

# THE MILITANT

INSIDE

**Socialist candidate arrested  
at Peoria Caterpillar rally**

— PAGE 2

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## Support the socialist alternative in 1992!

### Warren and DeBates campaign against two parties of war, racism, depression

BY GREG McCARTAN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The Socialist Workers Party candidates for U.S. president and vice-president, James Warren and Estelle DeBates, kicked off their campaign at a national press conference here March 31.

The two candidates said they will join supporters across the country for the next eight months campaigning to present a socialist alternative, raise an internationalist and working-class voice, and build the fight against the increasingly reactionary course of the two parties of big business — the Democrats and Republicans.

"All of my opponents in this election — George Bush, Patrick Buchanan, William Clinton, Edmund Brown, and H. Ross Perot — have a conspiracy of silence on the central issue in world politics," presidential candidate Warren said. "That is the fact that the imperialist war against Iraq was the opening guns of World War III."

Warren is a steelworker from Chicago. Forty years old, he is a member of the Steelworkers union and a central leader of the SWP. DeBates, 32 years old, has been a production worker in the garment industry and belonged to the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. She is currently a staff writer for the *Militant* and a leader of the socialist youth movement.

Held at the National Press Club, the press conference was attended by reporters from the Gannett news service, the Mexican press agency Notimex, Voice of America, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. The candidates were later interviewed by the Pacifica Radio Network and several radio stations.

#### 'New world disorder'

"At the center of the debate in U.S. ruling circles in this election year is how they can



James Warren, right, and Estelle DeBates announcing the socialist campaign for U.S. president and vice-president at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C.

respond to the new world disorder emanating out of the combined results of the war against Iraq, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and the world depression that is affecting not only the Third World but Europe, North America, and Japan," Warren said.

"They have tactical divisions over how best to press their assault on working people

around the globe in a desperate attempt to salvage the crisis-ridden system of capitalism," he said. "The true face of what workers, farmers, and young people confront becomes clearer with each passing day."

Warren pointed to Washington's war moves against Iraq, North Korea, and Libya; its unceasing economic blockade and military pressure against Cuba; and its determination to remain the undisputed strategic military power in the world — as detailed in a recent Pentagon report — as examples of this course.

"We call on Washington to get its warships, bombers, submarines, troops, and hit squads out of every corner of the globe they are in," Warren said. Along with DeBates, Warren will travel to North Korea next month to express his solidarity with the Korean people's struggle for reunification and against the unremitting military and economic pressure from Washington. DeBates will then travel to Japan and Warren to Australia and New Zealand.

#### Campaign against Buchananism

In response to a reporter's question as to where the candidates planned to campaign, Warren said both DeBates and himself were heading to Minneapolis, Minnesota, the following day to mobilize opposition to the campaign of Republican Patrick Buchanan, who is on a tour of the state.

They will join Chris Nisan, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress in the Fifth District, and his supporters who have led a fight against the White Student Union, one face of Buchananism in this country, Warren said. "These forces of an incipient fascist movement represent the real voice and face of the future of capitalism. We will help mobilize the broadest opposition to them in

Continued on Page 6

## Defend abortion rights!

Tens of thousands of supporters of abortion rights will be marching in the streets of Washington, D.C., April 5. This demonstration will be an important countermobilization to the unrelenting attacks by the government

### EDITORIAL

and right-wing forces against a woman's right to choose.

The Jan. 22, 1973, Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion was a historic victory for the rights of women. Before the *Roe v. Wade* decree abortion was illegal in most states. Thousands of women were made to bear children against their will or forced into an illegal and dangerous back-alley abortion.

The fight for abortion rights 20 years ago was part of other important social struggles taking place. The involvement of large numbers in the civil rights struggle for Black equality and the international movement to end the war in Vietnam aided the fight to establish a woman's right to choose as the law of the land. It was these massive fights, not the particular combination of judges who sat on the Supreme Court, that forced through abortion rights.

But from the moment the ink was dry on the Supreme Court ruling, a woman's

Continued on Page 18

## Operation Rescue plans Buffalo clinic blockade

**Abortion rights backers call  
rallies April 11 and 26  
to help defend clinics**

BY RONI McCANN

BUFFALO, New York — The antiabortion organization Operation Rescue has called on its supporters to converge on this city April 20 for a month of picketing and blockades dubbed "The Spring for Life." Supporters of a woman's right to choose abortion are gearing up in the face of the rightists' actions.

Operation Rescue was the central organization responsible for coalescing antiabortion forces in a six-week siege of Wichita, Kansas, last summer. The group mobilizes its members in the streets using physical violence and intimidation to blockade abortion clinics, often with the de facto support of the police.

After pro-choice forces began organizing to defend abortion rights and public opinion shifted against the rightists, Operation Rescue left the city.

Operation Rescue's announcement that it will target Buffalo in the wake of its actions in Wichita has polarized the city. Buffalo mayor James Griffin has welcomed Operation Rescue and its founder Randall Terry. Criticized for his actions, the city official said that he welcomes everyone and that he did not ban either the Ku Klux Klan or Black

Continued on Page 6

Inside: special 'International Socialist Review' supplement

### Buchananism: What It Is and How To Fight It The Socialist Alternative In 1992

"What has opened up within the U.S. ruling class is the most important debate on foreign policy since the 1930s," said Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party in a talk at a Militant Labor Forum in New York City March 28, featured in this issue.

"In this debate," he said, "there has been no voice speaking for the historic interests of the working class."

Instead, the nationalistic "America First" demagoguery of Republican presidential contender Patrick Bu-

chanan has put a spotlight on the rightward political shift of the capitalist two-party system as a whole.

A few days after Barnes's talk, a press conference in Washington, D.C., announced the entry into the 1992 campaign of a voice of the working class: the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of James Warren and Estelle DeBates.

Read about the burning questions of world politics that Warren, DeBates, and their supporters will be discussing with working people and youth.

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# 1,000 transit strikers rally in Pittsburgh

BY MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

PITTSBURGH — More than 1,000 angry bus drivers and mechanics rallied in downtown Pittsburgh March 24, nine days into a strike that has shut down public transportation in the city. They shouted chants in support of their union and against Port Authority Transit management, reporters who have distorted their strike, and cops who threatened to arrest them whenever the crowd spilled into the street.

"I'm a soldier in this war, and it is a war," said one striker. Another said, "It's not about race and religion any more, it's about the rich and the poor."

The 2,700 members of Local 85 of the Amalgamated Transit Union went on strike March 16, after Port Authority Transit (PAT) rejected a fact finder's report that recommended raises of 1.5 percent a year for the next three years, pension improvements, and continuation of quarterly cost-of-living raises.

PAT management claims the raises would cost \$76 million. "It boils down to one thing," said PAT board chairman Neal Holmes. "We don't have the money." The ATU puts the cost at \$36 million and says much of this would be offset by worker concessions recommended in the report and accepted by the union. The ATU, which has worked without a contract for three months, is demanding the dispute be sent to binding arbitration.

Pittsburgh newspapers and television stations are full of reports on how the strike is hurting the poor and elderly the most. These reports emphasize that the drivers make \$13.80 an hour — more than many workers in Pittsburgh — and suggest that any wage increases would come from fare or tax hikes. Typical strike news consists of a picture of a 75-year-old woman carrying her groceries 145 steps up a hillside, a story about a single mother getting mugged as she walks home from work after midnight, interviews with minimum-wage workers and residents of housing projects. A *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* poll claims that 63 percent of the city is against the strike and calls this "another sign of the city's transformation from its blue-collar past."

## Crisis of capitalist system

Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress Joanne Kuniansky said, "PAT management and the super-rich families who run Pittsburgh are trying to blame the bus drivers for the crisis of their system, the capitalist system. They want other working people in

Pittsburgh to blame the strikers for everything from poverty to crime, for poor service and high taxes, for the lack of decent-paying jobs.

"The ruling families of Pittsburgh are suddenly concerned about sick people who can't take the bus to their doctors," noted the socialist candidate. "But it is their system, the capitalist system, that is responsible for the fact that 35 million workers in this country don't even have health insurance."

Kuniansky, 39, is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union Local 874 and works at the Arco Chemical plant in Monaca, Pennsylvania. She has been talking to workers on the picket line about her campaign and about the issues in the strike.

When one striker said there would be plenty of money for their contract if it were not being spent in other countries, Kuniansky explained she did not agree with the "America First" campaign and said that it fed into the antiworker, antiunion propaganda of rightists like Patrick Buchanan. When another blamed the PAT deficit partly on the fact that some riders do not pay their fares, the socialist candidate said she thought everyone had a right to access to public transportation, and that the best thing would be if it were free.

"One of the ways the ruling rich have been able to drive workers down over the last 15 years," Kuniansky explained, "is by getting us to blame other working people for our



Militant/Michael Pennock

Demonstration March 24 by striking bus drivers and mechanics in downtown Pittsburgh. Unionists condemned media distortions about their fight.

problems. In this election you have the ultra-rightist Buchanan appealing to workers to blame welfare recipients, immigrants, and Japanese workers for the devastating economic crisis. Here PAT wants minimum-wage workers to blame striking drivers for the hardships they suffer.

"My campaign," Kuniansky promised,

"will fight against all these divisions that make it difficult for working people to wage an effective struggle for our rights. It is in the interest of all working people in Pittsburgh to support the bus drivers' fight to defend their union and hold onto the wages and benefits they have won over the years."

## Peoria cops arrest socialist candidate

BY MARGARET JAYKO

PEORIA, Illinois — Kate Kaku, a member of the United Steelworkers of America and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate in Illinois, is demanding that trumped-up charges of criminal trespass and obstructing police, against her and a campaign supporter, be dropped immediately.

Kaku and campaign supporter Mary Zins, a laid-off coal miner and member of the United Food and Commercial Workers union in St. Louis, Missouri, were arrested at the March 22 national rally here in solidarity with United Auto Workers (UAW) union members on strike against Caterpillar, Inc. Both were released shortly after posting \$100 bail each. A hearing is set for April 20. The misdemeanor charges carry penalties of up to 13 months in prison and \$1,500 in fines.

The rally was held in Peoria's Civic Center Arena and attracted some 15,000–20,000 strikers and their supporters in the UAW, other unions, and people from the community. Top UAW officials from Detroit organized and ran the rally.

"I and Socialist Workers campaign supporters around the country arrived at the rally site early in order to distribute our campaign newspaper, the *Militant*; other campaign literature; and a flyer for a socialist campaign open house later in the day," explained Kaku in an interview after being released from jail. Kaku was identified on the leaflet as the featured speaker at the open house.

Many campaign supporters are members of the auto workers and other industrial unions, added Zins, and they came to the rally with their coworkers, many of whom bought copies of the *Militant* on the way to the event.

Initially, Kaku recalled, campaign supporters were able to freely circulate socialist literature inside and outside the arena. Rally marshals, most of whom were Caterpillar workers, were among those most interested in buying the paper that has been supporting their strike since it began in November, said Kaku.

Around 10:45 a.m., the cop who later arrested Kaku and Zins demanded that a campaign literature table be moved off civic center property and across the street. The UAW had rented the arena, he said, and didn't

want socialists distributing literature there.

"So we moved the table across the street, and continued to distribute literature on public property," Kaku continued.

After campaigning outside for a while, Kaku and Zins went into the civic center to hear the rally. A UAW member from Cincinnati introduced Kaku to a coworker who wanted to discuss jailed unionist Mark Curtis's fight for justice. Curtis is Kaku's husband.

"This worker also expressed his disagreement with the policy of not allowing campaign material to be distributed in the arena," said Kaku. Despite the fact that the rally was a public event, open to all who supported the strike, some marshals began asking for proof of union membership, and arbitrarily excluding some unionists and students.

A socialist campaign supporter from Des Moines, Iowa, was asked by a cop who was with a group of marshals, "Are you with that Oriental woman running for Senate?" After grabbing a *Militant* newspaper out of his bag the marshals and police marched him out of the arena. Some marshals made clear that this exclusionary policy was imposed on them by the top UAW officials; it was not a decision made by the striking Peoria local. The "order came from Detroit," was how one put it, referring to the site of the union's national headquarters.

While Kaku was discussing her husband's

Continued on Page 16

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# Racist attacks on increase in Des Moines

## Attackers emboldened by police violence and pro-cop campaign in city

BY MIKE GALATI

DES MOINES, Iowa — As many as a dozen white men, yelling "White Power" and "Let's get the nigger," brutally beat Lewis Franklin Busch, 38 years old, in the early morning hours of March 18.

Busch, who is Black, was beaten into semiconsciousness and required emergency surgery after the attack. He is currently listed in satisfactory condition by the hospital.

The attack occurred in the parking lot of Busch's apartment building, as he was getting out of his car with his girlfriend and two small children. Press reports indicated that a number of witnesses tried to come to Busch's aid and that they too were attacked by the racist thugs.

The day after initially reporting the attack, the city's big-business newspaper, the *Des Moines Register*, carried an interview with one of the racists who participated in this attack. He admitted that they had taunted Busch and his family with racist slurs. But he claimed that Busch attacked them with a tire iron. The *Register* article concluded by saying that at this time no criminal charges had been filed against Busch.

This case is only the most recent example of a growing number of racist attacks that have been occurring around this city in recent weeks.

On February 26 two 17-year-olds were arrested and charged with burning a cross near the home of Michael and Darlene Belle,

on the city's south side.

This racist attack was part of a campaign to terrorize the Belles, a racially mixed couple, and their children. Police have charged that the two youths were planning to firebomb the Belles' house, and as a precaution had the family stay in a motel for a number of days prior to their arresting the two.

The two youths are reported to be members of the group "The Young and the Wasted," a racist gang that has been involved in a number of terror attacks against Blacks and other oppressed minorities in Des Moines. When arrested, police confiscated an amount of racist literature and graffiti, as well as a pellet pistol designed to look like a .45-caliber semi-automatic.

These attacks occur in the context of the ebbing of the movement demanding that the cops who beat Larry Milton be jailed, and a consequent deepening of the counter-campaign against Milton and those who support his fight for justice.

This countercampaign has included a propaganda barrage in the local press praising the cops and attacking any and all who criticize them. It has also included calls by the cops for the Federal Communications Commission to shut down radio station KUCB, because of the role it has played in providing an open forum for members of the community to discuss the question of police brutality. This countercampaign was intensified in the



Militant/Chris Remple

**Demonstrators in Des Moines, Iowa, protesting police beating of Larry Milton. Racists in the city have gained encouragement from campaign to defend cops.**

last two weeks. First came the arrest of Larry Milton and his wife on frame-up burglary charges, an arrest that was featured on the front page of the *Register*. The cops claim that a store video camera recorded the theft, but Milton and his wife were not arrested until hours after leaving the store and the item they supposedly stole has never been recovered.

Second was the arrest of Dudley Allison, a leader of the Community Support Force and one of the main organizers of the recent marches in this city against police brutality. Allison was videotaping the police making an arrest in broad daylight from about a block away when a cop came up behind him, put a gun to Allison's head, ordered him to put the camera down, then arrested him. Allison has been charged with two counts of interfering with the police. The cops claim that they thought he was holding a brick and threatening them.

It is this countercampaign that has emboldened the racists in the streets to step up their

attacks. The beating of Lewis Busch and the cross-burning are just the most recent examples. In the last few weeks there was also an attack where vandals painted racist graffiti around the grounds of Hoover High School. This is the same school where in December a young woman who is Black was attacked, tied up, and beaten in one of the school bathrooms by a white woman who threatened to kill her. While initially the school officials and the cops claimed the woman had faked the attack and tied herself up, the school district, in response to public pressure, recently announced it was forming an independent panel to investigate this incident.

Also, in the past few weeks shots were fired through the windows of the Pathfinder Bookstore, and threats have been made against KUCB radio station.

*Mike Galati is a packinghouse worker at the Monfort packing plant in Marshalltown, Iowa, and a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 50N.*

## Los Angeles cops arrest prominent rights activists

BY DAN DICKESON

LOS ANGELES — Michael Zinzun and Mafundi Jitahadi, prominent fighters against police brutality in Los Angeles, were arrested March 15 on felony charges of assault while helping defend a meeting on Cuba that was under attack by rightist thugs.

Some 80 rightists led by counterrvolutionary Cubans staged a two-hour siege of a community center where the Los Angeles Coalition in Solidarity with Cuba was showing a videotape of the recent "Peace for Cuba" rallies. The attackers shouted threats, and threw rocks, eggs, and other objects at those coming to the meeting. Some people were shoved or punched.

The director of the community center had his eyeglasses shattered when he was hit in the face. A woman, who had been struck with a stick, called the police. They arrived but did nothing to protect the people who came to see the video from the violent assault that lasted throughout the meeting. Shortly after the video showing began, a tear gas cannister was thrown into the meeting room, forcing a temporary evacuation assisted by the fire department.

After the room was aired out, the video showing resumed. Due to the cooperation of police with the disrupters, organizers began calling other activists to come and help defend the meeting and help escort people safely to their cars when the event was over.

Among those called was the Committee for Justice and a Civilian Police Review Board. Zinzun and Jitahadi, two leaders of the committee, agreed to come. When they arrived they were struck by flying rocks, but cops moved in to arrest them instead of their attackers. Some of the cops recognized Zinzun and referred to him by name.

At the Southwest police station, the officer in charge, Sergeant Laughton, and others, fraternized with the anti-Castro terrorists for hours before coming up with charges against Zinzun and Jitahadi.

Numerous reports were filed against the demonstrators for assault but none of the rightists were detained. During this time, police refused to accept a formal report of a death threat made by one of the anti-Castro thugs. According to Sergeant Laughton, "Making a verbal death threat isn't a crime."

The Los Angeles Police Department later told the press that Zinzun and others had "interrupted the anti-Castro rally, first by shouting at the 150 demonstrators and then by picking up bricks off the street and throwing them into the crowd." Numerous eyewitnesses deny that. If convicted of assault

with a deadly weapon, both activists could face years in prison.

The Los Angeles Coalition in Solidarity with Cuba held a news conference the next day to tell the truth about what had happened and demand that the charges against Zinzun and Jitahadi be dropped. Zinzun, who was able to make bail after midnight, participated in the Monday press conference. Jitahadi was still being held at the time.

All of the speakers at the press conference urged people to attend and publicize the March 31 Community Demonstration Against Police Crime and Terror.

Eli Green, Socialist Workers Party candidate for County Board of Supervisors in District 2, responded to the attack and frame-up by calling for the charges against Michael Zinzun to be dropped and for the mayor's office to guarantee the right of people to meet without having their assembly disrupted by right-wing thugs. "The complicity between the police and the rightist thugs is obvious from the way that the cops encouraged the attacks on the meeting by standing back and watching while they were going on and then arresting activists who tried to defend the right of the meeting to take place," said Green.

Messages of support can be sent to the Committee for Justice, 2824 S. Western Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90018; phone (213) 733-2107.

## Quality of health care declining in the U.S.

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The declining state of health care for working people in the United States is reflected in some recently published statistics.

"Experts have estimated that 100,000 deaths occur annually because people cannot afford health care," writes Vicente Navarro in the *Nation* magazine. "Lack of health care causes three times more deaths than AIDS."

In 1990, 75 percent of working people indicated they had problems paying their medical bills. The overwhelming majority of U.S. workers lack comprehensive health coverage.

In the 1980s employers succeeded in significantly cutting back the funds they pay for workers' health benefits. Employer-financed contributions for family health coverage fell from 51 percent in 1980 to 34 percent in 1988. Hourly health insurance benefits have been reduced almost by half, from \$1.63 per hour in 1980 to \$0.85 per hour in 1989.

## Iowa cops kill unarmed man

BY MIKE GALATI

DES MOINES — Julius Bryan, a 20-year-old student at Des Moines Area Community College, was shot and killed by an off-duty Polk County deputy sheriff on the morning of March 28. Bryan, who is white, was unarmed when he was killed.

