

THE MILITANT

INSIDE
Behind Belgrade's carnage
in Yugoslavia

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Washington threatens military assault on Iraq

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

As the *Militant* goes to press, Washington is stepping up military pressure against the Iraqi government. Patriot missiles and missile launchers from a U.S. base in Germany have been sent to Kuwait. Joint military exercises involving 2,000 U.S. Marines and Kuwaiti forces are scheduled to take place in the Persian Gulf this week.

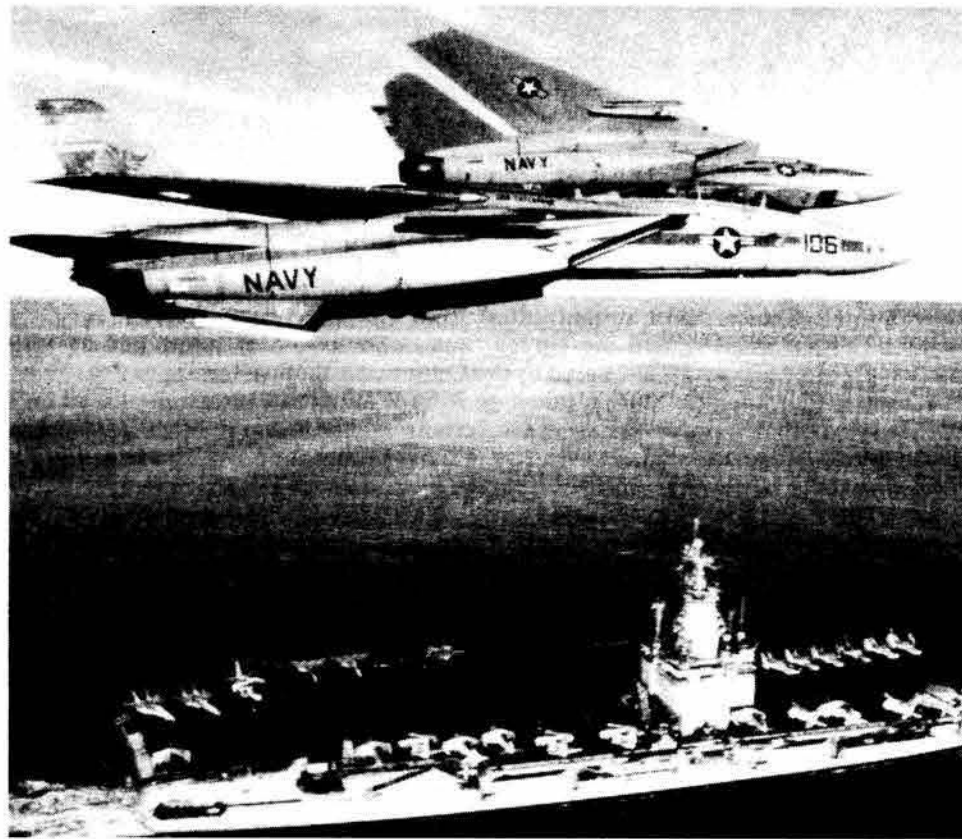
Since early March Washington has been beating the war drums. Its latest threats against Iraq are the most serious since the Gulf War cease-fire agreement was imposed in 1991.

The crisis began July 5 when the Iraqi government denied United Nations officials access to the agriculture ministry building in Baghdad. The UN officials claimed the ministry housed documentation on Iraq's weapon systems and demanded the right to search it.

With each passing day, U.S. officials made it clear they were preparing a massive bombing campaign.

"Pentagon officials suggested that they are drafting plans for days and even weeks of allied bombing," reported a *Wall Street Journal* article. Republican senator Richard Lugar advocated "targeting Iraq's electric grid, its road system and, specifically, the road from Jordan by which it receives many supplies, if an air attack comes," the *Journal* reported.

According to the U.S. Defense Department, 21,000 U.S. military personnel are stationed in the Persian Gulf area. More than a dozen F-117 Stealth fighters, along with 140 Air Force warplanes, including F-15Es, A-10s, and F-111s, are currently in Saudi Arabia. Seventeen warships armed with Tomahawk missiles are in the Gulf and the Red Sea.



