

THE MILITANT

INSIDE
Socialist candidate: LA events
confirm failure of capitalism

PAGES 8-9

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 56/NO. 22 June 5, 1992

Yugoslavia war creates 1.3 million refugees

BY SETH GALINSKY

The war between rival bureaucracies in Yugoslavia for control of land and resources has created the largest number of refugees in Europe since World War II. Many of those fleeing the conflict have been turned back at the border of neighboring countries.

"We are seeing something like World War II, with population centers being destroyed and towns and villages attacked not as military objects, but with the sole purpose of driving the people away," says Jose-Maria Mendiluce, an envoy of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Even as the United Nations was withdrawing its token force of troops and observers from Sarajevo, renewed calls were made for U.S., European, and UN military intervention.

Since the start of the fighting 10 months ago, first between the regimes of Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia, and now extended to Bosnia, more than 1.3 million people have fled their homes. At least 700,000 people have become homeless in the last month alone, as the Croatian and Serbian governments carve up Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The bulk of the fighting in Bosnia has involved attacks by so-called Serbian militias — in reality a terrorist army formed by the Serbian government — that now control

Continued on Page 6

Quayle blames poor, lauds 'law and order'

BY PAUL MAILHOT

In a May 19 speech that received extensive media attention, Vice-president Danforth Quayle denounced the response to the Rodney King verdict in Los Angeles as "lawless social anarchy."

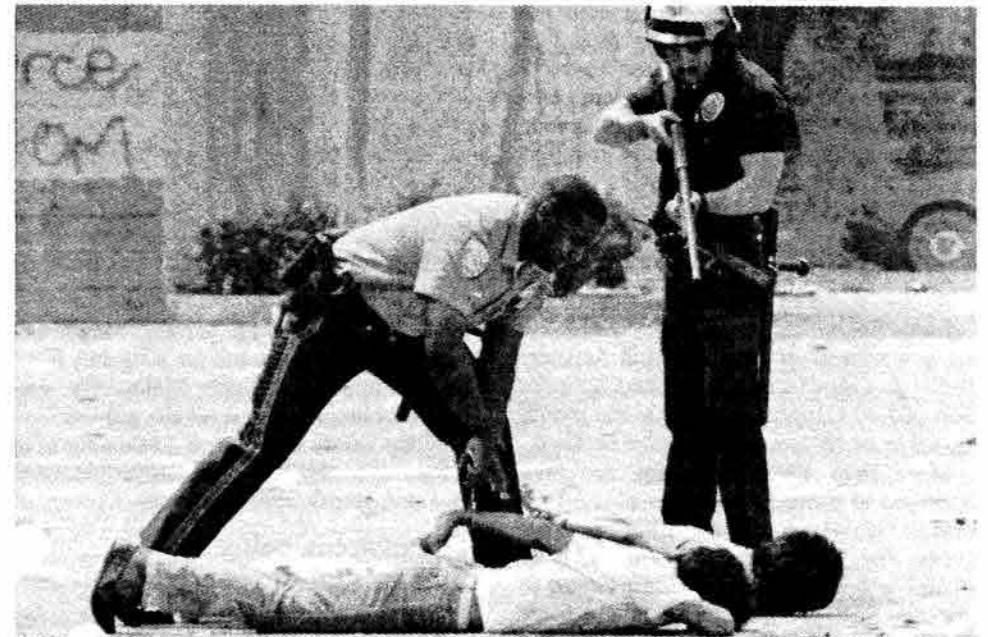
Speaking before the Commonwealth Club of California, a group of business executives and professionals, he laid blame for the antipolice riot on the "breakdown of family structure, personal responsibility, and social order in too many areas of our society" and called for increased "law and order." The unjust acquittal of the cops who beat King got barely a mention from the vice-president.

Turning away from any discussion of racism and cop brutality, Quayle focused on poverty, laying blame squarely on poor people themselves for their plight.

Seeking to answer those who call for government programs to aid the poor, he said the "poverty that troubles us so much today is predominantly a poverty of values."

According to Quayle, the main reason for poverty is too many single mothers on public assistance. Children "need mothers and fathers. A welfare check is not a husband," he said. "Marriage is probably the best antipoverty program of all."

Quayle proposed to cut down on the number of single mothers in poverty "by dismantling a welfare system that encourages de-



L.A. cops arrest youth May 3. Quayle blames riots on 'breakdown of family.'

pendency and subsidizes broken families." He also called for "social sanctions" against women who bear children out of marriage "irresponsibly." The implication of these proposals will be to force single mothers on welfare into even greater poverty.

To make his "law and order" campaign

more acceptable, the vice-president insisted it was needed so that "a single mother raising her children in the ghetto" won't have to worry about drug dealers, drive-by shootings, and gangs. He added, "We're for law and order because if property isn't pro-

Continued on Page 6

Canada miners expose cover-up of disaster

BY ROGER ANNIS

MONTREAL — Less than two weeks after unsafe conditions at the Westray coal mine in Pictou County, Nova Scotia, killed 26 miners, Curragh Resources is ordering its nonunion work force to restore production in the shattered mine. The bodies of 10 of the 26 dead miners remain entombed in the mine, buried under the wreckage of mining equipment and tons of rock.

According to workmates of the 26 disaster victims, the company is now working feverishly to resume production. Some miners, however, are refusing to return to work. The miners are organizing together with the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) to bring out the truth about the unsafe conditions that led to a massive explosion in the mine on May 9. They are demanding a full investigation of the disaster and want the mine shut down until such an investigation is completed. The Nova Scotia government has established a judicial inquiry, to be headed by a local judge.

The USWA was in the midst of an organizing drive at the mine when the disaster struck.

Ten miners held a press conference May 18 to condemn Curragh Resources for the conditions at the mine. They said high methane levels were routinely ignored and methane detectors were often faulty or not used at all.

The miners cited other unsafe and illegal practices that were permitted in the mine, such as the use of acetylene torches.

According to the miners, Nova Scotia's ministry of labor, which is responsible for mine safety, routinely turned a blind eye to the problems in the mine.

It was the first time that miners employed by Curragh at the time of the disaster had spoken out.

The miners' testimony confirms that of scores of former Westray miners whose sto-

ries were widely reported across Canada in the days following the disaster.

Seventy of the miners met on May 20 with Alexa McDonough, leader of the New Democratic Party of Nova Scotia, to win her support for their campaign to shut down the mine. They asked that she speak on their

behalf, out of concern of reprisals by the company. They also condemned a massive cover-up operation that the company has launched.

An internal company memo randomized by a mine employee outlines the

Continued on Page 12

Cuba 1992: Meeting the challenges confronting the revolution

Hear:

Mary-Alice Waters

editor of *New International*,
recently returned from Cuba

At the grand opening
of the new
Pathfinder Bookstore
in Boston

Saturday, May 30
Reception: 6:30 p.m.
Program: 7:30 p.m.

780 Tremont Street
(at the corner of Mass. Ave.)
Boston

Donation \$5
For more information call
(617) 247-6772

Help put the socialist candidates on the ballot!



Volunteers are needed to help put the Socialist Workers presidential campaign on the ballot in nearly 25 states. Tens of thousands of signatures are required for the socialist candidates to appear on the ballot. Join a team of petitioning volunteers to sign up youth and working people at campuses, working-class communities, plant gates, and street corners. Join for a couple of weeks, a weekend, or a few hours. These are the upcoming petitioning campaigns:

Ohio: May 16-June 13

Illinois: May 23-June 13

Michigan: June 6-July 14

New England: June 13-July 18

Washington, D.C.: June 20-July 11

New York: July 4-Aug. 1

Alabama: July 11-Aug. 1

Petitioning volunteers are also needed in Iowa, Minnesota, N. Dakota, S. Dakota, Oregon, Washington State, Delaware, Utah, Wisconsin, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Louisiana. To volunteer or for more information, contact the Socialist Workers 1992 National Campaign at 191 7th Ave., New York, NY 10011 or call (212) 675-6740. Or contact campaign supporters in your area (see page 12).

Paid for by the Socialist Workers 1992 National Campaign Committee



Cuban gov't presents demand for extradition of terrorist to UN

Cuban ambassador to the United Nations Ricardo Alarcón asked the UN Security Council in a May 21 presentation to demand that Washington hand over terrorist Orlando Bosch to the Cuban government. Havana charges Bosch, along with Luis Posada Carriles, with having masterminded the bombing of a Cubana Airlines jetliner over Barbados that killed 73 people in 1976. While Posada's whereabouts are not known, Bosch lives in Miami.

Bosch and Posada were charged for the crime and held by Venezuelan authorities in prison shortly after the attack. Posada escaped from jail before the trial. Two Venezuelan citizens were convicted and given 20-year sentences for having planted the bombs. Bosch, who had a long record of terrorist activities, was acquitted in 1987 and returned to the United States without a visa. He was detained and the U.S. Justice Department sought unsuccessfully to deport him for terrorist activities in 1989. He was set free from detention in Miami in 1990.

New surge of Haitian refugees

A new wave of Haitians is fleeing the terror of the military regime that overthrew the government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide. The U.S. Coast Guard has picked up more than 10,000 refugees in May, a one-month record since the army coup in September.

More than 12,000 Haitians are now crammed in a detention center at the U.S. base in Guantánamo, Cuba, filling it to capacity. The White House announced May 24 that it had ordered the Coast Guard to stop all boats carrying refugees and force them to return to Haiti. The Coast Guard has detained 34,090 Haitian refugees since October 29. Some 10,000 have been approved for asylum, while about 14,000 have been forcibly returned to Haiti.

Police officer who beat King praises cop violence in book

Los Angeles police officer Stacey Koon, one of the four cops acquitted April 29 in the beating of Rodney King, has written a book in which he openly recites racial slurs and speaks candidly about feeling "high" after beating up on people he arrested. In his unsold manuscript he refers to the King arrest as a "group beat."

Furthermore, Koon says he became a "legend" in the Los Angeles Police Department for kicking a Latino man. "My boot came from the area of lower California and connected with the suspect's scrotum about



Haitian refugees detained at U.S. base in Guantánamo, Cuba, filled camp to capacity.

lower Missouri," he wrote. "My boot stopped about Ohio, but the suspect's testicles continued into upper Maine. The suspect was literally lifted off the ground."

Koon refers to King as "Mandingo," a reference to the West African people, used as a derogatory term by racists.

Philadelphia police raze woman's house 'in error'

On March 31 Philadelphia police razed to the ground the house of Helen Anthony, a 59-year-old housekeeper who is Black, destroying all her personal belongings. Anthony, who had lived there for 23 years, returned from work to find the demolition crew with the cops' protection surrounding the house. The cops would not let her in.

The police, who claimed the house was being used for "drug-related activity," later admitted the demolition was a mistake. The city is offering Anthony \$4,200, "the market value of the house," and a new place to live. Anthony's lawyers say the offer is unsatisfactory. "It was my home," Anthony told the *New York Times*. "All my memories were there."

More full-time U.S. workers live below poverty line

The proportion of full-time workers earning very low wages in the United States rose

markedly in the 1980s. According to a U.S. Census Bureau study, that proportion of full-time, year-round workers with an income below the poverty level rose to 18 percent in 1990 from 12 percent in 1979. That means that nearly 1 in 5 full-time workers, or 14.4 million people, make less than \$12,195 a year.

U.S. manufacturing output rises

U.S. industrial production rose in April by 0.5 percent for the third consecutive month. The output gain was mainly due to a sharp rise in auto production. Production of consumer goods, business equipment, furniture, paper products, and coal increased as well.

Supreme Court expands protection for the mentally ill

The Supreme Court, ruling in two separate cases May 18, expanded constitutional protections for defendants who were mentally ill at the time they were accused of committing a crime.

The court overturned by a 5-4 vote a Louisiana law under which people acquitted by reason of mental illness at the time of the alleged crime would, after recovering, be kept indefinitely in mental institutions until they could prove they are not "dangerous." In a case from Nevada the high court, on a 7-2 vote, made it tougher for states to force mentally unstable defendants to take drugs during their trials. The decision overturned the murder conviction and death sentence of David Riggins who was given high doses of the drug Mellaril, over his objection, for several months before his trial. In both cases Judge Clarence Thomas wrote dissenting opinions.

British jury finds U.S. pilots liable for deaths in Gulf war

A coroner's jury in England ruled May 18 that nine British soldiers who died from U.S. "friendly fire" in the Persian Gulf war were unlawfully killed. The lawyer for the families of the soldiers said the ruling meant

the pilots had "committed manslaughter." He indicated he would seek prosecution of two U.S. Air Force pilots, who declined to appear at the Oxford inquest and instead offered written statements.

Polish parliament rejects cuts

Defying demands for austerity from the International Monetary Fund, Poland's parliament voted May 6 against proposed cuts in retirement pensions and lower wage raises for state employees. Finance Minister Andrej Olechowski resigned minutes after the vote, the second finance minister to resign this year. Prime Minister Jan Olszewski said the government will ask unions to agree to eliminating wage increases for workers.

Washington issues rule against Canada lumber imports

The U.S. Commerce Department issued a final ruling that Canadian softwood lumber imports are unfairly subsidized. The U.S. International Trade Commission will make the final decision in July on whether countervailing import duties will be imposed on Canadian lumber. The Commerce Department ruled that Canada's ban on log exports constitutes an unfair subsidy because it lowers the costs of the Canadian lumber industry. Tom Buell, chairman of the Canadian Forest Industries Council, called the decision "hypocritical" in light of the United States' own ban on exporting logs from public lands. The Canadian government said it will appeal the decision.

Paper banned in Ireland

The British newspaper the *Guardian* was not for sale in Ireland May 21. Police were at Dublin airport ready to confiscate 2,000 copies of the paper when it arrived on a flight from Manchester, England. The distributor decided to hold the copies.

The reason? The paper carried an advertisement for clinics in Britain that perform abortions. Such advertisements are forbidden by Irish law. "We are living in an infantile theocracy," commented Prionsias de Rossa, leader of the opposition Democratic Left party. Prime Minister Albert Reynolds denied that the government had ordered the ban. Reynolds has promised a referendum on abortion, which is illegal in Ireland, in November.

Abortion to be legal in Germany

After months of discussion, the major opposition parties, joined by 50 parliamentary deputies of the ruling Christian Democratic Union, announced an agreement on a proposal for a law making abortion legal throughout Germany. The law would decriminalize abortion in the first three months of pregnancy, provided that women undergo obligatory counseling.

Unification treaties required that a new all-German abortion law be passed by the end of 1992. Abortion has been legal in east Germany since 1972, but illegal in the western part. The proposal will be voted on before this summer.

— ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Subscribe now!

The Militant reports on:

- the fight against cop brutality
- Washington's drive to war
- labor battles worldwide
- the socialist alternative to war, racism, and depression



☐ Special introductory offer: \$10 for 12 weeks

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

Name

Address

City State Zip

Union/School/Organization Phone

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

12 weeks of the *Militant* outside the U.S.: Australia and the Pacific, \$A10 • Britain, £6 • Canada, Can\$12 • Caribbean and Latin America, \$10 • Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, £10 • Belgium, 375 BF • France, FF80 • Iceland, Kr1,000 • New Zealand, NZ\$15 • Sweden, Kr60

The Militant

Closing news date: May 25, 1992

Editor: GREG McCARTAN

Managing Editor: GEORGE BUCHANAN

Business Manager: Brian Williams

Editorial Staff: Derek Bracey, Estelle DeBates, Frank Forrestal, Seth Galinsky, Martin Koppel, Paul Mailhot, Argiris Malapanis, Brian Williams.

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

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

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Subscriptions: U.S., Latin America: for one-year subscription send \$45, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (air-

mail), send \$80. Asia: send \$80 drawn on a U.S. bank to 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Canada: send Canadian \$75 for one-year subscription to Société d'Éditions AGPP, C.P. 340, succ. R, Montréal, Québec H2S 3M2. Britain, Ireland, Africa: £35 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Continental Europe: £50 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution at above address. Belgium: BF 3,000 for one year on account no. 000-1543112-36 of 1Mei Fonds/Fonds du 1 mai, 2140 Antwerp. Iceland: Send 4,000 Icelandic kronur for one-year subscription to Militant, P.O. Box 233, 121 Reykjavík. Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark: 400 Swedish kroner for one year. Pay to Militant Swedish giro no. 451-32-09-9. New Zealand: Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand. Australia: Send Australian \$75 to P.O. Box 79, Railway Square Post Office, Railway Square, Sydney 2000, Australia. Philippines, Pacific Islands: Send Australian \$75 or New Zealand \$100 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand.

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

Olympia & York files for bankruptcy

News from world's largest real estate company worries financial markets

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Olympia & York Developments Ltd., the world's largest real estate development company, filed for the equivalent of bankruptcy protection in a Toronto court May 14.

The entire Olympia & York (O&Y) empire, owned by the Reichmann family of Toronto, has a debt of \$19.4 billion — exceeding the company's assets of \$18 billion, and bigger than the foreign debt of many countries. The company owns and operates major office towers in New York, London, and throughout Canada.

The real estate giant has borrowed heavily from 91 major banks in North America, Europe, and Japan. Nervousness spread in the New York, London, and Tokyo financial markets as the bankruptcy hit the news. The Japanese stock market reacted the most severely, falling 3.9 percent May 15. Shares of U.S.-based banks that had lent hundreds of millions to O&Y, such as J.P. Morgan, Chemical Bank, and Citicorp, dropped by smaller amounts.

Canadian banks, which had extended an estimated \$3 billion to O&Y, have already suffered bigger losses than their U.S. counterparts. Their shares had fallen sharply,

dragging the entire Canadian stock market down before the bankruptcy announcement due to the real estate company's well-known difficulties.

Pressure on the company had been mounting as it missed payment deadlines over the last two months. But the possibility that its flagship building in Toronto, 72-story First Canadian Place, might be seized by bondholders prompted the Reichmanns to file for bankruptcy.

An Ontario court granted a request from O&Y and 29 subsidiary companies for protection from creditors. Some of the company's subsidiaries with assets in the United States also filed under Chapter 11 of the U.S. Bankruptcy Code in New York.

O&Y is New York City's largest owner of commercial real estate, with the three-tower World Financial Center at the southern tip of Manhattan among its best-known properties.

On May 22 the company signed a deal with the city of New York that would allow it to delay for several months a \$75 million payment on property taxes due in June. This is aimed at keeping more of its U.S. subsidiaries out of bankruptcy court.

In the United States, bankers and real



Olympia and York is New York City's largest owner of commercial real estate, which includes the giant skyscraper at 125 Broad Street (left).

estate sharks are worried that a forced liquidation of the company would be even more harmful than a bankruptcy filing.

"Some investor like Li Ka-Shing could

come along, buy it for 40 cents on the dollar, and rent space for 13 or 14 dollars a foot instead of 27 or 28," James Austrian, a partner of a real estate consulting firm, told the *Wall Street Journal*. "That would have a grave impact on the whole market." Li Ka-Shing is a Hong Kong billionaire who is rumored to be acquiring some O&Y assets.

Real estate prices have been falling since the speculative boom of the early 1980s.

Rents began to drop in the southwest of the United States in 1986. The value of office space and other real estate plunged soon after in Japan, Australia, Europe, and elsewhere.

"The market hasn't been the same since the 1987 crash," complained Richard O'Brien, chief economist of the American Express Bank in London.

The Reichmanns continued to speculate, hoping that the market would pick up. As office vacancies soared and rental values decreased in London, O&Y began to build a lavish \$7-billion project at Canary Wharf, on once-derelect docklands in the city's East End. "More than anything else, the worldwide recession and the collapse of real estate prices just as the project was reaching completion touched off O&Y's current crisis," said an article in the Canadian magazine *Maclean's*.

The company is attempting to negotiate a five-year freeze on repaying its \$14.3 billion debt to banks in Britain. For the moment, creditors in Britain are reluctant to force O&Y into bankruptcy there.