Deputy sheriff James Bennett together with another cop from the sheriff's department admitted that they had been to a number of different bars drinking prior to the killing.

The cops claim that Bryan and a friend, David Olson, attacked them while they were walking through an alley. Bennett said that during the fight Bryan tried to take his gun, forcing him to shoot.

Olson, who witnessed the shooting, disputed the cops' story. He said that deputy Bennett was standing six to seven feet from Bryan when he fired into his chest, killing him.

Des Moines city cops, who arrived shortly after the killing, did not perform any tests to determine whether Bennett was legally drunk at the time of the killing. They did, however, charge David Olson with assault against the sheriff's deputies.

Later that same morning, a Polk County grand jury announced that it had decided not to return any indictments against the three city cops who beat Larry Milton on December 28.

*After the March for Women's Lives in Washington, come to . . .*

AN OPEN HOUSE

**Meet the socialist candidates  
in the 1992 elections**

**James Warren for U.S. President  
Estelle DeBates for Vice-President**

Sun., April 5  
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# Legacy of the Communist International

## Book describes effort to unite workers and peasants against capitalism

Recently Pathfinder Press published *Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!* — the latest installment in the series "The Communist International in Lenin's Time." The *Militant* talked with John Riddell, editor of the series, on the promotion of this book and plans for the series.

**Militant:** Pathfinder has just put out a 12-page brochure introducing its new two-volume book *Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!* Could you explain what this book is about?

**John Riddell:** This book presents documents of an international congress of revolutionary workers' organizations held in Moscow in 1920. This was the second congress called by the Communist International, often called the Comintern, a world party of socialist revolution initiated the previous year by the Bolshevik Party of Russia. Three years previously, the Bolsheviks had led the workers and peasants of Russia in establishing their own revolutionary regime, the Soviet government.

Delegates came to the 1920 congress from 37 countries, representing hundreds of thousands of workers, and they met for almost three weeks. Their aim was to unite their parties in a single organization, a single striking force, in order to carry the struggle for socialist revolution forward to victory on a world scale.

These two volumes are the record of what they said and what they decided.

**Militant:** Why is this congress important for those seeking to chart a socialist course forward today?

**Riddell:** Against all the barriers fostered by capitalism — against all the national frontiers, the chauvinist hatreds — the Communist International sought to unite workers and peasants around what they had in common, their interest in a consistent fight against capitalist oppression and for a new world socialist order.

In its early years, led by Lenin and the team of Bolshevik leaders around him, the Communist International took great strides in this direction. It provided the closest we have yet seen to a model of the kind of international organization workers need to build in the coming decades.

Debates and resolutions at the Second Congress took up the character of Communist parties and their policy toward national liberation struggles, the peasantry, trade unions, parliamentary elections, and other questions essential to setting the International's basic program and strategy.

Publishing the proceedings of this congress is part of Pathfinder's long-term effort to make the record of the early Comintern accessible to today's fighters.

**Militant:** Pathfinder is publishing a series of books on this topic, going back to the earliest years of the struggle to build a new international. Could you tell us something about the series?

**Riddell:** The series is called "The Communist International in Lenin's Time," and

the books on the Second Congress are its fourth installment. The series starts in 1907, when Lenin and the Bolsheviks began building a revolutionary current in the international socialist movement. Two books present documents of the years of preparation before the new international was launched; a third contains the record of how it was founded in 1919.

At the Comintern's first four congresses, held between 1919 and 1922, fighters from



The second congress of the Communist International in session

Humbert-Droz Archives

around the world came together to exchange experiences and hammer out policies for a united struggle for national liberation and socialist revolution. "The Communist International in Lenin's Time" will include the full proceedings of those congresses.

These Pathfinder books on the Communist International do something never done before. They make it possible for those with no specialized knowledge to hear the voices of the communists themselves, as they discuss their struggles, talk out their differences, and made decisions on the future of their movement.

**Militant:** How many books will that be altogether?

**Riddell:** Pathfinder has published four installments, the latest consisting of two volumes. Two more installments will contain the proceedings of the third and fourth congresses — two volumes each. And then there will be a book on the Communist International's record on the struggle of oppressed nations for their liberation. That is our target for the next few years. The series remains open for the addition of other volumes as we proceed.

**Militant:** Do you have a schedule for this?

**Riddell:** Well, to give you an idea, so far we are averaging a little more than a book every two years. So it will take some time yet.

**Militant:** Why do you plan to stop publishing the record of the International after the Fourth Congress in 1922?

**Riddell:** Beginning late in 1923, direction of the International was taken over by bureaucratic forces that consolidated around the leadership of Joseph Stalin. This faction discarded the revolutionary program fought for by the International in Lenin's time. Within 10 years the Stalinist forces had transformed the International into a counterrevolutionary

study, most of whom are hostile to communism. And this is what has happened. Although most such reviewers criticize the introductions and footnotes for presenting communist views, almost all of them have applauded the selection of documents, research, annotation, and translation.

**Militant:** If you stick to your schedule, the next volume will come out in about two years. What will be its topic?

**Riddell:** The working title is National Liberation and the Communist International. Its centerpiece will be the proceedings of the Congress of the Peoples of the East, held in Baku in 1920 just one month after the Second Congress. A major report at the Baku congress was given by the U.S. communist John Reed, whom you may have seen portrayed in the film *Reds*. You'll see remarkable photographs of this congress in *Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!* Close to 2,000 revolutionaries came to Baku from across Asia. It was the first great encounter between the revolutionary upsurge of Asia and the proletarian vanguard that headed the workers' state in Russia.

**Militant:** Have you made a start on this book?

**Riddell:** Pathfinder has just succeeded in acquiring the rights to a translation of the congress by Brian Pearce in England. This will be the first time we have not done the translation ourselves from scratch. But in this case there was an existing translation of quite good quality, and obtaining the rights to it puts us well down the road to having a finished translation for the book.

**Militant:** Let's return for a moment to the Second Congress. What was happening in the world when it took place?

**Riddell:** We'll have to go back a step. When the working people of Russia established a workers' and peasants' government in October 1917, their action transformed world politics. The imperialist powers hurled armies from more than 10 countries against the government of Soviet Russia. At the same time working people internationally were impressed by the example of their Russian counterparts and sought to find a way to help the Soviet republic and to follow its example. In 1918, revolutions broke out in many other countries of Europe.

At that time, very few workers or workers' organizations had any direct contact with the Communists in Russia. They couldn't get there. They had no access to the Bolsheviks' writings. All they knew was what they could sift from the capitalist press in their own countries.

But during the next year the Soviet republic drove back the armies of the imperialist powers and the Russian counterrevolutionaries they were sponsoring. The first tenuous links were established with the workers' movement abroad. And at the same time millions of working people across Europe and in other continents began to move into action in support of the Soviet republic and its example.

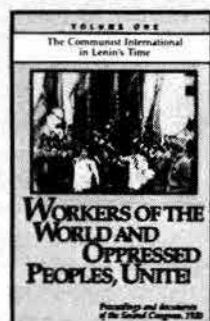
So it was possible in 1920 for representatives of the broad range of currents that looked to the Communist International to come together in a congress to hammer out what this International was to be. That gathering was the Second Congress.

**Militant:** Did the delegates get to meet many working people in Russia?

**Riddell:** Yes, in fact, the workers and peasants of Russia had a strong impact on the delegates and the course of debates. Delegates talked to them during numerous visits to factories and army bases. Delegates addressed them and listened to them at rallies in Moscow and other cities. Delegates took part, along with Soviet citizens, in many demonstrations and a giant day-long celebration. There were special theater performances with casts of thousands and even a sculpture display in the delegates' honor.

The Bolshevik Party, which was itself based among the Russian workers sent several dozen of its leaders to the congress, and they spent long hours in informal discussion with the delegates. "The Russians seemed to be incapable of exhaustion by discussion," one of the delegates from Britain later re-

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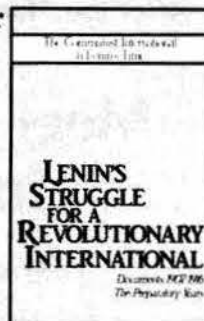
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**Militant:** You mentioned that Pathfinder seeks to give fighters a record of their own continuity with the communist movement of Lenin's time. How do these books make their way to readers?

**Riddell:** Many readers have come across the Comintern books in Pathfinder bookstores and at Pathfinder book tables around the world. But many more find these books on library shelves, on university reading lists, or in commercial bookstores.

**Militant:** What is the role of the new brochure on the Second Congress books?

**Riddell:** It contains an extensive description of the books for those considering buying them, including excerpts from the text and photographs. In addition to being available in Pathfinder bookstores, the brochure will be sent to thousands of major libraries around the world, as well as to university teachers who select books like these for library purchases and for classroom reading lists.

To push their way into the libraries and campuses, the books must win a reputation among university specialists in this field of





Humbert-Droz archives

**Metalworkers of Putilov factory, Petrograd, greet delegates (left). Banner reads: "The Third International is the rising sun of a new era in human existence." (Right) Artist depiction of celebration in front of Uritsky Theater in Petrograd at opening of second congress, July 19, 1920. Tens of thousands of workers joined delegates there.**



Boris Kustodiev

called. "Patiently they would argue, go over the ground a second time, a third, a fourth if need be, until night turned into day and day into night."

*Militant: Were there major disagreements among the delegates?*

*Riddell:* Yes, there were. The revolutionaries from abroad were inspired by the example of the Russian revolution but knew very little about how it had actually been carried out. Some of them rejected with disdain the notion of revolutionary politics, of tactical maneuver. They opposed Communists presenting candidates in parliamentary elections or fighting for their views in trade unions led by procapitalist forces. Yet these policies had been used with success by the Bolsheviks.

All the basic views held among revolutionary currents were represented among the delegates in Moscow. But another force was there too.

Many mass parties of the workers' movement — Social Democratic parties — were headed by officials who opposed socialist revolution but saw that the ranks of their parties were swept up in the great current of support for the Communist International. If only to maintain their influence, these officials felt compelled, in turn, to make statements of support for communism and the principles of the Russian revolution. They too were invited — in fact urged — to come to the congress.

Congress organizers pledged that everything said there would be recorded and published rapidly so that everyone could see where the different currents stood, what was a revolutionary policy and what was not.

*Militant: There was a special resolution on just that question, wasn't there?*

*Riddell:* Yes — it later became known as the "Twenty-One Conditions." The key idea of the Second Congress of the Communist International was that for workers to be victorious in revolution they had to build a revolutionary party based on communist principles, as the Russian workers had done. That was the focus of the congress.

Lengthy discussions took place with leaders of the massive noncommunist parties who had come to Moscow. The task was to provide the ranks of these parties with some standard to measure whether their parties were making genuine progress toward communism, a standard by which to distinguish between leaders who were moving toward communism and those basically opposed to it.

The congress aimed to set down basic characteristics of a communist party in the form of conditions required of any party wishing to join the Communist International. Originally there were 17, then 18 points. The discussion produced more suggestions, and finally there were 21 conditions, which were the focus of rich and unsparing debate.

*Militant: Was the Second Congress successful in getting the record of this debate and discussion out to working-class organi-*

*zations around the world?*

*Riddell:* The congress resolutions were in print in several languages and circulating in several countries on several continents within two to three months. Immediately, the mass parties whose members were looking to the Communist International plunged into a debate on the congress decisions, for and against. Factions were formed in a debate that stretched over many months. In most countries, the Comintern's supporters were able to separate themselves from procapitalist forces and constitute organizations based on the principles adopted by the Second Congress.

*Militant: You said that the Communist*

*International did not survive the rise of Stalinism. Is there any sense in which the achievements of its Second Congress live on today?*

*Riddell:* Despite the rise of Stalinism, basic historic gains of the Russian revolution were not overturned, and these gains are still with us today. For example, the Russian revolution and the Communist International — especially its Second Congress — gave impetus to the great upsurge of colonial liberation struggles and helped set this movement on its course toward the winning of independence in colonies around the world. Other advances flowing from this whole course of events include the revolutionary

victory in Cuba in 1959, and the struggles under way today in South Africa.

More fundamentally, the Comintern applied the example of the Russian revolution to the struggle for revolutionary workers' and farmers' governments in countries around the world. That task is posed with even greater urgency today as capitalism sinks into depression and heads towards world war. We need to know how the communists of Lenin's time fought for this goal and the lessons they drew from this experience. That is why working-class fighters need to be familiar with the decisions and record of the Communist International in its revolutionary years.

## 'I'm against taking more concessions,' states laid-off Caterpillar worker

BY JEFF POWERS  
AND GLOVA SCOTT

YORK, Pennsylvania — Some 145 Caterpillar workers and their families traveled from here for a 16-hour trip to Peoria, Illinois, to attend the March 22 United Auto Workers (UAW) strike support rally.

The York plant has remained open during the five-month selective UAW strike against Caterpillar Inc., the world's largest earth-moving equipment manufacturer. Three plants make up the York complex. Two are machine shops producing parts for the entire chain; one is a parts warehouse.

About 1,400 workers are employed at the complex, down from 2,000 who worked there before the strike. Two hundred have been permanently furloughed. An additional 490 people were initially placed on temporary layoff.

Thirty workers from UAW Local 786 made sandwiches Friday night for the delegation to Peoria. One of those helping out was Lonnie Nieman, now on temporary layoff.

Nieman noted that temporary layoffs had been made without regard to seniority provisions in the contract. "They laid off almost everybody on my shift and I was given no chance to bump to either second or first shift," he said. "The person doing my job on second shift has 15 years seniority; I have 19 years. I know people who are out the door with 25 and more years. Some union officers have been laid off too." Nieman added that he was not against the people with less seniority remaining in the plant, but he was angry with the company.

Caterpillar management claims that they are not bound to the contract because of the selective strike. Caterpillar has denied workers on temporary layoff sub pay, which if received would bring them up to 95 percent of normal earnings.

### Seniority ignored in callbacks

Lately production has picked up at the York complex and about 90 temporarily laid

off workers have been called back. "They are bringing back whoever they want. They don't care who has the most seniority or even who is qualified for the job," Nieman explained.

Nieman, a skilled machine operator, normally runs a \$3 million dollar cell which is part of a massive retooling of the York plant. Nieman recalled working seven days a week for one and half years to get the machines running properly. "This is the thanks I get for making all those sacrifices," he said referring to the layoff.

Despite the retooling, Caterpillar has been circulating rumors about closing the plant, claiming it is not cost-productive. Last February, management contracted janitorial jobs in the plant to a firm that pays one half the wages of the previous workers.

Under the proposed Caterpillar contract, workers on indefinite layoff could be called back at the parts warehouse. They would be paid \$7 an hour. This is less than one half of the average \$16 an hour that workers now earn. New hires brought into the warehouse would also get \$7 an hour.

New contract language would give local agreements more weight regarding work rule changes. "The company will be able to play one plant against another, threatening to close down those which don't agree to save money," Nieman said.

Caterpillar also proposes no wage increases for six years other than the cost of living increases, which have a cap of 4 percent a year for the duration of the agreement.

### Other takebacks proposed

Takebacks are also proposed in medical benefits and bidding rights. Under the new offer Nieman said, "I would not be able to bid to a lower job classification even though I might want to do that job."

Caterpillar has hired Vance Security, the same union-busting outfit used during the Pittston and Daily News strikes. Ten Vance Security guards routinely patrol the York

plant, provocatively looking over the shoulders of workers doing their jobs.

Nieman believes that the outcome of the Caterpillar strike is important to every worker, especially to UAW members in the auto industry. "The reported decision by auto workers in Arlington, Texas, to accept flexible shift scheduling undoubtedly encouraged Caterpillar to try it here," Nieman said. In York, Caterpillar wants to run the plant around the clock, Nieman said. Management wants two 10-hour shifts Monday to Thursday and two 12-hour shifts Friday to Sunday.

"They are forgetting our human rights," Nieman complained. "I am against taking any more concessions."

On March 29 at 2 p.m. UAW Local 786 is planning a peaceful protest to bring the plight of the temporarily laid-off workers to the public. Demonstrators are planning to assemble a few blocks down the street from the York complex for a march to the facilities.

Glova Scott is a member of United Transportation Union Local 454. Jeff Powers is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 27. Both are in Baltimore.

### 'Militant' Prisoner Subscription Fund

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



# Operation Rescue announces Buffalo clinic blockade

Continued from front page  
activist Al Sharpton from protesting.

City council members voted 11-to-1 to bar the group from coming. "Terry has shown a flagrant disrespect for the law," said David Franczyk, author of the resolution.

A 50-page court decision and accompanying preliminary injunction was handed down by U.S. District Judge Richard Arcara that bars demonstrations within 15 feet of the clinics and specifies violators would be subject to \$10,000 in fines a day. The ruling strengthens a temporary restraining order in effect since 1990 that prohibits demonstrators from blocking clinics and harassing patients and staff.

A host of organizations including religious groups such as the Presbytery of Western New York and the Buffalo Board of Rabbis have taken a stand against Operation Rescue's plans. Many organizations have planned events protesting the attack on abortion rights, including Buffalo United for Choice and the Pro-choice Network.

Since Operation Rescue announced its actions the Pro-choice Network has received some 50 calls a day by people wanting

to do something in response, said Marilyn Buckham, director of one of the targeted clinics, Womenservices, and a leader of the network.

"Eighty-five percent of people polled in Buffalo have said they do not want Operation Rescue here," said Buckham, explaining that the network was formed with 10 people in 1989, the last time Operation Rescue blocked clinics here. The network has a membership of 8,000 in western New York State.

The clinic director said she has simply dug her heels in deeper in the face of the anti-abortion group's announcement. "I will not close this clinic. I will never close this clinic not even for one hour," she stated. "They can come to Buffalo but they will have a real fight on their hands." Buckham said if she does not get the response locally she feels is necessary to back up the injunction and keep the clinic open, she will put out a call to pro-choice supporters from across the country for help. "We're not going to get caught sleeping."

Buckham explained that in her opinion Operation Rescue's actions were not just about abortion rights but are part of a broad-



Militant/Steve Marshall

August 1991 Operation Rescue action in Wichita, Kansas. Operation Rescue's announcement that it will target Buffalo, New York, has polarized the city.

er agenda, aimed at, among other things, a total ban on birth control and an attack on democratic rights such as freedom of religion.

Buckham said there is so far no clinic defense organized by pro-choice forces. She urged supporters to come to Buffalo for an April 26 rally, and said several buses filled

with pro-choice activists will also attend the national April 5 march to defend abortion rights in Washington, D.C.

Buffalo United for Choice, initiated by a host of groups such as the University of Buffalo Pro-choice Coalition, Buffalo National Organization for Women, Women's Health Action Mobilization (WHAM), and All Peoples Congress, has called a National March and Rally for Choice in Buffalo April 11. They are also holding planning meetings and clinic defense workshops.

In response to the court injunctions and threats of fines, Operation Rescue head Randall Terry said the group "has had federal injunctions in every major city where we've been and it hasn't deterred us from doing what we have to do under God."

"People can't grasp that they're dealing with a dedicated group of activists who are prepared to die, if need be, to put an end to child-killing, so the threat of a few thousand dollars is irrelevant," said Terry. "God's law is higher than man's law."

Terry said Buffalo has all the ingredients for "a showdown between righteousness and unrighteousness."

## Cops continue to smear Rodney King

At Los Angeles trial, cops who beat King try to turn him into criminal

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — Sgt. Stacey Koon, one of the cops on trial in the beating of Rodney King, used his appearance on the witness stand to promote public sentiment in support of restoring the chokehold as official police department policy.

Looking straight into the TV camera that is providing trial coverage for two stations here, Koon declared that if he had been able to use the chokehold, the King incident would have been over "in 15 seconds."

