99	248	20	22	40	46
UFCW	40	16	40	20	14	25	15
UMWA	8	14	175	7	6	17	15
USWA	45	42	93	30	17	30	19
UTU	45	11	24	35	9	30	10
U.S. Totals	312	225	72	176	110	287	177
Canada							
ACTWU	3	0	0				
CAW	4	8	200				
IAM	5	4	80				
ILGWU	5	1	20				
USWA	4	1	25				
Canada Totals	21	14	67				

* Includes copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* and *L'internationaliste* sold this week.

Residents fight cop killing of Henry Peco

Los Angeles police come up with new 'evidence' but fail to stop protests

BY ELIZABETH STONE
AND THABO NTWENG

LOS ANGELES — Since last November when Henry Peco was gunned down by Los Angeles cops, the Henry Peco Justice Committee has been campaigning to bring out the truth about the killing. Of the approximately 1,400 residents of the Imperial Courts housing project where Peco was killed, hundreds have turned out time and again for marches, rallies, and picket lines organized by the committee.

The cops and their supporters have counterattacked, stepping up daily harassment of Imperial Courts residents. On February 25 they tried to deal a death blow to the committee when two youth from Imperial Courts, Marlon Kirkwood and Kevin Jenkins, claimed in court they saw Peco shooting at the cops. They pleaded guilty to separate charges of attempted murder and hiding a rifle Peco allegedly used.

The news media reported these "confessions" as valid and pressure immediately came down from government authorities for the Justice Committee to drop its campaign.

"The whole purpose of the confessions was to quiet and dismantle the Henry Peco Justice Committee," committee co-chair Perry Crouch explains. "They are saying, well we've got these guys, they've confessed, so it's over. But the only thing it did was make us stronger."

Crouch, who lives and works at the project, helped found the committee along with co-chair Theresa Allison, Henry Peco's aunt. They and dozens of other relatives and friends who saw Peco the night of November 19 remain convinced that an independent investigation of the killing would show the cops are lying. Up to now there has been no such investigation.

"We called in the FBI to help us, but they ended up endorsing the 'confessions' of Kirkwood and Jenkins and siding with the cover-up of the cops," Allison says. "They did this without even talking to our witnesses."

The many residents who saw Peco the day he was killed make it clear he was helping children to safety when the cops opened fire.

Power blackout

Early that evening, there was a power outage at Imperial Courts. The project's drill team, the "High Stompers," was practicing on the gym field. When the lights went out, Henry Peco helped Linda and Cynthia Mendenhall bring the children and young people on the drill team into the gym for

safety. They were concerned because on previous nights some shots had been fired in the project.

Peco then went with his cousin LaShaune Holmes and Lisa Knowles to take three children to LaShaune's house, which is several

Sharon Holmes came running. Peco's sister Jaquetha West tried to comfort her brother and the police pulled a gun on her.

LaShaune Holmes, who was able to sit on the ground with Peco, began to plead for an ambulance. Residents called 911, but cops



Jaquetha West next to memorial to her slain brother Henry Peco

blocks from the gym, dropping off other children along the way. He was playing with the children, racing them, wrestling with them, and hugging them. He took them inside and lit the stove so the children could warm up.

At Holmes's they noticed that Peco's little brother and niece were missing. Peco phoned his sister and mother to see if the youth were with them, but got no answers. He and Holmes decided to return to the gym to look for them.

Holmes had to go to the bathroom, so Peco started back to the gym alone. On the way he ran into an aunt and Tinker, his cousin. A few minutes after talking with them, between their house and the gym, Peco was shot.

After the shots rang out, Tinker yelled, "It's Tiny, it's Tiny" (Peco's nickname). Peco was then seen crawling on the ground, begging the cops to stop.

Holmes, Knowles, and Peco's cousin

turned the ambulance around. During this whole time, no one saw any guns, other than those of the police.

Peco received six shots

Peco was shot in the bottom of the foot, in the leg, the ankle and in the buttocks and abdomen. Another shot, the one that killed him, was between the eyes.

The cop's say they came to the project to respond to shooting when the lights went out. But LaShaune, Knowles, and others saw an unusual number of cops, including some in plain clothes, massed in the area long before the killing. Earlier in the day one cop had threatened a group of tenants including Peco, saying that someone was "going to pay" for an earlier shooting at the project.

"The police account of what happened makes no sense," Allison explains. "The cops said they had four suspects — Peco, Kirkwood, Jenkins, and another person they say was wounded by the cops. But no one has

ever seen or known of such a wounded person.

"The cops say Tiny attacked them with an AK-47 assault rifle. But many people were in the area and the cops were close to Peco when they shot him. How could Jenkins have come so close to pick up the assault rifle with no one seeing him? The cops didn't do a search for this so-called rifle until a week later. Both this rifle and the .38 revolver Kirkwood supposedly had have never been found."

An article in the January 5 *Los Angeles Times* quoted Jenkins's lawyer, Justin Groshan, as saying that Jenkins's testimony against Peco was coerced.

The *Times* later reported that after the plea-bargained "confessions" Groshan didn't want to talk about the question of coercion.

Protests against the cops began the night of the killing. "The anger was building up," Perry says. "First the shooting. Then the cops start pulling guns on other people, cursing at people. They took people to jail for asking questions. So we all marched together, over a hundred by then, to an adjacent lot."

"They took Theresa's daughters, Sharon and LaShaune, handcuffed and in separate cars to the 108th station and kept them until about a quarter to one."

"When Tiny's mother came to find her son, they showed no respect. They didn't let her see Tiny until 11:15, over five hours after he was shot."

Demand for independent investigation

The Peco Justice Committee held its first rally at the 108th Street station December 7. On December 17 committee leaders appeared, along with Congresswoman Maxine Waters, at the police commission, demanding an independent investigation.

Police chief Daryl Gates attacked "misinformation" he said was being spread by Imperial Courts residents. He charged that gunshot residue on Peco's hands indicated he had fired a weapon. The committee responded with information from the coroner that the residue could have come from shots fired at Peco at close range.

The cops retaliated December 23 by driving over the memorial that the residents had built for Henry on the spot where he was killed.

On December 31 cops did a sweep of the project, arresting 66 people. They compiled a list of people with outstanding warrants, including traffic and public drinking violations, and went searching for them house-to-house just before dawn. The cops claimed the purpose of the raid was to cut down on the number of people celebrating New Year's Eve by firing guns in the air. But no guns were found.

Sharon, Theresa's daughter, reported they rushed through her house at 5:30 a.m. looking for someone no one living there had heard of named "Martin," terrifying her three children. They also went to the door of Henry Peco's mother.

After the sweep, the committee called for the LAPD to be taken out of the project, leaving the housing authority officers as the police force. Now they are focusing on mobilizing people to push back the cop abuse and brutality, to make it harder for the cops to harass and intimidate.

"The whole purpose of the Henry Peco Justice Committee is to save the children," Perry says. "We will continue to do this thing because if we just lay back, another Henry will occur. If they can get away with this and we don't continue to expose what happened, they will try to get away with another."

"We are pro-human life. We want to make sure things are available to our young kids so they won't get mixed up in gangs and do things contrary to life. We want jobs and education. We want respect."

The committee has broadened its scope to include united action with families and supporters of victims of police brutality throughout the city. A rally and march with the theme of "united communities against police terror and crimes" is planned for Tuesday, March 31 at 10:30 a.m., starting at the County Building.

Widespread torture by Chicago cops exposed

BY JOHN VOTAVA

CHICAGO — Police officers and commanders in Chicago engaged in systematic torture and abuse of suspects over a 13-year period, according to a report released February 7.

The abuse, which took place between 1973 and 1986, included electric shock, beatings, suffocation, and psychological torture. The report had been prepared in September 1990 by the Office of Professional Standards (OPS), a civilian oversight board, but had been kept secret by police officials.

The torture cited in the report took place in the Brighton Park police station in a largely Black working class neighborhood, in the city's South Side, known as Area II.

Public hearings are now being conducted by the Chicago police board over charges filed by the Office of Professional Standards against commander John Burge and officers John Yucaitis and Patrick O'Hara. The three officers have been suspended since November after being charged with torturing prisoner Andrew Wilson in 1981.

The OPS had originally cleared Burge, Yucaitis, and O'Hara when the charges of the Wilson torture first surfaced. They were forced to reopen the investigation in 1989 when a jury found that the Chicago Police Department has an unstated policy of allowing officers to torture prisoners when the killing of other cops is being investigated. Wilson was convicted for the killing of two cops.

The report stated that "the preponderance of evidence is that abuse did occur and that it was systematic. . . . The type of abuse de-

scribed was not limited to the usual beating, but went into such esoteric areas as psychological techniques and planned torture.

"Particular command members were aware of the systematic abuse and perpetuated it either by actively participating in same or failing to take action to bring it to an end."

Charges of systematic torture had been leveled against the police department for years, resulting in a number of court judgments against the Chicago police and a call for investigation by Amnesty International. In the past Chicago has had to pay more than \$6 million a year to settle claims of police brutality.

Many of the victims described in affidavits collected by their lawyers that they had been attached to an electroshock device, which the cops kept in a black box. From there the cops administered electroshocks to the victims' genitals, ear lobes, and arm pits. Others said they passed out after having plastic bags secured over their heads, stopping the flow of oxygen. When they recovered they were suffocated again in some cases.

In a number of cases cops stuck guns with empty chambers into the mouths of prisoners or pointed them at their heads and pulled the triggers. Others said they were hanged from hooks by handcuffs attached to their wrists and were beaten on their feet and testicles.

During the hearings Wilson took off his shirt and showed scars he had from the treatment he received ten years earlier. He said that first Yucaitis and later Burge gave him the "black box" treatment. He detailed the beating and choking he received by the cops. Wilson added that his shouts eventually drew

attention to the room and the abuse stopped.

In charge of the Brighton Park station during the period covered by the report was Leroy Martin, current Chicago Police Superintendent, Chicago's top cop. Although Martin was commander of the district for only one year it was at a time when the abuse was rampant. Taylor, one of the attorneys for many of the victims, charged Martin with a "cover-up".

Burge, testifying at the hearings, denied the charges of torture. Martin said it was "an outright lie" that police commanders knew about or condoned torture.

However the Chicago *Tribune* has pointed out that Martin has flaunted an image of the "tough cop," calling his officers the "toughest gang" in town and suggesting that parts of the U.S. Constitution should be suspended to make "crime fighting" easier. "This is a fine police department, fine men and women on it," he told a Chicago Urban League luncheon.

Burge has been the focal point of protests by many in the Black community during his rise in the police department because of mounting evidence of torture against 13 suspects in the 70s and 80s.

The African American Police League and Black Officers United pushed to make the reports public and hold the hearings.

"All of the victims were Black or Latino, so far as we've seen, and the people who were doing the torturing were white officers," Taylor said. He said that many of the alleged victims claim the abusive cops made racist slurs. According to Taylor some of the victims were released after being tortured and were never charged.

Officer testifies that cops hit Rodney King without cause

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — From the outset of the trial, lawyers for the four cops charged with the beating of Rodney King have worked overtime to persuade the jury to forget what they saw in the videotape of King being clubbed and stomped.

Instead, they argue, the jury should take the word of the cops that in the moments before the video filming began, King was resisting fiercely and posing a serious danger to the cops — armed with guns, clubs, and stun guns — who surrounded him.

The lawyers also insist that in their savage

beating of King, the cops were acting totally in accord with training they received from the Los Angeles Police Department. One defense lawyer declared, "They acted in a departmentally-approved fashion."

Evidence will prove, he asserted, that the cops derived no pleasure from what they were doing but acted out of "fear and frustration."

Their self-defense claim was at least partially discredited by Melanie Singer, a policewoman with the California Highway Patrol. She and her husband Timothy, also a CHP cop, are patrol car partners and were the ones who chased down the car driven by King for alleged speeding.

Her original account of the incident largely coincided with the reports filed by two of the LAPD cops involved. In addition to the assault charge, two cops were also indicted for filing false reports.

Like the two LAPD cops, Singer wrote her account of the incident before she knew there was a videotape of the beating.

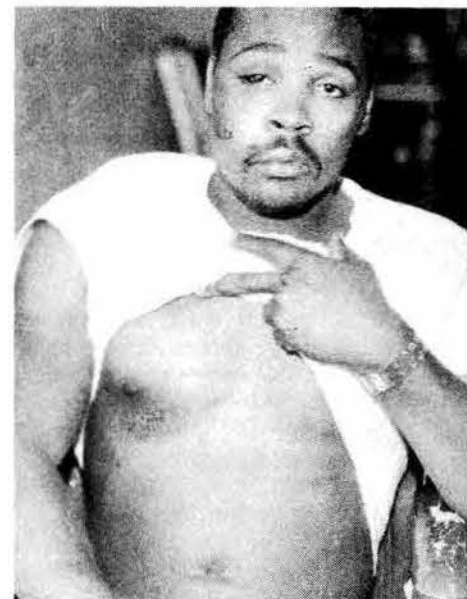
On the witness stand, she contradicted the claim that King was trying to attack the cops. Rather, she testified, he was simply trying to break loose from them.

She illustrated for the court the blows King suffered after he was "staggered" by an initial blow to the head.

Demonstrating the "power strokes" administered to King, she clutched a nightstick in both hands, swinging it like a baseball bat.

She testified they had been powerful blows, "with nothing held back."

On the stand, she said she had been mistaken at points in her original report and in



Rodney King showing injuries from police beating. Trial is now underway.



Police Officer Stacey Koon, one of four cops charged in beating of Rodney King.

Cop beating of Chinese immigrant caught on videotape in Vancouver

BY JOANNE PRITCHARD

VANCOUVER, British Columbia — On February 9 Emergency Response Team cops shot their way into Feng Hua Zhang's bedroom, dragged him out by his hair, sprayed him with a mace-like substance, and beat him. His roommate Wai Shen Wong was also assaulted. A neighbor, believing that excessive force was being used, videotaped the beating.

In the complaint that Zhang, a recent 30-year-old immigrant, has filed against the Vancouver police force, he explains, "The men held me down on the ground on my stomach, and I felt my arms were twisted to the back and handcuffs being put on me. Someone sprayed something onto my face, I don't know what, but I felt my face and eyes were on fire. I was also punched and kicked."

Zhang and Wong were then brought back into the apartment. They were not allowed to talk with each other and were not immediately permitted to rinse their eyes and faces. Their apartment was ransacked by the cops.

Zhang, who is still in pain, has demanded that disciplinary actions be taken against the cops who beat him and that he be compensated for the injuries he suffered during the beating as well as for the effects of his apartment that were destroyed by the cops.

The sole investigation into the conduct of the Emergency Response Team is that of Vancouver police chief Bill Marshall. The cops say they were acting on a tip that drugs and weapons were in the apartment. None were found however. None of the officers from the emergency squad have even been suspended pending the investigation.

Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl Gates, who faced strong pressure to resign over the videotaped beating of Rodney King, a Black construction worker, last year, was in town attending a Simon Fraser University-sponsored conference on global policing. He was interviewed in connection with the videotaping of the beating. He was quoted as saying that police should not be judged solely on the basis of videotape evidence. "You gotta get down there in the gutter with the suspect like the officer is doing. Then you get some sense of whether that force is reasonable and necessary," he said, calling on the public to trust police to monitor themselves over issues of excessive force.

John Russell, vice-president of the British Columbia Civil Liberties Association, replied, "Without public scrutiny, there is no assurance police are keeping their house in order."

The United Chinese Community Enrichment Service Society has also spoken out against the cop violence.

The videotape of the beating was repeatedly aired on Cantonese-language television here. Garment workers at the Jantzen and Koret companies, many who are of Chinese origin, reacted with shock. One sewing ma-

chine operator explained she would not have believed the police would do such a thing if she had not seen it for herself on the video.