Police chief fired for 'abuse of power' during King protests in San Francisco

BY OSBORNE HART

SAN FRANCISCO — In the wake of public protests here against the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King and violations of democratic rights by the San Francisco police department — which included mass arrests and the confiscation of an edition of a newspaper — Police Chief Richard Hongisto was fired May 15 for "abuse of power."

Mayor Frank Jordan had declared a "state of emergency" April 30, imposing a 9:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. curfew to quell protests against the verdict.

Using the state of emergency as a pretext, Chief Hongisto's cops conducted mass arrests of protesters participating in several peaceful and legal actions. By May 9, arrests totaled more than 2,000. Charges included "failure to disperse," "unlawful assembly," "violating an order of a police officer," and "violating the curfew with the potential of violence."

As a result of widespread outrage over the trampling of democratic rights, the Board of Supervisors, San Francisco's city government, lifted the state of emergency May 3.

Contrasting San Francisco to Los Angeles, Mayor Jordan unsuccessfully urged the supervisors to keep the emergency order in effect, arguing that the arrests resulted in "not one broken window, not one incident of property damage. We're the only city in the U.S. that can boast that."

But in spite of the board action the police department continued to organize sweeps of demonstrations. Nearly 500 people were arrested May 8 during a march that had received a city permit.

Hongisto, who at times personally supervised the mass arrests, justified the crackdown saying that "the loss of free speech is regrettable, but it is a cheap price to pay" to keep the peace.

In a move that set the stage for his firing, Hongisto told several cops to seize more than 2,000 copies of the *San Francisco Bay Times* newspaper from street boxes throughout the city. The papers were found stashed in a cop's house. That edition of the *Bay Times*, a gay community newspaper, contained an extensive article critical of Hongisto's martial law tactics and violations of civil liberties. Accompanying the article was a composite cover photo of Hongisto fondling a nightstick.

Since his dismissal, Hongisto has begun to build a movement for his reinstatement, arguing that the police actions were necessary. He and his supporters have verbally and at times physically disrupted public

hearings on police handling of the recent protests. Several of his supporters pass out campaign literature and wear buttons supporting ultra-rightist presidential candidate Pat Buchanan or Ross Perot.

Demonstrations, meetings, and hearings have continued since the arrests. These activities have demanded dropping of all charges against those demonstrators rounded up, as well as justice for Rodney King.

Socialist Workers Party election campaign supporters have participated in these protest events.

SWP candidate for state assembly Georges Mehrabian stated, "We welcome Hongisto's dismissal as a gain for democratic rights. This victory for free speech, press, and assembly rights opens up more space for continued mobilizations to demand federal action against the four guilty officers in Los Angeles, an end to the mass frame-ups there, and dropping charges against the protesters" in San Francisco.

Osborne Hart is a member of Teamsters Local 78 at Cargill Salt Refinery in Newark, California.

Double standard of justice in Los Angeles

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — Criticism is developing over the double standard of justice being applied to the four young Black men jailed in the beating of truck driver Reginald Denny.

The four face federal and local indictments. Denny, who is white, was dragged from his truck and assaulted in the first hours of the outbreak triggered by the acquittal of the four cops who beat Rodney King.

Bail for the four Black youth, who were arrested last week and were still in jail as of May 21, was set at amounts ranging from \$50,000 to \$195,000. One of the defendants, Henry Watson, was denied bail. The four cops who beat King, in contrast, spent no time in jail. Their bails ranged from \$5,000 to \$30,000.

Recently, the sister of Henry Watson, one of the four youth jailed in the Denny beating, organized a hair-styling fundraiser to help pay legal bills.

The owner of the beauty parlor that hosted the event commented, "This is not about whether you think these men are innocent or guilty. We just want to see them get a fair trial. They deserve that. Everybody does."

The double standard being used against

the four is also highlighted by what the federal government is doing.

In the wake of the King beating, the U.S. Justice Department announced an investigation to determine if there had been a violation of his civil rights, guaranteed under federal law.

Little more was heard about this until the outbreak that followed the exoneration of the four cops. At that point, U.S. attorney general William Barr hastily announced that the Justice Department was resuming its review of the King case.

He explained that while the local prosecution of the four cops was under way, the FBI had postponed any action in the case.

But even now, the foot-dragging continues. On May 18, Barr refused to say if or when an indictment of the four cops would come.

"If we decide to go forward with the indictments," the attorney general stated, "we want to be sure we have built a strong case. . . so I don't want to speculate about how long it will take."

But that measured approach has not been applied to the four Black youth charged with beating Denny.

Charles Parsons, head of the Los Angeles office of the FBI, said the arrests would be the first of many in the Denny case and other cases

of violence related to the antipolice riot.

Officials said they expected that the local trial of three of the four would be held first, on charges of attempted murder, mayhem, torture and robbery. Convictions could bring life sentences. The fourth faces robbery charges.

But all four would then also face various federal charges, yet to be specified. Officials indicated that convictions on federal counts could mean additional sentences of up to 30 years.

In contrast, if the four cops who clubbed and stomped King had been convicted, they faced maximum terms ranging from 4 years to less than 8 years.

Meanwhile, the Immigration and Naturalization Service is continuing to use the social explosion as a pretext to crack down on undocumented immigrants.

It was reported May 16 that more than 700 people rounded up during the outbreak and alleged to be "illegal aliens" have been deported to their homelands in Mexico and Central America.

None of them had a day in court. Attorneys charged that officials pressured the immigrants into accepting deportation by threatening them with long jail terms if they insisted on their rights.



San Francisco chief of police Richard Hongisto was fired May 15.

How can justice for Larry Milton be won?

Mass protests in Iowa against cop brutality showed potential for a victory

BY CLEVE ANDREW PULLEY

DES MOINES, Iowa — Three weeks prior to the explosion in Los Angeles at the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King, the State Ombudsman in Iowa issued a report clearing the police of all wrongdoing in the December 1991 beating of Larry Milton in Des Moines. The ombudsman was the third government agency to issue a report exonerating the police.

Previously, a county grand jury had issued a finding recommending no indictment of the cops. The Des Moines Police Internal Affairs Unit had also found no evidence of wrongdoing. The U.S. Justice Department and the FBI have not released their findings.

On December 28, 1991, three Des Moines cops savagely beat Larry Milton, who had called them for help. Milton was repeatedly struck with steel flashlights, opening head wounds that required 22 surgical staples to close. Dozens of eyewitnesses reported that the beating continued even after the cops had put cuffs on his hands and feet. The cops shouted racist epithets as they beat him into unconsciousness. He was thrown into a police wagon head first. Other cops conspired to cover up the crime by kicking leaves over puddles of Milton's blood and pieces of his flesh.

Outraged at the picture of his battered face shown on the front page of the *Des Moines Register* and on local television, more than one thousand people, predominantly Black, convened in a mass meeting on January 2 and raised the slogan, "No Excuse!" This represented about one of every 15 Blacks in Des Moines.

Nearly 600 jammed the January 6 Des Moines City Council meeting to press the demand for justice. Under pressure, the council agreed to hold public hearings on police brutality. Hundreds participated in other meetings.

When the issue exploded, radio station KUCB, based in the Black community, turned over its airwaves to a flood of calls from working people demanding justice for Larry Milton and the jailing of the guilty cops.

Rulers begin campaign

In the face of this explosion of protest, the rulers began a campaign in defense of the police and the beating. At the city council meeting on January 20, hundreds of police mobilized along with a few family members and supporters. Cop after cop spoke to justify the beating of Milton. The working people attending the earlier council meeting were characterized as a "mob" by Kayne Robinson, a police spokesperson and

prominent rightist in Des Moines. Under this pressure, the city council retreated from its commitment to set a date to hold public hearings.

In the face of this retreat by the city council, working people again mobilized for a city council meeting on January 27, 200 showing up to counter the nearly equal number of police present. More than 300 came out to a second public meeting at the Union Baptist Church. Working people, especially Black workers, showed a broad readiness to mobilize in meetings and other protest actions.

In order to block bigger protests, officials announced that a number of government agencies would investigate the incident, including a grand jury, the FBI, the Des Moines Police Internal Affairs Unit, and the State Ombudsman's office.

As the agencies have issued their reports, a clear pattern has emerged. All the reports reject the words of the eyewitnesses and simply accept the cops' version of the facts. For example, the ombudsman's report states that Sgt. Joanne Pollock, one of the cops who beat Milton, tried to calm him, but he became increasingly "agitated and released an animal-like howl and fought with extraordinary strength and endurance." This rejects the testimony of the eyewitnesses and the physical evidence.

The ombudsman's report joins those of the grand jury and the police internal affairs unit in justifying the cops' conduct. All claim that Milton fought with "superhuman strength" caused by use of alcohol and cocaine.

Police Chief William Moulder said he felt "pretty elated" over the cops' exoneration by the reporting agencies. He declared them innocent of wrongdoing the morning after the beating, long before any investigations began. "These officers were beat up for three months by the media and the public," Moulder said, "Their actions are now vindicated by an outside agency."

Cops emboldened

Getting off scot-free has emboldened the cops to continue abusing Black and other working people. For example, on March 18, the very day the Polk County Grand Jury refused to indict the cops for beating Larry Milton, an off-duty county sheriff's deputy murdered 20-year-old Julius Bryan by shooting him in the heart following an alleged fight between the two. Cops claim Bryan was grabbing for the cop's gun when it went off. But an eyewitness placed Bryan more than six feet from the deputy when he was shot. There have been other "fights" between area cops and civilians as well as police beatings and intimidation.

While no move is made to prosecute the cops, the victim, Larry Milton, is scheduled to be tried in June for public intoxication and resisting arrest. In addition, he and his wife face frame-up theft charges.

Milton's attorney has filed a lawsuit in federal court seeking damages for the violation of Milton's civil rights.

How were the rulers able to achieve exoneration of the cops and continue the victimization of Milton and his wife, Aries Milton? Did the protests do any good? What did the fight accomplish?

The Black community and working people won a big victory during the past five months with the ruling in favor of Mark Curtis in his civil rights lawsuit. Curtis was brutally beaten by the cops and framed up on rape and burglary charges.

The outspoken packinghouse worker and socialist committed no crime, save that of urging his union to defend Mexican immigrant workers who had been arrested by an Immigration and Naturalization Service raid where he worked.

Curtis victory a potential weapon

The victory in the Curtis lawsuit was a potentially powerful weapon on the side of all those who fought for justice for Larry Milton. It demonstrated in court that the cops beat Mark Curtis and lied about their actions to cover up their crime. For many people it also showed the pervasive character of police brutality.

This fact was emphasized in testimony to four hearings on police violence. Forced to



Larry Milton after his beating by police in Des Moines, Iowa, last December.

hold the hearings by the public protest, the city council tried to hamstring the hearings by limiting testimony to general advice and opinions. All specific charges of brutality were to be heard only in a private room separate from the hearings themselves.

Working people of all colors came forward to tell their stories. They forced the city council to change the hearings format to hear all opponents of cop violence first. At two of the four hearings, the opponents of brutality dominated the testimony with story after story of beatings and brutality.

Yet, despite forcing the rulers to hold public hearings on the issue of police brutality, working people were not able to win justice for Larry Milton. That would have required the trial and conviction of the cops who beat him.

In addition to denying justice to Larry Milton and continuing to further victimize him and his wife, the rulers and the cops are prosecuting leaders in the fight against cop brutality. Dudley Allison, who led pickets at city hall and who has been videotaping police arrests for the Community Support Force, was jailed overnight and charged with two counts of interfering with an official act. His trial is set for May 19.

James Hester, a leader of the fight and spokesperson for the Congress on Racial Equality, was recently arrested for a "parole violation." Kalonji Saadiq, KUCB station manager and leader of early protests, has been ordered to pay \$21,000 to the county welfare department as reimbursement for welfare payments paid to his estranged wife. Along with these victimizations, the cops continue seeking to have KUCB's license to operate revoked.

Rightists encouraged

The climate fostered by the rulers' refusal to indict or prosecute the cops has encouraged actions by racist and rightist forces. These include a bullet fired through the window of the Pathfinder Bookstore, violent threats against KUCB, the beating of a Black man by a racist gang, and two incidents of cross burning in Des Moines.

To force the rulers to jail the police who beat Larry Milton, a sustained period of mass street actions — picket lines, demonstrations, meetings, strikes, and other actions — by Black and other working people was required. Such actions could have convinced the rulers that they would lose more by exonerating the cops than by throwing some of them "to the wolves" and putting them in jail.

The biggest default of leadership was that of the Des Moines and Iowa labor officialdom. Not a single official of any prominence spoke out against cop brutality. Mayor John Dorian himself is executive director of the Central Iowa Building and Construction Trades Council. One building trades official actually spoke in support of the police beating of Milton at a city council meeting. This is in stark contrast to the deep interest and participation in mass meetings and other activities by working people.

Some of the Black community leaders who led or sanctioned the initial mass meetings and protests were swayed by the cops' red-baiting, violence-baiting, and intimidation. "We are church people, not street people" was the response of some religious leaders of the fight to those who sought to

organize marches in the streets.

Other misleaders defended the cops. Keith Morris, who spoke at early protests against the beating of Milton, sided with the police against Mark Curtis. In a two-hour talk show on KUCB, Morris claimed that Curtis's injuries at the hands of the cops had been faked and that his lawsuit was a fraud.

Larry Carter, Des Moines NAACP president and opponent of justice for Curtis, had given an award to Police Chief Moulder for his "crime fighting efforts." Carter was booed on two occasions at mass meetings for urging working people to wait until investigations were completed to act.

Some leaders of the fight against police brutality began conducting meetings with the mayor, the police chief, and other city officials in a vain attempt to "sensitize" the cops to the rights of working people.

Opportunity lost

As a result of all this, the opportunity to put maximum pressure on the police and to jail the guilty cops was lost.

The role of the misleaders in the fight for justice for Larry Milton was spelled out by Mayor Dorian at the May 4 city council meeting. The *Des Moines Register* of May 5 reported, "Dorian thanked community leaders for helping the city avoid the violence that has hit Los Angeles where police officers were acquitted in the videotaped beating of Rodney King. That case has been compared to the arrest in Des Moines of Larry Milton, who was struck several times by police officers."

"Thanks, to all the people who have helped hold the lid on Des Moines and give us time," Dorian said. "That's why we haven't had a little L.A. in Des Moines."

The explosive protests and antipolice riot in Los Angeles after the acquittal of the four cops who beat Rodney King opened up the possibility of relaunching the fight for justice for Milton. A demonstration of 3,000 in Ames, Iowa, at Iowa State University; walkouts by 200 students at Roosevelt High School and 200 at Drake University in Des Moines; and 70 at a high school in Iowa City, Iowa, were responses to the verdict in the Rodney King case. These actions indicate the potential to mobilize students and others in the fight for justice for Milton.

Fight for justice not over

Having shown a willingness to mobilize in the face of tremendous pressure in the fight for justice for Milton, Blacks and other working people clearly have the power to win that fight. While the mobilizations are over for the present, the fight for justice is not.

Milton's lawsuit against the cops will be heard over the summer and he is set for trial on charges of assault and resisting arrest in June. While not likely, further mobilizations could occur around any moves to jail Milton for the "crime" of being beaten. In addition, any city council maneuvers to ignore the broad community sentiment for some form of citizens' review of police brutality could potentially serve as a rallying point for more actions.

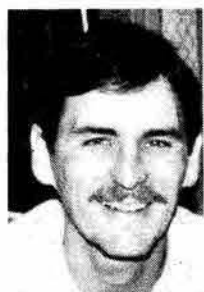
Blacks and other working people were hampered by a leadership in the fight against police brutality that opposed street actions, and that sought to blur a clear understanding of the role of the police. Yet those involved in the fight for justice for Milton have gone through an invaluable experience.

Through further fights against police brutality, more lessons will be learned and new leaders will step forward. Working people will make their weight felt through meetings, protests, rallies, marches and other actions. Through such mobilizations, on a massive scale, the cops and their supporters can be pushed back and a measure of justice can be won. The federal government could be forced to jail and prosecute the cops guilty of beating Larry Milton and other working people under federal civil rights laws.

Cleve Andrew Pulley is Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate in Iowa and a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1149.

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

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



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

Socialist campaigners win new 'Militant' readers

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

As Socialist Workers candidates have stepped up their activities, supporters have been winning new readers for the campaign newspaper, the *Militant*.

In the state of Washington, Socialist candidate for U.S. Senate Mark Severs reports that, since launching his campaign six weeks ago, 20 coworkers have subscribed to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Severs, who is a member of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 2202 at the Seattle-Tacoma airport, spoke before his local union meeting in May. After the political discussion, 6 unionists purchased subscriptions to the *Militant*. An additional 6 IAM members bought subscriptions from a campaign literature table set up in the main terminal of the airport.

While on a campaign swing through Chicago, Socialist Workers candidate for president James Warren paid a visit to Castle Metals, a plant organized by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). Warren has a leave of absence from there to run for president. Many coworkers said they were following the progress of the campaign through *Militant* articles posted on the bulletin board in the plant. Supporters there purchased a subscription and 8 single copies of the paper.

Warren also spoke at Columbia College in downtown Chicago to 125 students as part of a panel on the Rodney King verdict and its aftermath. Three students bought *Militant* subscriptions and several others signed up as campaign endorsers.

In Oakland, California, Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate Estelle DeBates spoke before three classes at Merritt College. After a discussion on the Rodney King case and the relevancy of the ideas of Malcolm X to politics today, campaign supporters sold a *Militant* subscription, 5 single issues, and \$30 worth of Pathfinder literature.

In Richmond, British Columbia, supporters have sold 2 *Militant* subscriptions and 3 *New Internationals* in two weeks to coworkers at the Storkcraft baby furniture manufacturing plant. In November 1991 workers there voted to be represented by

the USWA.

Militant supporter Ned Dmytryshyn reports: "After a political discussion about the recent Caterpillar strike, the history of the *Militant* newspaper, and the struggle against Stalinism, a machine operator signed up for a subscription, commenting, 'I see that the *Militant* has some important coverage that unionists could find valuable.' A worker in the paint shop, who bought *Nueva Internacional* on Che Guevara and the fight for socialism, couldn't put the book down that night after the shift. 'I just found it too interesting to stop reading,' he explained."

Jo Hammond from London reports on the response received at the first national women's conference of the Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers Union. "At a Pathfinder bookstall set up at the conference, supporters sold 3 *Militant* subscriptions, 6 single issues, and a copy of *New International*. Forty-five women delegates came from Scotland, Wales, and all over England."

From New York City, Kevin Dwire writes: "We sold 18 *Militants* at a May 20 meeting of the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union of New York and Vicinity (NMDU). We had previously sold 3 subscriptions to NMDU members on the picket lines at the *New York Times* distribution plant in New Rochelle. Several drivers recognized the *Militant* and one loudly encouraged others to buy it, saying 'Get that paper. It's only \$1.50 and it's a real good paper.'"

A reminder to those sending in results for the scoreboard: the deadline to have your weekly figures tabulated is 12:00 noon on Fridays, Eastern Standard Time.

Kathleen Wheeler and Anna Schell from Seattle, Pat Smith from Chicago, and Ellen Berman from San Francisco contributed to this article.

New member of 'Militant' staff

BY GEORGE BUCHANAN

The *Militant* staff has gained a new member with the addition of Frank Forrester.

Previously Forrester worked in the Pathfinder printshop, on the production of books, pamphlets, and promotional materials. The printshop is housed in the same building as the editorial offices of Pathfinder Press and the *Militant*, as well as the national offices of the Socialist Workers Party. Forrester was in the printshop for eight years — for the past four and a half years as the printshop's director.

Prior to joining the socialist movement in 1979, Forrester developed skills as a journalist and printer working for Liberation News Service, a press service for radical publications.

Forrester is a member of the SWP National Committee.