Defense lawyers moved to further escalate their smear campaign against King, the victim they are trying to turn into the criminal. A motion was filed by the lawyer for one of the four defendants asking court permission to present evidence that King had engaged in a series of criminal acts, demonstrating a pattern of violent behavior.

As of this writing, the judge has not ruled on the motion. However, the allegations are being duly reported in the media.

In addition to the grocery store holdup for which King had been convicted, the smear charges include five other alleged offenses, all reported previously. In not one of these cases were charges filed against King.

In his court testimony, Koon continued to depict King as a fearsome drug-crazed monster, impervious to pain and displaying superhuman strength.

Struck by a torrent of nightstick blows, he testified, King "growled like a wounded animal" and kept trying to "attack" the cops who were clubbing him.

Koon continued to repeat his assertion that King was a menace to the cops because he was intoxicated on the drug PCP. This in the face of the fact that defense attorneys accepted as unchallenged evidence that a test performed the night of the beating showed not a trace of the drug.

Admitting under cross-examination that King never grabbed, kicked, or struck anyone, and in the face of the devastating evidence of the video film of the beating, Koon doggedly asserted that every blow and every kick dealt to King was justified.

Commenting on the film of the beating, Koon piously declared, "Yes, it's violent and it's brutal."

Again looking straight into the camera, he added, "Sometimes police work is brutal. It's a fact of life."

Koon, who has two university masters degrees, indicated that he had dealt with the

question of the chokehold in his thesis on criminal justice.

A form of strangulation, the chokehold was formally restricted by the LAPD in 1982 after a public outcry against it. Currently, its use is limited to "life-threatening" situations.

In a seven-year period prior to that, cops had killed at least 17 people with the chokehold.

Responding to the charge that a disproportionate number of chokehold victims were Blacks, Police Chief Daryl Gates had commented in 1978 that Blacks were more likely to die from the chokehold than "normal people."

Koon, in his testimony, said that he had considered using the chokehold on King adding that he would have done it himself. A 14-year veteran of the force, he said he was the only one on the scene who had been trained in the use of the lethal procedure.

He said the only reason he had not used the chokehold was because King is Black. The suggestion was that he was concerned about the possible repercussions if King died.

Koon's pitch for restoration of the chokehold was reiterated by Sgt. Charles Duke who testified for the defense as a "use-of-force" expert. His expertise derives from his work training Los Angeles cops. He too assured that King could have been subdued in seconds by a chokehold.

While it is a diversion for the defense to propose that unsubstantiated allegations against King be introduced in the case, it would be relevant for the prosecution to present evidence of the racism and brutality of the police department. This would go a long way in explaining what happened to King.

For instance, the prosecution could solicit the testimony of Janine Bouey, a Los Angeles policewoman who is Black. She had worked with defendant Laurence Powell.

Currently on a medical leave, Bouey told the February 3 *Los Angeles Times*:

"If I could get out of working with Powell, I would. . . He treated everybody like crap. He always had his hand on his gun. . ."

"If things didn't happen during the course of a normal tour, he would be out looking for problems. . . He was always bragging about altercations he was in and how he kicked butt."

As one example, she told how Powell stopped and cursed a Black motorist simply because he was driving in a white neighborhood.

Last July, Salvador Castaneda, a Salvadoran factory worker, won a \$70,000 out-of-court settlement on his charge that Powell had clubbed his elbow so badly that it required surgery to pin it together.

Background testimony would also be useful about defendant Theodore Briseno.

In 1987, Briseno was suspended for 66 days without pay after he forced a handcuffed prisoner to the floor and clubbed him in the head.

A witness testified that when the victim asked him for his badge number, Briseno brandished his club in the man's face and declared, "I'll give you my badge number up your nose, buddy."

At his police hearing, Briseno testified:

"I got a little too aggressive out there, but I can assure you that it will not happen again ever."

## Support Warren and DeBates, the socialist alternative in 1992

Continued from front page

the streets and politically answer their ultrarightist political course.

"The failure of capitalism, the bipartisan offensive against working people, and the rightward drift of the Democratic and Republican parties puts wind in the sails of and emboldens fascist forces such as Buchanan," the socialist candidate said.

DeBates added that both candidates will be back in Washington, D.C., Sunday, April 5, to campaign in defense of abortion rights along with hundreds of thousands of young people from across the country. She made a special appeal to young people, who recognize and are deeply affected by the social impact of the capitalist crisis and the wars it engenders, to join with young socialists campaigning across the country.

### U.S. imperialism has lost Cold War

Asked why he was not dismayed by the events in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, Warren said, "What former president Richard Nixon wrote and said earlier this month is only half true. Washington has not only not won the Cold War, as Nixon said. U.S. imperialism has in fact lost the Cold War because working people in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union have already shown they retain the capacity to resist and fight against the attempt to reimpose capitalism. As they do, they join and will be affected by workers, farmers, and youth around the world in our common struggle against the march toward the devastating future the ruling rich have in store for us."

"In order for Washington to begin a world war they must break the resistance among working people to their assaults," DeBates said. "We can unite on a world scale to fight against their wars and for protection from the ravages of capitalism. We put forward de-

mands that are the basic elements of working people defending ourselves on a world scale. This begins with canceling the debt of the semi-industrialized and semicolonial countries, enforcing affirmative action, and shortening the workweek with no cut in pay."

"Falling into the framework of nationalist appeals to working people is the greatest danger for the labor movement and for all who want to fight," Warren said in response to a reporter who asked how he would help protect jobs and "save" a floundering corporation such as General Motors.

"Every one of our opponents tries to get working people to think as 'we Americans,' or 'we the company' — against the world or against those residents of the United States whom they don't consider 'real Americans.'"

"We begin and end with the defense of the working class on a world scale, not with what is good for 'America' or General Motors. The United States, like all countries today, is class-divided," he said. "We, the working people of the world, are the majority and have common interests against them, the owners of banking, industry, and large agricultural businesses."

Warren held up a copy of the magazine *New International*, a recent issue of which is entitled, "Washington's assault on Iraq: Opening Guns of World War III." Campaigners for the socialist alternative in 1992 will be distributing the magazine, along with the *Militant*, he said. "Reading, studying, discussing, and debating these issues is an essential part of becoming a better fighter."

"The ruling rich will attempt to break any resistance to their assaults and to take us to war. We are campaigning in opposition to that course," Warren said. "We urge every young person, every young socialist, every working person to campaign with us and fight to prevent World War III."



## Buchananism: What it is and how to fight it

### The socialist alternative in 1992

BY STEVE CLARK

NEW YORK — "Contrary to what we read and hear in the media — that the central issue of contention before the Democrats and Republicans in this election year is domestic policy — the truth is that what has opened up within the U.S. ruling class is the most important debate on foreign policy since the 1930s," said Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, at a Militant Labor Forum here.

"In this debate, as covered in the U.S. and world media," he said, "there has been no voice speaking for the historic interests of the working class."

The March 28 forum, attended by some 400 people, was followed the next day in New York by a meeting of campaigners for the socialist alternative in the 1992 elections from across the East Coast. These meetings were part of five days of lively political activities that culminated at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., with the announcement of the entry into the 1992 presidential campaign of a voice of the working class — the Socialist Workers Party ticket of James Warren for president and Estelle DeBates for vice-president (see front-page article).

A joint meeting of the National Committees of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance was also held March 27-29. The two organizations decided to put campaigning for the socialist alternative in 1992 at the center of their work. They will organize thousands to campaign among workers at plant gates and on the job, on high school and college campuses, at farm meetings, and wherever resistance to the oppression and exploitation of the capitalist system is mobilized.

They will help build a movement of fighting young people, both in the United States and abroad, who support and campaign for the socialist alternative to the reactionary course of the two parties of big business, the Democrats and Republicans.

These supporters will be election campaigners of a special kind. They will be actively involved in rallies, marches, picket lines, and other social protest actions — defending abortion rights, opposing cop brutality, mobilizing support for striking workers, and speaking out against U.S. war moves that target peoples around the world. Out of such resistance come the kind of fighters who will be attracted to the revolutionary socialist alternative to a crisis-ridden world market system that devastates the lives of working people the world over as it marches toward reaction and war.

During the weekend activities, the Young Socialist Alliance National Committee voted to propose to YSA chapters around the country that they dissolve themselves into this movement of young campaigners for the SWP candidates. The YSA leaders saw this as the best way to take maximum advantage of the broad opportunities for working people, students, and youth to join in campaigning against the bipartisan drive toward new wars, racism, police violence, and other brutal assaults on humanity — all of which are occurring today in face of an unfolding economic depression and the political polarization and class tensions that inevitably accompany such a social crisis.

#### New world disorder

Barnes's talk was entitled, "Buchananism: What It Is and How To Fight It." He has spoken on the topic over the past two months at Militant Labor Forums in Stockholm, Sweden; London, Manchester, and Sheffield in Britain; Toronto, Canada; and St. Paul, Minnesota, and Chicago, Illinois.

We are in the midst of a great turning point in world history, Barnes said.

It is marked, he said, "by the crumbling of the illusion fostered by bourgeois public opinion-makers that the debt-fueled 'boom' in the mid-1980s, widely associated with the



Militant/Theresa Williams  
Laura Garza, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Miami (above). Socialists are election campaigners of a special kind. They are actively involved in protest actions to defend abortion rights, oppose cop brutality and U.S. war moves, and fight against the reactionary demagoguery promoted by incipient fascists such as Patrick Buchanan (below).



terms of Ronald Reagan in the United States and Margaret Thatcher in Britain, had ushered in an era of stability, expansion, and dominance of the capitalist world market system.

"It is marked by the end of the illusion, generated over more than half a century, that the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe could use force and violence to keep working people out of politics forever. Or that even if the death grip of the bureaucracy was removed from their shoulders, workers could be prevented from returning to political life and resisting the assaults on their living standards and rights that are encouraged by world finance capital.

"It is marked by the disintegration of the illusion that military power can impose bourgeois regimes capable of somehow resolving the growing economic and social contradictions in the semi-industrialized and semicolonial world."

As the privileged bureaucratic rulers throughout Eastern Europe and then in the Soviet Union cashed in their chips over the past two years, Barnes said, bourgeois commentators and spokespeople — as well as the great majority of organizations around the world calling themselves communist or socialist — initially converged around the judgement that U.S. capitalism and the "West" had won the Cold War. Combined with the military slaughter that marked the "triumph" of the U.S.-organized coalition in Iraq last year, the events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union were assumed by a broad consensus to represent the dawn of a "New World Order."

The butchery in the Gulf, however, ended in a political fiasco for the U.S. government, exacerbating the contradictions confronting the imperialist rulers and Washington's relations with the rival bourgeois regimes in the region. The collapse of the Stalinist parties and apparatuses, as it turned out, did not remove the enormous obstacles that stand in the way of the reintegration of the one-third of the earth's population who have overthrown rule by the bourgeoisie into the imperialist world market system.

The fact is, Barnes said, that the U.S. rulers confront a "new world disorder." In an election year where the big-business media is concentrating on so-called domestic policy, he said, "it is clearer than at any time since the last world depression and social crisis in the 1930s that the questions confronting the working class, and all major classes, can only be confronted from the standpoint of genuine world politics.

"What is posed for the bourgeoisie — for the class of owners of banking, industry, and large agricultural production — is the necessity to take on working people around the world in the attempt to defeat their resistance. This is the only way for them to establish even the preconditions to try to open up a new wave of capitalist expansion."

If the employing classes succeed in imposing such defeats, Barnes said, these blows will culminate in a massive new world war, as competing capitalist powers struggle to reorder and redivide their domination over the world. It will be a war whose fury and destructive consequences for humanity are truly indescribable from any past experience, he said. Last year's assault against the peoples of Iraq registered the opening guns of the march toward such a war.

This is what humanity faces in the coming years. It is why the stakes are so high for working people to understand this and organize the struggles that can score victories in face of the capitalists' escalating assaults, to make it possible for the working class and its allies to act independently in their own historic interests, and thus prevent such a world catastrophe.

What the socialist candidates in 1992 offer above all to thinking workers and to young fighters from all walks of

Continued on next page





**Iraqi boy sells produce in front of bombed shops and homes in Baghdad. The U.S. government is threatening to repeat devastating military strikes against Iraq and maintains an embargo of the country.**

## Continued from previous page

life, Barnes said, is the prospect that they and others like them *can* stop World War III. In doing so they can become part of rebuilding an international working-class movement that can triumph over the capitalist rulers and open the road to a socialist world.

## Buchananism

Barnes pointed to three events from the month of March as examples of the kind of debates going on within the ruling class, as reflected in columns and statements by political figures, major newspaper columnists, and others.

First was an opinion piece by Charles Krauthammer printed in the *Washington Post* March 1 and syndicated in daily papers throughout the country. The conservative columnist wrote that the central problem with the Republican presidential campaign of Patrick Buchanan is not his anti-Semitism — which several other columnists have accurately pointed to — nor his various other particular reactionary views.

(Krauthammer catalogs some of these: Buchanan's exhortations against "a morally cancerous welfare state"; his racist alarm bells about the "flood tide of immigration"; his warning that "white Americans will be a minority by 2050"; his question, "Who speaks for the Euro-Americans?"; his hero worship of fascist leader Francisco Franco of Spain and the butcher of Chile, Gen. Augusto Pinochet; and his euphemistic reference to the apartheid regime in South Africa as "the Boer republic.")

"The real problem with Buchanan," Krauthammer said, is that his views are "in various and distinct ways, fascist."

That's an accurate description of Buchanan's "America First" demagoguery, Barnes said. Buchanan's extreme nationalism, in a period of intensifying social crisis, is indeed a

variety — and an organizing center today — of an incipient American fascism.

This bald characterization of the Buchanan campaign in the respectable daily press marked a new and significant departure for an established bourgeois columnist. The column, Barnes said, was pointing to something that all the other media apologists for capitalism have tried to keep hidden — the fact that a fascist program is being advanced as a "legitimate" perspective within the two-party system by one of the four leading contenders in the presidential primaries. "This is the first time any of us in this room have lived through such a development in politics," Barnes emphasized.

Most importantly, he said, "each and every position in Buchanan's campaign is an open and unapologetic extension of what is being said by other politicians in the two-party system — liberal and conservative alike, from Jesse Jackson to Jesse Helms — all of whom vie to present themselves as the most authentic exponent of 'America First.'"

## Roots of Buchananism

Incipient fascist currents such as Buchanan's have arisen in bourgeois politics before, Barnes said. He pointed to Sen. Joseph McCarthy in the 1950s as the first example in the post-World War II period of a leader of an incipient fascist movement. Other ultrarightist campaigns were organized in 1964 by Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater and by Gov. George Wallace of Alabama in the 1960s.

"But none of these figures arose in conditions of an economic and social crisis that was bound to get worse," Barnes said. "None arose in world depression-like conditions under which the radical social demagoguery and aggressive nationalism necessary to inspire a cadre can enable a mass fascist movement to get organized and grow."

"Buchanan doesn't look backward in history — as Wallace did — but forward to forces" that will build a movement that seeks to establish a brutal dictatorial regime like that of Franco in Spain or Pinochet in Chile — among the figures that Buchanan publicly admires.

Fascism is a special kind of extreme nationalist movement, Barnes said. It is not a form of capitalist rule. It is a radical movement supported by growing wings of the bourgeoisie in order to *maintain* capitalist rule in the face of deep social crisis. Buchanan keeps one foot firmly planted in "normal" bourgeois politics. At the same time, Barnes said, "Buchanan appeals to those who are willing to function outside that framework and to fight in the streets to impose radical solutions to turn back the threat of a 'New Sodom.'"

When questioned about statements such as those cited by Krauthammer, Buchanan does not back off, apologize, or tone down his positions. While candidates who resort to rightist demagoguery on this or that point, such as Edward Brown, Jr., or H. Ross Perot, aim their message at the *electorate*, Buchanan is talking to what he hopes will be the *cadre of a movement*, Barnes said. Buchanan's goal is not to be popular with the broadest numbers of people in the context of bourgeois public opinion today, but to take positions that aid him in identifying and carving out that rightist cadre.

As with other tribunes of an incipient fascist movement, Buchanan aggressively defines who "Americans" are — and aren't. This is the aim of his anti-immigrant demagoguery. He proposes, for example, that a giant ditch be built along the U.S.-Mexico border and that those seeking to cross it be met by armed soldiers.

This is the content of his calculated anti-Semitic forays,

which are aimed at playing on the Jew-hatred of many of his supporters by raising the specter of "dual loyalties" among Jewish supporters of the state of Israel.

"The politics of resentment — targeting scapegoats in a time of economic and social pressures, political polarization, and class tensions exacerbated by a depression — lays the basis for radical social demagoguery," Barnes said. "Such demagoguery is aimed against those who have 'let America down' at a time of crisis. It targets those whom middle-class layers and sections of working people can be convinced are the source of the problems they face, rather than capitalism being the source of the crisis."

**“What has opened up within the U.S. ruling class is the most important debate on foreign policy since the 1930s . . .”**

These targets of fascist demagoguery, Barnes said, include growing numbers of bourgeois politicians themselves, both liberals and conservatives. Ultrarightist demagogues, for example, play on resentments over the corrupt behavior of capitalist politicians, regardless of the weight and impact of these matters on the evolution of economic and social conditions. Even scandals as minor as the recent check-kiting revelations at the House of Representatives bank can stoke this kind of social resentment and demagoguery.

## Breakup of pattern of bourgeois politics

Developments within the Democratic and Republican parties over the last few months highlight the "beginning of the breakup of the pattern of bourgeois politics and the stability of bipartisan domestic and foreign policy relations that have marked the past forty years," the SWP leader said.

Buchanan, said Barnes, is not pushing Bush and other politicians to the right. To the contrary, it is the failure of capitalism and the rightward drift of the two parties that provides Buchanan with the themes of his campaign and makes other capitalist politicians so vulnerable to his barbs. He simply states openly, without qualification and regardless of his audience, what various of his colleagues in the White House and Congress say in private. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker paces around the Oval Office and growls "F — the Jews, they don't vote for us," so he's not in a strong position to take on Buchanan's anti-Semitism, Barnes said.

How many politicians, Democratic or Republican, are willing to answer Buchanan's rightist demagoguery by saying that they are for quotas if necessary to establish equality in hiring and education? the SWP leader asked. Or that they welcome all those who choose to immigrate to the United States? Or that they're not for "America First"?

"The truth is," said Barnes, "that a harsher and harsher nationalism, regardless of platitudes about world peace and cooperation, increasingly mark the language of capitalist politics. This is true not only in the United States, but from Japan to Sweden, Canada, and Germany. At the same time, with each passing month it becomes clearer to thoughtful working people that no convincing answers to today's economic and social crisis are possible if one starts from the framework of the United States or any other single



**Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, speaking at Militant Labor Forum in Toronto. He has recently spoken at similar forums in Sweden, Britain, Chicago, New York City, and St. Paul, Minnesota.**





Germany sent tanks like those above to Turkey during Gulf War. Tensions are mounting between the two governments. In late March the German rulers announced they were suspending all export of military hardware to Turkey, supposedly in response to Turkish regime's use of arms against the Kurds.

country," Barnes said.

Any solutions that take as their starting point "we Americans" versus "them" — whether "they" live beyond or within the U.S. borders — hitches the prospects of working people to those of the capitalists who are responsible for exploitation, oppression, and wars, he said. "Instead of defending the working class in ways that unite working people, national socialism in any of its varieties — Social Democracy, fascism, or Stalinism — differentiates within the working class, pitting toilers against each other, thereby

**“Wherever possible the imperialist rulers will seek ‘international’ cover for their wars and aggression as they did in Korea in the 1950s . . .**

reinforcing every reactionary trend.”

Such nationalism has long been the hallmark of the trade union officialdom, Barnes explained, and it will become even more so. "The bureaucrats base themselves on a relatively thin layer of privileged workers, pledge to maintain their jobs and conditions, and then seek to defend this narrowing job trust through collaboration with the capitalists against the interests of the majority of working people, both at home and around the world.