As the truth sank in, more workers expressed anger. "The police did it because the guys were Chinese and didn't speak English," one said. Another recalled other cases of harassment that Chinese youth had suffered at the hands of the police.

Joanne Pritchard is a member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 287.

FBI bombed Puerto Rico post office in 1978

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

The FBI carried out violent attacks in Puerto Rico in 1978 that were then blamed on proindependence groups, an undercover cop admitted in testimony at Puerto Rican Senate hearings.

Police intelligence agent Angel López Nunci testified February 25 that the FBI had placed a bomb at a post office in the town of Ciales in 1978.

This was part of a campaign by the federal and colonial governments throughout the 1970s to victimize and smear the independence movement, student activists, and unions in Puerto Rico.

The Senate hearings are investigating the 1978 police ambush and murder of two independence activists. The police, FBI, and the governor initially claimed the two youths were terrorists caught trying to blow up communications towers at Cerro Maravilla.

It was later proven that the police had organized the entire operation, in which an undercover cop entrapped the youths.

Police officials have since admitted that the cops also placed numerous bombs that they then attributed to independence activists.

Undercover agent López testified that he started a riot at the University of Puerto Rico in May 1971 by throwing a gasoline bomb provided by the police. The ensuing conflict left three dead. Two students were subsequently framed up on murder charges, he said.

López and Alejandro González Malavé — the agent provocateur involved in the Cerro

Maravilla killings — also placed bombs in several communications towers and two post offices in 1978.

The cop was told of the FBI bombing of the post office by his superiors in the Intelligence Division. This is the first time the FBI has been directly implicated in carrying out terrorist bombings in Puerto Rico.

FBI wants phonetap system installed

BY DEREK BRACEY

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is pushing for a law that would require phone companies to re-engineer their new phone networks to allow wiretapping.

The FBI says its agents are having increasing difficulty listening to phone conversations because of new communications advances. Most notable are digital technologies in which sounds are changed into computer language, and bundled onto a line with other calls, then separated out and turned back into sound near the destination.

Another FBI complaint is about fiber optics in which sounds are turned into pulses of light and sent through glass strands. The U.S. government has delayed sales of fiber-optic technology to the Soviet Union because of the great difficulty in tapping it.

The FBI proposed a law March 6 that would require phone companies to incorporate technology that would make their systems compatible with wiretapping. It also proposed allowing the Federal Communica-

tion Commission to let phone companies pass the costs of this on to consumers.

Many phone companies are protesting, saying that the costs would be excessive. They note that with 150 million phone lines, and a cost of \$1 billion for setting up new tapping methods, this would come to \$6.60 per consumer. "We don't feel our ratepayers should pay that money," said Bill McCloskey, a spokesman for BellSouth Corp.

"Without an ultimate solution, terrorists, violent criminals, kidnappers, drug cartels, and other criminal organizations will be able to carry out their illegal activities using the telecommunications system without detection," FBI director William Sessions said. "This proposal is critical to the safety of the American people and to law enforcement officers."

But Congressman Edward Markey, who chairs the House subcommittee handling the FBI proposal, said the plan has troubling overtones of "Big Brother" about it.

The judge declared, "I'm trying to prevent unnecessary character assassination."

The trial is being held in Simi Valley, a small Ventura County town just north of Los Angeles.

Several thousand cops and their families live in Simi Valley and neighboring Thousand Oaks.

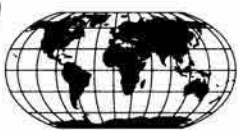
Black people constitute 2 percent of the county population. There are no Blacks on the jury, which is composed of 10 whites, 1 Latina, and 1 woman originally from the Philippines. The public record does not indicate how many, if any, of the jurors are relatives of cops.

The Simi Valley courtroom is a tiny one and the media is jammed into a neighboring room, following the proceedings on closed-circuit TV.

A Los Angeles cable station is providing continuous coverage of the trial.

The Senate hearings had already shown that the federal cops knew about plans for the Cerro Maravilla operations as well as other illegal police activities. The FBI, for example, covered up the existence of a death squad organized by a U.S. marshal and Navy lieutenant that targeted the independence movement and other government critics.

But Congressman Edward Markey, who chairs the House subcommittee handling the FBI proposal, said the plan has troubling overtones of "Big Brother" about it.



Economic statistics point to recession in Japan

A series of bleak economic indicators has signaled that a recession is developing in Japan. Government estimates show industrial production will decline four percent the first quarter of this year. Capital investment by manufacturers is projected to tumble nearly 11 percent in the fiscal year beginning April 1, the worst decline since 1977.

Japanese manufacturers expect profits to fall heavily this fiscal year. "Let's face it—There's a recession," read the headline of an editorial in the Japanese *Nikkei Weekly*.

Trade antagonisms between Ottawa and Washington intensify

A U.S. Commerce department finding that Canada is unfairly subsidizing its exports of softwood lumber increased the strains on trade between the two countries. The department imposed import duties of close to 15 percent on the \$2.6 billion of shipments of lumber from Canada to the United States.

Canadian prime minister Brian Mulroney said it was "unacceptable" for the U.S. to penalize the exports. "We will contest the ruling and we expect to win," he said. A week earlier the U.S. Customs Service had presented Honda Motor company's Canadian subsidiary with a bill for \$17 million in back import duties after ruling that the cars no longer qualify for duty-free treatment.

Kenya police club women protesters unconscious

Police in riot gear clubbed four women protesters unconscious in central Nairobi, Kenya's capital, March 3. Before the attack the police used tear gas and fired several times in the air attempting to disperse a group of women hunger strikers and their supporters from a park.

Many of the protesters say they have sons in jail who have been held for more than a year on trumped-up charges by the government of Daniel arap Moi. Wangari Maathai, one of the injured women who is a leading member of the country's main opposition group, the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy, was in critical condition.

Tel Aviv may drop bid for U.S. loan guarantees

Israeli government officials have suggested in recent remarks they may drop their request for \$10 billion in U.S. loan guarantees because of demands from Washington to stop building settlements in the West Bank and Gaza strip.

"I would announce 'Thank you very much,'" said Israeli housing minister Ariel Sharon, "and make a very big effort to raise these funds from other sources." Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir sounded a similar note. "I think almost all the political factions in Israel would not accept a situation in which the American Administration would dictate our policy, whether about settlements today or about territorial issues tomorrow," he told the army radio.

French government will deploy additional troops to Chad

The French government announced March 1 it will deploy an additional 120 paratroopers to Chad, a former French colony in West Africa, bringing the number of French soldiers there to 1,370. Paris decided to increase its forces after Chadian prime minister Jean Alingue Bawoye claimed that a group of soldiers who attacked a police station in the capital N'djamena had attempted to overthrow his government.

General strike in capital of Niger after army mutiny

Niamey, Niger's capital, ground to a halt March 2 as most workers joined an indefinite general strike to protest an attempted coup by mutinous army units. The strike was called by the trade union confederation USTN and 30 political parties.

Non-commissioned officers had taken over the national radio and television three times and detained politicians and government officials to press their demands for two months back pay. The government along with the army command agreed to the demands.

Why China joined Korean War



Hundreds of thousands of Chinese volunteers like these, mostly workers and peasants, gave their lives in the fight against U.S. imperialism in the Korean War.

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

The recent publication of a 1950 cable from then Chinese president Mao Zedong to Soviet premier Joseph Stalin highlights Washington's aggressive drive to overthrow the fledgling Chinese revolution. U.S.-led forces in Korea were marching north toward China's border when the message was sent.

While the information contained in the secret communication sheds no new light on the origins of the war, it points to the reasons why hundreds of thousands of Chinese volunteers gave their lives on the side of workers and peasants in Korea between 1950 and 1953.

"We have decided to send part of the armed forces into Korea," Mao wrote in the Oct. 2, 1950, cable, "to do battle with the forces of America and its running dog Syngman Rhee and to assist our Korean comrades." Rhee headed the South Korean puppet regime set up by Washington following the division of Korea at the 38th parallel in 1945.

"If we allow the United States to occupy all of Korea," continued the cable, "Korean revolutionary power will suffer a fundamental defeat, and the American invaders will run more rampant, and have negative effects for the entire Far East." The text of the cable was printed in the February 26 issue of the *New York Times*.

30,000 at Canadian farmers' rally

Continued from Page 3

New Zealand, who are pushing for the elimination or reduction of domestic subsidies, foreign quotas, and tariff barriers in agricultural production.

Capitalist grain farmers, agribusinesses, and grain merchants who feel they could increase their profits through freer trade on the world market have attacked those advocating a protectionist policy with regard to dairy, egg, and poultry production.

At its December convention the UPA adopted a resolution supporting a "sovereign Quebec", which is widely understood as a demand for greater autonomy for Quebec inside Canada. The 47,000-member UPA in Quebec includes 14,000 dairy farmers who supply 40 per cent of the Canadian dairy market as well as hundreds of egg and poultry farmers. Ottawa fears that the elimination of article 11 and the possible loss by Quebec farmers of a significant portion of the Canadian dairy market could push them further in the direction of supporting greater powers for Quebec at the expense of the federal government.

Some farmers pointed out that the marketing board system, which has been in place for more than 20 years, has not succeeded in overcoming the crisis in agriculture.

Walter, a dairy farmer from Goderich, Ontario, who attended the rally explained that it costs about \$6,800 to buy a quota for selling the milk from one cow. That is several times more than the cost of buying and

The cable explicitly recognized that Washington might cause widespread destruction in China in retaliation for China's entry into the war, but asserted that defeat of U.S. imperialism in Korea was worth the risk. "We must be prepared that the United States may, at a minimum, use its Air Force to bomb many major cities and industrial centers in China, and use its navy to assault the coastal region," it said.

U.S. troops in China revolt

China's government at the time had good reason to believe Washington would launch a frontal assault against the Chinese revolution if it won the Korean War.

At the end of World War II the U.S. government landed 50,000 troops in China to help prop up the dictatorial regime of Chiang Kai-shek.

National liberation forces under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) were supported by the vast majority of the population in 1945, but Chiang Kai-shek's troops still controlled part of south China. The CCP-led liberation forces and a peasant-based army had spearheaded the national resistance against the Japanese army that invaded China in 1931.

U.S. soldiers, shifted to China and other Asian countries from Europe after the defeat

raising a cow to the point where it can begin producing milk. Under today's conditions it would cost close to \$170,000 just to buy the right to sell the milk of 25 dairy cows and, as Walter put it, "the right to work seven days a week."

The cost of buying these quotas, along with the high cost of machinery, feed, and other inputs drives many family farmers further into debt to the banks. Despite the guaranteed prices and market for their products, many small farmers find it difficult to cover costs, pay debts, and earn an income sufficient to support their family.

The number of dairy farmers in Canada has declined from 79,000 in 1975 to 32,700 today, a drop of 59 per cent.

Several socialist workers participated in the Ottawa rally, selling the *Militant* and the new Pathfinder pamphlet, *Farmers Face the Crisis of the 1990s* by Doug Jenness. In discussions with farmers they explained how neither capitalist protectionism nor free trade offer a solution to the problems facing most working farmers. In particular, they stressed the need to demand that the government provide a guaranteed market for farmers' products and fair prices from the large companies that buy their commodities, as an alternative to the present system of marketing boards and quotas.

Jim Upton is a member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 869 and works at Rolls-Royce Canada in Montreal.

of Japan and Germany in the war, refused to fight.

"We hear news reports daily over the radio about the Chinese war and the United States intention of staying out," wrote a U.S. pilot in the Army Air Force at Kunming, China. "We know now that our own country lies even as German Nazism lied to the German people." His letter, echoing the sentiments of many U.S. soldiers, was published in the New York newspaper *PM* in December 1945.

Tired of fighting, the soldiers rebelled against being used to crush the anticolonial revolution. Washington was forced to send them home.

A full-scale civil war broke out in China in 1947. The CCP-led forces, inspired by a massive distribution of land to peasants in rebel-held areas and other measures reflecting the aspirations of workers, peasants, and students, defeated Chiang's regime and came to power in 1949. Tens of thousands of Koreans fought on the side of the revolutionary forces during the Chinese civil war.

The political and military machine that had represented the landlords, capitalists, and army warlords was broken by a popular revolution. For the first time China had a centralized, national government independent of the imperialist powers and based on the support of the workers and peasants.

Korean War

Washington withdrew all diplomatic personnel from China in January 1950. Right up until 1979 it recognized Chiang's forces, which had fled to the island of Taiwan, as the government of all of China. Chiang's regime continued to represent China at the United Nations until 1971.

When the Korean War broke out on June 25, 1950, the governments of the United States, Britain, and other imperialist powers sent thousands of troops under the cover of the United Nations.

The U.S. 7th fleet was sent to the Taiwan Straits, off the Chinese coast, and U.S. Congress barred all trade with China. Gen. Douglas MacArthur, who commanded Washington's troops in Korea, made clear his intentions to carry the Korean War into China.

Three months after the outbreak of the war, U.S.-led forces drove into the north, aiming to smash the North Korean government and lay the basis for bringing the entire peninsula under imperialist domination. They advanced their way to the Yalu river on the Korean-Chinese border.

That was when Mao sent the just-published cable to Stalin asking for air cover and artillery support from the Soviet Union during the planned advance of Chinese troops. Stalin refused. The Chinese CCP leadership decided to go ahead anyway.

In an Oct. 13, 1950, telegram to Chinese prime minister Zhou Enlai, then in Moscow, Mao wrote: "If we do not send troops, allowing the enemy to press to the Yalu border and the arrogance of reactionaries at home and abroad to grow, this will be disadvantageous to all sides."

The war took a different turn as hundreds of thousands of battle-tested Chinese volunteers, mostly peasants who had just won a revolutionary victory in their own country, joined with Korean troops to push the imperialist troops back to the 38th parallel. By the end of 1952, 1.2 million Chinese troops were engaged in the war. Some 900,000 Chinese fighters fell in battle by the end of the conflict in June 1953.

The successful action against Washington's aggression in Korea forced it to retreat on its military threats against China. The massive participation of Chinese peasants and workers against imperialist intervention in Korea also gave an impulse to a deepening of the Chinese revolution. The pace of the agrarian reform accelerated, eradicating landlordism throughout the entire countryside.

In the later stages of the Korean War, as Chinese capitalists attempted to sabotage the economy, Mao's regime expropriated them. Capitalist ownership of basic production was eliminated and a monopoly of foreign trade was established.

The war produced a stalemate, with the Korean peninsula divided into two states with different social systems. This was a crushing blow to Washington's attempt to restore capitalism in North Korea.

Nixon says U.S. risks losing cold war

Continued from front page

trols on fuel and other energy prices. Crude oil prices are expected to increase from 350 to 2,500 rubles a ton, affecting everything from transportation to finished goods.

Russian minister of economics Andrei Nechayev predicts that output in some industries will decline by half. With factories across Russia teetering near bankruptcy, the threat of mass unemployment has emerged for the first time in decades. While the response to this devastation has so far not produced mass protests, government officials in Russia are worried. Miners in the Kuzbass coal mining region of western Siberia called a strike March 11.

"The bottom line is that Yeltsin is the most pro-Western leader of Russia in history," Nixon wrote.

"We have decided to send two hundred Peace Corps volunteers — a generous action if the target of our aid were a small country like Upper Volta but mere tokenism if applied to Russia, a nation of almost 200 million people covering one-seventh of the world's landmass," he continued.

"This is a pathetically inadequate response in light of the opportunities and dangers we face in the crisis in the former Soviet Union," he added.

Nixon proposed pouring billions more in aid to the Yeltsin regime. "In light of the depth of the Russian economic crisis there is no time to lose," he warned. "Those who would put off major action on these fronts until the next international aid conference in July 1992 could find that this is too little and too late."

In a speech to a March 11 foreign affairs conference sponsored in Washington, D.C., by the Nixon library, the former president said funds in the range of \$20 billion a year for a five-year period would be needed.