Frank Forrester

Militant/Margrethe Siem



Militant/Bitsy Meyers

'Militant' supporters campaigning in Pittsburgh at rally protesting King verdict

Sales Drive Scoreboard

Areas	The Militant			Perspectiva Mundial		L'inter-nationale		New International		Total	
	Goal	Total Sold	% Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
UNITED STATES											
Des Moines, IA	130	79	61%	25	12	2	1	40	9	197	101
Pittsburgh	90	54	60%	5	3	2	0	30	3	127	60
Salt Lake City	130	75	58%	20	5	2	0	30	9	182	89
Seattle	120	67	56%	35	18	3	3	25	11	183	99
Los Angeles	180	95	53%	100	35	4	0	110	23	394	153
Twin Cities, MN	140	67	48%	20	9	2	0	30	6	192	82
Greensboro, NC	80	37	46%	8	4	2	1	15	0	105	42
Chicago	150	69	46%	35	14	5	0	70	14	260	97
Washington DC	130	57	44%	20	18	10	0	55	10	215	85
St. Louis	100	42	42%	5	0	2	0	25	1	132	43
Boston	135	56	41%	40	22	15	2	50	22	240	102
Houston	80	33	41%	20	4	2	0	20	6	122	43
San Francisco	150	59	39%	50	7	8	0	70	22	278	88
Detroit	140	54	39%	10	2	2	0	30	16	182	72
Morgantown, WV	80	30	38%	3	2	2	0	30	7	115	39
Newark, NJ	160	57	36%	50	7	15	4	70	21	295	89
Birmingham, AL	80	27	34%	5	1	2	0	40	0	127	28
Baltimore	110	37	34%	12	4	3	1	30	4	155	46
Philadelphia	85	28	33%	20	9	3	0	30	12	138	49
Cleveland	90	28	31%	10	1	2	1	20	8	122	38
New Haven, CT	10	3	30%	2	1	0	0	3	0	15	4
New York	250	75	30%	100	8	20	1	110	20	480	104
Miami	110	31	28%	30	16	15	10	45	16	200	73
Atlanta	90	24	27%	8	5	2	1	30	4	130	34
Cincinnati*	39	10	26%	3	0	0	0	5	2	47	12
Ft. Madison, IA	5	1	20%	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1
U.S. TOTAL	2,864	1,195	42%	636	207	125	25	1,013	246	4,638	1,673
AUSTRALIA	45	7	16%	14	3	1	0	10	2	70	12
BELGIUM	3	1	33%	1	0	12	1	8	2	24	4
BRITAIN											
Sheffield	50	28	56%	3	1	2	0	25	5	80	34
Manchester	50	22	44%	2	0	1	0	30	8	83	30
London	80	29	36%	6	1	2	0	40	10	128	40
BRITAIN TOTAL	180	79	44%	11	2	5	0	95	23	291	104
CANADA											
Vancouver	90	61	68%	15	4	5	2	30	11	140	78
Montreal*	75	28	37%	20	11	30	12	60	30	185	81
Toronto	90	30	33%	20	7	5	2	45	8	160	47
CANADA TOTAL	255	119	47%	55	22	40	16	135	49	485	206
FRANCE	5	0	0%	2	0	15	1	5	3	27	4
ICELAND	20	9	45%	1	0	1	0	5	0	27	9
MEXICO	0	0	0%	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	0
NEW ZEALAND											
Wellington	40	28	70%	1	0	1	0	10	2	52	30
Auckland	55	34	62%	5	0	1	0	13	2	74	36
Christchurch	40	17	43%	1	0	1	0	10	0	52	17
Other N.Z.	4	3	75%	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3
N.Z. TOTAL	139	82	59%	7	0	3	0	33	4	182	86
PUERTO RICO	1	0	0%	5	1	0	0	2	0	8	1
SWEDEN*	70	52	74%	30	17	3	0	15	11	118	80
TOTAL	3,579	1,543	43%	767	252	205	43	1,321	340	5,875	2,179
SHOULD BE		2205	63%		473		126		788		3,591
DRIVE GOALS	3,500			750		200		1,250		5,700	
* raised goal											

Selling the socialist press to unionists

Union	% Sold (Goal)	Militant* Sold	New Int'l (Goal)	Sold
UNITED STATES				
ACTWU	33%	55	18	25
IAM	37%	110	41	19
ILGWU	48%	46	22	5
OCAW	54%	39	21	15
UFCW	48%	90	43	30
USWA	48%	85	41	20
UTU	96%	45	43	20
TOTAL	49%	470	229	134
SHOULD BE	63%		296	84
AUSTRALIA				
MTFU	80%	5	4	2
SHOULD BE	63%		2	1
BRITAIN				
AEEU	0%	10	0	5
NUM	10%	10	1	0
RMT	76%	17	13	14
TGWU	47%	15	7	5
TOTAL	68%	52	21	24
SHOULD BE	63%		33	15
CANADA				
ACTWU	0%	8	0	3
CAW	33%	15	5	2
IAM	60%	5	3	2
USWA	25%	16	4	8
TOTAL	27%	44	12	15
SHOULD BE	63%		28	9
SWEDEN				
FOOD WORKERS	50%	4	2	3
METAL	86%	7	6	3
TOTAL	73%	11	8	6
SHOULD BE	63%		7	4

ACTWU — Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; AEEU — Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union; CAW — Canadian Auto Workers; IAM — International Association of Machinists; ILGWU — International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; MTFU — Metal Trades Federation of Unions; NUM — National Union of Mineworkers; OCAW — Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; RMT — Rail, Maritime & Transport Workers Union; TGWU — Transport and General Workers' Union; UFCW — United Food and Commercial Workers; USWA — United Steelworkers of America.

* Also includes subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Yugoslav war causes largest refugee crisis since World War II

Continued from front page

70 percent of the region and have overwhelming military superiority. These forces are blockading Sarajevo and refuse to allow food, medicine, or water into the city.

Well-armed Croatian forces backed by Zagreb occupy a large chunk of southwestern Bosnia. The governments of Croatia and Serbia, which had earlier fought pitched battles that ended in Serbian control of large areas of Croatia, have temporarily put aside their differences and reached agreement to divide up Bosnia between themselves.

War terrorizes workers and peasants

Of Bosnia-Herzegovina's 4.4 million people, 44 percent are Muslims, 31 percent are Serbs, and 17 percent are Croats. Most of the hundreds of dead, thousands of wounded, and hundreds of thousands of refugees are Muslims. But all ethnic groups have been affected. In mid-May as Muslim Slavs fled north toward Tuzla, a convoy of at least 10,000 Serbs fled in the opposite direction.

The war between the bureaucracies in the competing regions of the former Yugoslavia has not succeeded in destroying the desire for unity among workers and farmers that was forged during the Yugoslav revolution at the end of World War II.

A side of the revolution's legacy is the number of mixed marriages in Sarajevo. Tens of thousands of Muslims, Serbs, and Croats married across ethnic lines in recent decades.

In spite of the nationalist rhetoric of the rival bureaucracies and the campaign by the Serbian forces to drive out members of other ethnic groups from the areas they control — and in the face of overwhelmingly unfavorable odds — working people throughout Yugoslavia have resisted the war, at times with remarkable heroism.

Badly outgunned multi-ethnic forces of Croats, Muslims, and Serbs have tried to defend Sarajevo. One man told the *New York Times* about a 17-year-old Serb woman whose throat was cut by Serbian troops. "She was slaughtered just because she asked them not to do anything to the Muslims," he said.

Many refugees have asked for asylum in neighboring countries, including 1,000 refugees a day who are arriving in Sweden, joining 25,000 Yugoslavs already there.

Germany has accepted 113,000 mostly Croatian refugees. However, as soon as Bosnia declared independence in April, Bonn began enforcing a strict visa require-

ment and has turned away most Bosnians. Germany now requires visas for visitors from Bosnia, Serbia, Macedonia, and Montenegro, but not for those from Croatia or Slovenia.

Immigration officials in Italy and Austria have also closed their doors to the Bosnian refugees or at best kept them at border camps. Hungary has accepted 40,000 people, while Italy has said it will accept up to 80,000.

Calls for military intervention

Conservatives and liberals alike in the United States are trying to use the deepening conflict in Yugoslavia to push for U.S. economic sanctions and military intervention, while they say nothing about granting asylum to the war's refugees.

Their calls for intervention grew louder after the token force of United Nations troops in Sarajevo withdrew in the midst of the fighting.

The *New York Times* in a May 21 editorial berates the European Community, Washington, and the United Nations for their "collective irresponsibility" in the face of "naked aggression" by the regime in Serbia. President George Bush should assemble a coalition, like it did for the war against Iraq the paper argues, to intervene in Yugoslavia.

"Such a coalition need not undertake armed intervention, at least not yet," the *Times* says. Instead "the economic noose can be tightened."

Conservative columnist William Safire, in a May 21 article titled, "Punish the Serbs," backs presidential contender William Clinton's suggestion of "embargoing Serbia's oil and freezing its assets. Beyond that we should impinge on its long-sought sovereignty by seizing Serbian airspace, much as we have done in Kurdistan."

Safire, while sympathetic to calls for direct military intervention, notes that "no



Bosnian Muslim whose village was razed by Belgrade-backed forces

American politician wants to commit American forces to what may be a quagmire." "The Serbs," he warns, "unlike the Iraqis, would fight forever."

The May 20 *Wall Street Journal* says not much can be done in the current situation, but the U.S. government should learn from the Yugoslav events that "for the future, the most stabilizing response to regional invaders should be quick and decisive."

Columnist and former Pentagon official Leslie Gelb, however, thinks Washington and UN intervention is still possible. As the first step, he urges them to convince themselves "that they are ready and able to use force."

Less talk of 'new world order'

One of the reasons Washington has been unable to act, even under United Nations cover, is because of the rivalries between imperialist governments.

Forecasts of a "united" Western Europe have instead been replaced by the image of a hopelessly divided European Community.

Bonn has been backing Croatia. A spokesperson in New York for the Yugoslav consulate, which represents the federation of Serbia and Montenegro, charges that Bonn has been supplying weapons to the

Croatian regime, in spite of a UN Security Council ban on arms transfers.

The *Financial Times* of London notes that an oil embargo on Serbia could not succeed because of opposition from Greece, which has been friendly to the Belgrade government.

French, Indian, and Russian officials have also opposed an embargo on Serbia.

Washington, hoping to win some kind of stability, has been indecisive and unable to do much more than make diplomatic protests. On May 20, Washington revoked landing rights for JAT, the Yugoslav airline. But the impact of halting the airline's three flights a week will be minimal.

In a May 15 article on the "Failure of the New Order" the *New York Times* notes that "a sense of helplessness is pervasive. Even those who are most critical of the Bush Administration's handling of the crisis say it is difficult to recommend any new course of action that could have a mitigating effect in Bosnia."

The *Washington Post* headlined a May 18 column on Yugoslavia by Jeanne Kirkpatrick, former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, "Hold the talk of a new world order."

Caterpillar workers return to tense atmosphere

BY ELLEN HAYWOOD
AND DICK MCBRIDE

PEORIA, Illinois — Several weeks after the United Auto Workers (UAW) leadership called off the five-month strike against Caterpillar on April 14, most workers are back on the job and the company is moving to implement key aspects of its final offer.

"We are basically working under the terms of the 1988 contract with whatever

company-imposed new provisions they want," said Jerry Brown, Peoria UAW Local 974 president. "According to the company, 1,350 jobs have been eliminated in the East Peoria facility."

Job elimination was a key issue in the strike together with lower wages and benefits for new hires at some plants, decreased health benefits, and wage freezes for less-skilled workers.

Despite the company's attempt to keep production going during the strike with management personnel, Caterpillar lost \$132 million in the first quarter of 1992.

Nearly 1,000 workers have yet to be recalled. The company says all will be back on the job by May 26. There are also about 1,400 Caterpillar workers who were on lay-off when the strike began. The company says they will be put in a pool along with other workers Caterpillar has been interviewing. Some laid-off workers organized a picket line outside Caterpillar headquarters on April 21.

The company has also been using the courts and its private police force, Vance Security, to go after union activists. Fifteen UAW members face charges for alleged violations of court injunctions regulating picket line conduct. Eleven workers have already been fired.

Workers say they expect more firings. A photo lab worker explained that the company has had the lab processing stacks of still photos of the picket lines. The company also has days of videotapes of the picket lines.

Many workers at Caterpillar's plants here reported a tense calm as the company attempts to get production going after the strike.

"They're not pushing it too hard right now, but I expect it to get worse," said Rod as he went into the transmission unit.

"It was like another day on the job but I think we're in deep trouble," said another worker.

At the Decatur plant, the company claimed that workers who crossed the picket line were "heroes." In response, a hand lettered button

that says, "I am not a hero," is being worn by a number of Caterpillar workers.

Discussion continues on whether the union leadership should have called off the strike.

"It wasn't until I got back in here that I realized we were winning the strike," commented Dan. "The company personnel weren't putting out that much work. They needed us. That's why they used that ultimate weapon of the replacement worker."

"We should have stayed out," said Earl. "We were getting stronger."

Ellen Haywood works on the furnace crew at National Steel's Granite City, Illinois, division and is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 16. Dick McBride is a machine operator at Hunter Engineering in St. Louis.

Quayle presses for 'law and order'

Continued from front page

tected, who will build businesses?"

What received most media attention was his assault on a popular television program. "It doesn't help matters when prime-time TV has Murphy Brown — a character who supposedly epitomizes today's intelligent, highly paid, professional woman — mocking the importance of fathers by bearing a child alone and calling it just another 'lifestyle choice'," Quayle complained.

The vice-president's calculated remarks about a show watched by 38 million people made certain that his reactionary views would get a wide hearing and discussion.

Many commentators simply ridiculed Quayle's comments and tried to draw a distinction between his views and those of President George Bush.

In an editorial condemning Quayle "for being grimly insensitive to the real world," the *New York Times* contrasts Quayle's views to a milder attack on the welfare system made by Bush, whom the editors describe as being "sensitive to the real world."

Bush has himself made the alleged decline of morals and family values a major campaign issue. In a May 17 speech at the University of Notre Dame, he bemoaned the disintegration of the two-parent family.

Democratic presidential candidate William Clinton also campaigns on the pro-family theme. He responded to the contro-

versy surrounding Quayle's attack on the "Murphy Brown" show by saying, "I agree that it's not the example that we want to set for our children."

Clinton is for setting strict limits on welfare. "We'll give them [welfare recipients] all the help they need for up to two years," he said in a speech last fall. After that "they'll have to take a job in the private sector, or start earning their way through community service." "Community service" is his way of describing working for a welfare check. In Arkansas, where Clinton is governor, the state provides just \$204 a month for a family of three and excluded from its welfare program anyone earning more than about \$3,600 a year.

Bush may be a little reluctant about criticizing a popular TV show due to previous experience. He told a convention of religious broadcasters in January that "we need more families like 'The Waltons' than 'The Simpsons.'" Clearly the cartoon family's antiauthoritarianism irked him.

Matt Groening, creator of "The Simpsons," wrote a reply to the president into the opening of the next show. In the broadcast the Simpson family sits around their television watching Bush make the statement; Bart turns to his bewildered parents and says: "Gee, we're just like the Waltons. We're praying for the end of the depression, too."

Two books from Pathfinder

The Revolution Betrayed By Leon Trotsky

A study of the Soviet Union's bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin. \$18.95

The Balkan Wars (1912-13): The War Correspondence of Leon Trotsky

Trotsky's on-the-spot analysis of national and social conflicts in the Balkans, sheds light on the conflicts shaking these countries today. \$30.95

Order from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12 or by writing Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. Enclose \$3 shipping and handling, 50 cents each additional copy.

Socialist petitioners well received in Ohio

BY RONI McCANN

CLEVELAND—Teams of supporters of the 1992 Socialist Workers campaign are petitioning statewide to place a slate of socialist candidates on the November ballot in Ohio. Their goal is to double the required 7,000 signatures combined needed to put presidential and vice-presidential candidates James Warren and Estelle DeBates on the ballot, together with Ronald Garmez Parks, socialist candidate for U.S. Congress, 11th C.D. in East Cleveland, and Mark Gilsdorf and Valerie Libby, running for the Ohio House of Representatives in Cincinnati.

Parks, 26, is running against 12-term Democrat Louis Stokes. Gilsdorf, 18, is a student at Withrow High School and Libby, a longtime political activist, works at General Electric and belongs to United Auto Workers Local 647.

Volunteers have collected 2,354 names toward their goal of 3,000 needed to place Parks on the ballot. Parks, his supporters, and several prominent individuals who back his right to be on the ballot will hold a press conference and file the petitions June 1 at the state board of elections office.

On May 18 vice-presidential candidate Estelle DeBates arrived in Cleveland to join the campaign effort.

Campaign gets serious hearing

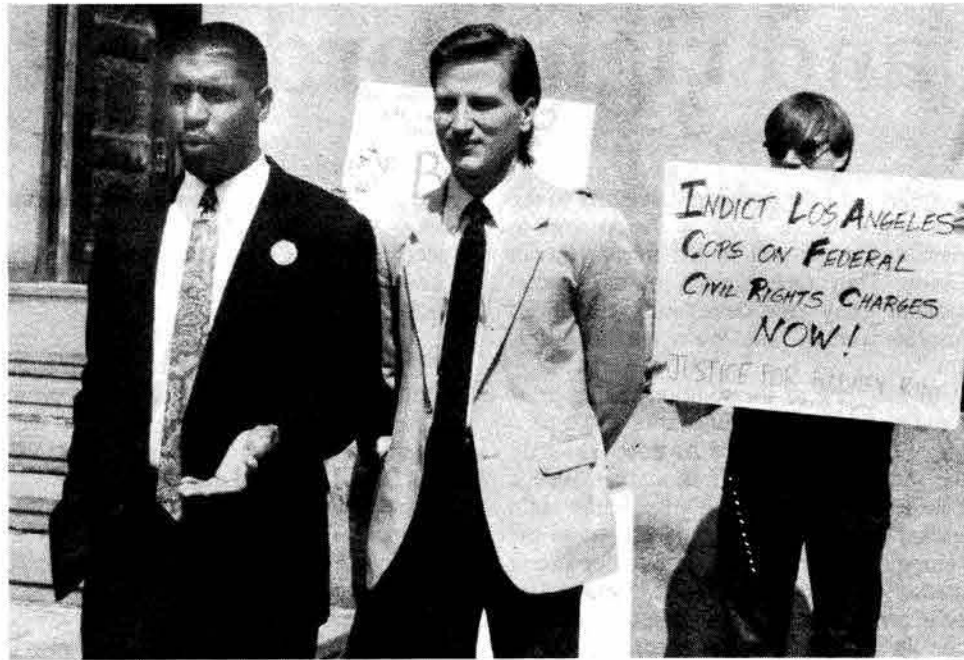
Everywhere they go, campaign volunteers are getting a serious hearing from working people and youth, many of whom begin by emphatically stating they do not plan on voting and are frustrated with the politics advanced by the Democrats and Republicans.

Many have bought copies of the *Militant*. Dozens have signed cards to find out more about the campaign and how to get involved. Young people have joined the petitioning effort both here and in Cincinnati.

"Let me sign that," said a Black woman outside a grocery store in East Cleveland. Volunteers were campaigning at a table with socialist books and the *Militant*. "I'm tired of politicians telling me they're going to solve all the problems," she said. "You're right, it's up to us."

A young man who had met the socialist campaign the night before brought his roommate to meet the candidates. He signed right away and bought a copy of the supplement entitled, "Buchananism: What It Is and How to Fight It." He explained that he watched Republican candidate Patrick Buchanan and also Pat Robertson of the 700 Club and was familiar with the rightist ideas put forward. "You have to listen to them even if it makes you sick or you can't answer them," he said.

The day before at the same spot a high school student took a petition to get names in his neighborhood. Two others gave socialists the names of teachers at their school who they thought might invite candidates to speak. On several occasions peo-



Ronald Garmez Parks (left) and Peter Thierjung (center) are the Socialist Workers candidates for U.S. Congress in Ohio.

ple called friends and relatives over to sign as well.