"If you accept capitalism and its various rival national ruling classes as an unchangeable framework," Barnes added, "then — whether or not you are a socialist — there is no way to defeat fascist demagogues."

An example of the logic of such national socialism was played out in France at the end of March. There some Socialist Party candidates, in order to ensure their own election, made voting deals with the fascist National Front of Jean-Marie Le Pen, while other Socialist Party and Communist Party politicians called for a vote for the bourgeois conservative coalition, the Union for France, as a lesser evil to Le Pen's candidates. At the same time, Barnes said, a significant percentage of the votes for Le Pen's National Front were cast by former members of the Communist Party, who were made vulnerable to such demagoguery by the lack of uncompromising internationalist perspectives on the part of the CP's Stalinist leadership.

Barnes also cited the example of the Communist Party in the United States. Shortly after the end of the bloody and destructive war in the Gulf last spring, the CP's *People's Weekly World* featured a news article with the headline, "Rebuild Brooklyn, not Kuwait!"

"Only by beginning with the world, with the resistance of working people who see their common class interests in the face of wars, assaults, and social crises can this deadly trap be avoided," Barnes continued. "Above all, the task of communist workers and other fighters is to present an internationalist view in order to be able to struggle."

#### Military policy

Less than a week after Krauthammer's column dubbing Buchanan a fascist, a Defense Department strategic document was leaked to the press and featured on the front pages of major capitalist dailies across the United States. It detailed

how Washington should use its military might to chart a world course of intervention that could preclude "the emergence of any potential future global competitor," — be it Japan, Germany, or Russia.

While debate over this document broke out in the opinion columns of the daily press — in which some commentators piously eschewed the suggestion that Washington serves as a world cop and pointed to the need for a "post-Cold War relaxation of tensions" — such protests were clearly in bad faith. "What is striking about the document," Barnes noted, "is that it accurately outlines not only what the U.S. government plans to do, but above all what it has been doing since soon after World War II. And what it has been doing whether a Democrat or Republican occupied the White House."

In brief, the document states that Washington must be prepared to intervene militarily anywhere in the world that imperialist interests are threatened, and in more than one place at the same time, the SWP leader explained. It says that a central flash-point is the former Soviet Union and it points to the need to defend U.S. interests in face of the continuing disintegration of the former Soviet Union.

"The document parallels the military black-mail being organized by the U.S. government today against a number of countries, such as North Korea and Iraq," Barnes said. Clearly warning Iran — "the biggest winner from the imperialist war against Iraq," Barnes noted — the document stresses that "it remains fundamentally important to prevent a hegemon or alignment of powers from dominating the [Gulf] region." The document also singles out revolutionary Cuba as a source generating "new challenges to U.S. policy" and thus a target of U.S. economic and military pressures.

"Above all," Barnes said, "the Defense Department authors of the document state that the U.S. government will take upon itself the right, as the *New York Times* reporter put it, to use 'military force, if necessary, to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons' to other countries.

"Building a nuclear weapon," Barnes commented, "has become possible for any country with a relatively advanced capitalist economy and infrastructure. Nuclear proliferation will continue to accelerate and it will become an additional excuse for Washington to march toward war with those countries whose governments or peoples U.S. imperialism comes into conflict with.

"It will be a new club to wield against the peoples of the semicolonial world, in order to smash their struggles for land and national liberation and against the onerous burden of debt payments to the imperialist bankers and other forms of capitalist superexploitation."

The Defense Department document also states that a central goal of U.S. foreign policy must be, as it is and has been to prevent Germany and Japan from becoming military powers in any way equivalent to the United States. At the same time the U.S. rulers will continue to press the German and Japanese rulers not only to pick up more of the tab for policing the world on

behalf of imperialist interests, but to begin contributing blood chattels to future U.S.-organized military aggression such as that in Iraq.

"This too has been the U.S. rulers' policy for some time," the SWP leader said. "The change in the axis of the conflicts of our time centers around the sharpening disputes between these three imperialist powers.

"In the years that lie ahead, war after war will have the consequences of the war against Iraq. Each will result in less social and political stability, not more, in the area where the aggression takes place and a less favorable situation for the rulers than when the war began. Each war will also exacerbate conflicts within and among Washington's coalition partners.

"The results of the Gulf war, for example," Barnes remarked, "accelerated the divergence of interests between the U.S. and Israeli rulers." This process continues today, he said, with the sharp disputes over loan guarantees for Israeli expansion into occupied Palestinian territories and U.S. charges that Israel has sold sophisticated U.S.-made weapons technology to the governments of China and other countries. Relations between the U.S. and Israeli governments "are at their lowest point since 1956, when Washington forced Tel Aviv, London, and Paris to pull back from their military assault on Egypt for its nationalization of the Suez Canal."

Instead of bringing together the "coalition" against Iraq that was formed at Washington's initiative last year, Barnes added, "the war and its outcome accelerated the divisions between them."

For example, Barnes cited the sharpening trade disputes between U.S. and Canadian capitalists, pointing out that these conflicts are probably more acute right now than the more-publicized clashes between Washington and Tokyo, (which are accompanied by mounting racist attacks against Asians). Barnes noted that the front page of the *New York Times* that day reported that New York governor Mario Cuomo had abruptly cancelled a \$12 billion, 20-year contract with the government of Quebec to purchase electric power from a giant hydroelectric complex that Quebec planned to build.

Barnes called attention to the economic and political forces that are already tearing apart agreements for steps toward so-called European unity reached just last December in Maastricht, the Netherlands. He quoted a March 25 article in the *New York Times* that stated that: "the cost of integrating Eastern European countries has already been brought home by the richer members' commitment to develop the [European Community's] current 'poor four' — Spain, Portugal, Greece and Ireland. Germany, for one, wants to focus its spending on Eastern Europe. 'Germans are increasingly asking why they should show more solidarity with Portugal than with Poland.'" The Germans being spoken of here, of course, are industrialists, financiers, and their political hirelings.

Continued on next page



El Paso Herald-Post/Billy Calzada  
Hunger strike at Texas garment shop. Immigrants are more and more an integral part of the working class in imperialist countries.





U.S. immigration police harassing Latino worker at Mexican border. Rightist Patrick Buchanan scapegoats immigrant workers for the problems of capitalism. Neither liberals nor conservatives answer Buchanan's demagoguery.

## Continued from previous page

Tensions are also mounting between the governments of Germany, the economically strongest European member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and of Turkey, the economically weakest and least industrialized NATO member, Barnes noted. For allowing its soil to be used last year as a staging operation for air assaults against Iraq, the Turkish government was promised increased aid and trade from North America and Europe and expedited access to membership in the European Community.

Here too, things have turned out differently. Only months after the end of the war the Turkish prime minister, who had been Washington's "ally" in the war against Iraq, was turned out of office. The new Turkish cabinet is now staging bombing assaults against Iraq, brutally leveling Kurdish settlements in the northern part of that country in an effort to crush Kurdish resistance to national oppression inside Turkey.

In late March the German rulers announced they were suspending all export of military hardware to Turkey, supposedly in response to the Turkish government's use of these arms against the Kurds. Berlin's action was not some humanitarian gesture, however, Barnes said. It was a result of internal pressures confronting the German government in face of the

400,000 Kurdish workers who have immigrated to Germany. In recent days Kurdish groups have organized protest demonstrations against the Turkish regime's reign of terror and Turkish diplomatic and commercial offices were bombed in several German cities.

This is just one example among many, Barnes explained, of the political and social consequences of the growing integration of the world working class in the cities and towns of every major industrialized capitalist country. Imperialism has not only produced an unstable world, he said, "but also one in which its tentacles extend into powder kegs around the globe. In every case where a semicolonial country is assaulted today, resistance and protest will develop inside several imperialist countries among workers who have emigrated from the country under attack." These immigrant

workers and their children are a source of solidarity with struggles throughout the world's oppressed nations as well as a growing and more and more integral component of the working class inside the imperialist countries themselves.

Wherever possible, the imperialist rulers will seek the cover of "international" underwriting of their wars and aggression, as they did in their war to block Korean unification at the opening of the 1950s, their trampling on the sovereignty of the Congolese peoples in the early 1960s, and the murderous onslaught against the Iraqi peoples last year. In all these cases the United Nations Security Council sanctioned the military operations needed by the imperialists — and the U.S. ruling families above all — to advance their class interests.

Right now, Barnes pointed out, the largest-ever imperialist-instigated military interventions under the UN flag are under way. Some 14,000 troops are being deployed in Yugoslavia. In Cambodia 22,000 troops will be under the command of a UN-appointed version of a colonial governor-general, in violation of the national sovereignty of the peoples of that country. Working people and youth in the United States and the rest of the world must not be taken in by these operations, which are carried out in the name of international peace and cooperation. These "peacekeeping" armies, the SWP leader said, will be used against fellow workers in both these countries, as they have been repeatedly since the end of World War II.

## Nixon's memorandum

The Defense Department "leak" was in fact a preemptive strike against the anti-Bush administration assault launched a few days later by former U.S. president Richard Nixon. This was the third political development in March cited by the SWP leader.

On March 11 Nixon gave a speech at the Four Seasons

Hotel in Washington, D.C. In this talk, pointedly entitled "The New World," not the "New World Order," Barnes said, "this supposedly discredited U.S. president stood up and told the Bush administration and others in the bipartisan U.S. government that the most important thing to understand about the world is that Washington has *not* won the Cold War.

"Nixon told the U.S. rulers, that they will have to wage a fight to somehow transform Russia into a stable market economy before they can say they've won more than they've lost from the events of the past two years. Without that, no

**“Every step toward capitalism in Russia and Eastern Europe must involve massive assaults on workers and will meet resistance . . .”**

durable regime can be consolidated in Russia or any other part of the former Soviet Union either, Nixon said."

Nixon's speech was front-page news in the United States and around the world. It was televised live around the globe on C-Span, with major excerpts broadcast later by CNN.

The speech followed by a few days the publicizing of a memorandum circulated by Nixon to prominent ruling-class figures. The memorandum, entitled "How to lose the Cold War," was widely quoted in major newspapers in the United States and other countries.

Nixon called the Bush administration's policy toward Russia "pathetically inadequate." Barnes pointed to Nixon's warning that if U.S. government leaders do not act rapidly to reverse the current situation, they risk becoming the targets of a demagogic rightist campaign over "Who lost Russia?" — just as the accusatory question "Who lost China?" was hurled at major bourgeois politicians as part of launching the McCarthyite witch-hunt in the 1950s. (The issue at that time was assessing blame for the revolutionary overturn of the landlord-capitalist regime in China in 1949, an event that dashed U.S. imperialist plans following World War II to dominate and exploit that massive country's working people and resources.) Nixon should be an expert at such prognoses, Barnes pointed out, since he was one of the central instigators of the witch-hunting campaign four decades ago.

The big obstacle to establishing a stable market system in Russia, Nixon stressed in his March 11 speech, was what he called "the lack of a management class." In one sense, Barnes commented, Nixon is on to the key question here.

"Following the mighty proletarian-led revolution of October 1917," Barnes said, "the communist leadership guided by V.I. Lenin organized the working class to expropriate the capitalist class. The new social relations that resulted from this conquest could not be reversed by the national socialist, bureaucratic counterrevolution carried out under Joseph Stalin in the latter 1920s and 1930s."

What exists in the Soviet Union, as well as the countries of Eastern and Central Europe where capitalism was abolished following World War II, are workers' states, Barnes said. They have been horribly deformed by decades of

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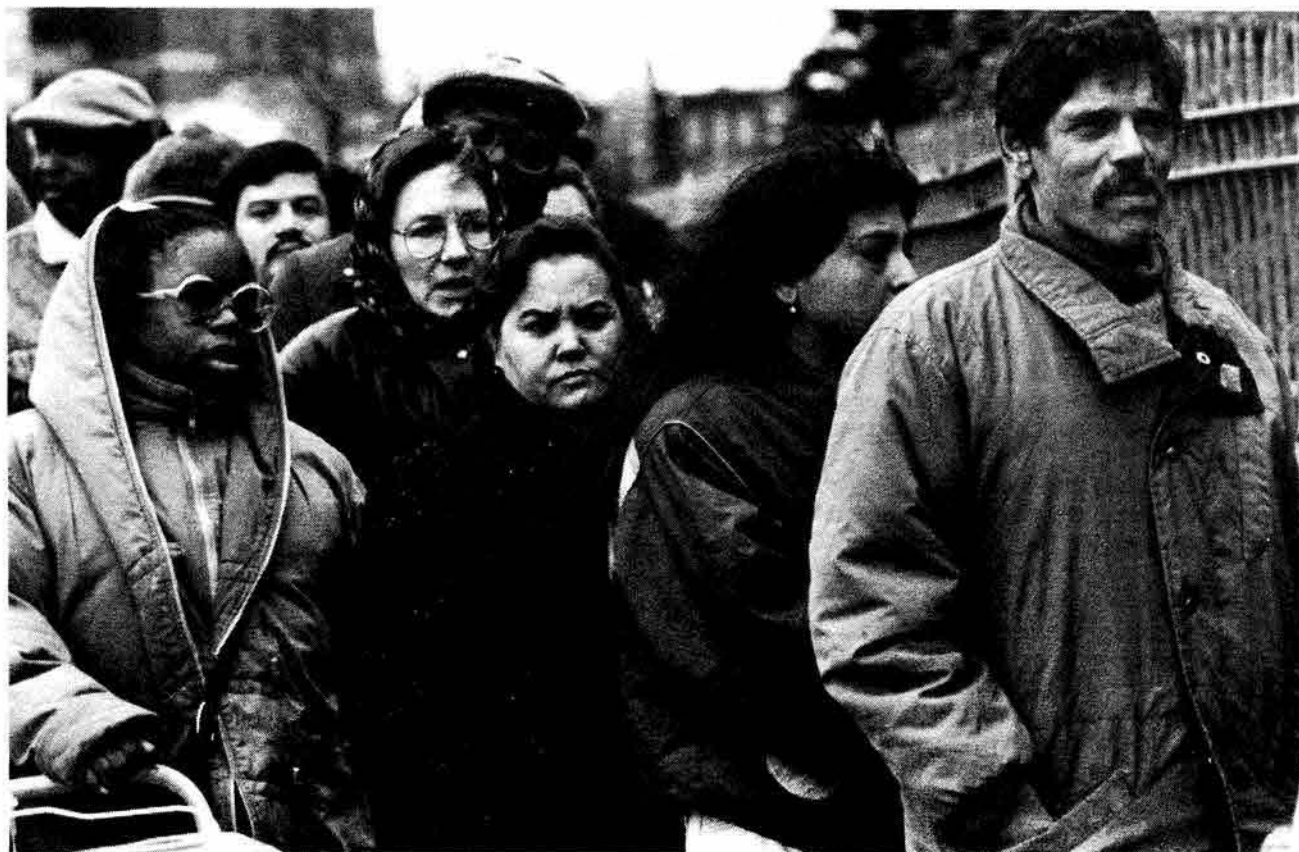
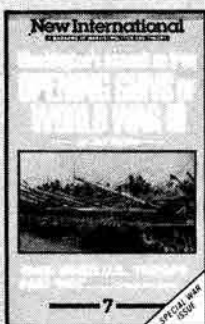
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Line outside unemployment office in Brooklyn, New York. "It is clearer than at any time since the last world depression and social crisis in the 1930s that the questions facing the working class can only be confronted from the standpoint of genuine world politics," said Barnes.

Impact Visuals/Robert Fox



bureaucratic domination and totalitarian repression of working people but the social relations established on the basis of nationalized property have survived. That is shown by the resistance by working people throughout these countries — despite the fact that workers there commonly think favorably of “capitalism” as the opposite of the tyranny they have lived under for so many years — to any steps to dismantle their social wage, job guarantees, and state-controlled prices of basic commodities.

“The enormous problem the imperialist rulers face is how to reestablish the capitalist system in the former Soviet Union and other workers’ states,” Barnes pointed out. “But the problem is not a lack of managers, that’s where Nixon is dead wrong. There are hundreds of thousands of managers among the dominant privileged layers in these countries. Nixon’s proposal to send a ‘free enterprise corps’ of thousands of ‘Western managers’ to Russia is sheer fantasy. It would accomplish nothing in solving their problems.

“The U.S. rulers’ problem is that there is no capitalist class in Russia or the other workers’ states,” Barnes said. It takes a long time for historic classes to be created: for a bourgeoisie to consolidate ownership of banking, industrial, and landed capital and for bourgeois values, legal systems, and money and credit networks to become dominant. “A rising exploiting class, can only accomplish this through accumulating capital, establishing its own dominance, and imposing on the toiling majority the social relations that go along with this domination.

“Capital does not arise by destroying the modern indus-

## “The enormous problem the imperialist rulers face is how to reestablish capitalism in the former Soviet Union . . .

trial working class,” he pointed out. “A modern capitalist class rises alongside the working class. Capitalism can’t rise without creating and expanding the modern industrial working class. It must even make concessions to workers’ struggle along the way, and these reforms — the byproducts of revolutionary action by the toilers — strengthen the working class.

“The problem the imperialist rulers confront in Russia today is that they are hoping to build capitalism, but in a situation where there is no capitalist class and where every serious step in that direction must involve massive assaults on the working class that meet resistance and threaten social stability.” That’s the reality that Nixon is calling on the U.S. rulers to look at square in the face, but neither he nor those he so sharply berates have any solutions to offer to their collective dilemma.

None of the loans or other “aid” from imperialist powers has changed conditions in the former Soviet Union or other workers’ states, Barnes said. He pointed to the example of Poland, where conditions have declined to the level of some semicolonial countries as the new regime there has imposed “shock therapy” austerity measures urged on them by various imperialist governments and financial institutions.

### Disintegration of former Soviet Union

“The fracturing of the various components of the former Soviet Union will accelerate,” Barnes said. “In the early 1920s the Soviet Union was a union of soviets — of councils of urban and rural workers and toiling peasants,” Barnes said. “It was not a collection of nation-states. It was held together by a revolutionary struggle and the internationalist outlook of tens of millions of working people.”

The Stalinist counterrevolution in the mid-1920s and 1930s, however, revived Great Russian nationalism, reinforced all the national and religious divisions — even while driving many of their open manifestations underground through repression and terror — and turned all these prejudices and reactionary attitudes to account in strengthening the power and privileges of the dominant bureaucratic social caste.

“The Bolsheviks’ initial goal of the voluntary union of workers and toilers was to end prejudice and discrimination,” Barnes said. “It aimed to leave the era of the nation-state behind. Despite what the Stalinist regime promoted for more than half a century, the goal of the voluntary union was never to create a new Soviet nation-state, a new Soviet nationality.

“It tried to forge a new ‘Soviet man’, loyal and depoliticized subordinates to the bureaucratic police regime.” This is the opposite, he said, “of what Ernesto Che Guevara, a leader of the Cuban revolution, called ‘socialist men and women.’ Che was looking beyond all borders and nationalities, seeking to promote the unity and solidarity of toiling humanity. His eyes were on the capacities of working men and women to transform themselves as they consciously organized to take over more and more of the running of the government, the economy, and society.”

But the Soviet Union, grotesquely deformed by the Stalinist bureaucracy, could not be permanently held together by force and violence, Barnes said. It does not even have the glue that holds together oppressed and oppressor nations in capitalist countries in today’s world: the glue of intertwined markets for capital, labor, and commodities. The shared fear of the working class by the capitalists of different nationalities weighs more heavily in their scales than their conflicts with each other.