"The stakes are high, and we are playing as if it were a penny ante game," Nixon

emphasized in his memo. Washington's failure to provide adequate aid to Yeltsin may result in the question of "Who lost Russia?" becoming the kind of charged question in bourgeois politics in the 1990s that the question "Who lost China?" was in the 1950s, he pointed out.

A revolution by workers and peasants overthrew the dictatorial regime of Chiang Kai-shek in China in 1949. Soon after that capitalism was abolished there.

Nixon took the debate within the ruling class around this question up another notch during the Washington conference. For Nixon — one of the standard-bearers of the Republican right — it was one of his most highly publicized appearances since he was forced to resign the presidency in 1974 following the Watergate scandal.

Bush responded to Nixon's criticisms by explaining that there were simply not enough resources available of the sort Nixon said must be provided to guarantee capitalism's success in Russia. "We're living in a time of constrained resources," he said. "There isn't a lot of money around. We are spending too much as it is already. So to do the things I would really like to do, I don't have a blank check for all that."

During the Washington conference Nixon said a bipartisan effort along the lines of the Truman doctrine in the 1940s is now needed.

He referred to a speech that President Harry Truman gave in 1947. "I remember Harry Truman — jaunty, some said a little cocky — coming down before a joint session of Congress and asking for millions of dollars in aid to Greece and Turkey to prevent Communist subversion and possibly Communist aggression."

Truman's speech, heavy with anti-communist rhetoric, launched a massive military-aid program to the rightist regime in Greece, which was threatened by a worker and peasant uprising at the time. The policy outlined in the speech became known as the Truman Doctrine. This policy sought to prevent the spread of anticapitalist revolutions such as those that took place in Yugoslavia in 1945-46 and later in China.

The announcement of the Truman Doctrine marked the beginning of the period known — somewhat inaccurately — as the Cold War,



Richard Nixon (inset) assailed Bush for 'pathetically inadequate' aid to Russia, where steeply rising prices for basic goods are contributing to instability.

when Washington devoted huge resources, both economic and military, to exert pressure on the workers states of Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, China, and elsewhere. An integral part of this effort was Washington's second major militarization drive, the first being the U.S. military buildup in World War II. With the second interimperialist slaughter barely over, the U.S. rulers, who emerged supreme with Japan's surrender in 1945, felt the need to put back together a military force that could be used against the struggles of workers and peasants around the world.

Nixon admitted that the Marshall Plan, which launched massive investments by Washington to rebuild the capitalist economies in Europe at the end of World War II, could not simply be applied in the same way in Russia.

"One of the major reasons that there's a

serious question as to whether freedom can succeed in Russia, is the lack of a management class," he said.

"Seventy years of totalitarian Communism did destroy the management class in Russia and therefore you have to have a different approach than simply the Marshall Plan approach."

Nixon has good reason to worry. Yeltsin's measures are no different than the measures that the regimes in Eastern Europe have implemented to open the way to capitalism. Two years after the Polish government began its "shock therapy," its privatization plans faltered with the economy in total disarray and the government itself in permanent crisis. The same process of disintegration and the accompanying political instability is unfolding in the other Eastern European countries and in Russia itself.

Massive income growth for wealthy in the U.S.

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

The average income of the richest 1 percent of the families in the United States soared by 77 percent up to a yearly average of \$560,000 during the 1980s. This income bracket is largely made up of the wealthiest capitalist families, plus managers and executives of Fortune 500 corporations.

Figures released by the Congressional Budget Office show that the income of the bottom 40 percent of families suffered a net drop between 1977 and 1989. The poorest sections of the working class — the 20 percent of U.S. families whose average income is below \$8,400 a year — were hit the hardest. Their income dropped by 9 percent in this period.

The wealthiest 20 percent received 94 percent of the after-tax income increases during those twelve years. Those in the mid-point of income distribution — with an average of a \$32,700 a year — increased their income by 4 percent.

By the end of the 1980s chief company executives were making 120 times as much as the average worker, compared with about 35 times as much in the mid-1970s.

Workweek on the rise over past two decades

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The average U.S. worker puts in almost 140 more hours on the job every year than two decades ago, according to a new study conducted by the Economic Policy Institute.

"Increasing numbers of people are finding themselves overworked, stressed out and heavily taxed by the joint demands of work and family life," says the study.

A major factor accounting for the longer work hours is the fact that real wages have been declining since 1973, while health care and housing costs have increased.

The study found that full-time workers put in, on average, 138 more hours a year in 1989 than they did in 1969. At the same time, paid time off for vacations, holidays, sick leave, and personal days fell 15 percent during the 1980s. Workers in the United States averaged 16.1 days off a year in 1989 compared to 19.8 days in 1981.

Campaign defends Syrian prisoners

BY DEREK BRACEY

An international campaign to win relief for Syrian prisoners is seeking the release of the thousands of prisoners in that country, several of whom have been imprisoned for two decades.

Estimates on the total number of political prisoners in Syria vary from 8,000 to 12,000, despite recent releases of 1,800 other Palestinian detainees and 1,000 Syrian prisoners. Many are being held without trial, under a state of emergency that has been in force since 1963.

The great majority of Syrian prisoners are

from the Islamic fundamentalist movement, which launched an armed struggle against the regime that was crushed in a bloodbath in 1982, when an estimated 10,000 people were killed.

Many prisoners are from left organizations, with hundreds from the Communist Action Party (CAP), the Syrian Communist Party — Political Bureau, and the left faction of the Syrian Baath Party.

Several have died from torture in prison. Other victims are like Jamal Haseino, who was released from prison nearly comatose on July 25, 1991, and died a few days later.

Seventeen people have been held for more than 20 years, including 63-year-old Nureddin Attassi, and Salah Jedid and Muhammad Id Ashawi, both 62 years old. Other prisoners are seriously ill and in danger of dying, including Riad El-Turk, Omar Kashashe, Munif Melhem, Abbas Abbas, Adnan Mahfud, and Aktham Nuaisseh.

Two leaders of the CAP, Abdul Aziz Al-Khayer and Bahjat Shaabu, were arrested on February 1, 1992; they are now being subjected to intense torture.

Supporters of democratic rights are encouraged to send letters, faxes, or telegrams of protest to Syrian embassies and consulates in their country or region, as well as reaching out to organizations and prominent individuals to do the same.

Names of any organizations or individuals sending protest letters should be sent to Salah Jaber, c/o Inprecor, 2 rue Richard Lenoir, 93108 Montreuil, FRANCE. Further information can also be obtained from this address.

Amnesty International has also been organizing a protest letter campaign for some Syrian political prisoners.

U.S. steps up attacks on Cuba

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Rolando Pérez Quintosa, a 23-year-old member of Cuba's Ministry of the Interior, the country's police, died February 15 of injuries he suffered during an attempt by seven individuals to hijack a boat to leave the country.

Three other police officers were killed during the January 9 assault, which took place at the Tarára naval base east of Havana. They were killed while their hands were tied behind their backs. The seven were later captured by Cuban authorities.

The day after the assault at Tarára thousands of residents of Havana took to the streets demanding that the death sentence be handed out to those responsible for the killings.

According to the Cuban weekly *Granma* International hundreds of thousands of Cubans attended Pérez Quintosa's funeral. Delivering the eulogy, Cuban president Fidel Castro described the murder of the four officers as "monstrous" and "repulsive."

Castro said the seven individuals knew they could get asylum in the United States. "The Haitians were sent back where they

came from," said Castro, "but when it comes to criminals, traitors, undesirables, murderers who can provide grist for its propaganda mill, the United States welcomes them with open arms."

The Supreme Court of Cuba upheld the death sentence for Luis Miguel Almeida Pérez and René Salmerón Mendoza as the direct perpetrators of the murders. The court also rejected appeals from the five others who took part in the attack. They received sentences from four to 30 years in prison.

Following these events, Washington stepped up its propaganda campaign against Cuba when it submitted a resolution to the United Nations Human Rights Commission February 27 asking that Cuba be censured for alleged human rights violations.

The resolution was approved by the Commission March 4 by a vote of 23-to-8. The U.S. government organized scores of right-wing Cubans to take part in its campaign during the Commission's deliberations in Geneva. Russia's ambassador in Geneva announced shortly before the vote that "it is now time to pay back old debts," and hosted a party in honor of the rightist Cubans.

— CALENDAR —

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Rally against tuition hikes! Save CUNY (City University of New York). March 31, 12 noon at Lehman College, Bronx. Sponsored by CUNY/Community Coalition. For more information: (212) 650-3924.

ICELAND

Reykjavik

General Meeting of the Iceland-Cuba Friendship Association. Speakers: Johann Björnsson, recently visited Cuba; Gylfi Páll Hersir, speaking on Cuba and World Politics Today. Sat. March 28, 2 p.m. MIR Hall, Vatnsstíg 10.

Why abortion was made legal in 1973

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

The January 22, 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion was a landmark victory in the struggle for women's liberation. Prior to the ruling abortion was illegal in most of the United States.

In a 7-2 decision on the *Roe v. Wade* case, the court ruled that women have the right to have an abortion through the first 24 weeks of pregnancy. The ruling was based on the Constitution's guarantee of the right to privacy. While the U.S. Constitution does not explicitly mention this right, the court ruled that such a right does exist as part of the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantee of personal liberty. The ruling declared illegal all laws that compromise this right.

Furthermore, the court rejected the anti-abortion argument that the fetus could be defined as a person with citizenship rights under the Fourteenth Amendment.

Since this victory, the government has established wide restrictions on abortion, especially for young and working-class women. The Supreme Court will soon review a Pennsylvania antiabortion law, in a case that could overturn the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision.

As the federal and state government continue their wholesale attacks on abortion rights, many are asking what can be done to effectively defend these rights.

Reviewing how abortion rights were won provides insights into how to defend them today.

The victory codified in the *Roe v. Wade* decision was the result of struggles that came out of profound social, economic, and political shifts taking place in the United States and around the world. The women's liberation movement emerged because of the changing role of women in U.S. society and the influence of other social movements that preceded it.

Women into workforce

Central to the changing role of women in society was the massive flow of women into the labor market. The U.S. economy experienced a prolonged economic boom in the two and a half decades following the end of World War II. The expansion of industry and technology required a larger and more educated workforce. Women and Blacks were drawn into paid jobs in large numbers.

Between 1950 and 1970 the percentage of women in the workforce rose from 33.9 percent to 43.3 percent. Women began to view themselves differently — as something other than the traditional mother, wife, and homemaker. In turn, attitudes toward the role of women began to change in society as a whole.

Other changes important to women's status also took place during the postwar period. Education levels rose, and women had broader access to job training and higher education. A mass market for household appliances and prepared foods grew up in the United States, substantially reducing wo-



Militant/Howard Petrick

Abortion rights action in New York City August 26, 1970, the year abortion was legalized in New York.

men's workload at home.

Advances in medical science provided, for the first time, birth-control methods that were relatively safe and effective — and they were available to women and under their control.

But while women had more options than ever before in terms of jobs, education, and participation in society, they were still restricted at every turn by the institutionalized forms of sexual discrimination and oppression which are basic underpinnings of capitalist society.

The disparity between what was and what could be was seen most sharply around the issue of abortion. Thousands of women were dying each year at the hands of back-alley abortionists even though modern medical science could provide for safe abortions.

End to jobs, schooling

Because of the antiabortion laws, women either risked criminal charges or death if they sought an abortion. The antiabortion laws meant the end of school and jobs for many women who were forced to carry unwanted pregnancies to term.

These economic and social changes for women, and the resulting heightened contradictions coincided with political developments in the 1950s and 1960s — especially the civil rights and the anti-Vietnam War

movements. Inspired by, and gaining confidence and strength from these struggles, a "second wave" of feminism rose up.

As women began to fight for their rights in the 1960s, the antiabortion laws, which existed in 46 states, became one of the most hated symbols of women's oppression. Outraged by the deaths and maimings that resulted from illegal abortions, women's rights fighters decided to remove the issue of abortion from its former shroud of secrecy.

Most importantly, these fighters recognized that the fight for a woman's right to abortion was decisive to advancing women's liberation — that as long as women were vulnerable to unwanted pregnancies, they could not break down the economic and social barriers they faced on the job, in education, and in the home.

Before this new movement for women's rights came on the scene, supporters of legal abortion for the most part presented their arguments on the wrong axis. By justifying it in terms of population control, they gave credence to the idea that poverty is caused not by unequal distribution of wealth, but by excess population. This argument has also been used to justify the racist practice of forced sterilization, and this fact made it more difficult to involve Blacks and other oppressed nationalities,

who were most victimized by illegal abortion, into the fight for abortion rights. It was also common to hear arguments for legal abortion in the case of birth defects, danger to the mother's life, rape, or incest.

Women's rights axis

Starting from the fight against the oppression of women, the forces for women's liberation put the abortion issue on a new axis; stating categorically that a woman had the right to control her own body and her own life.

It was on this basis that the majority of people were won to support legal abortion. In 1968, public opinion polls reported that only 15 percent of the population believed women had a right to abortion. One year later the percentage had risen dramatically to 40 percent. By 1971, 50 percent favored legalized abortion.

The rapid and broad support gained for legal abortion came because the women's movement gave voice to an important right, not only for women, but for the working class as a whole. Working-class women had the most to gain from safe and legal abortions being made available.

The concept that abortion was a woman's right appeared in early law suits filed by feminists and others against the abortion laws. These suits declared that the state abortion law denied women the right to privacy and the right to life and liberty.

A suit filed by a woman in Texas won in a lower court and went on to the Supreme Court, becoming part of the now infamous *Roe v. Wade* case, which legalized abortion.

The first big breakthrough was in 1970 when the New York legislature passed a law permitting abortion throughout the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy. "Women's liberation played an important part in the passage of the bill," Governor Nelson Rockefeller told the *New York Times* as he signed it into law.

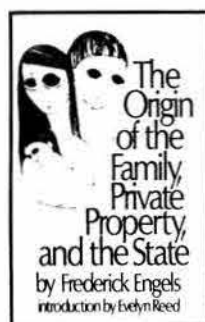
This victory inspired challenges to anti-abortion laws throughout the country. It also provoked a response from right-wing anti-abortion forces spearheaded by the Catholic Church hierarchy. By 1971, these forces were mounting a serious offensive to turn back the New York victory and prevent any further gains. Numerous capitalist politicians, including Richard Nixon, publicly supported the right wing. Both sides organized rallies and demonstrations.

The excellent safety record in New York under the new law and the continued demands for legalization helped legitimize abortion and made it more difficult for the ruling class to reverse the limited gain women had won.

The women's movement, however, divided over the question of organizing a national campaign focused on the fight to repeal all antiabortion laws. Some women's rights groups, including the National Organization

Pathfinder Celebrates Women's History Month

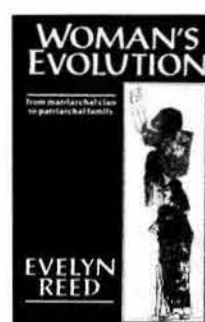
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for Women (NOW), called the national campaign "too controversial", undoubtedly because it conflicted with their lobbying work with liberals in the Democratic Party. More militant women's rights fighters formed the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) in July, 1971.

WONAAC organized women around three central demands: repeal all abortion laws, end forced sterilizations, and end all laws restricting availability of contraceptives and contraceptive advice. WONAAC initiated class-action suits and petitioning drives. It organized public demonstrations, picket lines, and hearings for abortion law repeal. Although WONAAC never became a mass organization, its activities played a role in winning legal abortion, which was reflected in the women's rights content of the Supreme Court decision.

The pressure on the rulers to make this decision had also to do with the broader

radicalization that was deepening in the country. The women's movement was one component of the big social forces in motion that affected the population's views on many major social questions at that time.

The civil rights movement helped fuel this radicalization. Black power and Black pride stormed the stage in the 1960s, directly inspiring women to rebel against the myth of their biological inferiority.