Early on May 20 DeBates and supporters talked with students at Shaw High School. They explained that this was one of the least funded schools in East Cleveland. The students recently walked out in protest at an announcement by the school administration that all students will be required to wear uniforms beginning next fall. One young woman said, "It's beginning to be too much. They think they can tell you what to do about everything."

A couple bought copies of the *Militant* and one signed up to help with petitioning to get the socialists on the ballot.

Debate over the role of police

Together with Parks, DeBates spoke May 20 to a class of students at Cleveland State University who are studying the writings of Malcolm X. A debate broke out about the verdict in the Rodney King trial and the role of the police in society.

"I have friends who are cops," said one student. "They have kids shooting at them and it's a lot to endure psychologically so they do have a dark humor. What do you think of that?" he asked Parks.

"The statistics," Parks answered, "far from showing that high numbers of youth, Black or white, shoot at cops, show that it is cops that shoot at them."

A student who was Black then spoke up and told his story of being pulled over by cops and held face down in the grass for no reason for 45 minutes. "They took our license number and told us they never wanted to see this car in South Euclid again."

One student, Christine Shuler, raised her hand to ask DeBates, "If we have a revolution here is there anyplace in the world that will help us?"

DeBates responded that the whole world is headed toward an era of revolutionary struggles. "This is clear because of the horrific conditions the vast majority of the people of the world have been forced into by capitalism," she said, adding that as struggles break out in the United States many working people and youth around the world will give their support just as many in the United States have reached toward the revolution unfolding in South Africa, for example.

As examples of this sort of solidarity, DeBates described the keen interest expressed by youth and trade unionists in Japan on her recent tour there and pointed to demonstrations held in Berlin after the acquittal of the four Los Angeles cops who beat Rodney King. "Most important for us right now is not to become impatient," she said. "We all want to join a movement; that will come. Meanwhile we have time to read, study, and discuss the struggles that have come before us and the lessons learned so we can be better prepared. This must go together with participating in struggles that do take place now."

Shuler stayed after class to talk more at a nearby restaurant. Parks and DeBates were also interviewed by the *Vindicator*, a campus newspaper.

On May 21 the socialists were invited to join a discussion on Black and White Dia-

logue sponsored by the African American Student Union at Hiram College. AASU activists had met the socialists last winter at a conference on independent Black politics in Washington, D.C. Hiram, a well-to-do liberal arts college, has a student body of about 800. There are currently 25 Blacks attending.

Supreme Court, Virginia governor okay execution of former coal miner

"An innocent man is going to be murdered tonight. When my innocence is proven I hope Americans will recognize the injustice of the death penalty as all other civilized nations have." —Roger Coleman's final statement before execution.

BY PAUL MAILHOT

After two appeals for a stay of execution were denied by the Supreme Court the evening of May 20, Roger Coleman, a former coal miner, was strapped to the electric chair. Two 1,750-volt charges were shot through his body. Nine minutes later he was pronounced dead.

Coleman, 33 years old, had been convicted of raping and stabbing to death Wanda McCoy, his wife's sister, in 1981.

Since his conviction in 1982, substantial new evidence that has never been considered in court points to Coleman's innocence. Witnesses have come forward to vouch for Coleman's whereabouts on the night of the murder. Several women have signed affidavits that a neighbor of McCoy's boasted of committing the murder. Blood and semen evidence used to convict Coleman was disputed.

Under Virginia law only new evidence found within the first three weeks after a court ruling may be introduced during appeals. Last year the Supreme Court denied Coleman a hearing in federal court because his lawyer filed papers a day late.

Governor Wilder refuses clemency

Coleman petitioned Virginia governor Douglas Wilder to step in and stop the execution. But Wilder refused to intervene in the case stating, "The facts of this case could have justified the verdict that was reached."

According to the governor, "The real question is whether a substantial injustice has been done." Wilder insisted, "I have not been convinced that he is innocent."

In a desperate gamble to stop the death sentence, Coleman and his attorneys agreed to a lie detector test. Coleman was found to be "not truthful on the pertinent questions," according to the test administered by state police.

Wilder used the announced results to brush aside criticism of the Virginia court system for refusing to set a fair review of the Coleman case. According to the governor, the polygraph test proved that the state was "providing every opportunity for those tried in our system to have fairness."

"How could he have passed it?" asked Henry Heller, one of the protesters demonstrating against the execution in front of the

About 25 students got together in a dorm lounge, and a lively discussion ensued for the next few hours on everything from interracial relationships, "multiculturalism," why Blacks have a right to organize their own group to advance the fight against their oppression, whites-only organizations, and how Black students are treated at Hiram.

One of the biggest topics of discussion was on the acquittal of the four cops responsible for beating Rodney King. After the verdict some 150 students rallied at Hiram in protest.

Many students laughed and nodded in agreement when socialist candidate Parks said that the trial of the four cops showed that the justice system worked. "Working people don't get justice in the courts. The videotape of the cops beating Rodney King wasn't enough but now videotapes of working people in South Central during the riots are being used to victimize thousands."

"It has nothing to do with evidence," he continued. "A political decision is made based on what the ruling class can get away with."

The students invited Parks and the socialist campaigners to come back next week and lead a teach-in on the Rodney King verdict and bring their literature. Several expressed interest in attending the August international socialist youth conference in Oberlin, Ohio (see advertisement on page 8).

state capitol in Richmond, Virginia, May 20. "A polygraph is a measure of stress. If Roger Coleman is not under a lot of stress, who is?"

About 35 demonstrators, mostly young, held signs condemning the death penalty and chanted, "New trial for Roger." Several young people from an Amnesty International chapter in the town of Williamsburg attended, together with a few high school students and local activists.

Robert Miller, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in Maryland's 4th Congressional District, and Nell Wheeler, SWP candidate for "shadow" representative in Washington, D.C., spoke to other participants and distributed statements opposing the death penalty and demanding a halt to the execution.

"As depression conditions deepen," the socialist candidates said in their statement, "the death penalty will be used more broadly against all who might come forward to fight for workers' rights and social justice."

"With the same objective of pushing back working people, the U.S. rulers used their military might to terrorize and kill some 100,000 Iraqi people."

"A massive campaign against the death penalty needs to be organized," the socialists concluded.

With all other avenues exhausted, Coleman's attorneys appealed to the Supreme Court. Justices William Rehnquist and Anthony Kennedy took a break from a dinner party at the Canadian embassy to confer with their colleagues and issue the final denials of Coleman's appeal for a stay of execution.

While the judges were having dinner a prayer vigil was held at a church in Richmond. Several high school students had driven three hours from Baltimore to oppose the execution. Amy, 18, expressed her outrage at the system that would allow a man to be executed "because he couldn't afford a good lawyer."

Following the vigil, the protesters formed a caravan to the prison in Jarrett, a small town 60 miles south of Richmond, where the execution took place two hours later.

Coleman was the 18th person executed in the United States this year, more than in all of 1991 and the 175th since the Supreme Court reinstated the death penalty in 1976.

Nell Wheeler contributed to this article from Richmond, Virginia.

Contribute to the socialist campaign!

If you like the ideas the socialist candidates are raising, you can help spread those ideas by making a contribution to the \$75,000 Socialist Workers campaign fund. Unlike the big-business candidates who are funded by the rich, the socialist campaign relies exclusively on the active support and participation of working people and youth. Pitch in! Encourage your friends and fellow activists to help out too. Make checks out to: Socialist Workers 1992 National Campaign.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ ____
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ Union/School _____

Mail to: Socialist Workers 1992 National Campaign, 191 7th Ave., New York, NY 10011.

Paid for by the Socialist Workers 1992 National Campaign

Socialist: L.A. events confirm failure of capitalism and rightward drift of politics

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

CHICAGO — Speaking at a socialist campaign event here May 16, Socialist Workers presidential candidate James Warren answered some of the reactionary arguments put forward by bourgeois politicians in response to the Los Angeles antipolice riot that took place there earlier this month.

In his 20-minute speech, Warren said the events in Los Angeles — and the response to them by candidates for U.S. president — are confirmation of the failure of capitalism and the bipartisan rightward drift in capitalist politics. The presidential candidate explained that these factors have fueled the ultraright, including forces like the fascist-minded Patrick Buchanan.

"What we saw in Los Angeles," Warren pointed out, "was the domestic application of the U.S. war against the people of Iraq."

"Look at what Bush did. He mobilized the military with a massive show of force. Tens of thousands were rounded up and thrown in jail. He did what Buchanan argued for at the start," said the candidate.

Buchanan applauded President Bush after he sent the military into Los Angeles. "Superior force should have been used from the beginning," Buchanan said. Neither President Bush nor any presidential candidate has taken up Buchanan's assertion that the riots were caused by Mexicans "coming into this country illegally and helping to burn down one of the greatest cities in America."

Buchanan aggressive

Buchanan took the offensive in Los Angeles, stating openly and aggressively what the rulers thought needed to be done. "It was left to Pat Buchanan," wrote the editors of the right-wing magazine, *National Review*, "to make an unqualified demand for public safety, maintaining 'the lesson to be learned from it is that we need authorities with the moral will to use the force at their command to protect their communities from these kinds of elements which are rampant in America's great cities, no matter how they got that way.'" (*National Review's* italics.)

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, Buchanan continues to raise \$75,000 to \$100,000 a week and has expanded his campaign's mailing list to over 75,000.

"The events in Los Angeles are one manifestation of the new world disorder," Warren said. "It seems each day you pick up a newspaper some new outrage against working people is being committed whether it is in Nigeria, Lebanon, Thailand, Yugoslavia or right here in the United States."

The presidential candidate underlined the importance of connecting the events in Los Angeles with the growing instability in the rest of the world. "Look at the workers in Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union. They face a crisis of the market system. They face devastating conditions just like workers here. We're not that different."

In fact, one of the solutions being proffered by the Bush administration to the people of South Central Los Angeles is exactly the same: more of the free market. Bush's housing secretary, Jack Kemp, is the main backer of what has become known as the "empowerment" agenda. It calls for strong market-oriented solutions like urban "enterprise zones," tenant ownership, and slashing current welfare programs to the bone.

Begging will get us nowhere
But these pie-in-the-sky proposals are a fraud, said Warren. "Getting down on your knees begging for money — something the liberals always do — will get you nowhere." The 36 states that have instituted their own enterprise zones haven't resulted "in any significant increases in employment or investment within designated zones," according to a 1989 Urban Institute study.

Warren said Kemp's right-wing views got him in a little hot water recently when he spoke April 23 before the National Conference of Black Mayors. It was reported that Kemp wrote the following note on his speech: "Here is [sic] some outreach ideas to conservatives, disguised as outreach to blacks."

'Weed and Seed' plan
In the wake of the Los Angeles events, all the candidates for U.S. president, as well as many newspaper columnists and politicians, have supported the "Weed and Seed" law and order campaign of the Bush administration. "This right-wing law and order campaign," said Warren, "has been dressed up as reaching out to the poor through 'empowerment.'"

The heart of the "Weed and Seed" plan is to allow the use of tougher federal laws such as stronger pre-trial detention, mandatory and longer sentences, and no parole, said Warren. The Los Angeles police arrest total has reached 18,213. For months to come, said Warren, we will see hundreds of framed-up youths railroaded into the prisons.

Warren is campaigning against the law and order drive, calling for the release of the thousands thrown in Los Angeles jails and for indicting the cops who beat Rodney King.

From the outset, the capitalist candidates

have tried to box working people into thinking that their problems stem from either the liberal policies of the Democrats or the conservative policies of the Republicans. Warren explained that this framework is false.

"Our problems — the grinding economic and social conditions that bear down on us, the racism, the police brutality, the chronic unemployment, the deterioration of health — are not the product of a liberal or a conservative policy."

"These conditions are the result of the normal workings of capitalism with a legacy of racial discrimination," said the candidate. "They are the result of the bipartisan policies of the Democrats and Republicans."

The poverty in South Central Los Angeles is greater today than it was in 1965, the time of the Watts rebellion. More than 30 percent, three times the national average, live below the poverty level, according to 1990 census figures.

About half the population age 16 and over is jobless. And 25 percent of the area's families live on welfare, receiving a meager \$6,000 per year on average.

"Until now," said Warren, "they have ignored the working class and its most op-

Continued on Page 9

'No other party represents ideas of working class,' says student at Chicago campaign rally



Militant/Roman Baird
Larry Franklin, from Black Students for Progressive Change, at Chicago rally.

CHICAGO — "I've supported the Socialist Workers presidential ticket since 1968. What's changed since then is the intensity of our problems," declared Linda Jenness, the cochairperson for the evening's campaign event. "And now that the flooding is over let's get on with signing up the 36,000 people needed to get on the ballot in Illinois." More than 60 people attended the May 16 rally here, which was preceded by a Chicago-style brat-fest barbecue.

The hour-long rally was organized to kick off a big petitioning effort set to begin May 23. The meeting also launched the national \$75,000 socialist election fund.

Not everyone on the platform has been a supporter as long as Jenness. Her cochair, Maria Barahona, a member of the United Steelworkers of America, for example, has backed Socialist Workers election campaigns since 1988. She said she supports the campaign because "it is anticapitalist, pro-choice and it explains the dangers of people like Buchanan."

Two of the speakers on the platform had just come in contact with the socialist campaign. Russell Hall teaches in the Chicago public school system. He said he liked the

socialist campaign because it "wasn't hypothetical, it was involved in politics, and it brought real meaning to the word discussion because it had ideas."

Hall said that he got a lot from the *Militant* newspaper. He read from a recent *Militant* article a quote by Eugene Debs, the socialist and union leader from the early 20th century, explaining the irreconcilable conflict between workers and bosses: "Capitalists and wage workers have antagonistic economic interests, capitalists buy and workers sell labor power, the one as cheaply and the other as dearly as possible."

Larry Franklin spoke on why he supports the socialist campaign. Franklin is a member of Black Students for Progressive Change at the University of Missouri. "There is no other party but the Socialist Workers Party that has the incentive to represent the ideas of the working class," said Franklin.

Franklin met the socialist campaign two weeks ago when he was introduced to Mary Zins, the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate in Missouri. Since then he has read two issues of the *Militant*. "Police brutality is on a rampage in this country and the recent decision in the case of Rodney King gave police the green light to proceed with that brutality," said Franklin. "And, regardless of what the media perpetuates, police brutality is not an African-American problem. It's a working-class problem." Franklin also spoke at a recent protest action against the verdict in St. Louis.

Socialist Workers presidential candidate James Warren was welcomed back in town after being on the road campaigning for several weeks. After returning from a trip to the Pacific where he visited North Korea, Australia, and New Zealand, Warren arrived in Los Angeles one day prior to the verdict that touched off the antipolice riot there.

Warren campaigned in the Chicago area for five days before moving on to St. Louis. Earlier in the week, Warren campaign supporters handed out socialist campaign literature to Steelworkers at Castle Metals, Warren's work place. He is on leave from there until the November elections.

Kate Kaku, socialist candidate for U.S. Senate in Illinois, reported to the rally that several of Warren's coworkers had picked up campaign literature and bought copies of the *Militant* newspaper. The socialist campaigners quickly learned that Warren's coworkers were primed on the facts of the campaign, as they had been posting *Militant*

articles about the socialist's campaign on the bulletin board.

"Yeah, we know what he's up to," said one worker.

Kaku announced that their goal is to get as many young people as possible involved in campaigning, petitioning, and talking socialism to young workers and students.

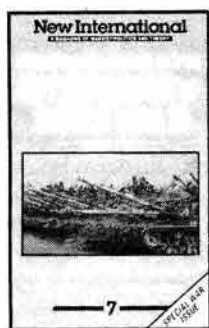
Petitioning to get socialist candidates on the ballot and raising \$75,000 over the next six weeks is the next big challenge, said Kaku. She made an appeal to people with artistic abilities who could help make campaign posters. Kaku also said she had heard that bullhorns had been put to good use as campaign tools in the socialist election campaign in Minnesota. Socialists in Chicago were going to give that a try, she said.

Some \$2,000 dollars was raised toward the \$75,000 national campaign fund goal.

Railworker Joey Rothenberg, socialist candidate for Congress in Minnesota and a member of United Transportation Union, also spoke at the event.

— F.F.

Pathfinder presents Books for fighters



New International No. 7 featuring:

The Opening Guns of World War III
by Jack Barnes, 333 pp. \$12

The Communist Manifesto
Karl Marx, Frederick Engels
47 pp. \$2.50

Malcolm X Speaks
hardcover only, 233 pp. \$16.95

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: The Proletarian Party and the Trade Unions
by Jack Barnes, 346 pp. \$18.95

Available at Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12 or write Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. Enclose \$3 handling, 50 cents each additional copy.

Come to Oberlin, Ohio August 5-9 for an international socialist youth and campaign conference

Join young people, students, workers, and others who are campaigning for the socialist alternative in 1992. Participate in discussions on Buchananism, the fight to prevent World War III, lessons of the Caterpillar strike, defending abortion rights, and more. Hear and meet candidates for U.S. president and vice-president James Warren and Estelle DeBates.

[] Yes, I want to attend the conference. Send me some information.
Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____
Phone _____ Age _____

Send to: Socialist Workers Party
406 West St. New York, NY 10014



James Warren, socialist presidential candidate, at May 16 Chicago campaign rally.

Continued from Page 8

pressed layers. They have concentrated on the so-called forgotten middle class, a term that has no meaning.

"But now they are forced to recognize that the working class has been devastated, particularly those of us who are victims of discrimination because of our skin color, national origin, or language.

"This is a step forward because they are forced to confront the millions that were a non-factor before. But this doesn't mean they like us. Their real view is that we are criminals."

In addition to promoting law and order,

almost all the capitalist candidates — from the most liberal to the most conservative — have said the real problem that led to the events in Los Angeles is the welfare system. They argue that it has created a "culture of dependency" that has led to the demise of the family.

'Breakdown of the family' decried

The editorial pages of all the big business dailies are filled with articles on this. William Bennett, formerly a member of the Bush Administration cabinet, wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* that the "road to disaster has been paved by a corrosive popular culture, educational failure, moral and spiritual

depletion and the breakdown of our most critical institution — the family."

Speaking at Notre Dame University on May 17, Bush said that "whatever form our most pressing problems take, ultimately all are related to the disintegration of the American family."

Even General Colin L. Powell, the chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff, got in on the act. In response to the Los Angeles events, he gave an address to the graduating class at Fisk University.

"I want you to fight racism," Powell said. "I want you to rail against it. We have to make sure that it bleeds to death in this country once and for all..."

"Finally, I want you to raise strong families... As you raise your families remember the worst kind of poverty is not economic poverty, it is the poverty of values."

Warren has been campaigning against the idea that the solution to "our" problems has anything to do with the calls by the rulers for a stronger family, a stronger church, and a stronger law and order state.

"Their response to what happened in Los Angeles," said the presidential candidate, "is what we will see over and over again if we don't begin to protest their policies through political activity that advances self-confidence and discipline."

"The candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties are the American candidates, the American Firsters," said Warren. "We begin elsewhere, with the view that workers around the world are not different.

We have the same interests.

"We have no domestic program," Warren said. "We don't start with what's good for U.S. workers. We present what's needed in the world to move our class forward."

Warren explained that the ideas he has been raising around the world have received a good hearing: ideas about the need for international working-class solidarity, the demand for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, a jobs program worldwide that can create hundreds of millions of new jobs and lift the burden of capitalist-caused unemployment off the backs of working people.

Warren has raised ideas on fighting for a perspective that will carry forward the battle to overcome the race and sex discrimination used to divide working people — the fight for affirmative action.

"We should join," said Warren, "in the fight to cancel the third world debt to the imperialist bankers ravaging the semicolonial world and threatening a financial catastrophe that will devastate working people worldwide."