The fracturing and disintegration of the former Soviet Union will continue, Barnes said, as will the need for efforts by vanguard working people to combat all forms of national oppression and religious prejudice in order to overcome divisions inherited from history and wage a united struggle for the common class interests of those who produce the wealth of all societies. Only when church and state are truly separated, and freedom of religious worship assured, can religion be depoliticized once and for all, as the Bolsheviks had set out to do, and thus returned to the purview of purely private life.

“Resistance and bitterness will grow among working people in the former Soviet Union and throughout Eastern and Central Europe,” Barnes pointed out, “as they learn that the attempt to impose the miracle of the market promised by the Voice of America for decades cannot solve their problems but only make them worse.” Discussions, strikes, and other protests by working people will grow, and they will spill across national boundaries.

Barnes mentioned the fear of the German ruling class over the prospect of united actions between workers in the eastern and western parts of the country. At the time of German unification just two years ago, he said, German chancellor Helmut Kohl promised that within five years wages and social conditions would be equalized east and west. A recent study commissioned by the German government, however, has asserted that it will take at least two decades for living standards in the east to reach 90 percent of those in the west. “This is not a perspective. It is an admission of failure and a warning to the toilers,” Barnes said.

“Working people around the world must not sell short



Demonstrators in Moscow demand the arrest and trial of leaders of the August 1991 coup in the former Soviet Union. The illusion that the Stalinist bureaucracy could forever use force and violence to keep working people out of politics has ended.

fellow workers in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The battle is just opening against those who think they can impose a market system there,” Barnes underlined. “Nixon complains that the U.S. rulers don’t have what he calls enough ‘managers’ to work with in Russia, but we have an enormous and potentially powerful working class to struggle alongside.”

(See “The economic and political crisis in the Soviet Union: What road forward for working people?” in the September 6, 1991, issue of the *Militant*. Copies can be ordered by sending \$1.50 to the address listed in the business information on page 2.)

### Capitalist catastrophe

The world in which the U.S. rulers’ foreign policy debates occur is one in which what appeared as enduring

Continued on next page

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Continued from previous page

ing patterns and stable relations are being torn apart. "Everything that was presented as an advantage to the ruling class has now been shown to be its opposite," Barnes said. "The supposedly growing stability of an expanding free market, the development of capitalist trading blocs in Europe and North America with national currencies and state power supposedly playing declining roles, the domination of liberal democracy over a burgeoning market system, the permanence of the coalition that waged a brutal imperialist assault on Iraq with the blessing of the United Nations Security Council — none of these tell the real story of what's unfolding in the world today.

"Instead, world politics is increasingly marked by the exhaustion of the capitalist expansion begun following World War II and by all the economic, social, and political contradictions revealed by the consequences of the U.S.-organized war against Iraq last year. The truth is that a war in the Gulf, a steep recession in the United States and several other imperialist countries, and the unexpected economic and social burdens accompanying the breakdown of the Stalinist apparatuses in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, have all combined to thrust the world into a depression and deepening social crisis," the SWP leader said. "The crisis of the market system is becoming more and more worldwide in its scope.

"This world, with the new wars and the unimaginable assaults on working people and immigrants that it will breed, will bring forward the social questions around which the general political resistance within the working class can and will be built. The deepening depression and social crisis is accelerating every conflict and driving the imperialists 'allies' toward war," Barnes noted.

## Strengths of working class

"The wealthy rulers cannot unite on a world scale under these conditions," the SWP leader said. "But the accelerated breakdown of their social system thrusts the working class in the opposite direction: toward solidarity and united action. And today the working class has great strengths that it did not yet have during the last world social crisis in the 1930s."

Nowhere in the world do the Stalinist Communist Parties have the opportunity to take the unchallenged leadership of a rising workers movement today, Barnes said. The weakening of these counterrevolutionary organizations, and the end of the illusion that the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union was building a bastion of workers' power, opens up new

possibilities for revolutionaries capable of leading working people in mighty class battles.

In every imperialist country, Barnes said, the international character of the working class, whose countries of origin span the globe, is reflected more and more directly in the factories and major urban centers, expanding the experiences, world reach, and possibilities for forging unity across national boundaries.

The battles to end Jim Crow segregation in the U.S. South and other struggles to win Black rights, as well as the integration of tens of millions of women into the work force and subsequent conquests for women's rights, have unified and strengthened the working class well beyond anything that was possible in the 1930s.

"It is also possible to see the face of international communist leadership today in a way not seen for decades," Barnes said. "The revolutionary leadership of Maurice Bishop in Grenada, of Malcolm X, of Nelson Mandela, of Che Guevara can be drawn on by working people. These are convincing examples of the worldwide character of the internationalist leadership that our class will push forward through struggle.

"Moreover, revolutionary-minded workers continue to find space to practice politics on the job and among other working people and unionists. They find interest in what socialist candidates for public office have to say. They find interest in socialist publications such as the *Militant* and in books and pamphlets by communist and other revolutionary leaders. They find layers of students and youth who want to be part of campaigning for a socialist alternative to capitalist wars, reaction, and depression.

"Making use of this space

for working-class politics today," Barnes added, "paves the way for greater gains for the revolutionary workers movement as the class struggle sharpens and young fighters come forward in greater numbers tomorrow.

"The opening guns of World War III were sounded in Iraq," he said. "But the capitalists will confront resistance by working people in their hundreds of millions around the world on the way to that unthinkable war. You — young people especially — can prevent World War III," the SWP leader concluded, "if you fight and present an internationalist, socialist alternative.

"There has never been a generation since the rise of modern socialism that had such a powerful opportunity to accomplish this."



Impact Visuals/Wim Van Cappellen

**Breadline in Moscow. Aid from the imperialist powers has not changed conditions in the former Soviet Union or Eastern Europe. In Poland conditions have declined to the level of some semicolonial countries.**

# Young socialists join world youth federation

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

MADRID, Spain — The Young Socialist Alliance was voted in as a full member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) at a meeting of the federation's General Council here from March 21 to 23.

"On behalf of the entire membership I would like to express our warm welcome and congratulations for being newly affiliated to the World Federation of Democratic Youth," wrote Puso Leonard Tladi in a message to the YSA March 25. "We are confident that your presence will enrich the Federation and make it all the stronger."

Tladi, a leader of the African National Congress (ANC) Youth League, is the president of WFDY. Tladi has visited the United States twice, in 1989 and 1991, speaking on college campuses in several states about the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa.

The Young Socialist Group from Britain was also admitted to membership by the General Council, along with seven other organizations from Bangladesh, India, Benin, Mexico, Britain, and Hungary. The other affiliate from the United States is the Young Communist League, which is a member of the General Council. It did not have a representative present at the Madrid meeting.

More than 60 youth representing 34 organizations from 31 countries participated in the General Council meeting. The council, made up of 44 members, is the body elected by the federation's general assembly to lead its work between meetings of all the member organizations. More than 150 organizations in 117 countries are affiliated to WFDY.

Several of the participants at the Madrid meeting expressed an interest in hosting James Warren and Estelle DeBates, Socialist Workers Party candidates for U.S. president and vice-president, in their countries.

The discussion and membership decisions made at the Madrid General Council meeting reflect the political changes in the world working-class movement going back to the mid 1970s.

The 1976 Soweto rebellion in South Africa marked a new stage in the struggle to overthrow the apartheid regime, bringing forward a whole new generation of revolutionary youth. The triumph of the Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions in 1979 gave new impetus to struggles of young revolutionaries throughout the Americas.

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) found

themselves working closer on the international level with leaders of the African National Congress Youth League of South Africa, the Union of Young Communists (UJC) of Cuba, the Sandinista Youth (JS-19) of Nicaragua, the youth who later became leaders of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada, and others, in advancing internationalist solidarity with these revolutions.

The YSA was founded in 1960, gaining early strength among young people attracted to, and actively engaged in, defending the Cuban revolution and participating in the civil rights battles in the United States.

WFDY, which was founded in 1945 in London, was dominated for decades by youth groups affiliated with Communist parties that looked to Moscow for political direction and sustenance.

The recent disintegration of the regimes and parties that controlled the governments in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union brought rapid changes among the youth affiliates of WFDY as well.

The 13th assembly of member organizations of WFDY, which took place December 1990 in Athens, Greece, made a number of important changes to the constitution and policies of the federation. A previous practice that a member organization from a country could veto the affiliation of another youth group from the same country was dropped.

The political declaration adopted at that meeting rejected "a general practice of imposing on national organizations foreign models and ideologies, mainly Eurocentric in nature." The declaration described WFDY as "a broad international non-governmental youth organization, bringing together left-wing, democratic, revolutionary, and progressive forces." The assembly, after vigorous debate, reaffirmed the anti-imperialist character of WFDY "as an essential part of its identity."

This was important because a number of member organizations now challenge anti-imperialism as the axis of the organization.

The ANC Youth League was elected to the presidency of the federation at that assembly.

In recent years YSA delegations have participated in numerous international conferences and congresses which advanced collaboration with anti-imperialist youth around the world who are part of WFDY. Representatives of the

Young Socialist Group of Britain also took part in many of these meetings.

YSA delegations took part in the Second Congress of the South Africa Youth Congress in 1990 and the ANC Youth League Congress in December, 1991, both held in South Africa. YSA leaders attended the World Festival of Youth and Students that took place in Pyongyang, North Korea, in 1989. The next year a YSA delegation took part in the conference of the youth section of COPPPAL (Permanent Conference of Latin American Political Parties), held in Mexico City.

Other meetings included a congress of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Youth in Grenada and the International Youth Conference for Peace in the Middle East in Paris in January 1991. The UJC hosted a YSA leadership delegation in Cuba in November 1991.

In April 1991 YSA and Young Socialist Group leaders attended the Youth Forum for a Just and Lasting Peace in the Middle East and Eastern Mediterranean in Cyprus, sponsored by WFDY. A debate broke out at that conference between the majority of organizations that opposed the U.S.-led war against Iraq and those like Komsomol, the youth organization of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, which supported it.

Following the unsuccessful coup attempt in the former Soviet Union in August 1991 Komsomol dissolved its national structure. Its successor is the Coordinating Committee of Republican and Regional Youth Organizations. Its representatives along with those of the Democratic Youth Federation of Hungary, the former Communist Party youth there, and the Socialist Youth of Ecuador resigned from all leadership bodies of WFDY during the General Council meeting.

The YSA National Committee at its March 28 meeting passed a resolution welcoming its affiliation to the world youth federation. The resolution stated that, in its long-standing efforts to work with others in building the kind of internationalist revolutionary socialist youth movement that was given its initial impetus by the Russian revolution and the founding of the Communist International, the YSA is looking forward to closer and more fruitful collaboration with the World Federation of Democratic Youth and its affiliate organizations.



# Fighters for the rights of working people

## James Warren

James Warren, a 40-year-old steelworker, is a central leader of the Socialist Workers Party and a longtime activist in the Black rights and labor movements. He is a member of the United Steelworkers of America Local 3247. With the help of his local he won a leave of absence from his job at AM Castlemetals to campaign for president. He was also the SWP candidate for U.S. president in 1988.

Warren was the SWP's candidate for mayor of Chicago in 1991, which coincided with the build-up to the U.S. war against Iraq. He used his election campaign as a platform to speak out against that war, and explain why the opening guns of World War III were being fired.

Growing up in Memphis, Tennessee, in the 1950s and '60s, Warren was deeply affected by the civil rights movement, which overturned Jim Crow segregation in the South. He first became active in high school, participating in a successful petition campaign to force a neighborhood YMCA to open its doors to Blacks.

In 1968 Warren and other students at Hamilton High shut down their school several times in support of a militant strike by Memphis's sanitation workers for union recognition and against racist treatment at the hands of the city government.

Warren participated in the massive protest following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968 in Memphis. The civil rights leader had been in the city to lend his support to the strikers.

Warren's political activities broadened with the impact of the U.S. war on Vietnam. After graduating from high school in 1970, Warren moved to Grand Rapids, Michigan, where he worked for a radical newspaper, the *Root*, and became active in the anti-Vietnam War movement.

After joining the socialist youth movement, he moved to Atlanta in 1972 where he joined the Socialist Workers Party. There, Warren became active in the movement against police brutality.

In 1975 Warren travelled to Boston at the request of the National Student Coalition Against Racism to join in the battle to enforce desegregation of the Boston public schools, ordered by Judge Arthur Garrity to begin in the fall of 1974.

Following the desegregation battle in Boston, Warren spent several years in Detroit, where he was a member of United Auto Workers Local 600 at the giant Ford River Rouge plant.

Warren participated in the National Black Political Assembly conventions in 1972, '74, and '76, defending with other forces the perspective of independent Black political action.

He also participated in founding and leading the National Black Independent Political Party, which was launched at



James Warren and Estelle DeBates are the Socialist Workers Party candidates for U.S. president and vice-president in the 1992 elections.



Militant photos by Arthur Hughes

a convention of 1,500 in Philadelphia in November 1980.

When the union meat-packers at Geo. A. Hormel & Co. went on strike in 1985 in Austin, Minnesota, Warren helped organize solidarity for this important labor battle among unionists and farmers throughout the country.

Warren, a member of the SWP National Committee since 1976, has carried a series of responsibilities from the leadership of its trade union work to the party's participation in the fight for Black rights.

Warren has traveled widely. In 1980 he visited Grenada, then under the leadership of Maurice Bishop and the New Jewel Movement, to learn more about the revolutionary process in that Caribbean nation. He also visited Nicaragua in 1984 and 1986, during the period of that country's revolution.

Along with DeBates, Warren will kick off this internationalist campaign with a trip to Pyongyang, North Korea, for a national celebration in April. The candidates will express solidarity with the Korean people in their fight against stepped-up U.S. war threats.

A longtime defender of revolutionary Cuba, he visited that country in 1981.

## Estelle DeBates

Estelle DeBates, 32 years old, has worked in the garment and machine tool industry, and most recently was a member of the International Association of Machinists. Drawing on

her participation in labor and other struggles, the *Militant* newspaper requested she become a staff writer, a position she currently holds.

Prior to joining the *Militant* staff, DeBates was the organizer of the Socialist Workers Party branch in Chicago, Illinois. She was candidate for city clerk as part of the SWP's slate in the Chicago mayoral campaign headed by James Warren in November, 1991.

DeBates was born in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, and grew up on a family farm in the area. The depression-like conditions in the late 1970s and early 1980s, in which thousands of families lost their farms through foreclosures, led her to seek broader answers to the unfolding social crisis.

As a student at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, DeBates became active in the struggle for women's rights. Inspired by the 1979 Nicaraguan revolution, she also became an active opponent of the U.S. war in Central America. Through her activities, she met the socialist movement and became a member of the Young Socialist Alliance in 1982.

DeBates has been a national leader of the socialist youth movement for several years, working with young people opposed to Washington's wars, fighting against racism and to defend the rights of women. She has participated in dozens of youth conferences and spoken at college and high school campuses.

Defense of a woman's right to choose abortion has been an important aspect of DeBates's political activity. For more than a decade she has helped organize defense of abortion clinics, and local and national demonstrations defending abortion rights.

In August of 1991, she spent two weeks in Wichita, Kansas, during the ultrarightist siege led by Operation Rescue, which drew thousands of right-wing cadre to that city. There, she helped organize dozens of members of the SWP and socialist youth to campaign in defense of abortion rights among working people throughout the area, to explain the stakes in defeating the ultraright's offensive, and to build the August 16 pro-choice demonstration in the city.

Her political work has taken her to other countries. In 1990 she visited revolutionary Cuba, a target of U.S. war threats. Upon her return, DeBates spoke to organizations and at public meetings in defense of the Cuban revolution and against the U.S. embargo and travel ban.

DeBates has written and spoken on the struggle for the reunification of Korea. U.S. policy in Korea has divided that country for nearly 50 years. Coming out of the war in Iraq, North Korea has been a special target of Washington's war threats. In February of this year, she attended the Second International Youth Conference for the Reunification of Korea, in Madrid, Spain. Following the conference she spoke in Britain, Iceland and the United States against U.S. policy in Korea.

# Socialist alternative to Democrats and Republicans

Continued from Page 14

and is currently in jail for defending immigrant coworkers.

Kaku was arrested by the police while campaigning in Peoria, Illinois, during a rally to support striking Caterpillar workers March 22. She was charged, along with a campaign supporter, for criminal trespass and obstructing the police [See article on page 2].

Kaku said her campaign supporters planned to wage a major effort to have the charges dropped. "This is a fight to defend the democratic rights of all workers," she said.

## Six national co-chairpeople

Pulley and Kaku are two of the six national co-chairs for the SWP 1992 presidential campaign. They will travel around the country to speak for the Warren and DeBates ticket.

Co-chair Derek Bracey, 26, has worked in the airline industry and was a member of the International Association of Machinists. He has spoken frequently on the fight against apartheid in South Africa, which he visited twice last year. He is currently a staff writer for the *Militant* newspaper.

Bracey read a message to the rally from one campaign co-chairperson who could not attend because he is incarcerated in Fort Madison, Iowa. The audience greeted with enthusiasm the message from Mark Curtis.

"I offer my full and unqualified support to the Socialist Workers 1992 campaign," said Curtis. "I'm excited that this rally is happening as the kickoff of an effort to take communist politics to working people around the world. The

economic crisis of capitalism is dragging us into wars, economic catastrophe, more breakdowns, prisons, and police brutality — which I was a victim of."

Curtis recently won a lawsuit against the two cops that beat him and fractured his cheekbone following his arrest in 1988. One of the cops called him "a Mexican lover, just like you love those coloreds," as they bloodied him while handcuffed.

"Even though I can't be with you this afternoon, I will be campaigning among my coworkers and fellow inmates no matter which prison they send me to," Curtis continued. "I know my fellow inmates — like thousands of youth and working people — will appreciate the answers the socialist campaign is giving to the ultrarightist demagogues, who are raising their heads in this election, and to the whole rightward course of the Democratic and Republican parties."

## Opposing scapegoating

"We'll be opposing their attempts to create scapegoats for unemployment. The Democratic and Republican parties want more deportation raids by the immigration police at the workplace. They approve of sending Haitians back to their death in Haiti," he added. Curtis pointed to proposals by Patrick Buchanan to build a wall at the U.S.-Mexico border. "In France, Britain, and Sweden capitalist politicians are also on a racist campaign against immigrants. Our campaign will be internationalist to the core," he said.

"I especially call on all young people to support the socialist alternative . . . and join the fight for the future of

humanity," Curtis concluded to loud applause.

Willie Mae Reid, also a national co-chair for the socialist campaign, joined the platform at the rally. Reid, 52, works at a Shell oil refinery in Houston, Texas. She brings long experience in the fight for civil rights and for the rights of women to the socialist campaign effort. She was the party's vice-presidential candidate in 1976.

National co-chair Héctor Marroquín, could not be present at the rally because the company he works for would not grant him a leave of absence. He sent a message to the rally. Marroquín was framed up for his political activities as a student in Mexico in the 1970s and was forced to flee to the United States, where he helped organize a union at a Coca-Cola factory he worked at in Texas.

He was arrested by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in 1977. His 11-year fight for political asylum received wide publicity and ended successfully when he was granted permanent residency in 1988.

Other socialist candidates who were introduced at the meeting included James Harris, who is running for U.S. Senate in Michigan; Ed Warren, candidate for U.S. Senate in New York; and William "Ted" Leonard and Jane Harris, who are running for U.S. Congress in New Jersey. Also present at the rally was Chris Nisan, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in Minneapolis.

McCartan announced that the Warren-DeBates ticket will seek ballot status in 25 states, 10 more than in the last presidential campaign of the SWP in 1988.



# Socialists announce alternative to parties of war, racism, and economic depression

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

NEW YORK — "Do you want to start campaigning now, for the real alternative, the socialist alternative, to the twin parties of war, racism, and economic depression?" asked Greg McCartan, to the cheers of campaign workers from east coast cities at a rally kicking off the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign. McCartan, editor of the *Militant* newspaper, is the national campaign director.