The movement against the war in Vietnam at its peak involved millions in directly challenging U.S. policy. By 1973, this radicalization was beginning to affect the working class, and this was reflected in the beginnings of labor involvement in action against the Vietnam War and on other social issues.

Rulers sought to defuse situation

The capitalist rulers were looking for a course to enable them to defuse the situation

and reverse the rising class struggle that was taking place.

It was in this context that the rulers of this country made their decision on abortion rights in 1973. The polarization and ferment that had begun to mount over the question of abortion forced the ruling class to realize they would have to settle the matter one way or another.

It was not the individuals who happened to make up the Supreme Court at that time that were decisive — it was the social forces in motion that provided the context in which they had to make their decision. It was the struggle between contending classes that forced the Supreme Court to legalize abortion.

The 1973 decision shifted the relationship of forces further in favor of women and the working class. But it didn't end the fight. Since that time the government has made constant probes into curbing

and, if possible, eliminating abortion rights.

The dramatic change for the better in women's lives as a result of legalized abortion has meant that support for this law runs deep. However, the government has been on a steady course to chip away at access to abortion — targeting primarily young and poor women. Restriction upon restriction has been imposed, in state after state.

Overturning abortion rights as contained in the *Roe v. Wade* decision is clearly the goal of opponents of women's rights, with the government leading the charge. As in 1973, the decisive question is not the individuals sitting on the Supreme Court, but the social forces willing to actively defend abortion rights. Actions like the upcoming April 5 March for Women's Lives in Washington, D.C., are the necessary response to counter the offensive to overturn abortion rights.

Dublin court broadens access to abortion

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

In the wake of protests that exploded in Dublin and in other countries when the Irish government tried to prevent a 14-year-old rape victim from travelling to Britain to obtain an abortion, the decision by Ireland's Supreme Court on the case appears to broaden the grounds on which abortion may be considered legal in Ireland itself.

On February 26, the Supreme Court in Dublin ruled in favor of allowing the rape victim to travel to Britain. On March 5 Chief Justice Thomas Finlay explained the 4 to 1 majority decision.

Until now, abortion was only allowed in Ireland when the life of the mother was in immediate danger. At issue in the case is the interpretation of the Eighth Amendment, added to the Constitution by a 1983 referendum, which states, "The State acknowledges the right to life of the unborn and with due regard to the equal right to life of the mother, guarantees in its laws to respect and as far as practicable, by its law defend and vindicate that right."

Chief Justice Finlay noted that the court was told the young woman threatened to commit suicide several times, which posed a "real and substantial risk to the life — as distinct from the health — of the mother, which can only be avoided by the termination of her pregnancy."

The court did not address the right to travel

in arriving at its decision. Finlay said that if the right to travel had been the issue, he would have ruled that it was secondary to the right of the fetus to survive.

The decision has stirred an intense national

debate on the issue of abortion, and has put pressure on the government to bring the law in line with the court ruling. Abortion rights advocates argue that, if — as the court ruled — Irish women may in some circumstances

Students build April 5 demonstration

BY EMILY FITZSIMMONS AND ELLEN WHITT

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Student organizations here are organizing leafleting and a series of events to build the biggest possible turnout for the April 5 march to defend a woman's right to choose abortion.

Rosemary Dempsey, the action vice-president of the National Organization for Women (NOW), spoke at American University (AU) here as part of a national tour of college campuses to build for April 5. Fifty students attended the February 24 event.

A leader of the campus Pro-Choice organization invited everyone to come to their meetings and also announced that the week leading up to April 5 would be Women's Week at AU. A talk by Sarah Weddington, the attorney who argued *Roe v. Wade*, will be a feature of the events.

The next day more than 80 people turned out for the general meeting of the Washington

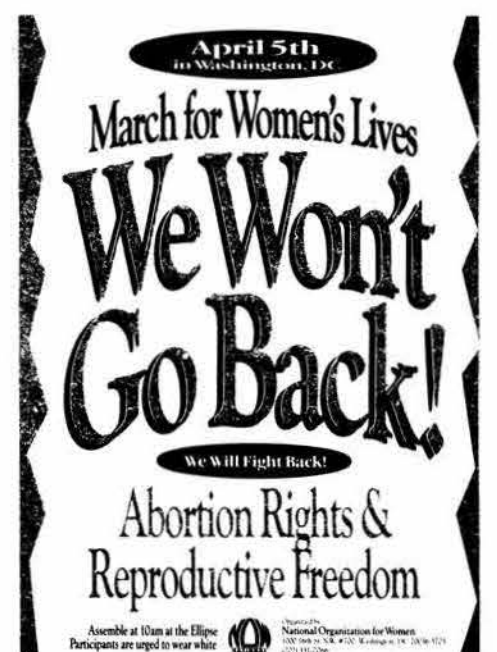
Area Clinic Defense Task Force, which organizes ongoing defense of area abortion clinics, including the successful prevention of Operation Rescue from closing down clinics in January.

The University of Maryland Campus Pro-Choice Advocacy reserved two buses to transport students here for April 5. A week of activities will take place on that campus March 23–27 to build for the abortion rights march. Programs will include Sarah Weddington on March 24 and NOW president Patricia Ireland on March 25. Pro-Choice Advocacy and the Young Socialist Alliance will host a panel discussion on abortion rights on March 26.

NOW is dispatching teams of volunteers to leaflet for April 5 throughout the area every Saturday. Eighty people, the majority of whom were young, showed up February 29 for the first Saturday of mass post-up and leafleting. Volunteers also work out of NOW's national headquarters nightly.

be allowed to have abortions in England, it is hypocritical to say they should not have an abortion on the same grounds in Ireland.

The antiabortion forces are outraged over the decision. "They have introduced legalized abortion in Ireland," said William Binchy, a national figure in the anti-abortion campaign, who is calling for a new referendum.



Why labor unions should defend abortion rights

BY VAL LIBBY

CINCINNATI — When Operation Rescue came to town late last year to shut down clinics that perform abortions, several of us from United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 647 participated in a big demonstration outside their anti-choice "revival" meeting.

Later, as defenders of women's rights held picket lines to defend the clinics against the rightists' attempts to blockade them, many coworkers demanded a blow-by-blow account of what turned out to be a victory against the Operation Rescue forces.

A few weeks before the "rescues" two of us were sent

UNION TALK

by our local to the national convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Afterward, we gave a report to our local meeting and wrote an article for the union newspaper.

In response to the article, we received a letter from a coworker opposed to a woman's right to choose. She also included a petition signed by fifty-four United Auto Workers members that said in part:

"We strongly feel that our union has no business getting involved in the abortion issue. There are as many people opposed to it as there are who are for it. There are more than enough union issues that need our time and money without causing major problems by involving ourselves in such a personal issue."

A sizeable majority of every sector of the U.S. population favors a woman's right to choose abortion, whether or not they would personally make that choice. But even leaving aside that fact, is a woman's right to choose abortion an issue in which unions should become involved?

The right of women to control their bodies — to have access to birth control and to safe, legal abortion — is a

profoundly important issue for the union movement. Labor unions and working people as a whole have been under attack for a decade and a half by the employers.

This onslaught has successfully driven down the standard of living of the entire working class. The owners of the big corporations have made these inroads in part by use of every possible method to divide and weaken our ability as workers to mount a united fight-back. They attempt to pit unemployed workers against employed workers; Black workers against white workers; male workers against female workers; and workers born in this country against those who are not.

If our unions are going to halt this attack and reverse the blows to our lives, we will need to muster our full strength. Pulling women squarely into this fight will be critical to its success and critical to the regeneration of the labor unions, which today represent only a small percent of the workers in the United States.

Over the past several decades, women have been drawn into the labor force in unprecedented numbers. This is true in the industrial work force as well. Women have fought to break down barriers to jobs previously considered "male-only." But women still constitute an oppressed sex, based on our ability to reproduce. Women are paid less for doing the same work, and bear the major responsibility for child rearing, household work, and other domestic chores. These facts limit the ability to get an education, a better job, or sometimes any job. By getting away with this, the employers are able to hold down everyone's wages.

The current wave of union-busting has been accompanied by an ideological offensive against women. This campaign is not aimed at driving women out of the work force, but at exacerbating divisions within the working class and undermining women's self-confidence to participate in the unions and other fights for justice in society as equals.

Right-wing groups like Operation Rescue openly state views that blame women for the crisis in this society. They

submit that unemployment is caused by women "taking men's jobs." They propose women return to the home and resume their "traditional" role as mothers and housewives. As with other aspects of rightist propaganda, they hope to divert working people from looking at the real cause of the economic and social crisis — capitalism.

The failure of the union officialdom to respond to this crisis by having the unions champion a broad social program in the interests of working people only weakens the labor movement and opens up layers of the working class to the arguments of the ultraright.

For instance, labor should be organizing a campaign to shorten the workweek with no loss in pay and placing other demands on the employers and their government to provide jobs. This would help break down the divisions within the working class and help us all see our common interests and potential strength.

Similarly with the fight for women's rights. Unions should champion women's demands not only on the basis of defending and extending democratic rights. A woman controlling her own body — of which the right to abortion is central — is a precondition for women becoming equals in social and political life.

It takes one of the central divide-and-conquer weapons out of the employers' hands and opens the door to women joining in the fight against what the employers and their government have in store for working people.

Many workers can be won to participation in events like the upcoming April 5 March For Women's Lives in Washington, D.C., called by the National Organization for Women. The march provides trade unionists with an important opportunity to mobilize to fight for a woman's right to choose abortion.

Val Libby is a member of UAW Local 647 at General Electric Jet Engines in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Caterpillar strikers defend union gains

BY PAUL MAILHOT

PEORIA, Illinois — Caterpillar, the world's largest manufacturer of earth moving equipment, is the dominant employer in this central Illinois city. For the past four months the United Auto Workers union (UAW) has been locked in a battle against the "Big Yellow God." That's how many strikers refer to the company whose trademark is machinery painted bright yellow.

Nearly 10,800 UAW members are now out on strike, about 6,400 in the Peoria area alone. In all, two-thirds of the company's 16,000 unionized workers are striking.

Although Caterpillar is based here in central Illinois, it is a large multinational corporation with plants also in Belgium, Britain, Japan, and Germany.

Caterpillar management and retired supervisors who are said to be paid \$23 an hour have continued to build some machinery. The company has not asked individual union workers to cross the picket lines.

At the heart of the dispute is the company's refusal to accept an agreement patterned after the one recently signed by the UAW and John Deere and Co. Pattern agreements between the UAW and the large manufacturers of agricultural and construction equipment have been fought for and won since the 1950s.

Caterpillar claims that this time around remaining "globally competitive" precludes any type of agreement based on the Deere and Co. contract.

Although Caterpillar has made some modifications in its contract proposals it is still demanding scores of givebacks from the union. This includes a two-tier wage system at a number of its parts plants and at its York, Pennsylvania, facilities. The wage for new hires, or laid off Caterpillar workers who agree to a callback at one of these plants, would be \$7 an hour with a top rate of \$8.50 after three years. Benefits for these workers would also be drastically cut.

This starting wage would be less than half the \$16 an hour average wage of Caterpillar workers today. The company describes the two-tier system as establishing "competitive wage-rate jobs." This is one of the most hated proposals among UAW members.

Caterpillar is especially looking to the future in its demand for a two-tier contract. The average seniority of workers at its plants is around 20 years, and it is estimated that 65 percent of the workforce will retire by the

end of the decade.

One of the strikers interviewed at the Peoria UAW Local 974 hall explained, "We won't have a union at Caterpillar if we let that in, we won't have any unity at all. You can't have one guy working on a job making \$16 and the guy next to him doing the same work for \$7 an hour."

Greg Browning, another UAW member at the Mossville engine plant, wrote in the Peoria *Journal Star*, "Caterpillar cannot see nor understand how we in the UAW will not sell out our brothers working in York, Pa., nor our brothers working at the Morton parts facility."

The company is proposing a new health care system that forces workers to go to particular hospitals and doctors within a "network area." The individual worker who goes outside the "network" will have to shoulder 30 percent of the cost.

Caterpillar has also demanded major modifications of the seniority system; cuts in premium wages paid for Saturday and Sunday work; reductions in the number of union representatives on the shop floor; changes in retirement benefits that make them far inferior to the Deere agreement; and removal of the additional years that foundry workers earn toward their retirement because of the dangerous conditions of their job.

On March 6 Caterpillar declared the negotiations with the union at an impasse, implying a threat to start hiring scabs to replace strikers.

Caterpillar has agreed to sit down with the union on March 23 for more talks on contract proposals. But, in agreeing to the talks, it made clear its unbending position in a letter to the union. "Unless and until the UAW changes its position on the key economic and non-economic issues of overriding significance, we regrettably will remain at impasse."

"A lot of people say we make a lot of money working for Caterpillar, that we've got it made," explained Larry Solomon, president of Decatur UAW Local 751, in an interview. "But the wages and benefits we enjoy haven't been gotten because we work for a good company. The wages and benefits are up because we fought the company. It took a lot of strikes and we've suffered through a lot of layoffs over the years."

Decatur is about 75 miles south of Peoria. The plant there produces haulage trucks and road graders. Solomon explained that Local 751 has gone through 13 strikes, including



Militant/Paul Mailhot

March 14 rally in Decatur, Illinois, backs Caterpillar strikers.

wildcat walkouts, since the plant was built in 1955. The local now has about 2,000 members and was the first to go out on strike during this labor dispute.

According to Solomon, "We've made Caterpillar a very rich company. Even if we got everything that's in the Deere contract it would just be fair."

"Since 1986 we've done everything to help the company. We've reduced classifications, changed overtime structures, we established over 60 quality groups to help with production, we even instituted new union steward structures and grievance procedures. No one can ever say that we didn't do our part, and the company turns around and does this to us. That's why our strike is so solid."

The solidarity that the UAW has received from other unions has strengthened the strike. "We have United Mineworkers members from Taylorsville, Kincaid, and other towns who come up and join us on the picket line. They bring up some food, or wood for our fires. Regardless of what they bring it shows they understand our cause. It's a great feeling," said Solomon.

A bulletin board in the union hall lists hundreds of union members, local businesses, and individuals who have donated to the union's soup kitchen or helped out in some other way.

Solomon also believes that the impact of big solidarity actions like the March 22 rally

in Peoria will be important. "We think the more people come out to support us on March 22, the more Caterpillar will get the message."

Caterpillar puts pressure on

Recent moves by Caterpillar to declare an impasse, hire the notorious union busting Vance Security firm, and get injunctions limiting the number of pickets have raised the stakes in this fight.

Caterpillar has also flooded the local media with expensive ads and sent thousands of personal mailings to strikers and their families arguing that the union is rejecting good offers by the company, instead making unreasonable demands.

But the ads are "steeped in ambiguity, tell only some of the facts and — worst of all — impart upon people who don't work for Caterpillar the idea that we in the UAW are greedy, unskilled and uncaring," explained Dennis Dickinson, a member of Local 974, in a letter to the *Journal Star* March 14.

Strikers are also up against a media campaign to undermine their strike. Editorials in the *Journal Star*, which workers on the picket line refer to as the "Peoria Urinal," constantly exhort UAW members to settle "before it's too late" and Caterpillar moves out of town.

A March 10 editorial used the statements of UAW officials in Arlington, Texas, who recently negotiated a giveback contract with General Motors, to explain the futility of fighting against concessions. A shop chairman is quoted as saying, "The world is smaller, there's a lot more competition, and anybody who didn't realize that in the 1980s just wasn't looking."

This echo of Caterpillar's propaganda doesn't sit well with many UAW members here. Roger Battin from Local 974 in Peoria explained, "We're not interested in getting involved in a bidding war; we'll just end up driving each other down."

Caterpillar hopes to set in motion a new round of takeback contracts. Company chairman Don Fites has asked workers to "tread water while other nations catch up." But what Caterpillar is really looking for is profits to pile up.