"Our ideas should be taken and studied," concluded Warren. "They are yours to discuss as part of our socialist campaign. You can find them in the *Militant* newspaper and in the arsenal of pamphlets and books published by Pathfinder Press."

"The great thing our socialist campaign has is its ideas. The bravest fighters in the world will often be defeated until they can learn from the defeats, discuss them, and take their lessons to heart."

Socialist campaign in the news



The Socialist Workers 1992 election campaigns have been covered in papers around the world. Above, articles from the 'Daily Telegraph Mirror' in Sydney, Australia; the 'Star Tribune' in Minneapolis; the 'Chicago Defender' in Chicago; and the 'Olympian' in Washington State.

Rebuild Los Angeles bookstores!

The following appeal for funds to aid the Aquarian Bookstore and Pathfinder Bookstore, both destroyed by fire in the Los Angeles antipolice riots, was sent out by the Southern California Booksellers Association May 20:

Dear Fellow Booksellers:

The days following the verdict in the Rodney King case brought havoc in Los Angeles and across the nation.

It hit home in the Los Angeles bookselling community when, in the midst of the turmoil, two of our local bookstores were destroyed by fire.

Aquarian Bookstore is one of the oldest black-owned bookstores in the United States. For over fifty-one years, store owners Alfred and Bernice Ligon have provided black scholars, writers, artists, and community residents with a wonderful selection of books. Aquarian's inventory of over 10,000 titles, including a collection of rare books by African-American writers, was lost in the flames. Aquarian Bookstore had no insurance (premium increases that followed the 1965 Watts riots made it prohibitively expensive).

Dr. Ligon hopes to be reopen the store on September 1st of this year. Much of Aquarian's computer equipment was saved, but there is a desperate need for cash to purchase fixtures for the new store. Aquarian occupied 3,500 square feet and hopes to reopen a store of the same size (estimates for fixtures to fill this space run in the neighborhood of \$40,000 to \$50,000). Cash is also greatly needed to purchase stock and help cover rent on the new store as it goes through its rebuilding process.

Pathfinder Books, a store specializing in political books, had been at its present location for ten years. Like Aquarian, they, too, had no insurance. Pathfinder estimates their inventory loss at \$20,000. They are currently operating in a temporary space with makeshift shelves and a small inventory that they've managed to pull together. Pathfinder Books hopes to bring their 600 square foot store back to full capacity as soon as possible.

Our hope is that, with the aid of both publishers and booksellers throughout the country, these two important stores can be rebuilt.

The Southern California Booksellers Association asks that you come to Aquarian's and Pathfinder's aid in one of the following ways:

1) Everyone — Cash donations. Checks should be made out to BOOKSTORE RELIEF FUND and mailed to:

Bookstore Relief Fund c/o Southern California Booksellers Association 1223 Wilshire Blvd., #526 Santa Monica, CA 90403

2) Bookstores — credit memos. Your credit memos along with a note on your store stationery authorizing their transfer can also be mailed c/o Southern California Booksellers Association at the above address. We suggest that booksellers provide credit memos from major publishers and distributors, and large university presses.

3) PUBLISHERS — BOOKS. We suggest that publishers who have sold to these two stores in the past consider donating titles that appeared on recent purchase orders. Delayed billing (to January of 1993) would also greatly benefit the stores' efforts to get back up and running at full steam. Pledges of books and delayed billing may be made c/o Southern California Booksellers Association at the above address.

4) BOOKSTORE FIXTURE COMPANIES — FIXTURES. Fixtures may be pledged to Bookstore Relief Fund c/o Southern California Booksellers Association at the above address.

It is our goal to raise \$100,000 (combined Cash, Credit and Inventory) by the end of June.

All Questions should be directed to Darcy Critchfield at (310) 314-7721 or Gwen Feldman (213) 876-0570.

Sincerely,

Gwen Feldman,

President, Southern California Booksellers Association

'Times' drivers rally in defense of union

BY MARTIN KOPPEL
AND ANGELA LARISCY

NEW YORK — Five hundred newspaper delivery drivers here who had been called to hear a report May 20 on a new contract proposal — agreed to by the *New York Times* and union officials — rallied to the defense of nine drivers arrested and fired for picket-related activities.

Postponing the vote on the proposed settlement, the workers decided to make the rehiring of the nine the union's top priority and rejected management's demand that the cases first be submitted to binding arbitration.

The newspaper's owners provoked the dispute when they demanded huge concessions in working conditions and wages from the 220 union truck drivers who deliver the *Times*. The workers belong to the 2,900-member Newspaper and Mail Deliverers' Union of New York and Vicinity (NMDU), which organizes delivery drivers for all the major newspapers in the metropolitan area.

In preparation for its antiunion campaign, the *Times* had sold the assets of two of its wholesale distribution centers to Arthur Imperatore's Imperial Delivery Service (IDS). When the drivers turned down the first contract proposal May 6, Imperatore immediately locked out all 220 drivers and hired scabs.

In addition to the *Times*-IDS union-busting, the drivers have faced cop harassment

as well as antipicketing injunctions and huge fines from two judges. The FBI too has joined the gang-up against the union, announcing an "investigation" of drivers for alleged violence.

As the determined drivers stepped up their fight, the *Times* resumed negotiations with a committee of three intermediaries — the head of the New York-area Teamsters union, the pressmen's union president, and a lawyer.

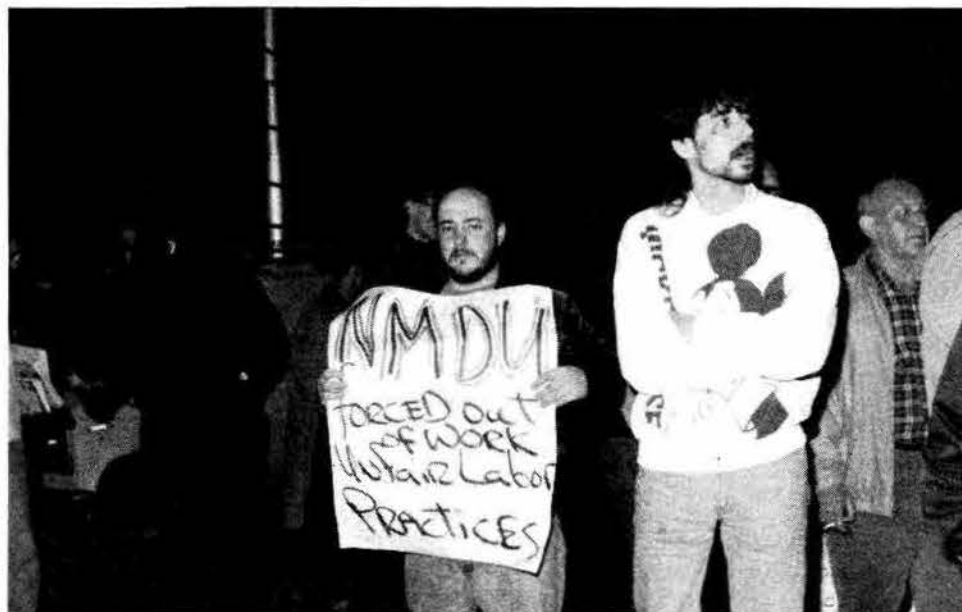
The negotiators quickly came up with an agreement that *Times* publisher Arthur Sulzberger said would "assure labor peace to the year 2000."

At the union meeting, however, the three intermediaries, who were planning to urge ratification of the agreement, were kept waiting outside the hall. They were not invited to speak.

To chants of "Shut them down!," in reference to the *Times*, workers spoke out against the proposed concessions, in particular a no-strike clause.

Jimmy Larkin, a driver for the *Daily News*, said such a clause could compel drivers to cross a picket line set up by other workers.

Stephen Mignon said he felt like the drivers were "Iraqis and we're getting bombed by the *Times*." He said that under the proposed agreement, his knee injuries could open him up to being fired.



Locked-out 'Times' drivers outside distribution plant in New Rochelle, New York. Militant/Meryl Lynn Farber

The meeting turned into a rally in support of the nine fired drivers and 69 others whom Imperatore refuses to rehire, claiming they failed or refused drug tests, or did not have proper licenses.

The conflict escalated May 24 when company goons assaulted a picket. Billy O'Keefe, an NMDU member who works for the *Daily*

News, was walking toward the picket line when he was hit by a van driven by security guards escorting a scab delivery truck.

Times driver John Hispetter, who was on the picket line at the time, reports that three or four men got out of the van and beat O'Keefe. As they got back in their van to leave, one of the thugs remarked, "This is to let you know APA means business." APA is IDS's parent company.

Times boss Sulzberger claims the issue of the victimized unionists is between Imperatore and the drivers and has nothing to do with the *Times*.

The drivers say Imperatore is simply a stalking horse for the *Times* and its union-busting campaign.

U.S. charges Cargill with illegal Cuba trade

BY JON HILLSON

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — Cargill Inc., the giant Minneapolis-based international grain merchant, its Swiss subsidiary, and five of its employees were named by the U.S. Justice Department as unindicted co-conspirators for violating the Trading With the Enemy Act, which makes most commercial transactions with Cuba felonies.

The charges, made public here April 17, allege Cargill, three of its Minnesota employees, and two executives of Cargill International — its Geneva, Switzerland, affiliate — were part of a scheme to illegally sell Cuban sugar on the world market. This is considered a violation of Washington's longstanding trade embargo of Havana.

The Cargill family-owned multibillion-dollar empire includes agricultural, food-processing, industrial, meat, and trade operations.

Sugar is Cuba's chief cash crop, and the Caribbean island is the leading sugar exporting country in the world.

The U.S. government claims Cargill, with the aid of a former bank official and an as yet unnamed co-conspirator, falsified shipping documents to make it appear that 24,400 metric tons of sugar shipped from Cuba were loaded at U.S. ports.

Cargill's Swiss subsidiary is alleged to have received an illegal \$7.8 million in U.S. currency as payment for the transaction.

Cargill confirms its affiliate shipped the sugar in 1988, but denies wrongdoing because U.S. personnel and money were not involved in the deal. In rejecting the Justice Department accusations, Cargill claims evidence gathered during a lengthy investiga-

tion has been misconstrued.

"We have thoroughly examined the details of this sale, and we are convinced that Cargill's actions were in compliance with all U.S. laws," stated Robert Johnson, the company's vice-president for public affairs.

Since the alleged Cargill co-conspirators are "unindicted," they face no trials or potential penalties. But such charges cannot be appealed.

"Publication of the list [of unindicted co-conspirators] was unfair and unnecessary," Johnson stated. "Unfortunately, there is no possibility under U.S. law to challenge the inclusion of one's name in such a list or to have it removed once it has been included."

A Cargill statement on the reasoning for this approach by the Justice Department noted that such an effort enables the U.S. attorney "to get certain evidence into the record... that may have otherwise been inadmissible."

Cargill, in an agreement with the Justice Department, has declined to comment further on the case.

The charges arise from an ongoing federal investigation of the Atlanta branch of Banco Nazionale del Lavoro (BNL), Italy's second-largest bank, in its multibillion dollar dealings with Iraq. Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation allegedly discovered documents on Cargill's Cuban commercial links among BNL files.

The Cargill conglomerate remains under a federal grand jury investigation in Atlanta for its Cuba-related business operations, a process which could lead to a criminal indictment.

Cargill lobbyists have opposed proposals

to further squeeze already limited business with Cuba, stating that such policies "surrender U.S. market share in international commodities trade to Japanese, European, and other foreign companies."

May Day forum in Iceland hears socialist on challenges facing labor

BY SIGURLAUG GUNNLAUGSDÓTTIR

REYKJAVÍK, Iceland — Fifty people jammed the Pathfinder bookstore here after the annual May Day demonstration. They heard Gylfi Páll Hersir speak on the crisis of the social-democratic parties in the world and the challenge facing the labor movement in Iceland. Hersir is a member of the event's sponsor, the Internationalist Forums Association, which is associated with the *Militant*; he also belongs to the trade union Dawn, which organizes workers in various industries.

Hersir began by condemning the acquittal of the Los Angeles cops who beat Rodney King. He pointed out that this is the general practice of cops not only in Los Angeles, London, and other big cities, but in Iceland. He gave a current example from the newspapers, in which two men reported that the cops beat them after stopping their car for alleged drunk driving. "This is a part of the overall treatment workers face in this society," he said.

Hersir also talked about the current wage negotiations between the Federation of Labor and Central Organization of Employers. Since the general agreement expired last September workers have been left without a contract. A few days before May 1 the state mediator made a proposal for a 1.7 percent wage increase and a contract until March 1 of next year. This proposal is based on an estimate by the National Economic Institute that inflation will be 1.8 percent this year.

If accepted, the contract will ratify a 3 percent decrease in real wages that has occurred since the last pay increase in June 1991. "Few of the union presidents have ever been involved in a strike. It is not a possibility they consider," said Hersir. "But we have to consider it."

There has been no growth in the Gross National Product (GNP) of the country since 1987; in fact, the GNP is predicted to fall to 90 percent of the 1987 level this year. Since 1989 real wages have fallen by 10 percent. On top of this, the government has cut public spending this year by 6 percent, mainly affecting the health-care system, Hersir explained.

"Unemployment has reached 3 percent this year, a 25-year record. Joblessness is still growing in Reykjavik. At the same time, those of us who have jobs today work ex-

remely long hours just to get a living income," Hersir said.

The situation is especially hard on immigrant workers because of the reactionary stand of the union officials. A work permit must be signed by a union before an immigrant worker can receive a residence permit.

This practice originates from an agreement the trade unions have with the employers' organizations, in which union members receive priority in employment. The unions demanded this when they were first organized in the 1930s, to counter attempts by the employers to hire nonunion workers.

Today the labor officials' position is that immigrant workers should leave the country. "Fighting this backward position is one of the most important struggles that must take place in the trade unions. Otherwise the labor movement as a whole will suffer a blow," Hersir emphasized.

Around 4 percent of the inhabitants of the country were born in other countries; half of these have arrived within the last 10 years. Just in the last year the number of immigrants grew by 12 percent. Most come from Eastern Europe. Others come from Thailand, the Philippines, Vietnam, the Middle East, and North Africa.

The guests at the open house were also welcomed on behalf of the Internationalist Forums by Moussa Thioune, a Senegalese student. "There are political parties that claim they will do everything for you," he said. "But to influence others to get interested, to wake up and study, is a different kind of politics. That's what we do here; holding forums, and selling the *Militant* newspaper and books on world politics by Pathfinder.

"We gather here on Saturdays to discuss world problems, which are yours and mine. We must not turn our back on them," he added. "We don't ask: who is the Marxist, who is the communist? We ask: who wants to fight against injustice and exploitation, against capitalism and imperialism, for a better world?"

Four people at the forum became subscribers to the *Militant*. Participants also purchased 10 copies of the socialist newspaper and \$50 worth of Pathfinder books.

PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL

A socialist monthly in Spanish
published in the interests of working people

The May issue covers:

- Why Los Angeles exploded
- Are strikes a thing of the past?
- U.S. Congress debates anti-Cuba bill
- What is Peru's Shining Path?
- Frame-up of Puerto Rican freedom fighter

Introductory offer —
\$6 for 4 months

Available at Pathfinder bookstores (see page 12)
or from *Perspectiva Mundial*, 410 West Street,
New York, NY 10014

4 months of *Perspectiva Mundial*: Australia and the Pacific, A\$8 • Britain, £4 • Canada, Can\$9 • Caribbean and Latin America, \$6 • Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, £5 • France, FF40 • Iceland, Kr800 for six months • New Zealand, NZ\$8 • Sweden, Kr40



New Afghan government represents triumph for reactionary forces

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The new government that has come to power in Afghanistan after a 14-year fight represents a triumph for the forces of reaction in one of the poorest and most war-devastated countries in the world.

The lessons of what has happened in Afghanistan are important for working people to absorb and discuss. In the late 1970s, a genuine revolutionary opportunity to move society forward in the interest of the toilers was bureaucratically misled by Stalinist and other petty-bourgeois forces over a period of years, finally leading to the situation where rightist forces succeeded in regaining governmental power.

The Soviet Union and United States in particular poured huge resources into Afghanistan to influence the course of the struggle. "The great powers, anyway, cannot easily ignore the fate of a country which was the theater of their struggle for influence during the 1980s," explained the Paris daily *Le Monde*, adding, "Those countries bordering on Afghanistan — Pakistan, Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan and China — all have reason to fear that any flare-up may have domestic repercussions for them."

There are 16 relatively large groups of guerrillas, based largely on different ethnic groups or regions, that have been vying for power in Afghanistan. Nine of these mujahedeen groups, as they are known, based their operations in Iran and another seven operated out of Pakistan. Among the main nationalities in the country are the Tajik, Uzbek, and Turkmen groups who live in the north and west of Afghanistan; the Hazaras in central Afghanistan; and the historically dominant Pashtun tribes in the southern and eastern parts of the country.

On April 27 representatives of various mujahedeen factions, meeting in the Pakistani city of Peshawar, agreed on establishing a provisional government in Afghanistan to replace the regime of former president Najibullah, who resigned in mid-April after ruling the country since 1986.

50-member government

Under the agreement, a group of 30 mujahedeen commanders, 10 clerics, and 10 nominees of mujahedeen parties would take over in Kabul, the capital city. Sibgatullah Mojadedi, leader of a group called the Afghan National Liberation Front, was chosen as head of the 50-member interim government of Islamic guerrillas for the first two months.

"Now we've proved there is one superpower in the world and that is God," exclaimed cleric Mojadedi on assuming power. One week later Mojadedi announced that he no longer accepted the two-month limitation on his term and that he intended to remain president for two years.

One of the main armed groups backing this government is led by Ahmad Shah Masood, the Tajik commander of Jamiati-Islami, or Islamic Society. Masood arrived in Kabul with an estimated 10,000 troops to serve as defense minister in the

provisional government.

Masood has formed a military alliance with Gen. Abdul Rashid Doestam, who backed the former Najibullah government until switching sides prior to its downfall. Doestam commands a 20,000-strong Uzbek-based militia.

One of the major figures absent from the newly formed government is the leader of the Hezb-i-Islami Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, who for years received the lion's share of aid and arms from the United States. Hekmatyar seeks continued Pashtun dominance of the country.

The instability of the guerrilla-based coalition was made clear as Hekmatyar's forces rained rockets on Kabul May 5, killing 40 people and wounding as many as 200.

'They are looting everything'

"In 14 years of fighting, we have never seen this kind of situation," said a resident of Kabul named Iqbal, whose home had been cleaned out by marauding bands. "Now they are looting everything. The new government cannot control it."

A tenuous ceasefire began May 6. But Hekmatyar has made clear that no government can be formed in Kabul without his party's representation. Hekmatyar claims his forces have at their disposal 135 jet fighter-bombers and several thousand missiles, including Scuds.

"I am able to bombard any place in Kabul," Hekmatyar boasted. "I can fire any type of missile anywhere in Kabul, and we can make sure that the planes don't fly."

Tensions are high among forces participating in the interim ruling government as well with some of the 50 members of the governing council not even on speaking terms with each other. For years these various guerrilla groups have spent as much time battling one another as they have the government they were seeking to overthrow in Kabul.

Tehran has emerged as one of the big victors in the fight for influence among the mujahedeen groups. "Last year, Iran changed its policy and began supporting all the ethnic minorities in Afghanistan against the Sunni Pashtuns, whose ties are with Pakistan and Saudi Arabia," reports the *Far Eastern Economic Review*. "The present configuration of forces in Afghanistan thus gives the Iranians immense political clout."

"The conventional wisdom is that continued fighting will turn Afghanistan into a new Lebanon; that regional leaders will end up fighting each other," warns the *Economist* magazine.

'Many little emirates'

"We are heading toward a situation of many little emirates," a Western diplomat explained, citing the case of a guerrilla commander who controls the provincial town of Jalalabad, 75 miles from Kabul. The commander plans to "run his own little kingdom," he said.