James Warren, 40, a steelworker from Chicago, and Estelle DeBates, 32, a former member of the International Association of Machinists, are the party's candidates for U.S. president and vice-president. They were the featured speakers at the March 29 rally at the Days Inn in midtown Manhattan.

"This campaign is for those who want to go out and answer the more and more reactionary policies and direction of our opponents in the Democratic and Republican parties," said DeBates to the 300 participants. The stakes in this fight are high.

"The deeper the world crisis of capitalism gets the farther to the right the capitalist politicians move. The logic of their course is fascism and World War III. Patrick Buchanan represents what's in store for us if they are allowed to continue to rule," said the socialist leader.

"Around the world millions are questioning: Can't we do better? Some are going into action — resisting. That's where we have to go — to the action. But we're not going just to participate. We will bring to the action what we know: a perspective to fight for a better world that is so eloquently explained in Pathfinder books and the *Militant* newspaper.

"And we will tell the truth, that there are no solutions for the problems we face that can be found within the confines of this country," DeBates added. "There is nothing we can do acting solely within this country to turn the situation around. We are not Americans; we're not part of America, but part of an international working class.

"They tell us that what we do as workers or as young people doesn't make a difference. But what we do in this world makes all the difference, don't ever let anyone tell you otherwise."

"As we all go out campaigning over the coming months we want you to invite all of the young people you meet to Oberlin, Ohio, August 5-9. Youth from around the world will gather there for an international socialist education and campaign conference. It is the place to be this summer. Don't miss it!" DeBates said.

"This is your campaign. James Warren, myself, and the other socialist candidates are at your service. We are not here to use you. We will be going out to have you use us to help reach out to others. We want you to bring us to the fights and meet other fighters. Together we can build a movement throughout this world that will save humanity and open up the fight for a world without borders."

After DeBates spoke, the audience rose to its feet and greeted Warren with applause.

Warren asked the audience, "What do you think about a guy named Bush, another named Buchanan, another named Clinton, and another named Jerry Brown?" The audience responded with loud boos. Warren continued, "Well, they think exactly the same thing about you, about working people."

## No solution to crisis

"If you listen to what they have presented so far you will not hear any of them offering a solution or even saying there is a solution to the crisis of their system. There is no solution to the crisis of their system. What they offer is a deadly perspective of war, racism, and depression.

"With this campaign we'll counterpose our own international action program to their family, faith, and nation perspective."

Warren presented his campaign's demands that aim to defend and unite working people around the world: cancel the foreign debt of Third World countries, defend and extend affirmative action programs, and shorten the workweek with no reduction in pay in order to create jobs.

"These are not demands for the American workers, for the British... the Japanese workers. They are demands for workers and toilers the world over, no matter what nation they happen to reside in," he said.

Warren and DeBates were joined on the platform by socialist candidates for U.S. Senate and Congress from around the country.

Campaign director McCartan introduced Joel Britton, an

oil worker at a Chevron refinery near Los Angeles. Britton, who just returned from a trip to Japan where he met with oil workers and others, is one of the SWP's candidates for U.S. Senate in California. Margaret Jayko, an auto worker from San Francisco who is also running for Senate on the socialist ticket, was introduced from the audience.

## Against Japan-bashing

"Our campaign in California is part of the internationalist alternative in 1992," said Britton. "We are not a California or West Coast campaign. We are looking forward to getting the presidential ticket out to California and campaigning with them."

Britton denounced the nationalist appeals and anti-immigrant attacks by Patrick Buchanan and other Republican and Democratic Party candidates. "In California, Democratic and Republican politicians are pushing to end U.S. citizenship for the children of so-called 'illegal aliens,'" he said, "and to slash or end welfare and medical benefits for 'non-Americans' and even 'non-Californians.'"

Socialist candidates will speak out against immigrant and Japan-bashing he said. Commenting on his visit to Japan at the invitation of Japanese oil workers, Britton said he found Japanese and U.S. workers face similar problems.

"As Japan's economy has slid into recession in recent months, the rulers there have stepped up their moves to victimize immigrant workers," Britton noted. Oil workers in Tokyo told him they considered defense of immigrants "one of their main responsibilities as unionists."

Several international guests joined the socialist candidates on the platform. McCartan introduced Michel Dugré, a garment worker from Montreal who is currently the editor of the French-language quarterly *L'Internationaliste*, and Catharina Tirsén, a leader of the Communist League in Sweden and member of the food and commercial workers union.

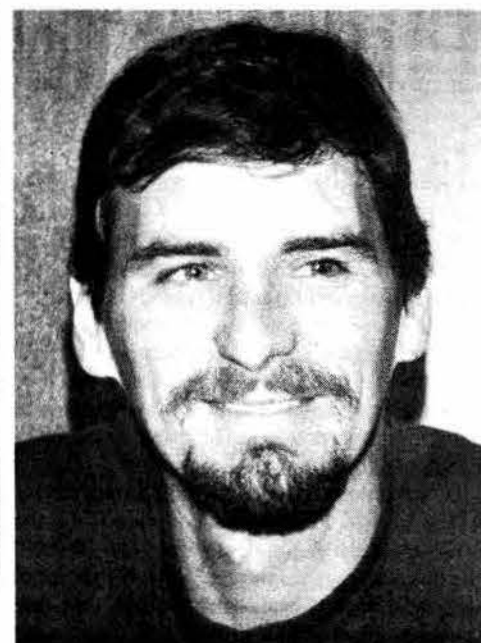
"It is a great honor to be invited to speak at the launching of this international campaign," said Marcella Fitzgerald, national spokesperson for the Communist League election campaign in Britain. The league is running candidates in three parliamentary districts for Britain's general election April 9.

## International fight

Fitzgerald said one of the central demands raised by the communist candidates there is that British troops get out of Ireland and that the Westminster government cease placing conditions on its willingness to talk with the republican Sinn Féin party. She pointed to recent demonstrations in both Dublin and London protesting the Dublin High Court's attempt to ban a young woman from travelling to Britain to obtain an abortion. That ruling was overturned. "This shows how a fight together across borders can win," Fitzgerald said.



Militant/Dave Wulp



Militant/Brian Williams



Militant/Marc Lichtman



Militant/Sam Manuel



Militant/Marc Lichtman



Militant/Marc Lichtman

Socialist Workers 1992 campaign chairs (clockwise from top left): Willie Mae Reid, Mark Curtis, Héctor Marroquin, Derek Bracey, Kate Kaku, and Andrew Pulley.

Cleve Andrew Pulley is running on the socialist ticket for U.S. Senate in Iowa. Pulley was part of a group of GIs who, in the late 1960s, fought for their right to study and discuss the ideas of Malcolm X while in the army and publicly opposed Washington's war against Vietnam. They became known as the Fort-Jackson Eight. Pulley has been the SWP's vice-presidential and presidential candidate in past elections.

"It's been over one year since Washington organized the slaughter of thousands of Iraqis fleeing on the road to Basra," said Pulley. The U.S. government did not achieve its goal of overthrowing Saddam Hussein and "is now preparing new military strikes." Organizing opposition to the U.S. war threats against Iraq, Libya, North Korea, and other countries will be a central goal of the socialist campaign, Pulley said.

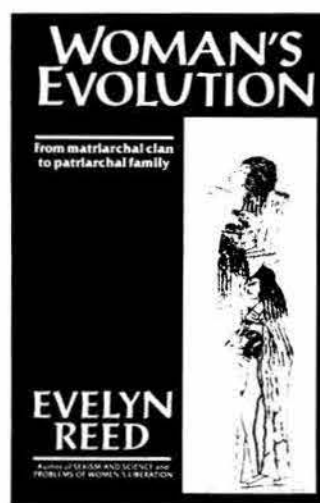
Another of the socialist candidates who addressed the rally was Kate Kaku, who is running for Senate in Illinois. Kaku, 31, was born in Japan. Her father was one of thousands of Japanese-Americans who were locked up in internment camps by the U.S. government during World War II. A former packinghouse worker, she is currently a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 5488 in Chicago. She has traveled extensively around the world to win support for her husband, Mark Curtis, a unionist who has been framed up

Continued on Page 13



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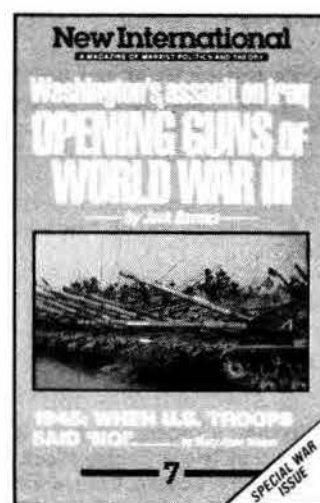
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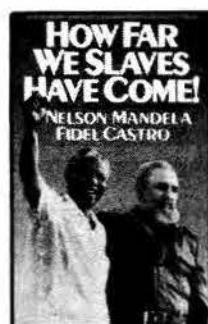
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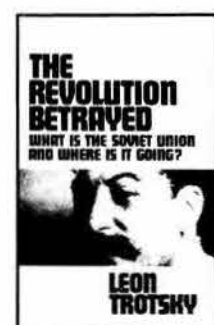
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The Militant Labor Forum is a weekly free-speech meeting for workers, farmers, youth, and others. All those seeking to advance the fight against injustice and exploitation are welcome to attend and participate in these discussions on issues of importance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

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

## FLORIDA

### Miami

**The Struggle Against Apartheid: What Next After the Whites-Only Referendum?** Speaker: Jim Kendrick, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 4, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

## ILLINOIS

### Chicago

**U.S. Prepares New Wars: Threats Against North Korea, Iraq, Libya are Prowar Propaganda.** Panel discussion. Sat., April 11, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (312) 829-6815.

## IOWA

### Des Moines

**Fight Cop Brutality and Racist Attacks!** Speakers: Dudley Allison, chair Direct Action; Cleve Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1149. Sat., April 4, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

Militant Labor Forum presents

### Cuba 1992: Meeting the Challenges Confronting the Revolution

**Hear:** Mary-Alice Waters, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member, and editor of *New Internationalist*.

**New York:** Fri., April 3, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave., Manhattan. Donation: \$5. For more information: (212) 727-8421

**Philadelphia:** Sat., April 18, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$5. For more information: (215) 546-8218.

## UAW-Caterpillar talks break down

BY PAUL MAILHOT

After just two days the latest round of talks between Caterpillar Inc. and the United Auto Workers broke down March 26. The five-month-long strike by the UAW against Caterpillar is the biggest labor battle taking place in the United States today.

In an interview with the editorial board of the *Chicago Tribune* the day contract talks broke down, Donald Fites, Caterpillar president, stated that the company considers itself at an impasse in negotiations and could decide to unilaterally impose its final contract offer.

Asked if the company would try to get union members to cross the picket line or hire scabs, Fites said, "We haven't ruled it out yet." He added, "Our people have suffered enough, our hourly employees want to go back to work."

The strike by 10,800 members of the UAW is based in central Illinois, where most of Caterpillar's giant assembly plants are located. Caterpillar's refusal to settle with the union has had a big impact on the economy in Illinois. It is estimated to have driven up the state's unemployment rate 1 percent.

The company is trying to impose a takeback contract that would include a two-tier wage and benefit system at some of its plants. New hires and laid-off workers who accepted recall would be paid \$7 an hour, less than half the average \$16 an hour that Caterpillar workers now make. Scores of other concessions are also still being demanded of the union.

Caterpillar has attempted to blackmail workers into accepting the contract by threatening to close its York, Pennsylvania, facilities unless the two-tier proposals are accepted.

The union is fighting for a contract without major concessions similar to the agreement reached between the UAW and John Deere and Company, another maker of heavy construction equipment.

## MINNESOTA

### St. Paul

**Buchananism - What It Is and How To Fight It. The Socialist Answer in 1992.** Speaker: Chris Nisan, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress (5th C.D.). Sat., April 11, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$5. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

## WASHINGTON

### Seattle

**What is Behind Operation Weed and Seed? Cops, Courts, and the Fight Against Police Brutality.** Speakers: Harriet Walden, Mothers Against Police Harassment; George Chalmers, Socialist Workers Party, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 102G. Sat., April 4, 7:30 p.m. 1405 E Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

## BRITAIN

### London

**The General Election: Communist League Candidate Explains Challenges Facing Working People.** Speaker: Brian Grogan, Communist League Candidate for Southwark and Bermondsey. Sat., April 4, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut. Donation: £2. Tel: 71-401-2293.

tion: £2. Tel: 71-401-2293.

**Stop the War Threats Against Libya, Iraq, and Korea.** Speaker: representative of Communist League. Sat., April 11, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut. Donation: £2. Tel: 71-401-2293.

## Manchester

**Working-Class Answer to War and Depression.** Speaker: Andrew Buchanan, Communist League candidate for Manchester Central. Sat., April 4, 7 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Tel: 061-839 1766.

## CANADA

### Montreal

**New York State Cancels Hydro-Quebec Contract: Workers in Quebec Lose Nothing! Discuss Action Program to Confront Economic Depression.** Sat., April 4, 7:30 p.m. 6566, boul. Saint-Laurent. Donation: \$4. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

### Toronto

**Iraq-Libya-Korea: Say No to New Imperialist War Preparations.** Speakers: James Stone, Communist League; Hedayat Nizamy, Young Socialists. Sat., April 4, 7:30 p.m. 827 Bloor St. West. Donation: \$4. Tel: (416) 533-4324.

## ICELAND

### Reykjavik

**General Meeting of the International Forum**

# Peoria cops arrest socialist candidate

Continued from Page 2

fight for parole, the same cop who had demanded that the campaign table be removed reappeared and asked Kaku and Zins to step outside. "He claimed he already told us we could not be on arena property," the candidate explained. "We reminded him all he had asked was for us to move the campaign table, which we did. We weren't distributing literature inside the arena, and we were attending the rally like other supporters of the strike."

At that point, recalled Zins, the police officer claimed the UAW officials didn't want "disrupters" at their rally, and had asked him to especially kick out Kaku and Zins. "We asked him who in the UAW had said this," Zins continued. But he refused to discuss the matter further and threatened them with arrest unless they left immediately. Both complied.

Some UAW members from St. Louis then went inside to talk to union officials about reversing this undemocratic move. A UAW

Association for Old and New Members. Sat., April 4, 1 p.m. Klapparstigur 26. 2nd floor. Tel: (91) 17513.

## NEW ZEALAND

### Auckland

**Fighting the Employment Contracts Act.** Speakers: Ray Bianchi, leader of Amalgamated Workers Union; Tony Gibson, member Engineers Union and Communist League. Sat., April 4, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Rd., Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 793-075.

**South Africa: The Meaning of the Referendum.** Speaker: representative of Communist League. Sat., April 11, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Rd., Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 793-075.

### Wellington

**South Africa: Crisis of the Apartheid Regime.** Sat., April 4, 7 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St., near Courtenay Pl. Donation: \$3. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

## SWEDEN

### Stockholm

**The Elections in the U.S.: Is Buchanan a Fascist?** Speaker: representative of Communist League. Sat., April 4, 3 p.m. Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Tel: (08) 31 69 33.



Cop at Caterpillar rally tells socialist activists to remove literature table. Mary Zins (with glasses) and socialist candidate Kate Kaku were later arrested.

marshal agreed to escort Kaku and Zins into the rally. Both went in and assumed the matter was settled.

"A little while later, as we were walking out of the restroom, the same cop came back and told us we were under arrest," said Kaku. "We told him UAW marshals had let us in, but he demanded we go outside. We asked to be able to talk to the marshals who let us in. The cop retorted we could call them to bail us out of jail."

The two women were then searched, handcuffed, and put in a police car. They were never read their Miranda rights. Then the cop pulled a *Militant* out of each of their purses saying, "This is Exhibit A."

"Since being in the rally was not a crime, he obviously decided to lie and claim we were distributing literature inside," said Kaku.

"The charges against us should be dropped immediately," emphasized Kaku. "They are a violation of my right to free speech and they are an attack on our right to campaign for the socialist alternative in the 1992 elections and for working people to discuss politics." In addition, she said, "Such harassment and threats are a blow to the Caterpillar strike. They make it harder for these fellow fighters to win the solidarity they need — and have earned — in the face of a concerted company attack on their wages and conditions."

Margaret Jayko is a member of UAW Local 2244 in Fremont, California, and works on the truck assembly line at New United Motors Manufacturing, Inc.

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## SWEDEN

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**True spirit of free enterprise** — One congress member loaned his campaign reelection committee \$10,000 by writing a rubber check



Harry Ring

on the House Bank. When the loan was repaid, he pocketed a 16 percent interest fee.

**Psst, hot postage!** — Some members of Congress wrote rub-

ber checks on the House Bank to buy stamps at the House Post Office, and then peddle them for cash.

**Alliance for Progress** — "MIAMI — The CIA and the Medellin cocaine cartel helped finance the successful 1984 campaign of a Panamanian president, according to transcripts released in Manuel Noriega's drug trafficking trial." — news item.

**Greening of Alaska** — Valdez, scene of the notorious Exxon oil spill, has a population of 4,000 and a smog level comparable to Los

Angeles. The trans-Alaska pipeline terminates there. An ex-inspector charges that X-rays of pipeline welds have been faked and that untended leaks and vapor loss endanger oil workers as well as poisoning the air. He charges that the oil companies sacrifice safety "in favor of profits."

**Not meaning to sound impractical** — Last year there was the knock-down carton that the homeless could use as a portable shelter. This year, it's Shelter-Pak, an ample coat designed to double as a sleeping bag. Maybe one year, they'll get the crazy idea of designing homes for the homeless.

**And that's in an election year** — "WASHINGTON — White House officials unveiled a blueprint for helping America's 200,000 mentally ill homeless, but advocacy groups said President Bush had put only enough money behind it to help a dozen in each state." — news item.

**Impress the neighbors** — The Zoo Doo Compost Co. is offering a gourmet, nutrient-rich organic fertilizer culled from the droppings of exotic zoo animals. Try the Grand Tour Safari Package, \$20.

**One size doesn't fit all?** — A company hired by the Environmen-

tal Protection Agency to clean up toxic sites is being probed for its swindle sheets. Some of the challenged items seem kind of routine — \$2,272 for basketball game tickets, etc. But the item that intrigued us was \$2,500 for "customized chocolate bars."

**Until death do you part?** — According to federal court, women in Utah can change the name on their driver's license by showing a marriage certificate. But a divorce decree is not enough to shed a marriage name. For that, a court order — including consent of the ex-spouse — is necessary. Or, you can fork over \$400 for a legal name change.

## Socialist rail workers discuss political polarization

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Socialist workers who are members of the United Transportation Union met here March 14-15 to discuss how they can best respond to the sharp polarization in politics today and the increasingly reactionary direction of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Working people around the world face a capitalist system in crisis and the wars, racism, police brutality, and economic depression it engenders. By answering the demagoguery and arguments of politicians in both big-business parties — including the ultra-rightist forces such as Patrick Buchanan — and joining in the struggles going on today, socialist workers can effectively reach out to those who seek to resist the assault on working people around the world.

The socialists, who work on railroads across the country, discussed building support for striking auto workers at Caterpillar; participation in the April 5 march for abortion rights in Washington, D.C.; and launching a sharper political response in defense of imprisoned union activist Mark Curtis.

James Warren, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. president, addressed the workers in a public forum on "Buchananism: What it is and how to fight it."

Warren analyzed the phenomenon of Buchananism and the further shift to the right of both the Democratic and Republican parties. World war and fascism are the natural outcome of the bourgeois drive to totally restructure the relations between capital and labor," he explained. "This is the logic of Buchananism."

This shift to the right in bourgeois politics is giving rise "to the broadest political debate in U.S. presidential elections in 25 years," he continued. "Buchanan is antihuman, antiwoman, anti-Black, and antiworker. While other capitalist candidates are not as rightist as Buchanan, they do not answer his demagogic scapegoating of Jews and immigrant workers. They all seek to head a government at the service of the ruling rich. This means they will implement more cuts in social services, attack the political rights of working people, and wage war abroad to defend the interests of U.S. billionaires."