Washington has 21,000 military personnel and hundreds of warplanes stationed in Persian Gulf. Detailed plans have been readied for extensive bombing of Iraq.

The big-business press relentlessly cranked up its prowar propaganda as the latest crisis mounted. "Time to Punish Hussein — Again," editorialized the *New York Times* on July 24. Democratic presidential contender Bill Clinton joined the chorus: "Let there be no mistake. If the United Nations decides to use force to ensure Iraqi

compliance with the cease-fire agreements, I will support American participation in such action."

The tension was finally broken when the Iraqi government agreed to allow UN inspectors to search its agriculture ministry in Baghdad July 26. Claiming victory, President Clinton said, "The crisis is over."

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Rightist killers terrorize Sarajevo

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — As the French Hercules plane, carrying United Nations insignia, landed at the airport here July 23, explosions could be heard throughout the area. Incessant artillery and sniper fire by Serbian rightist forces based in the surrounding hills has made every day a living hell for the city's remaining 300,000 residents.

The plane, on which this reporter flew in, brought another shipment of food for the city's besieged population. UN convoys are now virtually the only means to get into Sarajevo.

The three-mile ride from the airport, controlled by 1,500 UN troops, to the city's burned-out center is one of the riskiest ones you can take. Also on July 23, Cable News Network camera woman Maggie Moth had her jaw blown off by a "dum-dum" explosive bullet fired by a sniper just outside the airport.

The main street that runs the length of the city from north to south is best known as "Sniper alley." Dozens of people have been shot there by snipers on top of a few buildings controlled by rightist killers led by Radovaj Karadzic's Serbian Democratic Party.

Drivers avoid it by flooring the gas pedal to race through a parallel back street. All the high-rise buildings downtown have been bombed by dozens of shells. More than a third of the rooms at the Holiday Inn, the biggest hotel at the city's center, have been destroyed. The hotel is now inhabited by a few dozen foreign journalists.

One reporter, staring at a 2-inch bullet hold in the cracked window of his room on the fourth floor is nervously assured by the hotel maid that everything is okay because

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War, depression face working people

Events of the past two weeks, from Washington's steps toward war against Iraq to Ross Perot's dramatic abandonment of his presidential campaign, have sharply brought before working people the reality of a future of more brutal wars and economic depression for growing layers of the population.

Washington is deadly serious in its preparations for an attack on Iraq under United Nations cover. While the latest crisis, over

Iraq, as evidenced both by Bush's currying favor with Saddam Hussein right up to the time of Baghdad's 1990 invasion of Kuwait, and by the goals of the war itself.

But coming out of that war, both Iraq and the Middle East as a whole have become

less, not more stable. They are part of a world of deepening instability, driven by the opening of the new world depression and intensifying inter-imperialist rivalries.

The continuing turmoil in politics in the

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EDITORIAL

whether UN weapons inspectors would gain entry to the agriculture ministry building in Baghdad, was averted, it is only a matter of time before Bush and the regime of Saddam Hussein will be at the brink again. The Bush administration has detailed plans for massive bombing and destruction of Iraq's electrical, oil-refining, and other industrial infrastructure.

Washington's war moves take place as the brutal Hussein regime begins reasserting itself on several fronts, including once more declaring that Kuwait belongs to Iraq.

For its part Washington feels the urgent need to shore up its influence in the vital Middle East region, especially with the major power in the area, Iran, extending its influence more widely, from Afghanistan to the former Soviet republics of central Asia. Washington seeks a compliant and reliable

Socialist candidate concludes South Africa fact-finding tour

BY GREG McCARTAN

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Estelle DeBates, Socialist Workers candidate for vice-president of the United States, concluded a one-week fact-finding tour here July 15 in the midst of a sharpening conflict between the white minority regime and anti-apartheid forces.

What she found was "the growing political self-confidence and organization of millions of working people and youth who are determined to bring an end to apartheid and establish a democratic republic," DeBates said in an interview.