As Larry Solomon explained, "The message we've got to get out is that if they want to cut our wages and benefits, these corporations are also after the workers that make \$8 and \$6 an hour. We've got a lot at stake in sticking together."

Family farmers support striking workers

DECATUR, Illinois — Thousands of workers in the midwestern region of the United States are employed by giant agricultural and construction machinery manufacturers like Caterpillar and John Deere. Many are also farmers.

John Doedtman is chairman of the trustees of United Auto Workers Local 751 here and is on strike against Caterpillar. He also farms 250 acres 50 miles south of here in Vandalia, Illinois. He and his wife have been farming for the past ten years. They grow corn and beans.

Doedtman believes that striking auto workers and family farmers have a lot in common. "I'd say 300-400 members of this local are small farmers in addition to

working at Caterpillar.

"Sometimes you'll hear some farmers say, 'What are you guys asking for now?' thinking that we already make too much money. But the truth is we're not making too much; farmers just aren't making enough to live on."

Doedtman explained, "For many ordinary farmers things aren't really that good. I haven't bought anything new for the farm in 10 years. And that's pretty common around here."

"Twenty years ago we were getting the same price we are today for a bushel of wheat. And a whole bushel of wheat will only buy you a single O-ring for your tractor now."

Doedtman is a member of the National

Farmers Union and feels that most members of the NFU support unions that are fighting for working people.

He explained that the NFU recently held a state convention in Springfield, Illinois, and discussed the impact of the deteriorating economy on workers and farmers. "The keynote speaker at the meeting talked about the layoffs facing General Motors' workers today. That's going to hurt the family farmer. There's no way that situation is going to help farmers."

Doedtman thought it was important for farmers to support the UAW in its fight against Caterpillar.

"If it wasn't for the unions things wouldn't be so good for either workers or farmers. We need everybody to make a fair share." —P.M.

Decatur rally draws 500 unionists in support of Caterpillar strike

DECATUR, Illinois — Five hundred union members from nearby locals took part in a rally to support the Caterpillar strike here March 14. Contingents of workers from the Teamsters union, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), Allied Industrial Workers, United Auto Workers (UAW), and American Federation of Grain Millers marched and chanted in front of the giant Caterpillar plant.

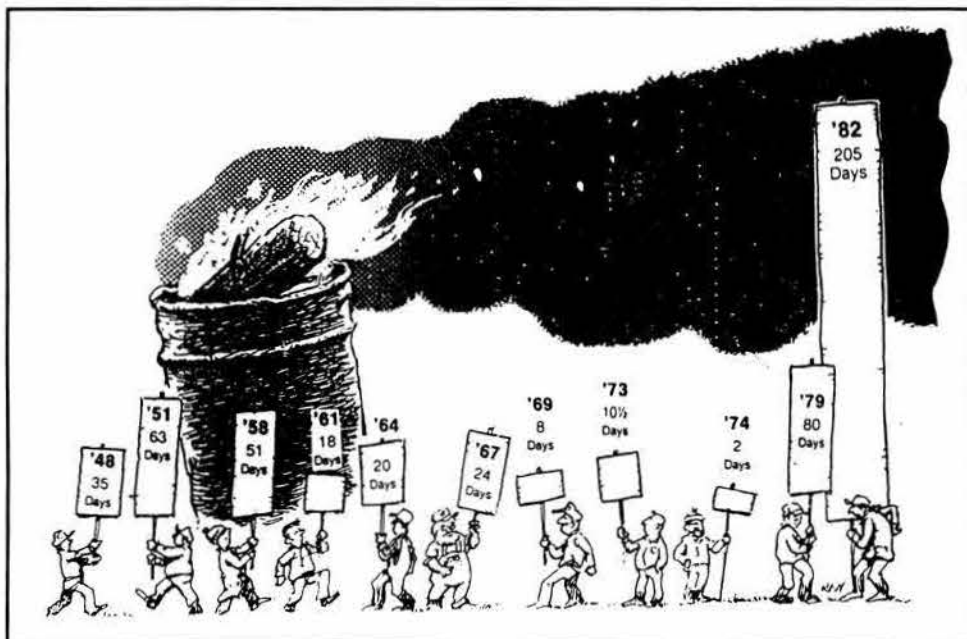
Union locals here have been actively supporting the strike since UAW Local 751 went on strike November 4.

Members of the United Rubber Workers (URW) from the Firestone plant that makes tires for Caterpillar's earth-moving equip-

ment were on hand. "About a third of our plant, 500 workers, have been laid off since the strike began, so we know we have a big stake in this fight," one URW member commented.

One of the marchers from the AFSCME contingent explained, "The wages and benefits that Caterpillar workers have fought for has brought up the standard of living of everyone in this town. We can really see that when we go to negotiate our contract."

Members of UAW Local 751 have a reputation for active solidarity with other unions in the area. Many working people here think it's important to make a big show of solidarity for their struggle now. —P.M.



A popular cartoon among Caterpillar strikers that shows the many strikes they have waged in order to win the wages and benefits enjoyed today.

Washington threatens to start new war against Iraqi people

BY SETH GALINSKY

While backing off on threats to intercept a North Korean ship, Washington is stepping up its threats against Iraq.

U.S. and British officials charge that the Iraqi government is refusing to cooperate with the United Nations in destroying weapons and weapons facilities, conditions that were imposed on Iraq after the allied victory in the war.

"It is crucial that the Security Council, in response, demonstrate the stamina and determination to complete the job that it has begun," stated the *Washington Post* in a March 10 editorial. "If other kinds of pressure fail to induce better cooperation, the Security Council will have to order the bombing of the missile factories."

New York *Newsday* in an editorial the same day called for a military strike.

"Condemning Saddam Hussein for yet another outrage is a bit like screaming at an unrepentant, untrainable dog that keeps chewing furniture despite a severe beating," *Newsday* said. "Either you love the dog enough to forbear, or you restrain your need to kick the daylight out of the cur and take it away instead for humane disposal. Little else is likely to work."

The paper concluded that "it's time for Iraq to play ball. If not, the gulf allies will have to strike again. Harder."

Right-wing columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak report in a syndicated column that the Pentagon already has plans, awaiting the White House green light, for a new war that "could be 'packaged' between four and 10 days of air attacks."

UN warns of serious consequences

British prime minister John Major told the British Broadcasting Corp. March 8 that he is willing to support renewed military operations against Iraq.

Twice within the last month, the Security Council has warned Iraq of "serious consequences" if it continues to defy the UN dictates.

On the eve of Iraqi deputy prime minister Tariq Aziz's visit to New York to speak before the UN council March 11, *Newsday* predicted that "the UN apparatus was cranking up for a repeat of the dramatic meetings that led up to the allied military attack on Iraq just over a year ago."

Aziz presented a request for the UN to ease some of the economic sanctions and the requirements on destroying weapons facto-

Gov't worker is fired for leaking Iraq war casualty figures

BY SETH GALINSKY

U.S. Census Bureau worker Beth Osborne Daponte was informed March 6 she was being fired for releasing to a reporter figures on the number of Iraqi civilians killed by U.S.-led forces during the Gulf War.

Daponte, who works at the bureau's Center for International Research, had estimated that 40,000 Iraqi soldiers and 13,000 civilians died in direct military conflict. She also estimated that 30,000 people died during the Shiite and Kurdish rebellions after the war and that 70,000 have died from health problems caused by allied destruction of water and power plants.

While Daponte's figures were lower than many other estimates — and she had no access to classified information in preparing her report — her figures were still too high for the likes of U.S. officials who want to downplay the destruction caused by the U.S.-led war.

After the *Washington Post* published the figures, Daponte's file on the casualties disappeared from her desk. Her supervisor later rewrote and released Daponte's report, reducing the number of direct, wartime civilian deaths to 5,000 and eliminating a chart breaking down the figures for men, women, and children.

"I think it's rather scary that if an employee releases public information to the public, they can get fired for it," Daponte said. "My salary had been paid by tax dollars. I thought the public was entitled to know what we had come up with."

ries. Iraq wants to convert some of the plants to civilian use, he said.

After allowing Aziz to testify, the Security Council claimed that Iraq was still not complying with UN orders to destroy weapons-manufacturing plants. U.S. representative Thomas Pickering said he was "very disappointed with Iraq's statement."

The latest round of threats follows stepped-up harassment of Iraq.

- The *New York Times* reported February 5 that the United States had increased its U-2 spy plane patrols over Iraq, sending an average of two flights a week from a base in Saudi Arabia. Iraq charges that there have been more than 100 violations of its airspace since the end of February.

- The *Times* also reported that President George Bush had instructed the Central Intelligence Agency to increase covert actions in Iraq to help foment a coup against Saddam

Hussein "that could be supported by United States military forces if necessary." Since November, a CIA fund of \$20 million began disbursing money for the covert activities.

- Washington sent 5,000 additional troops to Kuwait March 1 to participate in 11 days of joint maneuvers. There are currently some 35,000 U.S. troops on 25 ships stationed in the Arab-Persian Gulf. According to Pentagon press spokesperson Lt. Com. Kenneth Satterfield, there are still 6,000 U.S. ground troops stationed in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

- The United States is urging the United Nations to order the seizure of Iraq's foreign assets to pay war reparations. Iraq has refused to sell oil, because of UN insistence that all the funds go into a UN-controlled fund. With malnutrition and disease rampant due to the aftermath of the war and the embargo, Aziz noted that the UN refuses to release funds for buying chlorine for water purification and



Map by the Militant

wants Iraq to destroy a factory that can produce it.

In a move especially designed to provoke the Iraqi regime, a UN commission charged with defining the border between Iraq and Kuwait has let it be known that it plans to extend the Kuwaiti border into Iraq. This would give Kuwait control of Iraq's Rumaila oil fields and of Iraq's naval port at Umm Qasr.

While stepping up its moves toward war with Iraq, Washington backed down on earlier threats against a North Korean ship.

An unnamed U.S. official was widely quoted in the daily press in early March that the United States was planning to stop North Korean ships that were allegedly carrying Scud missiles for Iran and Syria.

The U.S. government claims it has the right to intercept ships in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea to block trade with Iraq.

But, a few days later, the Pentagon officials "were singing a different tune," the *Washington Post* noted.

Although Pentagon spokesman Peter Williams stated that "it's our intention to have the option to intercept any shipping that comes into that region" he claimed that the United States had lost track of the Korean ship.

Williams claimed that the United States never had any intention of stopping the ship, since it was not headed for Iraq.



U.S. troops in Saudi desert, 1991. There are still thousands of U.S. troops in Gulf area.

Pentagon paper: U.S. must remain supreme

BY SETH GALINSKY

A secret Pentagon report obtained by the *New York Times* has sparked a heated debate in Washington. The document outlines plans to maintain U.S. military strength and to prevent the emergence of a power that could challenge Washington's undisputed military dominance in the world.

Excerpts of the 46-page document were published March 8 in the *Times*, which has called on the White House to reject the report.

Known as the "Defense Planning Guidance for the Fiscal Years 1994-1999," the draft report states, "Our first objective is to prevent the emergence of a new rival... [or] future global competitor."

"We endeavor to prevent any hostile power from dominating a region whose resources would, under consolidated control be sufficient to generate global power. These regions include Western Europe, East Asia, the territory of the former Soviet Union, and South-west Asia," the report says.

Singling out Japan, the report states that "we must maintain our status as a military power of the first magnitude" in East Asia.

"This will enable the United States... to prevent the emergence of a vacuum or a regional hegemony," the report argues. "We must also remain sensitive to the potentially destabilizing effects that enhanced roles on the part of our allies, particularly Japan, but also possibly Korea, might produce."

In a not-so-subtle swipe at Germany, the Pentagon study warns that "we must seek to prevent the emergence of European-only security arrangements which would undermine NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization], particularly the alliance's integrated command structure."

One way to maintain U.S. dominance, the guidance says, is to convince "potential competitors that they need not aspire to a greater role."

War scenarios

While the document focuses on the U.S. maintaining its dominant role among its imperialist rivals, it repeats seven scenarios that the *New York Times* published a few weeks

earlier from another Pentagon report. That report described possible threats from North Korea, Iraq, Russia, and other regions. The U.S. military must be ready for more wars to maintain its superpower status, the guidance says.

The report says a base force of 1.6 million active duty soldiers are needed to preserve U.S. supremacy. There are currently close to 2 million U.S. troops stationed around the world. The document instructs the various military services to buy enough "threat-oriented munitions" — such as missiles, bombs, and artillery shells — to be able to destroy 80 percent of the targets "in the two most demanding major Regional Conflict scenarios."

Although the United States is the predominant military power in the world, both Germany and Japan have substantial and modern standing armies. Germany has the largest army in Western Europe, with 480,000 soldiers. It spends \$30 billion on its military annually. Japan has 247,000 soldiers and an annual military budget about the same as Bonn's.

With few exceptions, neither Germany or Japan have been able to undertake a signifi-

cant deployment of military forces abroad since World War II, due to widespread popular opposition at home. For the same reason they have not developed nuclear weapons.

But both have the technical capability to rapidly produce such weapons, and the German and Japanese ruling classes are working overtime to overcome any political barriers.

The Pentagon guidance underscores the fact that Washington's dominance is threatened in Europe by the rise of Germany and in Asia by Japan. It foresees the possibility of future wars, either by proxy or directly, to reverse the waning economic and political power of U.S. imperialism relative to its main rivals.

Unease, rather than post-Cold War triumphalism, underlies the report as well. The disintegration of the former Soviet Union and its decline as a military power does not lessen the threat to U.S. capitalist interests, but instead presents new challenges.

"While the U.S. cannot become the 'world's policeman' by assuming responsibility for righting every wrong," the Pentagon planners state, "we will retain the pre-eminent responsibility for addressing selectively

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The Opening Guns of World War III

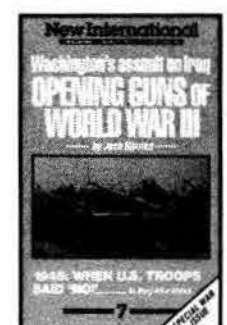
The War Against Iraq

By Jack Barnes

In *New International* no. 7.

Washington's recent threats against Iraq, Libya, and North Korea, indicate that the U.S. government is on the road to new military aggression. This issue of *New International*, published just after the 1991 Gulf War ended, remains indispensable for understanding the threat of war today and what working people can do to fight against it. 333 pp. \$12.

Available from bookstores listed on page 12 or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Include \$3 shipping, \$.50 each additional title.