Warren urged workers to promote the perspective advanced in *An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*. This is a series of proposals for the labor movement to unite all working people in a world fight against the devastating impact of the capitalist crisis.

The rail workers had just completed a two-month campaign to increase sales of the *Militant* to their coworkers. They fell short of the total goal they had set, but reported progress in increasing and regularizing circulation of the paper on the job. The meeting voted to set an initial goal of selling 45 *Militant* subscriptions and 20 copies of the Marxist journal *New Internationalist* to rail workers during this spring's circulation campaign.

The workers also voted to continue support for the international Expansion Fund, which aims to raise nearly \$3 million to finance the expansion and modernization of the print shop and offices where the *Militant* and Pathfinder books are edited and produced.

Rail workers have already contributed \$330,000 to the fund by taking advantage of job buyouts and contract signing bonuses offered on several railroads. These are bribes offered by the rail bosses in attempts to get workers to accept cuts in jobs and other concessions. The socialists have consistently opposed these agreements, but when the em-

ployers succeed in imposing them, socialist workers have put the money to good use by donating it to the Expansion Fund. At the meeting, an additional half-dozen workers pledged more than \$100,000.

### Caterpillar strike

The reports and discussion took up the many blows the rail bosses have dealt workers in recent months. These include massive cuts in jobs as the companies reduce the number of workers used to operate each train and stepped-up firings and other disciplinary actions. Safety is getting worse as the companies cut back on maintenance of tracks and equipment and force smaller crews to do more work, often without adequate rest.

The meeting assessed the impact of last year's 19-hour national rail strike, when union officials called off the action instead of organizing a serious fight to stand up to the employers and their government. This has emboldened the bosses to press ahead with their assault and created a widespread discussion among workers about the prospects for fighting back.

The Caterpillar strike has big stakes for rail workers, explained San Francisco rail worker Joe Swanson in a report. "They won relatively high wages by going on strike every three years from 1948 to 1982," he noted. "They showed that you only get something from the bosses by fighting. Now, employers around the world are watching to see how much resistance these workers will put up. If they can crush the Caterpillar strike, the employers will try to turn it into a new rout for the entire labor movement."

### Defending Mark Curtis

A key discussion focused on a report by SWP leader Greg McCartan on the opportunities and challenges rail workers face in defending Mark Curtis. Curtis is a union and political activist serving a 25-year sentence after being framed-up on charges of rape by the police in Des Moines, Iowa.

Curtis recently won an important victory when a federal judge ruled that cops who beat him in the Des Moines police station violated his civil rights and ordered them to pay him damages. This gives new momentum to the fight to win Curtis's release on parole, McCartan said.

"We must aggressively take up the broad campaign against Mark organized by the cops, the City of Des Moines, some union officials, and some self-proclaimed defenders of women's and Black rights," he continued. "This effort is one face of rightism in the United States. It goes hand-in-hand with the Buchanan and Duke campaigns, the violent attacks on abortion clinics, and the mobilizations by cops and their supporters against critics of police brutality."

This rightist campaign is very active within the United Transportation Union (UTU), he noted. Greg McNaghten, chairman of UTU Local 1024 in Seattle, is distributing a 29-page attack on Mark Curtis. "My goal... has been to get the UTU, its members and especially its elected officers completely divorced from any association with Mr. Curtis or his defense committee," McNaghten writes.

McNaghten says he "spent hours on the phone" with the prosecuting attorney and spoke with the Iowa State Board of Parole and the Polk County Prosecutor's office. His piece attempts to undermine the historic working-class conquest of the presumption of innocence, by going back to fill in the gaps in the prosecution's case against Curtis. The

document is a lengthy defense of the actions of the cops, courts, and prosecutors.

"The facts show that Mark did not get a fair trial," McCartan continued. "In fact, no worker ever gets a fair trial in this country, where the cops and courts are organized by and for the ruling rich."

Central to McNaghten's letter — and other such articles circulated by the forces organizing against Curtis — is the attempt to deny Curtis's history as a unionist and political activist. This is aimed at undercutting the understanding of why the cops had reason to victimize Curtis. "He was just another guy and not the big Union activist or fighter his defense committee literature makes out," McNaghten writes.

While Curtis did not hold any union post, McCartan countered, he is just the sort of militant rank-and-file worker the employers, cops, and many middle-class and trade union officials fear and hate. For years Curtis had been an activist in protests against Washington's wars in Central America, in support of striking packinghouse workers, and against police racism and brutality. He organized support among coworkers and from his union to win his job back after the Swift packinghouse bosses fired him for seeking medical attention for an on-the-job injury. And he was involved in protests supporting immigrant

coworkers at Swift the day he was framed and arrested.

The cops knew full well who Curtis was, McCartan noted, because they yelled that he was a "Mexican-lover, just like you love those coloreds," as they beat him viciously the night of his arrest.

The widespread effort to push back worldwide support for the imprisoned fighter is a continuation of this assault on a vanguard worker. It aims to keep Curtis from continuing his political work as a socialist, McCartan said. "They want to send a warning to others: this is what will happen to you if you stand up for your rights."

Defense of Curtis must be explained in this light, he continued. "The fact that these rightist forces continue their efforts shows that the attack on Curtis has not been successful. Supporters of Mark can present this fight as part of the growing polarization and class tensions in this country."

The rail workers discussed plans for broader circulation of defense committee materials among coworkers, seeking contributions for the Mark Curtis Parole Now! Fund, and taking up the political challenge posed by McNaghten and other rightists.

Harvey McArthur is a switchman on the Burlington Northern Railroad in Seattle and a member of UTU Local 845.

## — 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

### THE MILITANT

Published in the interest of the Working People

April 10, 1967

Price 10c

Stop-work meetings of seamen in major ports throughout Australia in March showed that Australian seamen are overwhelmingly solid with the crews of the *Boonaroo* and the *Jeparit*, who refused to carry bombs and other war supplies for use by Australian forces in Vietnam. As a result of the crews' action, the two ships have been taken to Vietnam with crews supplied by the Royal Australian Navy.

Messages of congratulation have come from ships at sea and ports in New Guinea, Fiji and New Zealand. Seamen in Wellington said: "We warmly congratulate our Australian brothers on their dignified and principled stand." The Vietnamese National Liberation Front has also sent a message of solidarity and thanks to the seamen.

At the meetings around the coast, involving hundreds of seamen, only eleven men in all voted against the union's stand. But this overwhelming solidarity contrasts quite starkly with the actions of Albert Monk and the other leaders of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, and the stand taken on Vietnam by Edward Gough Whitlam, QC, the newly elected leader of the Labor Party. Despite the fact that the seamen's stand was in line with the ACTU's policy against the war, the ACTU leadership openly supported the government in the *Boonaroo* and *Jeparit* disputes. When ACTU President Monk's efforts to get the ships sailing with civilian crews had failed, the government commissioned the ships and put navy crews aboard.

Meanwhile, in the Labor Party, Whitlam has moved to reverse the policy of opposition to the war. His new policy is: It was

wrong to send troops to Vietnam but now that they are there we can't withdraw them. In addition, he stands for a greater share for Australian business in defense contracts.

### THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

April 11, 1942

LOS ANGELES, April 1 — While engaged in their customary sale of papers on the street in front of the CIO building here, two young women workers, distributors respectively of the *Militant* and *Labor Action*, were assaulted and manhandled last night by an organized group of about 20 men led by known Stalinists.

Two young male companions of the distributors were also seized and one of them was severely beaten.

This attack, part of a general nation-wide lynch campaign against Trotskyists and all other working-class militants who oppose reactionary Stalinism, was made under cover of a resolution which the Stalinist union leaders on March 30 succeeded in slipping over in the Los Angeles CIO Industrial Union Council.

This resolution called for discouraging the distribution before the CIO building of THE MILITANT, *Labor Action* and the Socialist Party Call.

The resolution included an attack on "trade unionism as usual," that is militant independent union defense of the workers' rights and conditions, thereby demonstrating that the attack on the Trotskyists is really part of a broader campaign to victimize all union militants and help put over the Stalinists' program for surrender of union rights, speed-up and wage-slashing. As usual, the Stalinists pushed through their attack on free speech and free press for labor militants under the guise of "patriotism" and defending the unions from "agents of Hitler."



# Support the socialist campaign!

The Socialist Workers Party national election campaign of James Warren for president and Estelle DeBates for vice-president, which was launched in New York City March 29, provides an important vehicle for all those looking for a way to fight back against Washington's accelerating course toward war and to defend working people against the ravages of the capitalist economic crisis.

The socialists are the only candidates to explain the truth that the rulers are preparing for wars in the coming months and leading humanity toward World War III. They are the only candidates speaking out against these wars and demanding that Washington get its troops, bombers, and Navy ships out of the rest of the world.

The SWP presidential ticket also spearheads dozens of local SWP election campaigns being launched throughout the country for federal, state, and local offices.

The socialist campaigns will be answering the anti-working-class solutions being put forward by all political figures within the Democratic and Republican parties. These capitalist politicians offer no alternatives to the government's present course of war, racism, worldwide depression, and attacks on the rights and living standards of working people.

The deep crisis of the market system has moved capitalist politics in this country further to the right. All the capitalist presidential candidates — including George Bush, William Clinton, Edmund Brown, Patrick Buchanan, and H. Ross Perot — promote the interests of the ruling rich. All of their proposals shift the burden of the economic and social crisis further onto the shoulders of workers and farmers. Their solutions aim only to pit working people against each other. Even Brown, who projects himself as an anti-establishment candidate, presents as his main plank a reactionary "flat tax" proposal.

He wants to end the long-standing conquest of a progressive income tax. His proposal would mean increased taxes on working people and big reductions for the wealthy.

The demagoguery of Patrick Buchanan scapegoats immigrant workers, Jews, Japanese, and others for the social crisis caused by capitalism. His fascist-like campaign is an outgrowth of the rightward direction of the politics of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Socialist candidates offer an entirely different perspective. While the capitalist politicians say, "Vote for me and I will solve your problems," the socialists explain that working people and youth can only look to our own collective action to defend our rights against the attacks by the employers and their government. What is needed is a fighting social movement—in the streets and on the picket lines—that unites working people internationally. In this way, our class can prevent World War III and defeat the threat posed by ultrarightists.

The *Militant* appeals to our readers to support the Socialist Workers Party election campaigns. During the coming months we will provide extensive coverage on the answers being put forward by the socialist candidates to Buchananism and other capitalist political positions, along with news on socialist campaign activities.

We urge our readers to support the SWP campaigns in any way you can. This could mean endorsing the campaign, contributing funds, or arranging speaking engagements for the candidates. First and foremost it means helping distribute the campaign newspaper, the *Militant*.

You are invited to order bundles to sell subscriptions to your fellow students or coworkers, or to join the organized distribution efforts in cities where supporters are participating in the nine-week circulation drive that has just been launched. See the directory on page 16.

# Join int'l drive to circulate the 'Militant'

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

*Militant* supporters in cities throughout the United States and in several other countries around the world are adopting subscription goals for a nine-week drive to win 3,600 new readers. The drive begins April 4.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party election campaign of James Warren for president and Estelle DeBates for vice-president are discussing plans for placing the circulation campaign at the center of their political work for the next two months.

The *Militant* provides invaluable political analysis of the threat posed to working people by Buchananism, and explains the need for a united working-class response to the ideas and actions of the ultraright. The *Militant* will continue to sound the alarm about the new wars that U.S. imperialism is threatening to launch against the peoples of Iraq, Libya, and North Korea.

As the newspaper of the SWP election campaigns, a subscription to the *Militant* will be an attractive buy. Many working people and youth will want to know the campaign's answers to the increasingly reactionary policies being put forward by politicians from the Democratic and Republican parties.

The sales effort will also include the promotion of the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, the French-language quarterly *L'internationaliste*, and the Marxist magazine *New International* in English, Spanish, and French.

In Illinois, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate Kate Kaku, after publicly announcing her campaign, led a team of supporters to several areas in central and southern Illinois. In the town of Pawnee, where a Peabody coal mine portal is located, 10 miners and an area farmer bought copies of the *Militant*. At a campaign meeting organized at the University of Illinois in Champaign, students bought 11 *Militants* and one long-term subscription.

## Caterpillar strike rally

Opportunities for winning a hearing from unionists for the *Militant's* political perspective were evident from the response the paper received from workers attending the March 22 rally in Peoria, Illinois, in solidarity with Caterpillar strikers. Some 435 *Militants* were sold to the thousands of unionists attending this event.

"Some bought the paper for its coverage of the Caterpillar strike," said Mitchel Rosenberg, a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers union who rode on one of the buses that came from Des Moines, Iowa. "Others were interested in the paper for its analysis of Buchananism, the war threats, and the abortion rights demonstration."

"I talked to people all day long and sold about 30 papers," said steelworker Josefina Otero who came to the rally from Pittsburgh. "I told people that it's a socialist newspaper and that it gives the workers' side of the story. Most people had never seen the paper before. I also talked about the fact that the *Militant* is an international paper. I related that to the international battle workers are fighting."

## Teams to Buffalo

In April, *Militant* supporters from Toronto, Cleveland, and New York will be participating in special sales teams to Buffalo, New York, where the rightist outfit Operation Rescue has announced plans to shut down abortion clinics. *Militant* readers will be participating with other women's rights supporters in defending the clinics and ensuring that they remain open.

Many activists will be interested in the *Militant's* working-class perspective on how to defend abortion rights through massive countermobilizations that can beat back the ultrarightists' street actions.

Last summer, when Operation Rescue mobilized to attack abortion clinics in Wichita, Kansas, many students and working people in that area came to see the coverage and analysis of the events provided by the *Militant* as an indispensable part of the fightback. Over the course of several weeks, special sales teams to the Wichita area sold some 1,000 single copies and more than 50 subscriptions to the paper.

## Saturday campaigning

A special focus of the drive will be extended sales and campaigning each Saturday, when *Militant* supporters throughout the world will be hitting the streets with attractive literature tables and organizing door-to-door subscription sales in working-class areas.

In Stockholm, Sweden, *Militant* supporters report an excellent response at recent sales and literature tables. On March 21 sales by supporters there included 20 *Militants*, 7 copies of the Pathfinder pamphlet *An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*, and 2 subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

We urge all our readers to join in this campaign. Any individual or group can adopt a subscription goal and order a bundle of papers for \$1.05 per copy. A list of all the goals adopted will be printed in next week's issue.

To be counted on the scoreboard each week, subscriptions and reports on *New Internationals* sold must be received by the *Militant* business office by noon every Friday, beginning April 10.

# De Klerk tries to block progress

The latest proposals by the South African government for the transition to a new constitution represent one more of a series of attempts by the apartheid rulers to block the liberation movement there.

Since negotiations with the African National Congress began, the regime of South African president F. W. de Klerk has sought to maximize its power to put the brakes on and control the transition to a new constitution. De Klerk suggests that the ANC and other political parties serve on councils with power only to persuade the president of their views.

But, despite de Klerk's continuing efforts to apply brakes to establishing democracy in South Africa, this process, led by the ANC, is moving toward winning political freedoms for the oppressed masses. This will place the majority of South African working people in the best possible position to address the massive poverty, underdevelopment, and other devastating social consequences apartheid has bequeathed to millions of Blacks.

The ANC has said that the new government will use what

is necessary of the country's mineral and industrial wealth to improve the living conditions of the working people of South Africa. In addition, the ANC advocates the rights of Blacks to have land to farm, despite the fact that today most do not have the means to buy it.

Many of the ruling rich in South Africa oppose this. They want to limit progress to only eliminating the apartheid laws.

The March 17 referendum, where a majority of white South Africans expressed their support for dismantling apartheid, is a major step forward in the fight for a democratic, nonracial, and nonsexist South Africa. It adds more pressure in favor of proceeding in the negotiations without delay.

However, the fight remains. The de Klerk proposals underline how much, as ANC president Nelson Mandela said last week, apartheid is still alive. The Black majority still has no say in running the country and no rights to citizenship on an equal level with white South Africans. Securing these gains will result from the battles in the coming months.

# The fight for abortion rights

## Continued from front page

right to choose has been under attack. In 1976 Congress passed the Hyde Amendment, cutting off Medicaid funding for abortion and putting safe abortions out of reach for many poor women. A gag rule has been instituted at federally funded clinics, making it illegal for most clinic workers to discuss the option of abortion. Scores of states have passed parental consent laws to make it more difficult for young women to obtain abortions.

The Court now has before it a case from Pennsylvania that severely restricts abortion rights. This case poses the possibility of gutting or overturning *Roe v. Wade* and opening a new stage in the struggle to defend a woman's right to choose.

The government's hostility to the right to abortion has encouraged right-wing forces like Operation Rescue to blockade clinics and violently harass doctors, clinic owners, and others associated with providing abortion services. The combined government and right-wing offensive is responsible for the situation where an abortion is now simply out of reach for about 20 percent of women in the United States who want them. Today only 17 percent of the nation's counties, almost exclusively in urban centers, have hospitals or clinics that provide abortions.

With the election year in full swing, many women's rights leaders have argued that those seeking to defend abortion rights must now focus their energies on electing friendly Democratic and Republican party politicians. But the assault on a woman's right to choose has been a bipartisan campaign from the very beginning. No serious effort, by politicians from either party, has ever been made to reverse the attacks on abortion rights. In Buffalo, it is a Democratic mayor who is welcoming Operation Rescue to the city to protest at the clinics.

A more effective perspective for supporters of abortion rights is to continue to mobilize in street actions like the April 5 march. We also need more and bigger actions at abortion clinics that are under threat, to counter the right-wing campaign. A big immediate challenge is to answer the antiabortionists' propaganda and outmobilize Operation Rescue as they begin their "Spring of Life" campaign in Buffalo this month. Abortion rights supporters have called for rallies on April 11 and April 26.

Fighters for of abortion rights should give their support to other important struggles of working people taking place today. The fight for a decent contract for 16,000 members of the United Auto Workers union at Caterpillar and the fight against police brutality taking place in many cities are part of the same struggle to defend the rights of working people.

The stakes in this fight have been raised because the attacks on abortion rights are escalating as the United States slides deeper into economic depression. The capitalist system is in crisis and the corporations and the government are out to drive down the standard of living of working people. Hand in hand with this, they drive after the rights to speak out and organize that working people have won over past decades.

Restricting or denying abortion rights is part of the employers' efforts to heighten the burdens on working women and undermine their self-confidence. Its aim is to keep the second-class status of women intact by taking away a woman's most fundamental right — control over her own body.

The outcome of this battle is important not just in the United States but throughout the world where women are seeking to defend and extend their right to contraception and abortion.



# Canadian film shows cover-up in racist murder

*Conspiracy of Silence*. Produced by Bernard Zukerman, written by Suzette Couture, directed by Francis Mankiewicz. A Canadian Broadcasting Company production.

BY ROGER ANNIS

Television viewers in Canada got a powerful insight into the violence and institutional racism against Native people in Canada when *Conspiracy of Silence* was broadcast on the CBC television network last December.

*Conspiracy* is a three-and-one-half-hour dramatization of the brutal killing of Cree Indian Helen Betty Osborne in The Pas, Manitoba, Nov. 12, 1971, and the subsequent cover-up of her murder by officials and residents of the

friends of the four attackers in the months and years following the murder, the film provides a powerful exposé of the racism of which Native people in Canada are victims.

The unfortunate weakness of this film is that it doesn't answer the question that jumps out at the viewer as the movie professes, namely, how was it the RCMP took so long to arrest the attackers when the whole town seemed to know about the murder?