"The way in which the campaign of mass action, aimed at forcing the government to meet demands put forward by the African National Congress (ANC), is being conducted is just one sign of this," the socialist candidate said. Through branches and regions of the ANC, the ANC Youth League, trade union locals, and community organi-

zations, "broad numbers of people are discussing and deciding themselves what actions will be most effective in showing the regime that it must stop the violence and accept majority rule."

Another way this is reflected, she said, is the fact that "so many people I met with — township residents, rank-and-file union members, student leaders — expressed a real interest in meeting a communist running for high public office. They were interested in an intensive exchange of ideas. They wanted to know about the struggles working people and youth in the United States are involved in."

DeBates's tour was hosted by the ANC Youth League, which organizes tens of thousands of young people in the struggle against apartheid. The Youth League has chapters across the country and is headquartered in Johannesburg, along with the cen-

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Britain: Communists fuse with young socialist groups — page 7



Canada jobless rate increases

Canada's jobless rate hit 11.6 percent in June, the highest among the major industrialized nations. This is up from 11.2 percent in May.

Andrew Pyle, an economist at MMS International, pointed to the "still general weakness in Canada's economy" while Doug Porter, economist at the Bank of Nova Scotia, said that he could not rule out a 12 percent jobless rate before the end of the year.

Tuberculosis on the rise

The number of cases of tuberculosis has been rising steadily over the past three years. More than 26,283 cases were reported in the United States in 1991. Experts estimate that 39,000 "excess" cases have occurred since 1985. Many of the new cases are among high-risk groups, which include people with AIDS and the homeless.

Don Kopanoff from the Center for Disease Control reports, "The norm has been to decrease [public health department] budgets with no thought of whether proper facilities are there in case TB resurges."

Drought in southern Africa

A drought is devastating the 11 countries in the southern third of Africa, threatening the lives of millions. Outside of South Africa, 17 million are under the direct threat of starvation. And South Africa, usually an exporter of cornmeal, will have to import five million tons by next May.

The countries that have been worst hit by the drought are Mozambique, Malawi, Zimbabwe, and Zambia. Zimbabwe usually produces 450,000 tons of sugar. This year the cane crop was just 12,000 tons. Bulawayo, the country's second largest city, has only a 40-day supply of water left.

Russia sends troops to Georgia

One thousand Russian paratroopers have joined Georgian troops on the Georgian border near South Ossetia. North Ossetia is a part of Russia, while South Ossetia is in Georgia. Fighting has broken out between forces in South Ossetia that want the area to join North Ossetia and the Georgian government, which wants to hang on to the territory.

Shortly after Russian president Boris Yeltsin and Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze agreed to the Russian troop deployment, Georgia complained that too many troops were being sent. Moscow ignored the complaint and went ahead with the deployment.



One thousand youth rallied July 12 at a Greek border post across from Yugoslavia, protesting U.S., German, and other imperialist threats of military intervention in Yugoslavia. They were mainly high school and college students and young workers from cities around Greece. Youth organizations from Turkey, Greece, Cyprus, Bulgaria, Britain, Serbia, Sweden, and the United States also took part. Most had come to participate in a youth camp sponsored by the Communist Youth of Greece and the World Federation of Democratic Youth. A message from WFDY read at the rally called for a worldwide youth movement against the imperialist embargo and military intervention in Yugoslavia. The banner above says "No to imperialism; for peace and friendship in the Balkans."

Court denies woman abortion pill

In a 7-2 vote, the Supreme Court refused to order the return of pills containing the drug RU486 to Leona Benten. RU486, which induces abortion, has not been approved for use in the United States. Benten obtained the drug in London and flew into Kennedy International Airport on July 1 in order to challenge the federal prohibition on importing the pill. The drug was seized by customs agents and Benten sued. The test case was the result of work by the National Abortion Rights Mobilization which had sought a volunteer to challenge the law. On July 14, a federal judge ordered the pills returned to Benten, but an appeals court quickly blocked the order.

In tests in several countries, RU486 has been shown to be in some respects safer than a surgical abortion. More than 110,000 women have used it. Antiabortion groups have opposed the drug. The American Medical Association says RU486 is an unapproved drug that could be hazardous if used without supervision. Abortion rights supporters have argued that it is a cheap and

effective chemical method of abortion that would make the right to choose abortion more accessible to millions of women.