The reactionary character of this government is made clear by some of the policies it has begun to implement in the

name of an Islamic republic. At the Intercontinental Hotel, mujahedeen searched individual rooms tearing down all pictures of women without their heads covered in traditional Islamic hoods. Some of these forces have declared that when Kabul University opens again in June, women will not be admitted.

"I hated the regime," stated one woman who had been imprisoned and tortured at the hands of the previous government. "I cannot forgive them. But I worry about the women. If this is a fundamentalist government, then the Afghan people will go back to the first century."

The *Wall Street Journal* hailed the installation of a mujahedeen government as "a welcome step," while conceding that the "victory by Afghanistan freedom fighters has not yet brought peace or freedom to Afghanistan."

One of poorest countries

Afghanistan, with a population of 15 million, is one of the world's poorest countries. Life expectancy averages just 43 years. More children die in infancy there than anywhere else in the world. Some 88 percent of the population is illiterate.

Afghanistan was ruled until 1973 by a monarchy, in a system where the ruler was chosen by Pashtun tribal leaders. Based on four dominant nationalities and numerous smaller ones, the country never developed into a modern nation-state. Under monarchical rule, Afghan peasants labored under semifeudal conditions. Eighty percent of those in the countryside did not own enough land on which to subsist, or did not own land at all. Many of the big landowners enriched themselves through producing and trading in opium.

These oppressive conditions fueled social unrest among the peasantry, students, and the country's small working class, leading to a revolt that toppled the monarchy in 1973. A republic was declared and Mohammad Daud, the king's cousin, became president.

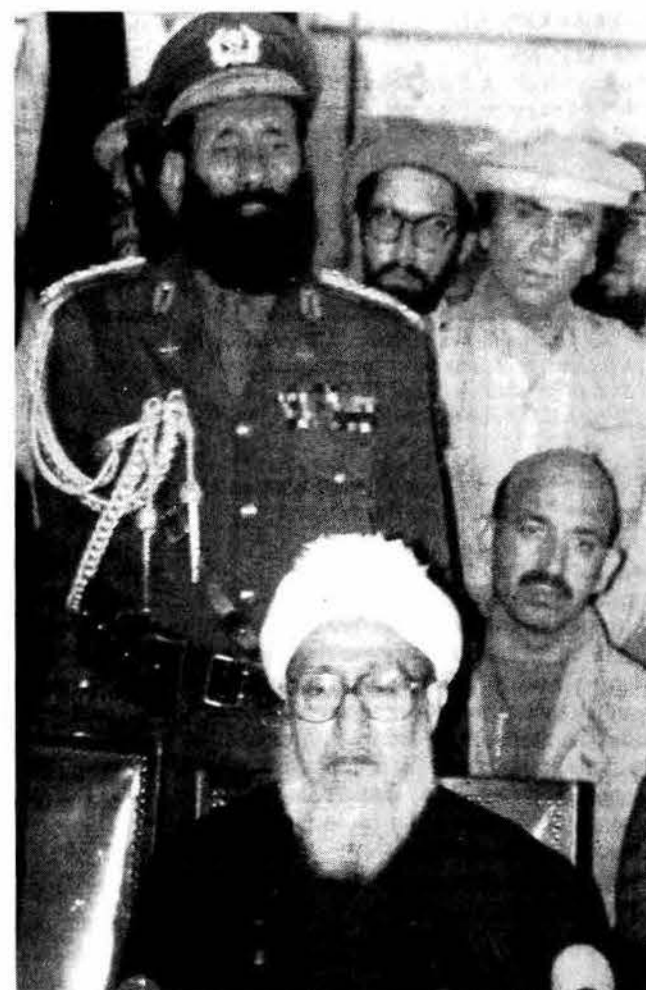
Daud appointed several members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) to cabinet posts. Formed in 1965 by middle-class radicals, the PDPA initially attracted some young people, workers, and military officers who wanted to change the old order. The PDPA, which developed close ties with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, had no significant base among the peasants or the small number of wage workers.

Daud refused to carry out promised democratic reforms, instead turning to more repressive measures to maintain his rule. He purged PDPA leaders from the government and arrested them. On April 27, 1978, the PDPA, backed by its supporters in the army, overthrew the Daud regime.

Program for democratic revolution

This revolt raised the hopes and aspirations of millions of toilers in Afghanistan. The new PDPA regime announced a series of social reforms that opened up the possibility of carrying through a democratic revolution in the country and forging a nation-state.

The government announced a program of agrarian reform, granting land to peasants. It began constructing hundreds of schools and launched a literacy campaign. It reduced the reactionary dowry, or bride price, and eliminated child marriages. It recognized the cultural and education rights of Turkmens, Uzbeks, Baluchis, Nuristanis, and other nationalities, enabling them to publish materials and have radio programs in their own languages.



Sibgatullah Mojadedi, head of the interim government. "There is one superpower in the world . . . God," he says.

Trade unions were legalized for the first time. Freedom of religion was guaranteed. Police files were burned and 13,000 political prisoners set free.

The announced measures threatened the power and privileges of the landlord class, which launched an armed struggle to topple the new government and restore the old semifeudal order.

Washington rushed to assist these rightist forces, projecting them as "freedom fighters." The U.S. government generously contributed almost \$2 billion in arms and aid to various Afghan mujahedeen rebel groups over the next 13 years. As a result of the war, 2 million Afghans have died, 2.5 million have fled as refugees to Iran, and another 3 million to Pakistan. Scattered throughout the country today are 10 million land mines, according to United Nations estimates.

Workers and peasants not organized

In response to the landlord-backed counterrevolutionary attacks, the PDPA carried out a political course that weakened its base of support among the toilers. Instead of organizing and mobilizing workers and peasants to struggle against their oppression to advance the democratic revolution in Afghanistan, the regime attempted to impose sweeping reforms by administrative decrees. When this met resistance it tried to implement measures by force. They were encouraged and supported in this path by Moscow.

While tens of thousands of land titles were handed out to peasants and the abolition of usury was proclaimed, small farmers were not organized to defend, extend, or consolidate these measures. No means were provided for obtaining the seed, animals, and credit that the landlords had previously controlled.

The literacy campaign was made compulsory, and physical force rather than persuasion was often used to assemble villagers for classes.

Threats posed by counterrevolutionary forces were met by heavy-handed military and repressive measures. Often whole villages were bombed where rightists were thought to have support.

The bureaucratic and arbitrary methods of the PDPA politically and physically disarmed the peasants and drove many to the side of the landlord-backed counterrevolutionary groups who called for a "holy war" against "atheistic communism."

Violent factional struggles within the PDPA itself split the government at its high-

Continued on Page 12



Rally of peasants in Afghanistan, October 1979. Banners read, "Death to colonialism, Death to imperialism, Death to feudalism." The revolutionary opportunity to advance the interests of the toilers was bureaucratically misled by Stalinist forces.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Victory for Women's Rights in Buffalo. Sun., May 31, 5:30 p.m. 111 21st St. S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Proposition F: A Step Toward Curbing the Police? Speakers: Stephen Yagman, attorney who fought the LAPD's SIS unit; Thabo Ntweng, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress. Sun., May 31, 2:30 p.m. 2552-B W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

Conversations with Japanese Workers: A Report from Japan. Speakers: Joel Britton, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, member Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1547; Betsy Stone, member International Association of Machinists Local 1932. Sun., June 7, 2:30 p.m. 2552-B W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4.

Tel: (213) 380-9460.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Crisis in Health Care. Speakers: Ira Longini, professor at Emory University School of Public Health; Nancy Moulton, Georgians for a Common Sense Health Plan; Marla Puziss, Socialist Workers Party, medical technologist, Grady Hospital, member AFSCME Local 1644; spokesperson from ACT-UP. Sat., May 30, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. SW. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

IOWA

Des Moines

South Africa: New Stage in Freedom Struggle. Speaker: Mary Zins, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, recently visited South Africa. Sat., May 30, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Meet the socialist candidates for U.S. Senate and Congress. Sat., May 30, 7:30 p.m. 2905 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Are Single Mothers the Cause of Poverty? An Answer to Danforth Quayle. Speaker: Fred Stanton, spokesperson for Socialist Workers campaign. Sat., May 30, 7:30 p.m. 1622 S Broadway. Donation: \$3. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

Drive to War and Depression: The New World Disorder. Speaker: David Sandor, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., June 6, 7:30 p.m. 1622 S Broadway. Donation: \$3. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Behind the Social and Economic Crisis in Peru: Fujimori's Coup and the Reactionary Role of Shining Path. What Way Forward? Speaker: Marilee Taylor, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., May 30, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

TEXAS

Houston

Cuba in 1992: Challenges Facing the Revolution. Special video showing on the recent Tablada tour in the United States. Speaker: representative of Socialist Workers 1992 election campaign. Sat., May 30, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$3. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Justice for Mark Curtis. The Stakes for All Working People. Speaker: Harvey McArthur, Socialist Workers Party, member United Transportation Union Local 845. Sat., May 30, 7:30 p.m. 1405 E Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

Canadian miners expose cover-up of mine disaster

continued from front page

step-by-step procedure being followed by Curragh to organize the cover-up. "All shredding," says the memo by Westray training officer Bill McPherson, "will be done by two persons — the shredder is located in the security office." The memo cautions company officials not to use cellular phones because they could be monitored and says desks and filing cabinets are to be locked at all times.

Mine employees on site say that several dumpsters full of shredded documents have already been shipped off the mine site.

The miners' campaign has pried loose more of the truth about the disaster and has provoked a major political crisis for the provincial government in Nova Scotia.

The government aggressively promoted the opening of the Westray mine in late 1990, choosing to ignore the long history of methane gas explosions in Pictou County mines. It loaned \$12 million to Curragh to open the mine. It is refusing the miners' demand to close the mine.

It is now reported that accumulations of coal dust in the mine may have played a major role in the explosion. An April 29 report by provincial mine inspectors found unacceptably high levels of coal dust in the mine and ordered the company to take immediate steps to clean it up. This was the

sixth time in less than a year that mine inspectors had ordered a cleanup of coal dust. When allowed to accumulate, coal dust is extremely explosive.

An earlier report by inspectors in September 1991 found that methane gas detectors were not working, ventilation in the mine was not adequate, and barrels of oil were stored underground.

Nova Scotia labor minister Leroy Legere, one of the capitalist politicians who defended the Westray mine's safety record after the disaster, said he was not aware of these or other reports of safety violations in the mine.

He responded to the May 20 allegations of document shredding by ordering the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) to secure the mine site and prevent any further shredding.

Federal police seal mine site

The RCMP, Canada's federal police force, has been at the mine site since the explosion. During the first week, the force sealed off the mine site and kept the families of the victims from the media or other independent observers. This prompted one columnist at the *Daily News* in Halifax, Nova Scotia, to charge that the RCMP was there to enforce the company's public relations

strategy. "Throughout the week," he observed, "the RCMP acted as the Royal Curragh Mounted Police."

The political crisis threatens to extend to the federal government. It provided \$85 million in loan guarantees to Curragh on condition that the mine be operated safely.

Federal government officials pressured federal mine department officials to ignore their concerns over the methane gas danger in the Pictou County coal field and recommended that the Westray project proceed. Newspaper reports state that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney was one of those pressing for the mine to be opened.

Two memorial services for the 26 dead miners were held in Pictou County. One was organized by the New Glasgow and District Labor Council, where 1,000 people attended.

More than 6,000 people attended the other service, May 19. Many capitalist politicians from across Canada were present, including Nova Scotia premier Donald Cameron, one of the most active backers of the mine project, and Mulroney. Curragh Resources chairman Clifford Frame attended and read a passage from the Bible.

Share prices of Curragh on the Toronto Stock Exchange dropped sharply to \$2.80 following the Westray disaster. In August 1991 they were at \$7.

Following the revelations about document shredding and ignored mine inspection reports, the opposition Liberal and New Democratic parties in Nova Scotia have called for the resignation of labor minister Legere.

Roger Annis is a member of Local 1900 of the Canadian Auto Workers in Montreal and works at Alcan Aluminum.

Rightists triumph in Afghanistan

Continued from Page 11

est levels, resulting in the replacement and execution of successive leaders. In September 1979, Afghan president Nur Mohammed Taraki was murdered and replaced by Hafizullah Amin.

Soviet policy

In a culmination of its disastrous policy toward Afghanistan, the Soviet Union sent tens of thousands of troops to prop up the increasingly unpopular PDPA regime in December 1979. Over the next decade, Soviet troop strength in Afghanistan reached 115,000. In addition, the government and Soviet forces carried out a widespread bombing campaign in the countryside with the aim of breaking the strength of the rebel militias. By the time the last Soviet troops left Afghanistan in February 1989, they had destroyed some 12,000 villages.

The arrival of Soviet troops to prop up the discredited PDPA regime violated the Afghan people's right to national sovereignty and broadened support for the rightist-led opposition.

In a resolution adopted in November 1980 the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party explained, "The Kremlin's policy in Afghanistan has set back the revolutionary process opened in April 1978, and has had a dampening effect on the class struggle."

This analysis rings even truer today as the rightists once again hold power in Afghanistan. In fact, the newly appointed Afghan president, Sibgatullah Mojadedi, leads a group that also seeks the restoration of the monarchy.

The new Afghan government will bring only more bloodshed and further attacks on the toilers. The developments of the past 14 years there are living proof of the disastrous

results of attempting to modernize society through the Stalinist methods of administrative decree and military repression, rather than organizing and mobilizing the toilers themselves in a revolutionary struggle to fight for their rights and to transform society.

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

UNITED STATES

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

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: 2552-B W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460, 380-9640. **San Francisco:** 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

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

FLORIDA: Miami: 137 N.E. 54th St. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

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

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

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

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

MARYLAND: Baltimore: 2905 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (410) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 780 Tremont St. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

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

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

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

NEW YORK: New York: 191 7th Ave. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 727-8421.

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

OHIO: Cincinnati: P.O. Box 19484. Zip: 45219. Tel: (513) 221-2691. **Cleveland:** 1863 W. 25th St. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

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

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

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

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

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

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: 242 Walnut. Mailing address: P.O. Box 203. Zip: 26507. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

AUSTRALIA

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

BRITAIN

London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 071-928-7993.

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

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

CANADA

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

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

Vancouver: 3967 Main St. Postal code: V5V 3P3. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

ICELAND

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

MEXICO

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

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Postal Address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

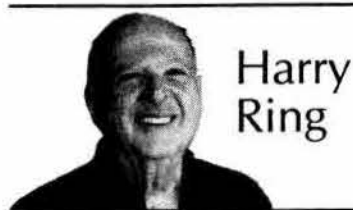
Christchurch: 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 656-055.

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

SWEDEN

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

How humane can you get? — The California government enacted a law giving Los Angeles



Harry Ring

renters a five-day grace period to respond to eviction notices because the courts were closed due to the recent disturbances.

Limited free market — "I'm

sure looters would have preferred to do their looting in pinstripe suits in the comfort of a plush savings and loan office, and walk off with millions instead of a TV set — but they didn't have that option." — Heard on a San Francisco call-in show discussing the Los Angeles outbreak.

It was nice weather too — "As you know, I planned a trip out there for some time, so it fits in very nice." — The prez as he was en route to check out the recent difficulties in L.A.

Class confusion — A current T-shirt: "Attention Japan: I'm not lazy,

stupid or overpaid. — You've got me confused with my employer."

Old-fashioned hustle — In campaign appearances, Edmund Brown plugs his 800 number for phone-in financial pledges. At a Los Angeles rally, a panhandler worked the crowd, with an apology for the direct approach. "I don't have an 800 number," he explained.

Waste not, want not — A southern California eye doctor who made \$4 million last year is being checked out on charges of bilking Medicare, operating on patients without their consent, and more. Another charge is that in

operations, he reused disposable sutures.

Take more if he could — "I don't feel embarrassed about my salary." — James Bausch, director of the charity outfit, Save Our Children. He pockets more than \$300,000 a year.

New world order — An estimated 565 million rural women worldwide exist in poverty and their ranks will swell by 15 million a year if immediate action is not taken, reports the International Fund for Agricultural Development.

Who's 'we'? — For the first

time in 75 years, GUM, the big Moscow department store, will be selling tuxedos. "We now have more occasions to wear tuxedos," says the GUM director.

As we well know it — Those tuxedos and other suits are being sold to GUM by Philadelphia's Botany 500 to help fill the gap in "consumerism as we know it." Botany's parent company, E-II Holdings of New York, is more than \$1 billion in junk bond debt.

A brief repeat — In case you missed last week, our current address is 2552-B W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90006.

Bush finally decides to attend 'Earth Summit'

BY PAUL MAILHOT

After several months of controversy, often with members of his own cabinet on different sides of the issue, U.S. president George Bush has finally committed himself to attend the so-called Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Officially called the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, the gathering is expected to draw some 100 heads of state as well as several thousand delegates and observers from around the world.

The June meeting will likely be one of the largest environmental conferences ever held. Resolutions addressing such questions as possible global warming and the loss of plant and animal species; agreements on forests and oceans; and financial assistance for developing countries, are to be discussed.

In announcing his decision to attend, Bush stated, "Today's environmental problems are global and every nation must help in solving them." He didn't explain why, if that was so obvious, it took such a long time for him to decide to accept the invitation to attend the gathering.

Right-wing critics

Conservative commentators and politicians, like Patrick Buchanan, have argued against the U.S. administration attending the Earth Summit. They claim the conference is basically a scam to transfer wealth from the richer countries to the Third World. They also charge that regulations on pollution would have devastating effects on the world economy — the economy they are worried about being the welfare and profits of the giant U.S. corporations.

President Bush reassured his right-wing critics while addressing a meeting of business executives last month. "I am not going to go to the Rio conference and make a bad deal or be a party to a bad deal. I'm not going to sign an agreement that does not protect the environment and the economy of this country," he said.

Particularly galling to right-wing commentators like Jeanne Kirkpatrick is the discussion that is projected to take place at the conference on "sustainable development" — that is economic policies to aid poor countries and take into account the effects of industrial development on the environment in such countries. "It is the centerpiece of a new U.N.-based strategy for eliminating poverty, social inequality, and injustice," she complains.

Kirkpatrick takes exception with the draft principles being circulated for the conference, which advocate, "All human beings are entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with nature," and say that "eradicating poverty is another indispensable requirement for sustainable development."

According to Kirkpatrick, advancing such admirable goals is risky and makes people think they are actually entitled to them. She says, "This ideology assumes that the Third World has mainly rights and the developed world, mainly obligations."

An example of the trend Kirkpatrick and many politicians fear is the idea of a Green Development Fund, a bank funded by the United States and other advanced capitalist nations, which Third World governments would be able to draw from for projects related to environmental protection. Early in May, Washington and 31 other governments agreed in principle to set up such a structure.

Before deciding to go to Brazil, Bush made sure that the "goals" likely to be

adopted at the meeting have no significant meaning for cleaning up the environment or development. This was most evident in the pre-conference agreement reached by 143 countries to cut emissions of gases that might cause global warming.

As a result of U.S. pressure, the document that will be signed in Brazil talks about limiting emissions of carbon dioxide and other gases, but sets no timetables or concrete goals. "It's a text that commits no one to doing anything, ever," pointed out Dr. Michael Oppenheimer, an atmospheric scientist at the Environmental Defense Fund.

Many scientists believe that the high levels of carbon dioxide, methane, and other gases pumped into the atmosphere from industry and motor vehicles contribute to climate changes that could have catastrophic effects over time on agriculture and the whole ecological system. One study commissioned by the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration suggests that if significant global warming occurs many islands and coastal areas would be threatened by rising ocean levels.

Capitalist industries in the United States emit more than 20 percent of all the carbon dioxide pumped into the atmosphere, making it the world's largest polluter. The coal and electric utility industries that are responsible for a big part of that pollution have opposed any restrictions on emissions.