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

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Violence Against Women — Why It Happens and How It Can Be Fought. Sat., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

Solidarity with UAW Strike at Caterpillar — Reports from Peoria, Illinois, Solidarity Rally. Sat., March 28, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

FLORIDA

Miami

Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose. Sat., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

The Caterpillar Strike: A First-Hand Report on the March 22 Solidarity Rally in Peoria, Illinois. Speaker: Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party, member OCAW Local 3-682. Sat., March 28, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Rally to Kick Off Illinois Socialist Workers Campaign. Sat., March 28. Reception, 6 p.m.; rally 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$5. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

The Gulf War: One Year Later. Speakers: Edith Jones, American Friends Service Committee; Greg Preston, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 2905 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

JFK: Myth and Reality. Speaker: Pat Leamon, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 28, 7:30 p.m. 2905 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

The Fight for Abortion Rights Today. Speakers: representative of Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

Anti-Semitism: What It Is, Where It Comes From, and How To Fight It. Speaker: Karen Ray, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 28, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

The Fight for Women's Rights: A Crucial Struggle for Working People. Speaker: Margaret Jayko, Socialist Workers Party, member United Auto Workers. Sat., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 1622 S Broadway. Donation: \$3. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Puerto Rico: A U.S. Colony. Speakers: Elías Castro, former defendant in Hartford 15 case; Yvonne Meléndez, defendant in Hartford 15 case; Martín Koppel, *Militant* staff writer. Sat., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 675-6740.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

The Collapse of the USSR and the Crisis of Capitalism. Sat., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 2000-C South Elm-Eugene St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

We Won't Go Back: Young Women Fight for Abortion Rights. Speakers: Debra Stafford, Princeton Pro-Choice; Deborah Liatos, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

TEXAS

Houston

Open the U.S. Borders to the Haitian Refugees! Stop the Deportations! Speaker: Jackie Floyd, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$3. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Women in the Global Economy. Sat., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

Labor Fights Back: The Caterpillar Strike! Sat., March 28, 7:30 p.m. 147 E 900 S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Cuba 1992: Meeting the Challenges Facing the Revolution. Speaker: Mary-Alice Waters, editor, *New Internationalist*. Sat., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 523 8th St. SE. Donation: \$3. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

Defend a Woman's Right to Abortion! Build the April 5 March for Women's Lives. Speakers: Paula McKenzie, president, D.C. NOW chapter; Beth Beck, spokesperson, outreach committee of Washington Area Clinic Defense Task Force; Scott Marders, University of Maryland Campus Pro-Choice Advocacy; Nell Wheeler, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., March 28, 7:30 p.m. 523 8th St. SE. Donation: \$3. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

No to Washington's War Plans! Speaker: Kathy Wheeler, Socialist Workers Party, member United Transportation Union Local 845. Sunday, March 22, 6 p.m. 1405 E Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

Auto Workers Strike at Caterpillar: The State of U.S. Labor Movement and the Fight Against the Employer Offensive. Speakers: Mark Downs, member International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's union; Kevin Hirsh, member International Association of Machinists Local 2202; Mark Severs, Socialist Workers Party, member IAM Local 2202. Sat., March 28, 7:30 p.m. 1405 E Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

The Epidemic of Police Brutality. A panel discussion. Sat., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 242 Walnut Street. Donation: \$3. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

Pentagon paper: U.S. must remain supreme

Continued from Page 11

those wrongs which threaten not only our interests, but those of our allies or friends, or which could seriously unsettle international relations."

'Times': Draft is foolish

Sharp disagreements with the Pentagon's tactical advice on how best to hold together a declining empire were expressed by some wings of the U.S. ruling class.

The employers and both the Democratic and Republican parties agree that Washington will more and more have to use its military might abroad as its main weapon against growing economic competition from Germany and Japan especially. They recognize that the capitalist economic crisis and Washington's use of its military trump card will drive the German and Japanese governments to begin to use their military power abroad as well.

Whether disagreeing with openly stating goals such as those in the Pentagon report, or with how to best defend U.S. imperialism abroad, many government officials and big business newspapers gave the report a cold shoulder.

The *New York Times* in a March 10 editorial says the draft is "foolish, if only for financial reasons, to crow about America as solo superpower. And it's downright perverse to affront allies who dare to 'aspire to a greater role.'"

"The Persian Gulf war exemplified the opportunity for new coalitions, involving money and fighting forces. But not to the Pentagon planners," complains the *Times*.

"Taken together, the gulf war and the Soviet collapse offer a new opportunity to share more widely the responsibility for keeping the peace."

"The Pentagon's propositions are worse than self-justifying," the editorial concludes. "In short, for America to go it alone would be obtuse, expensive and dangerous. The Administration better say so soon."

The *Times* says that a large number of White House and State Department officials disagree with the Pentagon draft, arguing "for a more diminished American military role, more emphasis on collective action through the United Nations and regional alliances, and a strategy to engage the military

establishments of former adversaries in new collective security arrangements."

According to the *Times*, some "senior officials" characterized the Pentagon document as a "dumb report" that "in no way or shape represents U.S. policy."

Dead before arrival?

At a March 10 press briefing, chief Pentagon spokesperson Peter Williams answered a reporter who said that high-ranking officials in the National Security Council and other government agencies had said they would view the guidance as "dead before arrival if it came to them."

Williams said he was "puzzled" at these views, because "a great deal" of the guidance "is consistent entirely" with what De-

fense Secretary Richard Cheney and General Colin Powell have been testifying to Congress. But, backtracking from some of the report's conclusions, Williams said, "The United States is not looking for a unilateral role in the world."

"What we are saying is that we want to stay involved with our allies. We want to remain part of the community of nations."

But Williams reiterated other parts of the report, saying, "What we seek to prevent is the emergence of a hostile power, a hostile superpower."

The Pentagon spokesperson insisted that the guidance was a draft — not official policy — which had not yet been reviewed at the highest levels of the military establishment.

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BRITAIN

London

End Controls on Immigration. Cancel the Third World Debt! Speaker: Marcella Fitzgerald, Communist League Election Campaign National Chairperson. Sat., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £2. Tel: 71-928-7993.

Ireland: British Government Should Negotiate Without Conditions. Communist League Election Candidates Call For Troops Out! Speaker: Rich Palser, representative, Communist League election campaign. Sat., March 28, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £2. Tel: 71-928-7993.

Sheffield

The General Election: Communist League Candidate Explains Challenges Facing Working People. Speaker: Josephine O'Brien. Sat., March 21, 6 p.m. 1 Gower St., Spital Hill. Donation: £1. Tel: 0742-765070.

Ireland: British Government Should Negotiate Without Conditions. Communist League Election Candidates Call For Troops Out! Speaker: Jonathan Silberman, cochair Sheffield Communist League election campaign. Sat., March 28, 6 p.m. 1 Gower St., Spital Hill. Donation: £1. Tel: 0742-765070.

CANADA

Toronto

Defend Abortion Rights! We're Never Going Back! Speakers: Rhonda Roffey, Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics; Janet Fisher, laid-off member of Canadian Auto Workers. Sat., March 21, 7:30 p.m. 827 Bloor St. West. Donation: \$4. Tel: (416) 533-4324.

ICELAND

Reykjavik

Video: Malcolm X. Sat., March 21, 12 noon. Klappartígg 26. Tel: (91) 17513.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

Cosmetics, Fashion, and the Offensive Against Women's Equality. Sat., March 21, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Rd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 793-075.

U.S. Threatens War. Speaker: representative of Communist League. Sat., March 28, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Rd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 793-075.

Wellington

In New Zealand and Around the World, Farmers Face the Crisis of the 1990s. Speaker: Felicity Cogan, Communist League, member New Zealand Metalworkers' Union. Sat., March 21, 7 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St., near Courtenay Pl. Donation: \$3. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

U.S. Threats Escalate As Washington Plans War. Sat., March 28, 7 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St., near Courtenay Pl. Donation: \$3. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

SWEDEN

Stockholm

U.S. Tries to Stop the Reunification of Korea. Speaker: Lasse Johansson, Communist League, member Transport Workers Union. Sat., March 21, 3 p.m. Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Erikspan). Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

BRITAIN

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

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

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

CANADA

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

Toronto: 827 Bloor St. West. Postal code: M6G 1M1. Tel: (416) 533-4324.

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

ICELAND

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

MEXICO

Mexico City: Nevin Siders, Apdo. Postal 27-575, Col. Roma Sur. Mexico DF.

NEW ZEALAND

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

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

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

SWEDEN

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

No smoking gun — Used for speed checks, police radar guns emit radiation. A Connecticut cop carried one in his patrol car for 15 years, always nestled between his legs. He



Harry Ring

now has cancer of the testicles and is one of 10 cops who have filed suits or workers compensation claims, charging they contracted cancer from radar guns. The feds say

there isn't enough anecdotal evidence to justify a health study.

Sexism, British style — A survey by the actor's union, British Equity, found that actors in Britain earn a median salary of \$27,000 while actresses in equivalent roles get about \$15,000. The study also found that women get the most work when they're under 30, while the busiest period for men continues into their 40s.

Natch — The FBI wants a law to curb advances in telecommunications technology which might interfere with tapping phones. Mr. Big Ears proposes that any extra cost this might entail be passed on

to consumers.

Obviously that's different — "We feel a little funny about him. Here he is talking about keeping Japanese cars out of America, and every day we come to work and make very good Chryslers." — An official at Japan's Mitsubishi Motors, which makes Dodge Stealths for Lee Iacocca's Chrysler Corp.

Buy cheap, sell dear — The U.S. Energy Dept. will finance the research work of 116 former Soviet nuclear scientists in harnessing nuclear fission for asserted civilian purposes. The scientists will be paid \$65 a month. "It's a very good buy," opined an Energy Dept. official.

For Energy Dept. officials? — Moscow's legendary Metropol Hotel has been refurbished and rooms are available, starting at \$390 a night.

Congressional cleanup — Over a 39-month period, some 200 members of Congress wrote nearly 20,000 rubber checks on the no-fee House banking service. House "Ethics" Committee probers favor publishing the names of only the 19 worst offenders. "I don't think it can pass the smell test," observed one skeptical solon.

Housing tip — A Pennsylvania "megahome" dealer is offering a place for \$3.7 million, \$500,000 less

than he was originally asking. Spacious — "18 to 20 rooms, I never really counted them," he says. It's been on the market eight months, hence the reduction. "I think the economy has played some role," he speculates.

Thought for the week — "Just as the recession has been anything but traditional, the recovery is expected to be far different than those of the past. . . . Instead of the vigorous, robust growth that followed previous contractions, this one is likely to proceed in fits and starts, causing the economy to expand so sluggishly that it may appear to many like no growth at all." — *Los Angeles Times*.

Buchanan's campaign 'fascistic,' says columnist

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

As Patrick Buchanan continues to receive sizable vote totals in the Republican presidential primaries around the country, the character of his campaign has come under closer scrutiny in the big-business media. Serious commentators are describing his program and direction as fascist-like.

Syndicated columnist Charles Krauthammer writing for the *Washington Post* points out, "The real problem with Buchanan is not that his instincts are anti-semitic but that they are, in various and distinct ways, fascist."

Krauthammer comments on some of Buchanan's statements: "Who speaks for the Euro-Americans?" (read: white Americans) asks Buchanan. Guess. "Is it not time to take America back?" Guess for whom and from whom. This naked appeal to racial and ethnic exclusivity puts Buchanan firmly in the tradition of Jean-Marie Le Pen and Europe's other neo-fascists whose platform is anti-immigrant resentment, fear and loathing of the unassimilated Other."

Krauthammer goes on to point out Buchanan's admiration for such figures and regimes as the dictators Franco of Spain and Pinochet of Chile, and the "Boer Republic," which is, he notes "Buchanan's quaint and sympathetic euphemism for white racist South Africa."

"We are watching the emergence of a distinctive American kind of fascism," writes Martin Walker in the March 9 London *Guardian*. "Its rhetoric is unmistakable."

Walker points to Buchanan's "America First" campaign, which was also the rallying cry of fascist forces in the 1930s, and quotes a typical Buchanan statement from the campaign:

"George Bush believes in his New World

Order, the subordination of American sovereignty to Gatt [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] and the World Bank and the United Nations. Our America First threatens Bush's New World Order. . . . If we unleash America's energies, we can beat them all. There won't be any New World Order. It will be America Number One again."

Buchanan has elaborated his political perspective more fully as he has continued to campaign around the country. His presidential bid has become more than just a protest vote against Bush and the poor state of the U.S. economy, but a vehicle for coalescing and building an ongoing ultra-rightist social movement.

"Consider what we have accomplished in just three weeks," commented Buchanan in response to the vote returns from eight states holding Republican party primaries March 10, "We have torn away one-third of the Republican Party from the national establishment for good."

Buchanan has also succeeded in drawing support from rightists backing Republican presidential nominee David Duke. Many of those who voted for Duke in his campaign for governor of Louisiana voted for Buchanan in the presidential primaries. "I think Pat Buchanan sounds a lot like me," said David Duke noted. "I'm glad to see it. I think Pat Buchanan sounds more like me every day." Other ultrarightist forces have also declared their support and admiration for Buchanan's campaign.

William Buckley, founder and president of the conservative *National Review*, who had earlier chided Buchanan for his anti-Semitism, promptly turned around and backed Buchanan in the New Hampshire primary. Current *Review* editor John O'Sullivan urges its readers to keep backing Buchanan until "a milli-second" before Buchanan himself decides to support Bush.

Campaigning through the South, Buchanan made a strong appeal to reactionary forces who continue to rally around the tradition of the Confederacy, which fought the Civil War in an unsuccessful attempt to retain slavery. Buchanan proudly terms as "rebels" his two great grandfathers who served and died in the Confederate army.

American fascism

Fascism in its initial stages has appeared on the U.S. political scene during previous periods of capitalist economic depression and social crisis. For example, in the late 1930s Father Charles Coughlin, known as the radio priest, attracted hundreds of thousands of adherents to his fascist Social Justice movement. Around the same time New Jersey Democratic Party boss Frank Hague became mayor of Jersey City and mobilized mobs there to smash meetings of unionists, socialists, and those speaking out for civil liberties.

Socialist Workers Party leader Joseph Hansen, writing in a 1939 pamphlet entitled *Father Coughlin: Fascist Demagogue*, defines fascism as "a wide mass movement of farmers and small business men who face bankruptcy, of youth denied a future under capitalism, of sections of the unemployed. All these layers of the oppressed who are seeking desperately to put their hands on the surrounding plenty become hypnotized by the silver-plated promises of a demagogue who regiments them into blindly obedient shock troops."

"The capitalists provide the money," writes Hansen. "The dictator provides the powerful slogans, the stirring names, the

demagogic program, the organization, the lieutenants, and the oratory."

The central focus of attack of a full-scale fascist movement are the trade unions and other vanguard political organizations of the working class.

The rightist demagogue Buchanan is in the initial stages of building a fascist movement. However the reactionary political program around which he is attracting supporters make his intentions increasingly clear.

'Take America back'

Buchanan's speeches include both subtle and more blatant attempts to stir up hatred of Jews such as when he condemns Capitol Hill as "Israeli-occupied territory." Buchanan minimizes the Nazi-organized Holocaust against Jews saying that facts do not uphold the gassing of Jews at the Treblinka concentration camp because the diesel fumes were not lethal.

Post columnist Krauthammer points out that Buchanan's minimizing of the Holocaust is an attempt to project the fascist perspective without its negative association with the genocide that Hitler's fascist movement in power ultimately carried out. "Take away the blot of the Holocaust and we are back to the 1930s when the fascist idea had an appeal, a

promise, a future," comments Krauthammer.

Krauthammer notes that in June 1933 "before the genocide . . . even FDR [Franklin Delano Roosevelt] said that he was 'deeply impressed by what (Mussolini) has accomplished and by his evidenced honest purpose of restoring Italy.'"

Buchanan has also shifted from being a free trade partisan in the tradition of Ronald Reagan to calling for an active governmental role in regulating and protecting the profit prerogatives of U.S. industry while denouncing "vulture capitalism," in the true tradition of earlier fascist demagogues.

After visiting an unemployment office in Concord, New Hampshire, Buchanan, who was seeking to win these victimized workers to his banner, exclaimed, "These people really want to work."

"After a lifetime denouncing the left for letting government regulate the economy, Buchanan is a born-again economic populist, championing the shirtless ones against rapacious capitalism," comments Krauthammer.

Campaigning in Florida, Buchanan made a strong appeal for support from anti-Castro Cubans. Sounding a call for active intervention in Cuba's affairs he predicted, "Fidel Castro will not survive a Buchanan presidency."

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People
March 27, 1967

Thomas C. Wansley, a 22-year-old Negro, was sentenced to two life terms for "rape" in Lynchburg, Va., on March 18. Held in prison without bail for more than four years, this was Wansley's fourth trial for the same offense. Accused of raping a white woman, now 63, and robbing her of \$1.37, Wansley has been twice acquitted on appeal to the Virginia Supreme Court on the rape charge, and the robbery charge resulted in a hung jury in 1965.