## Bumbling investigation

According to the interpretation presented in the film, the 1971-72 investigation was flawed by bumbling, but otherwise well-intentioned, RCMP investigators.

But many working people, including most Native people, will have trouble believing this line. We know through experience that the RCMP is precisely the body that is used to maintain through force and violence the grinding poverty and discrimination against Natives like Osborne. RCMP squads routinely break up peaceful demonstrations of Natives fighting for land rights such as in British Columbia, at Lubicon Lake, or the Old Man River in Alberta, or at the Mohawk reserves in Ontario and Quebec.

The film's interpretation of this same force's investigation of Betty Osborne's murder doesn't stand up to serious examination. The film itself shows, for example, how the RCMP was led to an early identification of the car used by the attackers, but then refused to search it for evidence. Having determined that the car was owned by Colgan's father, the local liquor store manager, the RCMP simply dismissed the possibility that a Colgan family member could have been involved in such a gruesome murder.

It gives a glimpse of other racist prejudices prevalent in the RCMP through the comments of some officers during the initial investigation and through the assumption by the force in the first few weeks after the murder that it must have been perpetrated by another Indian. But these appear as incidental aberrations.

The 1989 book by Lisa Priest, a *Winnipeg Free Press* journalist, also entitled *Conspiracy of Silence*, gives further evidence of how the RCMP botched the initial investigation. They neglected, for example, to properly identify and record the two sets of footprints in the snow leading to and from Osborne's body. This became an important factor in the acquittal of Houghton.

The film is also flawed by the almost complete absence of Native people from the story. This is a serious failing because the only plausible explanation of why the cover-up of the murder finally unraveled lies in understanding the growing impact of Native peoples' struggles against discrimination in social and political life in Canada in the 1970s and 1980s.

During these two decades there has been a dramatic rise of militant struggles by Native people for land rights and against racism and national oppression. These have resulted in growing support for Native rights among workers and farmers in Canada.

This is illustrated at one point in the movie, following



Militant/Cheryl Pruitt  
The growing impact of Native peoples' struggles in Canada helped unravel the cover-up of the brutal murder of Helen Betty Osborne, a Cree Indian.

the relaunching of the RCMP investigation in 1984. In response to newspaper advertisements placed by the RCMP across western Canada, a former schoolmate of Colgan comes forward to tell of Colgan's admission to her in 1971 of his role in the murder. She expresses her regret in not coming forward in 1971.

"Some people have such happy memories of high school. They remember football games, dates, proms," she recalls sadly. "All I can remember is an Indian girl lying dead in the snow and my friends laughing about it."

"Those Native girls from the north like Betty Osborne, we never even tried to make them feel welcome here. Not one of us ever invited them home."

## Public inquiry

Osborne's story, along with the murder of Native leader J. J. Harper by Winnipeg police in 1988, forced the Manitoba government to hold a widely publicized, yearlong public inquiry in 1989 into the racism faced by Native people there.

*Conspiracy* is the third major film produced in recent years in Canada dealing with Native rights. *Where The Spirit Lives* was shown on CBC earlier in 1991 and it tells the story of the racist residential school system for Native children which operated in Canada through most of the 20th century. *Justice Denied*, produced in 1989, tells the story of Donald Marshall, a Micmac Indian imprisoned for 11 years for a murder he did not commit.

According to Tamara McKeegan, publicist for the film at CBC in Toronto, *Conspiracy* may be rebroadcast on CBC in the fall of 1992. Film rights have been sold to CBS in the United States, to ITV in Britain, and to a host of other networks in Australia, New Zealand, Iceland, and Sweden.

A presentation is tentatively scheduled for May of this year on CBS. Watch for it. This is a film worth seeing.

Roger Annis is a member of Canadian Auto Workers Local 1900 in Montreal, Quebec.

## IN REVIEW

town. According to the network, 2.5 million viewers tuned in to watch the movie.

Osborne was an 18-year-old student from northern Manitoba who had moved to The Pas in order to finish high school. The Pas is a papermill town which numbered some 7,500 residents in 1971. Of those, 1,500 lived on The Pas Indian Reserve, just across the river from the town center.

On the evening of November 12, Osborne was kidnapped by four young white men and driven to a remote location outside of town. She was sexually assaulted and then murdered as she tried to fight off her attackers. She was stabbed some 50 times.

Several of the men who took part in the gruesome murder began talking to friends, employers, or schoolmates about what they had done. The murder became common knowledge among many in the town within weeks.

Despite this, the initial investigation by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), the federal police force in Canada that performs local policing in many small towns, including The Pas, produced no results. No charges were laid.

But the story of the murder just wouldn't go away. The movie describes that one of the four, Lee Colgan, frequently talked about his role in the killing. Much of the movie consists of a portrayal of Colgan's life in the years following the murder.

The failure of the RCMP to charge the killers was a continuing embarrassment that the force couldn't shake. In December 1984 a second full-time investigation was launched. Colgan was arrested in October 1986, the first of the four to be arrested.

In exchange for immunity from prosecution, Colgan and Normand Manger testified at the 1987 trial that the murder was carried out by Dwayne Johnston while they sat in the car unaware of what was actually happening. Jim Houghton, according to their testimony, was outside the car with Johnston during the savage beating and murder of Osborne and may have played a direct role.

Johnston was convicted of murder and was sentenced to life imprisonment. Houghton was found not guilty.

The long trial scene in the movie serves as the film's dramatic high point. Viewers are tempted at the beginning to think that justice is being served, but in the end we're left seething. We've already seen how Colgan and Manger were granted immunity. Then Houghton walks free. How could a 'justice system' let three of them walk free?

Osborne's mother leaves the courtroom in anger following the jury's verdict.

*Conspiracy* is a powerful film. In exposing the true story of Osborne's murder and in detailing a part of the "conspiracy of silence" kept by scores of lawyers, employers, and

## LETTERS

### Curtis lawsuit victory

The news of Mark Curtis's recent victory in his lawsuit against the Des Moines police was welcomed by many of my fellow union members in the factory where I work.

They were pleased to hear that Mark's fight has won some results and several dozen took my photocopied material to read about the judge's decision. One worker bought the issue of the *Militant* that contained the full text of the judge's decision.

I explained the significance of Mark's victory for his fight for a parole release and also for the appeal of his original conviction. Fourteen people gave contributions of \$2 to \$5 to help support Mark's ongoing fight.

In discussing Mark's case, several of us shared experiences we have had with police brutality on picket lines, while being stopped for traffic tickets and so on. Police brutality is seen as a growing problem by many union members in Montreal because of the growing numbers of Blacks and other workers being shot or otherwise brutalized by Montreal police.

Many coworkers were already familiar with Mark's case thanks to the discussions I have had with them

going back several years. Last fall my union committee distributed copies of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee brochure "Who Is Mark Curtis?" throughout the factory and it sponsored a lunch-hour video showing of the *On Trial* television episode in 1989 that featured Mark's case. We mostly used French-language versions of the video and brochure as the large percentage of my coworkers are Quebecois.

Roger Annis  
Montreal, Quebec

### Gay rights protest

A spirited protest action took place March 15 at the Cracker Barrel restaurant in Greensboro.

The sit-in and picket line here was part of a national campaign against the Southern-based chain, which established a discriminatory hiring policy one year ago. In April of 1991, it began carrying out the stated policy of firing gay and lesbian employees.

In Greensboro, about 25 protesters slowed the Sunday brunch traffic measurably by tying up tables for over an hour. Sit-in participants noted support from restaurant workers and left generous gratuities. The

picket afterwards was held on a major road and attracted quite a bit of attention and some support.

Brian Riggs, an organizer of the action, explained after the picket that the campaign in some cities has won union support and that there have been actions as large as 500 in Atlanta and Detroit.

Sarah Harris  
Greensboro, North Carolina

### Right to residency

The very existence of the Palestinian community in its homeland is facing a direct and immediate threat.

We are referring to the threat against a basic human right, even more basic than the right to national existence: the right to live in one's country along with the members of one's family. This right is not recognized or accepted by the Israeli government as applying to the Palestinian residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. For them, residency is not a right, but a privilege. Family reunification, so talked-about whenever the Israeli authorities bring up the question of Soviet Jewry, is not seen to apply to Palestinians, whose families do not have the right to live

a normal life if even only one family-member was not registered as a resident as of some arbitrary date, set by the occupation authorities.

If the family member in question is present in the Occupied Territories by virtue of having been granted a visitor's permit, s/he can expect to be expelled upon the expiration of that permit; if s/he is outside the territories, s/he is frequently refused a visitor's permit. This is not a matter of distant relatives only, but of husbands, wives, and children.

With the deportation of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from Kuwait and the other Gulf Emirates, tens of thousands of new such cases have been added to the thousands of existing cases of systematic prevention of family reunification.

Anyone who holds the rights of residency and of family reunification close to his/her heart, and especially anyone who has struggled for the right of Soviet and Ethiopian Jews to be reunited with their families in Israel, cannot remain indifferent to the circumstances of the tens of thousands of Palestinians being refused the right of family reunification. S/he must speak up and demand the reunification of Palestinian families

now, in their land!

We, a group of Israeli peace activists, have decided to bring the issue of Palestinian family reunification to the attention of Israeli and worldwide public opinion.

You can help by sending a donation to the Alternative Information Center, P.O. Box 24278, Jerusalem, Israel, 91319

Alternative Information Center  
Jerusalem, Israel

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

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



## Haiti pact for Aristide return fails

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

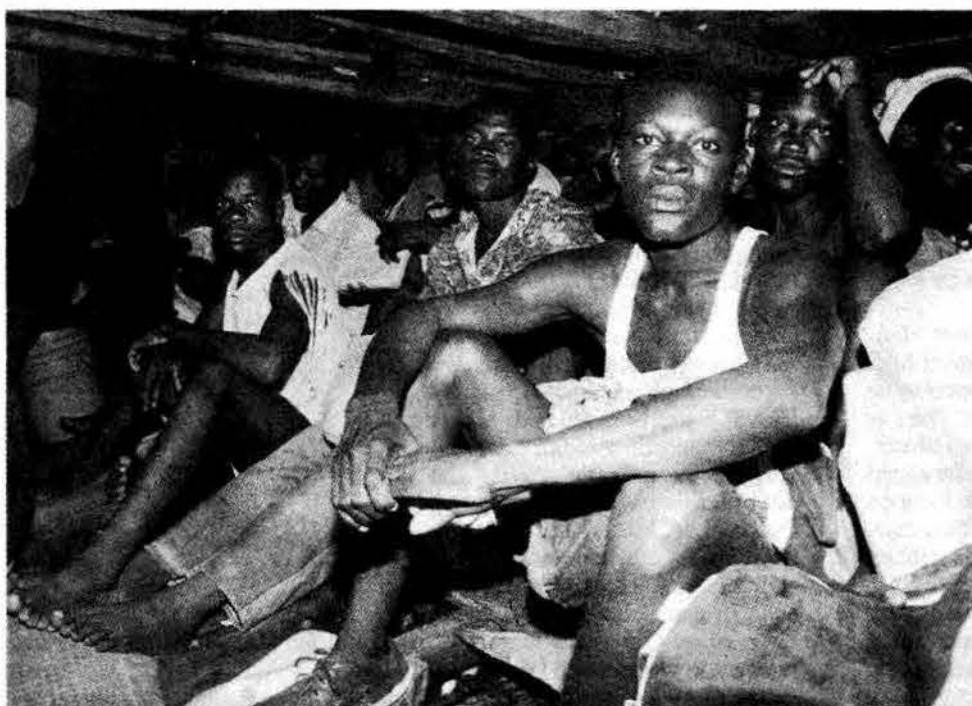
An agreement signed in Washington between deposed Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide and leaders of the Haitian legislature collapsed in Haiti's Parliament March 18.

The February 25 accord provided for the eventual return of Aristide, but with much diminished powers. It also called for the granting of amnesty to all those involved in the September 30 military coup.

After four hours of shouting, shoving, and brandishing guns on the assembly floor, several conservative members of Parliament walked out of the House of Deputies the day the vote on the accord was scheduled. The protest deprived the legislature of a quorum and allowed the conservative president of the assembly, Déjean Bélizaire, to end the session. This move all but killed the chances of the settlement being ratified any time soon.

"We have had enough of this nonstop debate over the return or non-return of Aristide," said Sen. Thomas Eddy who joined the walkout. "We have work to do."

The army, and the interim government it has installed, ran a serious campaign against ratification of the accord. Right-wing politicians were featured on government television calling for the arrest of legislators who voted for the agreement. The week before the scheduled vote the Heavy Weapons Corps of the army threatened to descend from their mountain camp if Aristide was voted back



Haitians fleeing military regime. Washington has forcibly returned 11,000 refugees.

in. Gen. Raul Cedras, the army chief, warned that he might not be able to control them.

Joseph Nerette, the army-appointed president, stated the weekend of March 8 that he would not step aside if Aristide returned.

In the aftermath of the accord's collapse,

Organization of American States (OAS) officials said they would consider tightening economic sanctions against Haiti.

The economic embargo against Haiti has already been violated numerous times. At least 10 ships from Europe and the Americas

have unloaded in Port-au-Prince, Haiti's capital, since November. They have brought cargoes of sheet metal, cotton fiber, wire, batteries, gas stoves, diesel engines, and tires. In addition seven oil tankers from Europe and Colombia have brought oil.

Of the thousands of Haitians who fled their country since the military coup — citing violent repression by the army and economic misery — more than 11,000 have now been forcibly repatriated by the U.S. government. Some 16,250 were previously intercepted in international waters by U.S. ships. U.S. authorities are considering the claims for political asylum of 5,000.

The OAS was rebuffed in its attempt to send an international team of civilians to Haiti to monitor human rights violations when Nerette said such a group would be considered an invasion force aiming to stir up opposition.

A March 24 *New York Times* editorial called for military action against the Haitian regime. "The time has come to create a new inter-American military force that could intervene to protect democratic governments from hijacking by armed terrorists," it said. The editorial suggested that such a force could also be used to intervene in other countries in Latin America such as Peru.

Anticipating that the military would try to thwart the negotiated plan for his return, Aristide organized a tour to take his case to people in the United States. In public appearances from California to Washington Aristide told audiences that Haitians are proud of their sovereignty and don't want military intervention.

Speaking at a meeting of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, Aristide called for a tougher embargo of Haiti, enforced by a blockade.

One thousand people packed Oakland's First Congregational Church March 15 to hear the exiled president. "One day democracy will come back to Haiti," the Haitian leader told the audience. The military forces now running the country would be quelled by the "power of love," he added. Oakland mayor Elihu Harris, along with 100 others, welcomed Aristide at the airport when he arrived.

*Margaret Jayko, an auto assembly worker and member of United Auto Workers Union Local 2244 in Fremont, California, contributed to this article.*

## South African regime seeks to block rapid shift to interim government

BY DEREK BRACEY

South African president F.W. de Klerk's government announced proposals March 23 for a new setup to prepare constitutional changes. The arrangement would leave the existing white minority regime in power, running counter to the African National Congress's call for an interim government.

The proposal for the appointment of multiracial "transitional councils" comes just one week after voters in a whites-only referendum endorsed the perspective of scrapping apartheid and instituting a government based on one person, one vote. These councils would be appointed by the president and would set up a body that could "adopt by consensus resolutions with persuasive power."

In a press statement, the African National Congress (ANC) denounced the proposals as "objectionable in many fundamental respects," essentially leaving "all powers in the hands of the present Government."

"Secondly, the Government's proposal implies that the present constitution will stay unamended until an elected constitution-making body is in place."

"Their [the transition councils] functions have nothing or very little to do with the basic objectives of Phase I of the transition, which is to level the playing field and ensure free and fair elections under conditions of free and fair political activity," the statement continued.

The ANC statement noted that under the government proposals, the existing regime would be able to veto recommendations of the transitional councils, "control and run all aspects of the executive, including security and public media," and continue to pass and implement new laws.

### ANC call for interim government

The ANC has called for replacing the current government with an interim one that would run the country until a constituent assembly is elected. The Congress maintains that the transition to one person, one vote cannot be organized by the current rulers.

De Klerk had agreed to the principle of an interim government in December. The latest

proposals represent a retreat from that agreement. Earlier in March the regime had proposed to add Black leaders to the existing cabinet but this was rejected by the ANC as a cover for continuing apartheid.

The ANC pointed out that the government's latest announcement contradicted an understanding reached three weeks previously that projected a multiracial transitional executive body that would lead the country to a new constitution.

"By these means the government wants to act both as the referee and player," the ANC statement said. "It is particularly outrageous that in making their proposals, the NP [National Party] government has

elected to retreat to the old and discredited approach of consultative and advisory 'toy telephones.'"

The latest government announcement also proposed the creation of a two-house parliament that would have one house elected on the basis of proportional representation, with every citizen more than 18 years old eligible to vote. The other house would be formed by regional representatives or by members of the existing Parliament, which excludes Blacks.

The government proposed a rotating group presidency, which would pick a cabinet by consensus. The ANC rejected this concept when it was first suggested in September.

## British Coal lays off 1,000s of mine workers

BY JIM SPAUL

British Coal has announced a new round of job cuts in the Wakefield District of North Yorkshire. The new cuts of 2,000 jobs come on top of 17 pit closures and 14,640 jobs lost in the district since 1981. In the Yorkshire Coalfield the work force has been reduced from 60,000 to less than 20,000 since the 1984-85 National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) strike.

In order to pressure miners into taking a redundancy (layoff) British Coal has offered a "sweetener" payment of up to \$58,500 for miners who have been employed for more than 30 years. The latest round of cuts will leave fewer than 50,000 employed miners, less than a quarter of the 200,000 British Coal had on their books at the end of the 12-month strike in March 1985.

Communities that relied solely on the local pits for their survival have been devastated by the closures. This comes at a time when productivity has soared to undreamed of levels, making some of the surviving pits the most productive in Europe.

Safety for miners who are left working has also been affected. In February, 2 miners were killed at the Wearmouth Colliery when a train carrying about 70 men jackknifed 1,000 feet underground. "We believe all pos-

sible corners are being cut in the drive for greater productivity and it is our members and their families who are suffering," explained Dave Hopper, a leader of the National Union of Mineworkers.

The latest cuts have generated a broad discussion among miners, as the state of the whole economy continues to deteriorate. Unemployment has risen for 22 consecutive months and now stands officially at 2.6 million, 10.6 percent of the labor force.

The increasing pit closures and layoffs have started to change the attitudes of miners in the Nottingham area, where many miners belong to the Union of Democratic Miners (UDM). The UDM was formed during the 1984-85 strike by leaders of strike-breaking miners centered in this area.

Paul Galloway, a Nottingham NUM miner, pointed out, "Many of the young Notts miners started in the industry after the strike and those who were in during the strike have begun to change."

"There was a recent strike at Ollerton of 800 NUM and UDM miners who walked out over the issue of bonus payments last November," Galloway said. "In February, miners from both unions walked out at Bolsover over changes in normal working assignments. Neither of these ac-

tions were big enough or long enough to overcome the divisions, but that has to be our ultimate goal and the strikes showed that united action is possible."

While no action has been taking place to fight against pit closures or layoffs, the leadership of the NUM has begun arguing against coal imports. Bill Doughty, Kellingley Colliery NUM secretary, gave his view that, "the imports are supposed to take advantage of cheap subsidized foreign coal, but once we haven't got an industry anymore and the foreigners have cornered the market those subsidies will stop."

Jo O'Brien, Communist League candidate for Sheffield Central in the general election, commented on the anti-import campaign. "These arguments set miners against workers in other countries and suggest 'we' miners and other workers have something in common with British bosses and their government," O'Brien said. "But it's the bosses who are responsible for the attack on our wages, jobs, and working conditions."

*Jim Spaul is co-chair of the Communist League election campaign for Jo O'Brien in Sheffield Central. He is a member of the National Union of Mineworkers.*