While President George Bush may be seeking to boost his image as an "environmental president" by simply attending the Earth Summit, his real policies are shown by some of his recent decisions to allow more pollution by U.S. industries.

Overriding stipulations of the Clean Air Act, Bush has decided to allow industrial polluters to increase emissions of pollution without notifying the public. Chemical companies in the United States already legally emit millions of pounds of toxic chemicals into the atmosphere each year.

Free enterprise is the problem

In addition to the discussion on global warming, Third World development will be a major focus of the Brazil meeting. Up to now capitalist industries, foreign and locally based, have plundered the natural resources of many poor countries with little regard for environmental or social consequences.

As an example of this, a recent article in the London *Financial Times* details how the pressure on Bolivia from crushing debt and a collapsing economy is devastating the rain forest of the country. John Barham writes, "The forests are being cut down at a rate of 200,000 hectares [500,000 acres] a year. This represents a loss of about 0.5 percent of the forest cover every year, among the world's highest depletion rates."

He goes on to explain that "the problem is free enterprise." Bolivia was the "first debtor nation in 1987 to allow 'debt for nature' swaps." The Bolivian government has granted 22.5 million hectares of logging concessions, half of the country's forests.

Barham points out that the economic crisis in the country's mining industry has left many miners with no means of survival except trying to eke out a living by entering into the forest and chopping down trees. Also, he explains, huge capitalist farms, particularly those growing soybeans, have begun to erode the soil so

badly in Bolivia that they have created small desert regions.

'Third World underpolluted'

Bush's domestic policy is extended worldwide through U.S. corporations and organizations like the World Bank that many poor nations must rely on for some form of funding for development. As part of its intervention in the Earth Summit discussion the World Bank has just released a report to counter the view that rich countries and big international corporations are to blame for water and air pollution, deforestation, and other environmental ills.

The real views of World Bank officials are that the Third World should be happy to get more pollution. This was the theme of a confidential memorandum by Lawrence Summers, chief economist of the World Bank, that he distributed to colleagues last December.

Summers suggested that the World Bank should "encourage more migration of the dirty industries to the Third World." In his view, "the economic logic of dumping a load of toxic waste in the lowest-wage country is impeccable." Summers said, "I've always thought that under-populated

countries in Africa are vastly under-polluted."

The World Bank official also made the case that the value of a person's life is less in a poor country where life expectancy is lower. To bolster his point he argues that cancer-causing agents in the environment are of much more concern in countries where people live long enough to get the disease.

President Bush, the World Bank, and the heads of government that will dominate the Earth Summit have no serious intention to promote a clean environment. In a world where, for example, according to the World Health Organization 2.5 billion people suffer from illnesses resulting from insufficient or contaminated water or lack of sanitation, drastic measures that challenged the prerogatives of the private profit system would have to be adopted to tackle such problems.

The controversy that has surrounded Bush's forthcoming trip to Brazil is an indication that merely discussing development and a clean environment is risky business for capitalism. People might actually want to follow through on the notion that they have a right to those things.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People
June 5, 1967 Price 10¢

Alarcon de Quesada, Cuban ambassador to the UN, today delivered a strong warning against UN "peace-keeping" operations. The warning is particularly timely because of Washington's pressure to use the UN as a police force for imperialist interests in the Egypt-Israeli crisis.

Ambassador de Quesada went directly to the essence of the question: "Some representatives have asked what must be done to safeguard peace, what machinery must be created to avoid conflicts among nations and make a reality of the hopes which led to the creation of the UN."

"We would reply, ask the Vietnamese people who are witnesses to the honor and dignity of mankind. They have tenaciously resisted the ruthlessness of an active aggression which is unparalleled in history."

"They say, help us destroy the aggressors and to put an end to imperialism and the exploitation and oppression of peoples. To preserve peace means that we must destroy imperialism."

Basing the remainder of his remarks on this unequivocal assertion of revolutionary socialism, Ambassador Quesada explained how as long as U.S. imperialist interests dominated the UN, it could not serve as an instrument for peace. He attacked Washington's hypocrisy in demanding a UN peace-keeping force in the Middle East.

"It would try the patience of the forbearing among us to hear in the calm atmosphere of this hall the representatives of the imperialist government of the United States who speak so pompously of peace while at the same time Yankee planes bomb the factories and cities of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, who speak while half a million

Yankee aggressors are endeavoring to enslave the south Vietnamese people, who speak at a time when men and women, old and young, in Vietnam are being massacred on the orders of the imperialist government of the United States."

THE MILITANT

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

June 6, 1942

Huge sales of the Trotskyist newspaper, *Socialist Appeal*, to the delegates and visitors at the British Labor Party annual conference were cited by correspondents of American newspapers as an indication of the rank and file dissatisfaction with the capitalist-labor coalition government policy.

Gault MacGowan, in a special radio dispatch to the New York *Sun*, May 25, wrote:

"In an atmosphere of dissatisfaction with England's war effort and with the roles played by the Laborite members of the Churchill government, the annual Labor Party conference got under way here today. Outside the meeting hall, copies of the 'Socialist Appeal' carrying headlines which read 'Masses Losing Confidence in Labor Leaders' were sold in large numbers."

The May 26 Jewish Morning Journal reported:

"While in the conference the fight went on between pro- and anti-Churchill delegates, outside the socialist newspaper, 'Socialist Appeal,' was being sold, carrying a big headline: 'Masses Losing Confidence in the Labor Leaders.' The paper was eagerly seized by the crowd and was sold out very quickly, which shows that dissatisfaction really exists."

Socialist Appeal is the organ of the Workers International League, affiliate of the Fourth International.

Quayle scapegoats the poor

According to Vice president Danforth Quayle, the anti-police riots that swept Los Angeles in the wake of the Rodney King verdict were caused by a "breakdown of family structure, personal responsibility and social order in too many areas of our society."

Especially to blame are poor people hooked on the "narcotic of welfare," and single mothers who bear children "irresponsibly." Only a return to family values, cutting people off welfare, and "law and order" can solve the problems of society, according to Quayle.

To make sure that his reactionary views received maximum attention the vice-president included an attack on the popular "Murphy Brown" TV show for its alleged glorification of unwed mothers and mocking of the importance of marriage. But the broader right-wing message of his speech is what working people need to be concerned about and speak out against.

Quayle's message that the basic problems of society, particularly the inner cities, results from a collapse of traditional moral and family values is a diversion. The social breakdown in the United States, as in other countries, is the result of capitalism.

The system that works to guarantee private profit for a tiny handful of super rich while grinding down the living conditions of the great majority is responsible for the racism, joblessness, police brutality, and poverty that afflicts the urban centers and rural areas in the nation, as well as much of the entire world.

Quayle's attack on single mothers on welfare, and on the poor for being poor, is part of a bipartisan campaign to scapegoat the most downtrodden sections of the working

class for the problems of society. Democratic presidential hopeful William Clinton takes pride in referring to himself as the candidate who can "put an end to welfare."

These attacks are cut from the same cloth as Patrick Buchanan's claim that Mexicans are responsible for "coming into the country illegally and helping to burn down one of the greatest cities in America."

Quayle, Clinton, Buchanan, Bush, Perot, and Brown talk about the "poverty of values" because they have no interest in doing anything about real poverty. Their only solution is more cops and more cop brutality — or what they prefer to call "law and order." That means more punishment of working people like the kind meted out to Rodney King.

A *New York Times* editorial on May 24 even suggests that the beating of Rodney King happened because Los Angeles doesn't have enough cops on the streets. "If there is any single fact that made the police beating of Rodney King remotely comprehensible, it is a lack of officers so chronic that the police department has substituted bullying for discipline." The *Times*'s solution: hire another 2,000 cops.

The solutions to the problems facing working people have nothing to do with laws and economic sanctions designed to force families to stay together and increased "law and order."

Jailing the cops who beat Rodney King, a massive public works program and shortening the work week to provide jobs, and affirmative action programs to ensure that those most discriminated against have a chance to make a decent living — these are what working people should fight for.

That's the perspective being advanced by the socialist presidential campaign of James Warren and Estelle DeBates.

The debate over Yugoslavia

The war in Yugoslavia, in the heart of Europe, has made more than a million refugees, leveled villages, and created a political problem for the imperialist powers. What to do next — as the myths of a new world order and European unity are deflated — is debated on editorial pages from the *Wall Street Journal* to the *London Financial Times*.

A. M. Rosenthal writes in the *New York Times* that the developments in Yugoslavia are showing that "politically a united Europe is one more fictional creature that walks without clothes."

Despite much talk of a common European effort to restore stability to Yugoslavia, this has stalled as European governments have sought to advance their own separate interests. Germany has backed Croatia, pressuring the European Community to grant diplomatic recognition and forcing Washington to reluctantly follow suit.

Papers in Britain, such as the *Independent*, lay blame on "German-initiated policies [that] have led to a bloody impasse" in Yugoslavia. "The bloodshed will continue as long as Germany dominates EC foreign policy," the paper headlined one article about the conflict.

Paris has refused so far to agree to sanctions against Serbia, and the Greek government meanwhile backs the Serbian regime. The *London Financial Times* complains that Austria, Russia, and Eastern European countries are violating the UN Security Council's ban on arms to the former Yugoslav republics.

Notwithstanding the deepening interimperialist and bureaucratic rivalries, the *New York Times* recalled the Iraq war coalition in calling for a similar effort in Yugoslavia. President Bush "assembled a global coalition to force withdrawal" of Iraq from Kuwait, the paper states. "Why

not a new one now?" to take action against Serbia.

But Washington cannot again pull together that kind of U.S.-led coalition, which gave cover to its war against the people of Iraq.

The *Wall Street Journal* recognizes this when it argues that next time around "it will have to be a nation rather than a committee that steps up and says, 'this far. No further.'" Washington must be prepared to be a "globocop," the paper urges.

Their real fears of a quagmire, with U.S. troops bogged down in an endless conflict in Yugoslavia or elsewhere, cause the U.S. rulers to hesitate. The dubious "victory" against Iraq has weakened their self-confidence. But Washington is constantly prompted to find ways to intervene in Yugoslavia and around the world, in an attempt to hold on to its declining power and protect "stability" in the interests of the profits of U.S. corporations.

New world order? No, just growing world disorder, wars, and economic crisis. In the midst of this disorder the threats of U.S. military intervention must be taken seriously. Such intervention would not help the people of Yugoslavia any more than the allies' efforts in Iraq helped the people of the Middle East.

Even under the most difficult conditions, the opposition of working people to the slaughter comes through. From the antiwar demonstrations in Belgrade and Sarajevo and mass draft resistance by young Serbs, to acts of heroism in the face of the bureaucracy-sponsored terror, workers in Yugoslavia continue to fight for a road forward. Working people around the world can back them in this fight by opposing imperialist military intervention in Yugoslavia and demanding asylum and aid for all the war's refugees.

Open borders to Haitians!

The new wave of Haitians who are fleeing their homeland and seeking asylum in the United States has once again thrown the spotlight on Washington's criminal policy toward Haiti.

Having filled to capacity its detention centers at the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo, Cuba, Washington has escalated its callous policy, announcing May 24 that all refugees fleeing Haiti will be forced straight back to that country.

More than 10,000 Haitian refugees have been intercepted by the U.S. Coast Guard in the month of May, nearly half as many as the 23,586 Haitians who were picked up in the previous seven months since September 30 last year, when the Haitian army overthrew the elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

The thousands who continue to set sail from the shores of Haiti are fleeing a reign of terror at the hands of the ruling military dictatorship there, as well as abject poverty and starvation conditions.

Washington's response has been to implement a policy of forced repatriation of the vast majority of these refugees, some of whom have already fled the island several times. Of those granted the right to pursue political asylum in the United States some have been held in detention at Guantánamo for months.

What is happening to the Haitian toilers is a sign of the increasing disorder in the world; it is one extreme example

of the desperate social conditions confronting hundreds of millions of toilers in the countries of Africa, Latin America, and Asia.

The workings of capitalism, in a world dominated by a handful of wealthy imperialist powers, act to maintain and in many cases deepen the inequalities between rich and poor nations.

"Haiti is an evolving policy problem," complain officials in the U.S. State Department whose central framework is how to keep the vast majority of these refugees from entering the United States. But for working people and all supporters of social justice the solution is straightforward: Open the U.S. borders and let the Haitian refugees in!

The economic embargo against Haiti should also be maintained and strengthened, in solidarity with the Haitian toilers who continue to demand this as a tool in the fight against the military rulers there.

While claiming support for the embargo, Washington has led the way in weakening its impact. Last February, for example, the Bush administration announced that U.S. businesses with factories on the island would be exempted from the embargo.

Halt the forced repatriations of Haitians! Open the U.S. borders to all Haitian refugees! Maintain and strengthen the economic embargo!

Is using the term "antipolice riot" useful in explaining the recent chain of events in Los Angeles? Should socialists use the word "riot" only to describe actions of the police? These are some of the questions that Fred Stanton has raised in his letter to the *Militant*. They are important ones.

One problem socialists can have is falling into wishful thinking. There's nothing wrong with socialists using the word "riot" to describe politics in the working class — if that is what occurred. It would be better if working people weren't provoked into taking this course of action. In our times, social explosions will head in this direction until more leadership in the working class comes forward.

The term "antipolice riot" was used by Socialist Workers presidential candidate James Warren in a speech he gave

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

at a Los Angeles campaign rally May 3. Here is what Warren said:

"When the verdict was announced, tens of thousands simply expressed their outrage in any form they could in the framework of having no leadership — not only for the past year but for the whole past period of time.

"The most extreme form of this — shown repeatedly on television over the past several days in the burning buildings and looting—was what Malcolm X called an antipolice riot. It was a response to the actions of the police themselves."

The antipolice riot was instigated by the actions of the cops who beat Rodney King. Responsibility for the social explosion, Warren explained, rests with leaders of the major Black and trade union organizations who consciously organized to block off demonstrations and other political activities against the cops that could have drawn working people into a serious fight to bring justice for Rodney King. This has gone on for 13 months.

The *Militant* could have described the events as a "social explosion" or as a "spontaneous eruption of outrage." We chose to use "antipolice riot" because it described, in our assessment, what occurred politically. The important thing to get at is what's behind the term.

The *Militant* did not make the mistake of calling it a rebellion as some who call themselves socialists have done. One way of getting at the question of whether the term antipolice riot is useful or not is to look briefly at the rebellions of the 1960s and compare that experience with the recent events in Los Angeles.

The Harlem riot of 1964, that Stanton refers to, was touched off by a police killing of a 16-year-old Black youth. Following the killing, a demonstration was organized by the Committee on Racial Equality (CORE) in front of the Harlem police station. The police fired 2,000 rounds of ammunition, provoking an antipolice riot that lasted three nights. Scores were injured and one person was killed. As in other cities at that time, the Harlem riot became a rebellion against the police. One account described it as follows:

"By Monday night groups of Harlem youth were engaging the police in arguments and bottle fights, running the police from place to place and wearing on their nerves."

"On Monday evening, Negro youths paraded in defiance through the streets of central Harlem. Every corner taken over by police was soon re-occupied as the police were diverted elsewhere. By 11 p.m. that night, a spontaneous demonstration of over 1,000 Negroes marched down 125th Street chanting 'We Want Justice.'"

At the time of the Harlem riot, Malcolm X was out of the country. Upon returning, he said there was a plan by the cops "to instigate something in Harlem." Malcolm X said the riots were "reactions against police brutality."

Malcolm X also said the "real miracle of the explosion was the restraint exercised by the people in Harlem who are qualified and equipped."

In 1964 the residents of Harlem had gone through a series of political struggles, and a leadership was present that does not exist today. As part of the massive civil rights movement of the 1960s, the people of Harlem had gone through the Great Rent Strike of 1963 that legalized rent strikes, massive school boycotts that mobilized hundreds of thousands against the racist educational system, demonstrations at construction sites demanding jobs, and the Harlem explosion, which was really a revolt against the police and its agencies.

The Watts rebellion occurred the following summer in 1965.

A pamphlet published by Pioneer Publishers in 1965, *Watts and Harlem*, by Robert Vernon and George Novack described the events this way. "This August a traffic incident, in which police roughed up and arrested a young man, set off the most massive, violent and sustained insurrectionary movement of the present century in this country."

"The Los Angeles uprising was on a qualitatively higher level than the Harlem actions last summer. This time an entire community took the offensive against the existing order and could not be quelled without the National Guard." The uprising resulted in 34 deaths and over 4,000 people were arrested.

The framework for the 1992 antipolice riot in Los Angeles is quite different. Unlike the 1960s, there is no social movement connected to past struggles that inspire political action, human and class solidarity, and leadership development. The antipolice riot arose out of a decade and a half of pent-up frustrations arising from being denied jobs, the resegregation of many cities, and everything that comes with that.

Meat-packers strike Wilson Foods in four states

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

Working people around the world are involved in skirmishes over speedup, forced overtime, layoffs, and attacks on health and safety benefits. Some unionists faced with sharp takeback demands, lockouts, and union-bust-

existing health-care benefits for retirees." Health insurance costs for retirees would be deducted from pension benefits.

Matt Chase, UFCW Local 179 president, told the *Militant*, "We're not going back in if there are concessions on the table, even one concession. We've been giving back for 10 years and we're through."

Workers struck Wilson for three weeks in 1983. After filing for bank-

ruptcy, the company demanded deep concessions from the work force. Under pressure of threats to close the plant, the union agreed to return to work at a base rate of \$8 per hour. In the nine years since the 1983 concession contract, they have only recovered \$1.10 per hour.

The union is maintaining a picket line at the plant 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. No union member has crossed the line. The company succeeded in stopping workers' compensation payments for the dozen or so strikers who had been receiving them.

Local 179 has sent out a letter to unions throughout the Midwest asking for support. It says in part, "We are a small local but we believe we are fighting for all local unions, small or large, against corporate greed to maintain our dignity, self respect, and standard of living. Being a small local, our funds are low and strikes are costly. Any support, be it financial, moral, or any other kind would be greatly appreciated."

On Monday May 11, 25 scabs — management personnel from Cherokee as well as more flown in from other Wilson plants — began production work. By Thursday the number of scabs had reached 120.

Union members responded to this attack by organizing two days of mass picketing at the gate. Over 100 workers were on hand May 13 to protest when the scabs left the plant. A similar number mobilized the following day.

On May 15, at the behest of the company, the Cherokee County District court slapped a temporary restraining order on the union limiting pickets to four and prohibiting workers from attempting to "interfere with, harass, assault, or intimidate company workers."

In response to the local's call for support, other unionists in Iowa have begun to organize solidarity. When union contractors who were in the plant May 1 doing construction work learned of the impending strike, picketers report they immediately packed up their tools and left. Workers at the nearby Odeko plant, which manufactures pigpens and other farm equipment, are organizing a collection to aid the strike.

Local 1149 of the UFCW, representing workers at the Perry, Iowa, pork processing plant, voted at their May 13 union meeting to organize a plant gate collection, a meeting to hear the strikers, and visits to the Cherokee picket line.

Many small businesses are refusing to cross the picket line. The local Fareway supermarket has donated food to the striking local's food bank and is boycotting Wilson products.

Air New Zealand seeks contract concessions

Airline catering workers at the airport in Christchurch, New Zealand, were threatened April 26 with "almost certain" closure of the Christchurch catering unit unless they signed a takeback contract within three days. The contract presented by their employer, Air New Zealand, reduces their pay by up to 30 percent, cuts overtime rates and travel allowances, and removes workers' right to refuse work on New Zealand's statutory public holidays.

Three-quarters of the 81 catering workers belong to the Canterbury Hotel, Hospital and Restaurant Workers Union. They have been attempting to get a fair contract since June 1991. At that time a national catering workers' and ground stewards' contract expired. Negotiations for a new one were unsuccessful, and last August Air New Zealand made its first threat to contract out Christchurch airport catering services.