Wansley's attorney, William Kunstler of New York, has been frequently red-baited in the local press as "linked on numerous occasions with Communist-front organizations and efforts."

The 63-year-old plaintiff, when asked how she could identify Wansley now, when in two previous trials she had been unsure, replied: "Well naturally . . . I have seen him in court."

The verdict will be appealed.

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

March 28, 1942

To insure their domination and exploitation of India, the English have done everything in their power to preserve and reinforce feudalism there. The Asiatic system still flourishes virtually in its archaic forms throughout the so-called native states whose number is variously estimated from 600 to 700.

The Nizam of Hyderabad, Sir Mir Osman Ali Khan, is reported to possess \$150,000,000 in jewels and \$250,000,000 in gold bars alone. He rules over 20,000,000 peasants.

In order to perpetuate feudalism, the English apply what is known as the Torrence System in their colonies. The old feudal titles remain and are entered into a land register; but the right is given to purchase feudal titles "by voluntary agreement." In short, a feudal lord can sell his right to a capitalist. In this way, the English have slipped underneath the rotten edifice of feudalism a modernized foundation and at the same time tied the native bourgeoisie to the chariot of the Rajahs, Maharajahs, and Nizams. To retain an important part of their capital and their profits, the Indian financiers must of necessity do all they can to retain the princes from whom in the last analysis, all the land-titles flow — or, rather, to retain the princes who must hang on to the English without whom their power is so much chaff.

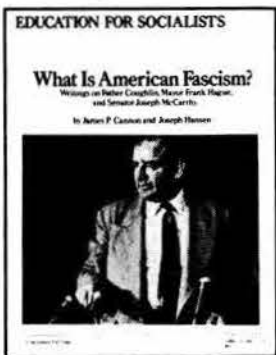
Jawaharlal Nehru has explained: "[With the] assumption of direct British control over an Indian state . . . the semifederal conditions are retained, autocracy is kept, all restrictions on personal liberty and association and expression of opinion continue, but one change is made. The executive becomes stronger, while a measure of efficiency is introduced."

So strong is this executive that, according to official figures, rent and interest charges absorb from 70 to 80 percent of a peasant's harvest. After that he pays taxes.

The curtain is beginning to rise on the age-long "mystery of India," revealing: filth, squalor, degradation, bestiality, every abomination in the dictionary of English colonial rule. Meanwhile, in 700,000 Indian villages the peasants are weighing in their minds a way out of their centuries of grinding poverty. Small wonder that a dispatch from Bombay issues alarm signals:

"The Princes fear that if the British-Indian link is broken, they will ultimately be swept away." Every Indian worker and peasant will agree that nothing could serve their country better than to be rid of both the all-powerful princes and their contemptible "link." The sooner the better.

What is American Fascism and lessons of the fight against it.



What is American Fascism? Writings on Father Coughlin, Mayor Frank Hague, and Sen. Joseph McCarthy. by James P. Cannon and Joseph Hansen \$8.

The Fight Against Fascism in the U.S.A.: Forty Years of Struggle Described by Participants. by James P. Cannon et al. \$9

Available from bookstores listed on page 12 or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Please add \$3 for postage and handling for first title; \$.50 each additional one.

Threat posed by Buchananism

The reactionary solutions being put forward in the contest for the Republican presidential candidacy by Patrick Buchanan pose a serious threat to working people. Buchanan has emerged as the most prominent spokesperson for the ultrarightist political current in the United States.

Buchananism has gained a hearing in U.S. politics as a result of the world capitalist depression and the weakening position of U.S. imperialism in relation to its imperialist rivals abroad — especially Germany and Japan.

Authoritative commentators in the big-business media have begun to point out that the most accurate way of describing Buchanan is as a fascist. He is in fact in the process of pulling together an incipient fascist movement in the United States.

History shows that the ultimate result of a fascist movement that succeeds in gaining state power, as Hitler did in Germany in the 1930s, is the bloody suppression of the unions and vanguard political organizations of the working class. The victory of fascism also means victimization of scapegoats such as Jews and others, and an acceleration of the drive toward world imperialist war.

"Buchananism" today has many faces: from Buchanan himself; to David Duke; to Tom David and the White Student Union at the University of Minnesota; to Operation Rescue's street campaign, including thuggish attacks against those defending the right of abortion clinics to remain open; and to the demonstrations by cops and their supporters from

Chicago to Los Angeles aimed at defending police officers charged with brutal attacks on working people.

The countercampaign against imprisoned union and political activist Mark Curtis, promoted in the first place by the cops and prosecutor's office in Des Moines, is another example of this ultrarightist trend.

No effective answer to the ultraright can be expected from capitalist politicians in the Democratic or Republican Parties. The truth is that these politicians — from Republican George Bush to Democrat William Clinton — rather than answering the Patrick Buchanans and David Dukes, have paved the way for making these politics respectable, through their own political stance as part of the bipartisan rightward shift of capitalist politics in the United States over the past 15 years. Fascist demagogues like Buchanan emerge naturally from this reactionary capitalist political framework.

Working people have the greatest stake in recognizing and acting on the dangers posed by Buchananism. Workers need to face up to and discuss out the serious challenge that Buchananism in all its forms represents to our rights and organizations.

The issues raised by the rightist demagogues, from the scapegoating of immigrants to the accelerated Japan-bashing and the Jew-hatred that is part and parcel of the fascists' arsenal, must be answered head-on. And their physical attempts to deny the rights of others — from racist assaults to attacks on abortion clinics — call for mobilizations in response.

Washington lost the Cold War

Former President Richard Nixon has clearly expressed what others in the U.S. ruling class have not said out loud: Washington has not won the Cold War. Nixon says bluntly that unless huge resources to the tune of \$100 billion are poured into Russia, Yeltsin might not make it in his effort to establish the reign of the capitalist market system there.

Russia could be "lost," Nixon says, as Washington "lost China" in the 1950s. Aside from the imperial arrogance involved here with the implication that these huge nations of people are Washington's to "win" or "lose," this statement shows how the initial euphoria in ruling-class circles following the fall of the Berlin Wall has all but evaporated.

Nixon did not answer President George Bush's question: Where will the funds come from that Bush says he has no "blank check" for?

The fact is that U.S. imperialism has indeed lost the Cold War.

The Cold War was the term used to describe the strategic course forced upon U.S. imperialism and its allies coming out of World War II in face of the limitations imposed by the international balance of class forces. These limitations ruled out for the foreseeable future the use of massive military force — a "hot war" — to accomplish Washington's goal of overturning the Soviet Union and Eastern European workers' states and reestablishing capitalism there.

Washington was blocked from pursuing this goal by the refusal of the GIs in Europe and Asia to go back to war, this time against former allies — the Soviet Union and the workers and peasants of China.

The U.S.-led assault on Korea in 1950, which tested the "back door" approach to undermining or overthrowing the Soviet Union and the fledgling Chinese revolution, failed. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea was not overthrown and the fighting ended in a stalemate at the 38th parallel.

Moscow's development of nuclear weapons in the 1950s chilled any idea of a direct military assault against the workers' states.

Given these realities, Washington was restricted during the Cold War to using its military power to try to contain any extension of the revolutionary overturn of capitalist property relations. Its strategic effort to weaken the Soviet and Eastern European workers' states became one of applying pressure on the bureaucratic castes to police the working class in those countries and keep them isolated from the struggles of workers and peasants around the world.

With the crumbling of the Stalinist regimes and their re-

placement by openly procapitalist politicians, and with prospects of a military assault against the former Soviet republics and Eastern Europe less feasible than ever, imperialism still confronts the same battle, but from a weakened position.

Instead of continuing the Cold War against the Stalinist regimes, imperialism will have to directly take on and try to defeat the working class, allowing the overthrow of the workers' states in order to reestablish an employer class there. Capitalism won't return without establishing new relations of exploitation based on the crushing defeat of working people and the seizure of the means of production by a new capitalist class. Nixon himself touches on this problem when he acknowledges that what he calls a "management class" is lacking in Russia.

Unlike what Nixon suggests, imperialism today is in no position to buy its way back to capitalism in Russia, Poland, or even former East Germany.

Nixon admits that the Marshall Plan cannot be simply duplicated in Russia. What Bush points out to him is that the 1990s are unlike the 1950s. The Marshall Plan was launched at the start of a decades-long capitalist expansion fueled by the victory of U.S. imperialism over its rivals coming out of the mass destruction of World War II. Now we are in worldwide depression.

The disintegration of the economies in the former Soviet republics and Eastern Europe has proven to be a liability not a boon for imperialism. It is not a means by which the world capitalist crisis will be resolved.

We are not about to witness a ruble convertible in hard currency or a stable banking system in Russia. What is becoming the rule in these countries is more barter agreements and open thievery by the regimes in power. "Corruption grows greedy in Russia," and "Bribery finds in capitalism the beginnings of a beautiful friendship," are typical headlines describing the situation there.

The Polish rulers' decision to pause in their application of "shock therapy," which was to speed the arrival of capitalism, reflects the problems all the bureaucratic rulers face. Grand privatization plans are faltering throughout Eastern Europe and working people are resisting the impact of the "free market" measures.

It is this resistance and the accompanying social and political instability that Nixon puts his finger on in pointing out to U.S. imperialism's influential figures that they haven't won anything in that part of the world. That worries mouthpieces of imperialism like Nixon.

Stakes in the Caterpillar battle

Continued from front page

face takeback demands from the auto bosses next year. General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler are watching closely what happens in this fight. If Caterpillar is able to win its contract demands from the union, it may even prompt the declining auto giants to demand the reopening of UAW contracts to get immediate concessions.

Unionists and other working people who are coming to Peoria to support the Caterpillar strikers should keep the pressure on. The firsthand account of what UAW members are fighting for and the stakes involved in their struggle can be taken back to locals and organizations across the country. More support and solidarity for the fight can be won in that way.

Farmers also need to be brought into this struggle. Caterpillar's main assembly and parts plants are located in

rural areas. Hundreds of UAW members also farm for a living. The economic downturn is cutting deep into the living standard of both workers and farmers.

Companies like Caterpillar try to convince farmers and other working people that their problems are a result of the high wages and benefits of union members. But nothing could be further from the truth.

The crisis confronting working people on the land and in the factories today is a direct result of the drive for profits of the big corporations and banks whose owners rule this country.

Caterpillar is proving to be a determined adversary of working people. It will take a determined fight of the union movement, farmers, and all fighters for social justice to turn them back.

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.

Are family farmers responsible for environmental destruction? Is it their own fault when they lose their farms? Should farmers abandon their tractors and return to the days of draft horses? Are the interests of farmers in the United States counterposed to those of peasants and farmers in other parts of the world?

These are some of the questions raised by Dan Priest in this week's letter section.

Priest argues that Doug Jenness's statement in a *Militant*

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

article that farmers require high cost inputs like machinery, seed, and fertilizer, is repeating a "myth."

It is worth taking a brief look at the changes that have occurred in agriculture over the past half a century to understand what is at stake here.

Farm productivity has increased tremendously in this period. For example, in 1930 one farm worker or farmer produced enough farm products for 10 people; in 1982 one farmer produced enough for 78.

This increase is a direct result of greater mechanization — replacing farm animals with tractors — and such technological advances as hybrid seeds, fertilizers, and the use of pesticides. This represents a huge step forward for humanity, and means that the capability exists — right now — to feed the whole world.

In many parts of the world, poor peasants are unable to afford oxen or horses to help them plow their fields or to plant, much less buy a tractor. Instead they clear fields by hand and plant seeds with a stick. They often have no access to irrigation and are at the mercy of the vagaries of the weather. Many live in the most abject poverty. They would disagree with the notion that doing without a tractor, mechanical irrigation, or high yield seed helps improve their lives.

Mixed blessing

If Priest called attention to the fact that the use of modern agricultural techniques is a mixed blessing, he would be right, for under capitalism, which puts profits before people, all kinds of unsafe products are put on the market, dangerous pesticides are overused, soil is depleted, and natural barriers against erosion are destroyed.

Examples abound. As much as 85 percent of the range land in the western United States — about 685 million acres — is being degraded by overgrazing and other problems. This process known as desertification, which turns these areas into an artificially created desert, is also occurring in large parts of Africa.

The cause is not the technology itself, but the distortions of the capitalist market, which obliges farmers to produce whatever the market demands, without regard to conservation.

Many farmers find themselves risking their lives because of the pressure they are under, being paid less and less for what they produce, and having to pay more and more for the inputs they need. The fatality rate for agricultural workers, for example, is six times the rate for manufacturing.

But Priest would throw out the baby with the bath water. He says farmers should imitate the Amish, descendants of immigrants from Switzerland and south Germany who follow the traditions of the Mennonite Church. Not only do they farm without tractors, but they reject the use of electricity, radios, TVs, and other modern conveniences.

Amish farms are labor intensive

In Pennsylvania many Amish farm tobacco, which is labor intensive because of the delicacy with which the leaves must be handled. While the Amish have every right to choose their own lifestyle, they are not an example of how to increase food production for the world's growing population.

"North American farmers who are losing their farms are often the farmers who destroy nature," Priest writes.

Since at least the 1930s the number of farmers in the United States has been declining, but not the total farm acreage in production. Instead, some farmers are driven out of business, and other farmers take their place trying to make a go of it. The average size of farms has been growing, as technological advances allow a smaller number of farmers to work a proportionately larger area. And in fact, farm yields and productivity continue to rise.

While the situation in Latin America and Africa is not exactly the same, farmers there are also being driven off the land because the price they receive for what they produce often does not cover the production costs.

There is no necessary dichotomy between defending the environment and producing the things humanity needs to survive and flourish. Rightist demagogue Patrick Buchanan is dead wrong when he says he favors "the welfare of the American worker over the spotted owl." Why does it have to simply be one versus the other?

If farmers were guaranteed the use of the land, a market for their products, and a price to meet their production costs and have a decent living, they would not be forced to use environmentally unsound methods or, for example, to accept the claims of the pesticide pushers without question. Freed from bondage to the capitalist agricultural concerns, the banks, and the middlemen, small farmers would not have to cut corners to survive.

A workers' and farmers' government would help farmers to ensure that the environment is protected, while agricultural production is boosted.

Workers compensation cuts protested in Georgia

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

hurt at Queens Carpet and they won't give me a job I can do"; "Georgia: injured workers deserve rehabilitation"; "We are not lazy. We are not frauds"; and "Carpet mills — union now."

Some union members, especially from the building trades, were present at the demonstration, though

held a sign that read, "Toxic fumes at work ruined my lungs." Exposure to chemical fumes at the wire plant where he worked near Atlanta damaged his lungs to the point where he has to have oxygen at all times.

Striking nuclear workers reject company's offer

Nearly 800 members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) union Local 3-689 in Piketon, Ohio, overwhelmingly voted to support an executive board and negotiating committee decision to reject the latest contract offer by Martin Marietta Energy Systems, Inc.

OCAW Local 3-689, which represents 1,055 workers, has been on strike against Martin Marietta since June 11, 1991. Martin Marietta is under contract to operate the U.S. Department of Energy's (DOE) uranium enrichment facility. The uranium is used in commercial nuclear power reactors and for military applications.

At issue in the strike is the company's demand to override basic seniority provisions that cover job assignments, overtime, and work rules. According to union members, there is no dispute over wages, benefits or job security.

Also at issue in the strike is the company's demand that any DOE directive or order override or void any contract provision at any time.

The plant has been operating at near to full capacity since the beginning of the strike. Management personnel from Martin Marietta plants in Paducah, Kentucky, and Oak Ridge, Tennessee, along with management and retirees from the Piketon facility have kept the plant running.

"We won't give up," Larry Thomas, the financial secretary of Local 3-689, told the *Militant*. "We're standing up for every worker, not just for ourselves. Dissension has made us stronger."

For more information about the strike or to give to the Adopt-a-Family Fund, contact OCAW Local 3-689, P.O. Box 467, Piketon, Ohio 45661.