In December, the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions (CTU), together with Air New Zealand unions, reached agreement with the airline on "common core conditions" for a three-year term. These conditions leave basic pay rates unchanged, but reduce penal rates, travel allowances, and holidays. Christchurch airport catering staff rejected this deal by an overwhelming margin.

Along with the April 26 ultimatum, each catering worker received a letter from the airline containing

a "final offer." A representative of Auckland cabin crews said similar tactics had been used by Air New Zealand to force 150 out of 1,200 cabin staff to sign a contract. The result is that cabin crews now work up to 15 hours a day for less pay.

On April 30 CTU president Ken Douglas met with the Christchurch catering workers, and was authorized to negotiate on their behalf. Douglas has stated that the intention is for the Christchurch workers to be brought under the core conditions negotiated last December.

The following people contributed to this week's column: Mike Galati, member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 50N in Marshalltown, Iowa; Sara Lobman, member of UFCW Local 431 in Des Moines, Iowa; Mitchel Rosenberg, member of UFCW Local 1149 in Perry, Iowa; and Agnes Sullivan in Christchurch, New Zealand.



Union members in Cherokee, Iowa, rally on the picket line in front of Wilson Foods plant. "We've been giving back for 10 years," said one union official.

ON THE PICKET LINE

ing moves have gone on strike to force the bosses to back down.

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

On May 3, United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) members in four separate locals voted overwhelmingly to strike Wilson Foods. In a vote of 1,466 to 69 the workers rejected what the company called its "best and final offer."

On strike are 560 workers in Cherokee, Iowa; 1,250 workers in Logansport, Indiana; 250 in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; and a dozen workers in Birmingham, Alabama.

UFCW Local 179 members in Cherokee, a northwestern Iowa town of 6,300, denounced the contract offer as concessionary. According to a local union statement, "After a decade of wage and benefit slashing, the proposed 3-year contract includes no wage increase for the first year, 10 cents for the second, and 15 for the third." Workers would receive a \$200 signing bonus.

The proposed contract would initiate copayments for medical insurance and raise the cost for prescriptions from \$2 to \$10. Additional provisions would "virtually destroy

AS WE GO TO PRESS —

The strike at Wilson Foods ended May 23 when unionists voted to accept a contract that includes a 60-cent-an-hour wage hike and a signing bonus.

ruptcy, the company demanded deep concessions from the work force. Under pressure of threats to close the plant, the union agreed to return to work at a base rate of \$8 per hour. In the nine years since the 1983 concession contract, they have only recovered \$1.10 per hour.

Local 179 has sent out a letter to unions throughout the Midwest asking for support. It says in part, "We are a small local but we believe we are fighting for all local unions, small or large, against corporate greed to maintain our dignity, self respect, and standard of living. Being a small local, our funds are low and strikes are costly. Any support, be it financial, moral, or any other kind would be greatly appreciated."

On Monday May 11, 25 scabs — management personnel from Cherokee as well as more flown in from other Wilson plants — began production work. By Thursday the number of scabs had reached 120.

Union members responded to this attack by organizing two days of mass picketing at the gate. Over 100 workers were on hand May 13 to protest when the scabs left the plant. A similar number mobilized the following day.

On May 15, at the behest of the company, the Cherokee County District court slapped a temporary restraining order on the union limiting pickets to four and prohibiting workers from attempting to "interfere with, harass, assault, or intimidate company workers."

In response to the local's call for support, other unionists in Iowa have begun to organize solidarity. When union contractors who were in the plant May 1 doing construction work learned of the impending strike, picketers report they immediately packed up their tools and left. Workers at the nearby Odeko plant, which manufactures pigpens and other farm equipment, are organizing a collection to aid the strike.

Local 1149 of the UFCW, representing workers at the Perry, Iowa, pork processing plant, voted at their May 13 union meeting to organize a plant gate collection, a meeting to hear the strikers, and visits to the Cherokee picket line.

Many small businesses are refusing to cross the picket line. The local Fareway supermarket has donated food to the striking local's food bank and is boycotting Wilson products.

Local 179 has sent out a letter to unions throughout the Midwest asking for support. It says in part, "We are a small local but we believe we are fighting for all local unions, small or large, against corporate greed to maintain our dignity, self respect, and standard of living. Being a small local, our funds are low and strikes are costly. Any support, be it financial, moral, or any other kind would be greatly appreciated."

On Monday May 11, 25 scabs — management personnel from Cherokee as well as more flown in from other Wilson plants — began production work. By Thursday the number of scabs had reached 120.

Union members responded to this attack by organizing two days of mass picketing at the gate. Over 100 workers were on hand May 13 to protest when the scabs left the plant. A similar number mobilized the following day.

On May 15, at the behest of the company, the Cherokee County District court slapped a temporary restraining order on the union limiting pickets to four and prohibiting workers from attempting to "interfere with, harass, assault, or intimidate company workers."

In response to the local's call for support, other unionists in Iowa have begun to organize solidarity. When union contractors who were in the plant May 1 doing construction work learned of the impending strike, picketers report they immediately packed up their tools and left. Workers at the nearby Odeko plant, which manufactures pigpens and other farm equipment, are organizing a collection to aid the strike.

Local 1149 of the UFCW, representing workers at the Perry, Iowa, pork processing plant, voted at their May 13 union meeting to organize a plant gate collection, a meeting to hear the strikers, and visits to the Cherokee picket line.

Many small businesses are refusing to cross the picket line. The local Fareway supermarket has donated food to the striking local's food bank and is boycotting Wilson products.

LETTERS

Antipolice riot

I do not think the term *riot* is useful in explaining what happened in L.A. from a working-class point of view, whether or not the adjective "anti-police" is attached to it. The word was put into capitalist criminal law in England in the early 1700s to help cops fight against freedom of assembly. If more than a few workers gathered and got too uppity, the cops could read the Riot Act and then attack if the workers didn't disperse. In bourgeois public opinion, "rioters" are prosecuted as "looters," "thugs" who beat people, "arsonists" — a "mob" of "criminals." Today the liberal media puts a moral equal sign between the cop beating of Rodney King and a beating incident during the "riot." We say prosecute those cops, not the "rioters."

Malcolm X used the term *riot* in brief references to events in Harlem during the summer of 1964, but when he took time to discuss the question in a speech on Feb. 11, 1965, he rejected that term: "... they weren't riots in the first place: they were reactions against police brutality. ... When the store windows were broken in the Black community, immediately it was made to appear that this was being done not by people who were reacting over civil rights violations, but they gave the impression that there were hoodlums, vagrants, criminals, who wanted nothing other than to get into the stores and take the merchandise.

But this is wrong. ... This doesn't say it's intelligent. But who ever heard of a sociological explosion that was done intelligently and politely?" (*Malcolm X Talks to Young People* pp. 28-29)

In other talks he described how the cops planned to incite a "riot" and then victimize militant groups who might get drawn into combat. The word he used for this police action was pogrom.

Socialists should reserve the word *riot* for what the cops did to Rodney King, the vigilante raid they made to arrest workers in L.A., the mayhem of Operation Rescue, and all sorts of racist pogroms. It does not apply to the unorganized actions of the oppressed workers of L.A. This was not a bunch of hoodlums disturbing the peace. It was our class saying "enough!"

Fred Stanton
St. Louis, Missouri

King verdict protest

Over 300 people attended a rally on Saturday, May 2 at Waikiki Gateway Park in Honolulu against the verdict in the Rodney King case. The rally, which began at 6:00 p.m., was called by Art for Justice, an ad hoc committee of musicians and artists. Several people held signs protesting police brutality for passing traffic, and dozens of people in cars honked their horns. After the rally the demonstrators, overwhelmingly young people in their

teens and twenties, marched through Waikiki, surging into Kalakaua Avenue, the main thoroughfare of Waikiki, and taking over two lanes of traffic. Popular chants were, "Hey hey, ho ho, this racist system has got to go" and "No justice, no peace." The demonstrators stopped at the police station, where several dozen people sat down in the street and chanted for several minutes. There were no arrests. The march continued through Waikiki, with marchers again walking down the middle of the street, and concluded back at the park where it had begun.

The previous evening there was a public meeting to protest the verdict of about 60 people at the Trinity Missionary Baptist Church near Hickam Air Force Base. The meeting was organized by Rev. Stanley Amos, the minister of the church, and civil rights organizations.

Marc Viglielmo
Honolulu, Hawaii

Operation Rescue

The article in your May 15 issue on the defeat of Operation Rescue in Buffalo did a good job outlining the enormous victory that supporters of a woman's right to choose won there. One aspect of the experience that deserves further explanation and comment concerns the role of the police. This is especially relevant in the aftermath of the Rodney King verdict.

I participated in clinic defense in

Buffalo on Tuesday, April 28, the day the police brutally attacked clinic defenders. This was the day that Operation Rescue (OR) out-organized clinic defenders by arriving at the site at 4:30 a.m. They thus had control of the sidewalks in front of the clinic. Pro-choice activists took positions on the clinic steps and formed a line in the parking lot, behind police barricades and between the clinic and Operation Rescue. After some negotiation with organizers of the clinic defense, the police made a unilateral decision to remove all clinic defenders from these positions, leaving no one between the barricade and OR but themselves.

Not one half hour after they forcibly pushed us aside (with billy clubs pressed firmly to our backs), OR rushed the barricades, dropped to their knees, and began crawling up the parking lot towards the clinic. The police did virtually nothing to stop them, and a number of them got to their feet and walked to the back of the building to blockade that entrance, while the police just watched. When other OR people remaining on the sidewalk pressed into a line of clinic defenders that had organized behind them, five pro-choice activists were knocked into the barricades. At least eight or nine cops immediately rushed up, grabbed the clinic defenders, wrestled at least two to the ground, smashing their faces into the pavement, handcuffed them

and threw them into a paddy wagon. What made Buffalo different than Wichita was not the cops. It was us. I believe this lesson is a permanent acquisition of the pro-choice movement. There will never be another Wichita.

Sandi Sherman
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

'Time to stand up'

I would like for you to start sending me your newspaper. I know the Corrections Department will probably try to keep me in prison when they see that my mind is up on a superior level. But I don't care because I have been a slave for twenty years and I think it's time for the soldiers to stand up.

George Jackson and Nat Turner are my war heroes. But I never heard anything about George until a month ago. I'm currently incarcerated for a malicious wounding charge with 26 years. I'm now 21 years old and now I truly feel happy that I have knowledge of self and I'm not mentally dead any more.

A prisoner
Jarratt, Virginia

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.

Mass protests shake Thai military

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Thailand has been rocked by massive protests against military rule that the government has attempted to brutally suppress.

Army troops fired into a gathering of pro-democracy demonstrators May 18 in Bangkok killing at least 10 people and wounding many others. The protesters are demanding that former army general Suchinda Kraprayoon resign his post as prime minister.

Demonstrators shouted, "No more Suchinda" and "No more army." The marching crowd also chanted, "We will fight dictatorship," and "We will respect the three institutions: the nation, religion, and the King!"

Most of the protesters are students, who have been joined by increasing numbers of working people. A number of businessmen have also backed the protests, offering their cellular phones to help the protesters communicate with each other. "This started with students, and now all Thais are joining with us," one student leader stated.

"We will never work until Suchinda steps down," said Pisan Issaraprasart, a 26-year-old worker. "It's up to us, as workers, to stop him. And finally, in the end, he will step down."

Since early May tens of thousands have taken to the streets to vent their outrage at the military domination of the country that has existed for most of the past 60 years. Thailand was ruled by an absolute monarchy until 1932, when the military took power. Since then the country has experienced 17 military coups. Virtually all civilian leaders have been overthrown by the military.

Bangkok newspapers report the death toll at around 100, with hundreds of others wounded and more than 2,000 arrested. Protests have spread beyond Bangkok — a city of 10 million people — as tens of thousands of demonstrators have rallied in 13 provinces throughout the country. Some 30,000 people demonstrated in Pattalung and 10,000 in Phuket.

In an effort to quell the protests the government declared a state of emergency, which bans gatherings of more than 10 people, closes schools for three days, and institutes censorship of the media.

Army troops stormed the Royal Hotel in Bangkok, breaking down doors in a room-to-room search for protesters who had taken refuge there. "The soldiers came into our room looking like they were ready for war," said David Reed, a teacher from the United States. "We were scared to death."

Witnesses described one scene where soldiers took turns kicking young protesters in the head, betting on which one would fall unconscious first.

Longtime U.S. ally

As the protests mounted, Washington announced it was canceling its joint military exercises with the Thai armed forces, which had begun April 26 and were scheduled to continue through June 15. About 9,500 U.S. troops were involved in this operation, known as Cobra Gold.

"We think it makes common sense at a time of problems in Bangkok not to have pictures of U.S. forces storming the beaches in Thailand," Defense Department spokesperson Peter Williams commented.

The Pentagon announced, however, that in order to maintain "the fundamental nature" of the close U.S.-Thai military relationship, Washington would continue to collaborate with the Thai army troops on what it describes as engineering and medical projects. Some 75 U.S. troops remain inside Thailand continuing portions of the Cobra Gold exercise.

In the recent protests against military rule in Thailand, Washington has tried to ride out the storm without altering its close ties with the regime. One high-ranking U.S. official even described the Thai military repression as being "much milder" than military action taken by Beijing against similar student-led protests in 1989.

The U.S. government has for decades



Despite mass arrests and attacks by troops that have left scores dead and hundreds wounded, thousands have continued to demonstrate against military dictatorship.

been a major supporter of Thailand's military rulers. The Thai regime assisted Washington in its wars against Korea, Vietnam, and most recently Iraq.

Backed Pol Pot

The Thai military for more than a decade helped sustain Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge forces, who waged a murderous war against the people of Cambodia from their bases in Thailand. The Thai authorities enabled the Khmer Rouge to raise money by selling Cambodian gemstones and timber on the Thai market.

The United States is the second largest

foreign investor in Thailand after Japan. The Japanese government has made clear that it stands behind Thailand's military rulers. "We regard the Suchinda Government as a legitimate, constitutional government," said an official of Japan's foreign ministry. "It is regrettable that blood has been shed, but there was an attack on the enforcement authorities that provoked it."

General Suchinda organized a military coup in February 1991 that overthrew Thailand's first democratically elected civilian government in 15 years, led by Chatichai Choonhavan. Suchinda publicly promised last November that he would not take over

the job of prime minister.

However, after the March 22 parliamentary elections, the general changed his mind. On April 7 Suchinda accepted an invitation by a coalition of five military-linked parties to become Thailand's non-elected prime minister. He proceeded to appoint a 48-member cabinet that included 11 ministers from the previous regime who had been publicly charged with corruption.

On May 4 a central opposition figure, Chamlong Srimuang, began a hunger strike, demanding that Suchinda resign. Chamlong, until recently governor of Bangkok, is a retired army general and member of parliament. His Palang Dharma Party won the overwhelming majority of seats from the Bangkok area in the March parliamentary elections.

Huge demonstrations in opposition to Suchinda's rule erupted in the streets of Bangkok despite a government ban on protests. Some 70,000 rallied May 4, growing to 150,000 by May 8.

Suchinda took Chamlong into custody May 18 and in a national television address blamed the protests on communist agitators.

As protests mounted and army attacks increased, the king of Thailand, Bhumibol Adulyadej, called a meeting May 20 with both Suchinda and Chamlong. With the king present, Suchinda promised to free thousands of jailed protesters and said that he would seek an amendment to the constitution requiring that the prime minister be an elected official. It remained unclear, however, whether this amendment would apply retroactively to Suchinda.

Chamlong called for an end to the protests. However, despite the curfew, tens of thousands of demonstrators returned to the streets of Bangkok to press their demands.

Official admits FBI cover-up in Puerto Rico

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

A former top U.S. official, testifying at Puerto Rican Senate hearings, has admitted that the federal government carried out a cover-up of the 1978 police assassination of two young independence activists on the island. The hearings, which have been the focus of political debate in Puerto Rico for the last six months, ended April 30.

Another key witness, a Puerto Rican police official who took part in the fatal ambush of the youths, testified that he and other cops had undergone training in torture techniques at a U.S. military base as part of Washington's campaign of repression against the independence movement in this U.S. colony.

Former U.S. assistant attorney general Drew Days III, head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division at the time of the incident, testified in late March that the FBI had actively opposed a federal investigation of the Cerro Maravilla killings. The case is named after the mountain-top where Arnaldo Darío Rosado and Carlos Soto Arriví were entrapped by a police provocateur and summarily executed by a group of cops.

Under public pressure, the Justice Department carried out two investigations of the murders between 1979 and 1981. Both whitewashed the killer cops.

"The local FBI office employed one stratagem after another to avoid doing a full investigation," Days testified. He described the FBI's role as a "cover-up."

The former number three official in the Justice Department, saying he was "very sorry" about the agency's role in the case, tried to place the blame on the San Juan bureau of the FBI. He did admit, however, that the FBI had a history of persecuting the Puerto Rican independence movement, and that its actions in the Cerro Maravilla case were part of this.

The last witness to testify at the televised hearings, former police lieutenant Julio An-

drades, shed further light on Washington's involvement in the Cerro Maravilla operation.

U.S. trains cops to torture

Andrades participated in the 1978 police ambush as chief of the elite Special Arrests Squad. Testimony at the hearings revealed that in 1980, when Andrades had publicly announced he was going to spill the beans on what really happened, the FBI fixed a lie detector test to make him fail. It then used the results of that test to justify terminating the federal investigation.

In his April 28 testimony, Andrades said he and other top Puerto Rican police officials had been sent to the Americas School at a U.S. military base in Panama to receive counterinsurgency training. The classes, which focused on the "neutralization" of guerrilla forces, included courses on how to torture political detainees.

In addition, Andrades testified that as he and other cops were setting up the ambush for the two pro-independence youths on the eve of the killings, police intelligence chief Angel Pérez Casillas said the instructions were to "chop their heads off" and that the order "came from above."

He added that four days before the assassinations, Police Col. Enrique Sánchez, head of the SWAT team, told him he had attended a meeting at the governor's mansion where governor Carlos Romero Barceló and other top police officials discussed plans for the Cerro Maravilla operation. Romero agreed at the meeting that the pro-independence activists had to be given "a show of force" and taught "a lesson."

The death squad connection

Andrades also confirmed the existence of a death squad — of which he was a member — headed by the chief U.S. marshal in Puerto Rico, José López. The marshal kept a file on pro-independence activists to be targeted. The death squad obtained the in-

formation from the police intelligence division.

The U.S. marshal's death squad, Andrades said, collaborated with two federal judges, Juan Torruella — now a judge of the U.S. court of appeals — and Juan Pérez Giménez, former chief of the federal district court.

Whenever a political demonstration took place near the U.S. courthouse, López "would go wild" and call the SWAT team and police intelligence to harass and photograph the demonstrators, Andrades said.

The U.S. official would then show the photos to the two federal judges to discuss who to target. "López would tell them, 'This guy here is dangerous,'" Andrades explained, "merely on the basis of someone's attendance at a pro-independence or socialist rally."

The former police official described how one victim of the death squad, Puerto Rican Independence Party activist Manuel Sanjurjo, was assassinated.

In addition, Andrades disclosed for the first time a connection between the death squad and the Cerro Maravilla murders. It was the U.S. marshal, he said, who supplied the sawed-off shotgun that police used to kill Arnaldo Darío Rosado.

Andrades added that he offered the FBI "direct evidence" of the illegal activities of the U.S. marshal, which included supplying federal weapons to the death squad, framing up activists, and even cocaine trafficking. The agency, however, refused to prosecute López, stating in a 1985 "investigation" that it had found no "credible evidence" that he had violated any federal law. López is currently a U.S. marshal in Miami.

With this dramatic testimony, the Puerto Rican Senate hearings ended. Senate president Miguel Hernández Agosto stated that the hearings — which have yet to delve fully into the FBI's role in planning and participating in the Cerro Maravilla killings — may resume later this year.