North Carolina textile mill makes permanent layoffs

Cone Mills announced February 6 a permanent layoff of 380 out of 480 workers at the Granite Finishing Plant in Haw River, North Carolina. Cone is ending production of corduroy — long a mainstay of the Granite plant — and is phasing out its encore piece-dyed flat fabrics division. Cone claims to have lost \$50 million over the last four years through new equipment purchases and process rearrangement in its attempts to make Granite profitable.

This layoff of hundreds of workers, who are organized by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), comes in the midst of a rash of decertification attempts at other organized mills around the region and in the wake of last August's vote at Fieldcrest-Cannon Mills in Kannapolis where some 7,000 workers narrowly rejected representation by ACTWU.

Decertification drives by the bosses took place or are currently underway at Highland Yarn and Fiber Dynamics in High Point, North Carolina, and at Fieldcrest-Cannon in Fieldale, Virginia.

At Highland Yarn workers defended the union, signing up 31 new members in 10 days and distributing a leaflet printed in seven different languages that counters company lies about Highland's nonunion plant in Bladenboro. The leaflet also explains that some workers who do not understand English were misled into signing decertification cards. Many workers at the mill are immigrants from Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

At nearby Fiber Dynamics union activists defeated a decertification attempt by talking to every worker in the plant, which successfully prevented the collection of enough signatures to call an election.

British rail worker wins reinstatement

A victory was scored recently when British Rail, the nationalized rail company in Britain, was instructed by the Employment Appeal Tribunal to reinstate Denny Fitzpatrick, a political and

trade union activist. Fitzpatrick had been sacked from her job as a signal engineer in March 1989. However, under the present legal setup, an employer can refuse to accept the reinstatement verdict and offer monetary compensation instead. British Rail has often chosen to do this. Of the thousands of cases that appear before the courts each year, only 1 percent are reinstated. In 1991, only 69 workers got an actual order for reinstatement.

Fitzpatrick had been dismissed from the railroads on the grounds that she failed to mention her previous job with Ford Motor Co. on her application. Fitzpatrick had been fired by Ford after company investigators acquired information on her previous trade union and political activity.

The National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers (RMT) took Fitzpatrick's case to the Industrial Tribunal, a government body that rules on cases of unfair dismissal. There it became increasingly clear that collusion existed between British Rail and Ford in gaining information on Fitzpatrick. Ford has since admitted that it has used private investigative agencies, such as the Economic League, to spy on its employees. Since the 1950s tens of thousands of job applicants at Ford have been screened against the Economic League's files on union and political activity.

The RMT campaigned in defense of Fitzpatrick. Two public meetings were held and Fitzpatrick spoke at a number of union gatherings. Her case won wide support among rail workers.

The following people contributed to this week's column: Susan LaMont, member of the United Steelworkers of America in McDonough, Georgia; Kate Daher and Joanne Kuniansky, members of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-74 in Pittsburgh; Devin Oldendick, member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 1113T in Haw River, North Carolina; and Robert Higley, member of the National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers union in Britain.

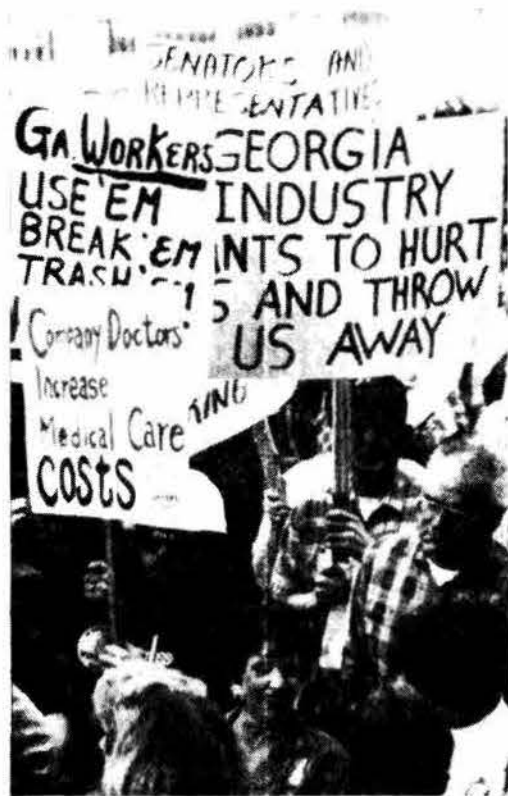
ON THE PICKET LINE

safety benefits. Some unionists faced with sharp takeback demands, lockouts, and union-busting moves 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 about 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.

Some 3,000 workers from around Georgia, including contingents from carpet mills in the Dalton area, poultry workers, and construction workers, turned out March 2 for a rally at the state capitol in Atlanta to protest a new workers compensation law that threatens, if passed, to further limit rights and benefits for workers injured on the job.

Some workers were on crutches or walked with canes. Others were in wheelchairs. The faces and limbs of others bore the scars of serious on-the-job injuries. A sea of hand-painted signs told their stories and demands: "Shoot me — I'm just a carpet mill slave"; "We want safety in the workplace"; "I was



Workers protesting in Atlanta against a new state law that will gut workers compensation.

LETTERS

Conditions of farmers

I'd like to respond to Doug Jenness's introduction to the new Pathfinder pamphlet on farmers.

The article lumps farmers in the U.S. with other peasant and mechanized farmers around the world. However, farmers in various parts of the world face wildly different market, environmental, and social conditions. One example would be India, where farmers depend on the presence of poisonous snakes in their fields. If the snakes are killed by pesticides, rats will proliferate.

The article points out that produce and farm commodities travel fantastic distances from producer to consumer. That's only true for richer industrialized countries. Consumers in poorer countries eat a much greater proportion of locally grown food.

The article repeats the myth that farmers (I assume he means North American farmers) require high cost inputs like machinery, seed, fertilizer (he doesn't mention fuel).

This myth of "necessary inputs" is easily refuted by looking at Amish farmers. They don't have high cost inputs for anything. They use fertile seeds instead of hybrids, like any other peasant farmers in the world. Their wealth is in their draft horses and in their soil. They don't deal with banks. They don't get or apply for government subsidies, and they generally sell to the commercial, rather than the organic markets.

These are people who aren't losing the farms, but are buying farms for their children. They are healthy (no exposure to farm chemicals), and have a higher standard of living than much of the working class.

North American farmers who are losing their farms are often the farmers who destroy nature, rather than reaping the wealth of nature, which has been the traditional role of human societies until recent times.

We call for an alliance of workers and exploited farmers. Demands for halting environmental destruction are also necessarily part of our program for human and planetary survival. Can we stand behind our environmental demands when workers and farmers see their livelihoods threatened?

Dan Priest
Salt Lake City, Utah

Israeli warmongering

Workers of the world should unite to expose the warmongering government of Israel, which is attacking people and villages in Southern Lebanon.

The government of Yitzhak Shamir and Ariel Sharon of Israel is terrorizing the people of Lebanon and Palestinians who are living in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

It's time that the Israeli government removed its troops from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Israeli and U.S. governments should let Palestinians establish their home-

land there. That way peace would prevail between Palestinians and the people of Israel.

The U.S. and the United Nations should remove the economic blockade against the people of Iraq and the U.S. should remove the blockade against the people of Cuba. Also U.S., Canadian, and European capitalist governments should remove economic sanctions against the people of Yugoslavia.

Louis Vukman
San Gabriel, California

World without borders

Recently I had the opportunity of going to Atlantic City to see a concert performed by a Salsa group called Orquesta De La Luz. I had heard them on the radio and knew they were talented. What made this group even more exceptional was the fact that every member of the group was born and raised in Japan.

Today Orquesta De La Luz is a major hit. Most people in the audience at Resorts International traveled over an hour from Philadelphia, Camden, and Trenton, and paid between \$35 and \$60 to see De La Luz. The words to one of the songs that the band performed was "Salsa no tiene fronteras" (Salsa doesn't have borders). The existence of this group is proof positive of this statement.

The latest recording of Orquesta De La Luz is *Sin Fronteras* (Without Borders). The title is written in Spanish and Japanese on the tape jacket.



This title is similar to the statement on the bottom of the Pathfinder Mural in New York which reads "Por un Mundo Sin Fronteras" (For a World without Borders). This title is especially appropriate if you were able to witness what I witnessed at the concert. That was the mutual affection expressed between the band members of Japan, and the audience who is living in this country.

I happen to work at the Budd Co. plant in Philadelphia which manufactures auto parts. Some of the workers in the plant support the campaign the UAW is promoting

around "Buy American." I wish my coworkers could have seen Orquesta De La Luz perform and witnessed the warm response they received in Atlantic City.

Steve Halpern
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.

London will not talk with Sinn Fein unless group 'renounces violence'

Communist League campaign calls for unconditional negotiations on N. Ireland

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

The British government should negotiate with Sinn Fein without preconditions. This was the central point in a statement issued by Brian Grogan, Communist League parliamentary candidate for Southwark and Bermondsey. Grogan issued the statement following the Irish Republican Army's (IRA) February 28 London Bridge bombing that injured 28 people. Grogan said he "intends to make a call for unconditional negotiations a feature of his election campaign."

Sinn Fein supports the IRA, which has been on a stepped-up bombing campaign in Northern Ireland and Britain. In 1991, 97 people were killed as a result of bombings attributed to the IRA in Britain, the greatest number of such deaths since 1982. The IRA says its present campaign is aimed at forcing the question of Ireland "onto the British political agenda" in the general election.

The latest round of talks involving London, the Dublin government, and four political parties from Northern Ireland ended with

agreement to resume after the British general election April 9. Sinn Fein, a republican party opposed to British rule in Northern Ireland, has been excluded from the talks, on the grounds it will not "renounce violence" as a precondition to participation.

Grogan called London's refusal to talk with Sinn Fein a "total smokescreen," given Britain's record in Northern Ireland.

"London has not demanded that the Ulster Unionists or Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionists renounce violence," said the candidate. "This double standard is not surprising given the government's involvement in running agents like Brian Nelson in the Loyalist paramilitaries."

British Military Intelligence agent Brian Nelson revealed in his recent trial that, while in the pay of the British Army, and with their full knowledge, he headed intelligence for the Ulster Defence Association, a right-wing loyalist terror group. Nelson was convicted of five charges of conspiracy to commit murder.

Grogan, a member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, also said that the IRA bombing campaign "is an obstacle to advancing the struggle of working people in Ireland to end Britain's domination. It gives room to the government to target opponents of British rule, and treats working people in Britain as part of the problem, not natural allies." His

statement pointed out that the bombing campaign, far from putting Irish independence on the agenda, aids those who want to intensify the moves towards greater repressive measures.

Britain recently increased its troops in Northern Ireland to more than 18,000. In addition, 441 are being added to the police force of 11,500 and 1,700 part-time reservists. In addition, government and security officials have stated they are considering reinstating the practice of internment — holding people for extended periods of time without charging them with a crime.

"The ability of Irish people to secure a political solution to the crisis," said Grogan, "would be strengthened by negotiations." He demanded the removal of British troops from Northern Ireland as a decisive move towards the Irish people determining their own future. He said negotiating a political solution would also "mean greater possibilities of combatting the source of Ireland's problems: at the center of which should be cancelling the debt which distorts Ireland's economy, forcing the burden onto workers through high taxes and unemployment." The Communist candidate called for "positive action" for Catholics who, for decades, have been discriminated against in jobs and housing in Northern Ireland.



IRA bombing in Northern Ireland. London's refusal to negotiate with Sinn Fein is a 'total smokescreen,' said Communist League candidate.

40,000 in Spain protest racism

BY MIKE EAUDE

BARCELONA, Spain — Forty thousand people demonstrated here February 23 in the biggest antiracist demonstration yet seen in Spain. Called under the umbrella of "SOS-Racisme," the march was supported by the main trade union federations and several African immigrant organizations.

Since 1986, the Alien Registration Law has meant that a large percentage of the estimated half million foreign workers in

Spain have been forced to remain in the country illegally. The conditions for gaining legal status are often impossible to meet. For example, legalization under a June-to-December 1991 "amnesty" required street traders to put forward a proposal for "their own business," the terms of which were beyond the financial means of most.

The interior minister stated that those who had not become legal under the amnesty were "delinquents," thereby giving the go-ahead for harassment and deportation. The Socialist Party government is falling in line with other European Community (EC) states in opening up Europe's internal borders while trying to close its frontiers with non-EC countries. There is nothing so emblematic of this process as the enormous ditch and barbed wire fence that has been constructed around the Spanish colonial enclave of Melilla, in Morocco, to keep Africans out.

The Catalan Federation of Immigrants' Organizations pointed out, "When foreign immigrants and gypsies are put forward as the main source of crime and drug trafficking, this is a direct and indirect encouragement to racists to attack foreigners physically and morally."

African workers have been organizing. Three hundred people, mainly Moroccans, occupied a church in the Sagrera District of Barcelona for five days in mid-February to protest against the slow processing of residency permits. They won the support of the priest and the working-class area's residents. The government was forced to speed up its process.

At the February 23 demonstration the new militancy and confidence of Arab workers in particular was clear. Slogans such as "We are Arabs, not Moors," "Repeal the Alien Registration Law," and "No to the Europe of the rich; no to racism," were shouted.



February 23 demonstration in Barcelona demonstrated new confidence and militancy of Arab workers.

German politicians sour on plans for European economic union

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

With the German economy in a recession, many politicians both in the government and the opposition have turned sour toward the idea of an economic and monetary union of countries belonging to the European Community (EC). Up until recently, the German regime had taken the lead in pushing for EC unification.

The opposition Social Democratic Party (SPD) in Germany recently added its voice to a rising tide of rejection of the Maastricht treaty on the proposed European union.

Björn Engholm, a central SPD leader, and his deputy, Oskar Lafontaine, said major "improvements" in the treaty were needed before the opposition could lend the support necessary for its ratification in the upper house of parliament. "As they stand now, I will reject the treaties," Lafontaine said.

SPD leaders and other politicians are proposing amendments to give parliament the right to review Germany's commitment to the proposed union in 1996, before moving to the final stage of the integration plan.

Recent demands for a substantial increase in contributions from Germany to the EC budget provoked open criticism from the German Finance Ministry.

"After the financial battering by the eastern European states, we now face a battering from the western and southern European states," said SPD leader Wolfgang Clements. Germany has been stuck with millions of dollars in unpaid loans from countries in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics.

Jürgen Rüttgers, the ruling Christian Democrats' chief whip, warned that recent projections of growth for the EC's budget were wrongheaded and the accompanying goal of achieving parity in EC living standards was a "dangerous illusion."

The "commitment in the German constitution to achieving similar living standards across the country," he said, "is not transferable to the European level. It is an expression of the particular national togetherness of a state. To try to carry such demands over to Europe would create unrealistic expectations and provoke financial collapse."

Politicians say they are reacting to the possibility that Germany might be confronted with demands to foot the bill for improved living standards in poorer capitalist countries in Europe like Portugal and Greece.

This comes at a time of an economic slump in Germany amidst a worldwide capitalist depression. The gross national product in the western part of the country fell 0.5 percent in the second and third quarters of 1991. Taking into account the sluggish economy of eastern Germany, acquired since reunification, the overall drop is higher. Orders in manufacturing have declined since July, industrial output has fallen since September, and unemployment is on the rise. Unemployment in eastern Germany has soared to 17 percent.

The same government ministers who only four months ago pointed to the "irreversibility" of the European unity process are now working on amendments to the proposals they helped to push "even if it means waiting a few more years," as one put it.

Recent opinion polls have recorded a marked cooling off in attitudes toward European union, reflecting the position of Germany's rulers. "Germans were not allowed before to think in national terms. Suddenly we can say something is in the national interest," said Angelika Volle, from the Foreign Affairs Institute in Bonn.

"We tried to replace nationalism with Europeanism and failed," she added.