Anti-Semitic headlines in Japan

Amidst its financial turmoil Japan is seeing an increase in anti-Semitism and "Jewish conspiracy" theories. A headline in the *Shukan Post*, a Japanese magazine with a circulation of 800,000, read "Stock price manipulation by Jewish Capital." The article claims that "Jewish money" engineered the 27 percent drop in the Tokyo stock market this year.

Other targets charged with being part of a war against Japan include overseas Chinese money, and Ross Perot, who, the *Shukan Post* article claims, made a million dollars out of Tokyo's financial troubles. A number of foreign brokerage firms in Japan say they have received anonymous facsimile messages blaming them for the suicides of Japanese investors. Several people have committed suicide in Japan in the wake of the falling market.

Olympia & York seeks government aid

Olympia & York Developments Ltd., (O&Y) the world's largest real estate development company, is considering asking the Canadian government to help it out of its financial quagmire. O&Y is attempting to restructure \$8.6 billion in debt related to its Canadian operations by issuing distress preferred shares in exchange for existing loans. Distress preferred stocks must be approved by the Canadian government, which loses money on the stocks because they are tax exempt, allowing a company to pay a lower

rate of interest without cutting into the amount received by the creditor.

O&Y reported a net loss of \$2.05 billion Canadian (U.S. \$1.72 billion) for the 1992 fiscal year. On May 14, O&Y filed for the equivalent of bankruptcy protection in a Toronto court. O&Y blamed the loss on weakness in the real estate, energy, and forestry markets. The \$2.05 billion loss compares with a \$359 million loss a year earlier.

Trial of chemical plant officials begins in Bhopal, India

The trial of nine Indian officials of Union Carbide India Ltd. has begun. The nine are charged with manslaughter. This is the start of the first criminal case stemming from the gas leak of Union Carbide's Bhopal plant eight years ago. At least 4000 people were killed in December 1984 when methyl isocyanate leaked from the pesticide factory.

The Indian government had initially sued Union Carbide for \$3 billion in damages but in a 1989 agreement accepted \$470 million and absolved the company of criminal liability. Union Carbide has paid the money although the 600,000 people who claimed damages have yet to receive their share. The Central Bureau of Investigation has charged Union Carbide, its former chairman Warren Anderson, and Union Carbide Hong Kong with manslaughter in the case.

War triggers famine in Somalia

Two million Somalis, one-third of the country's population, are at risk of death by starvation in the next six months caused by fighting that has destroyed the country's agricultural base and hindered the delivery of relief food, according to the International Committee of the Red Cross. About 25 percent of the nation's cattle and many of its camels have died. A severe regional drought has exacerbated the situation.

Civil war broke out in Somalia in January 1991, after the ouster of President Siad Barre. In November, fighting in the capital city of Mogadishu killed an estimated 30,000 people and left the city in ruins. The famine and the war have pushed more than 300,000 refugees into northern Kenya and forced thousands more to risk their lives on dangerous ships headed for Yemen and the Kenyan coast. The Red Cross estimates that from 2 to 2.5 million Somalis — more than a third of the population — have been displaced from their traditional lands.

The United Nations announced on July 19 that it would send 46 unarmed military observers to Mogadishu to monitor a ceasefire and facilitate the delivery of food.

— SARA LOBMAN

Circulation drive ends

The international circulation drive to win new readers to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *L'Internationaliste*, and *New International*, which opened on April 4, ended July 25.

Final results are still coming into the *Militant* business office and will be reported in the next issue of the *Militant*, dated August 21.

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The Militant

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Editor: GREG McCARTAN

Managing Editor: GEORGE FYSON

Business Manager: Brian Williams

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

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

Caterpillar workers fight to defend union in aftermath of strike

BY ERNIE MAILHOT

EAST PEORIA, Illinois — After being back on the job without a contract for more than two months, UAW members who struck Caterpillar continue to express their determination to defend their union.

Tom Nell, a UAW member with 17 years seniority at Caterpillar, believes that "union strength is still there. There's definite solidarity, shown by some who wear union shirts and by others who won't take their sandwiches," he said referring to on the job luncheons organized by management for workers and bosses.

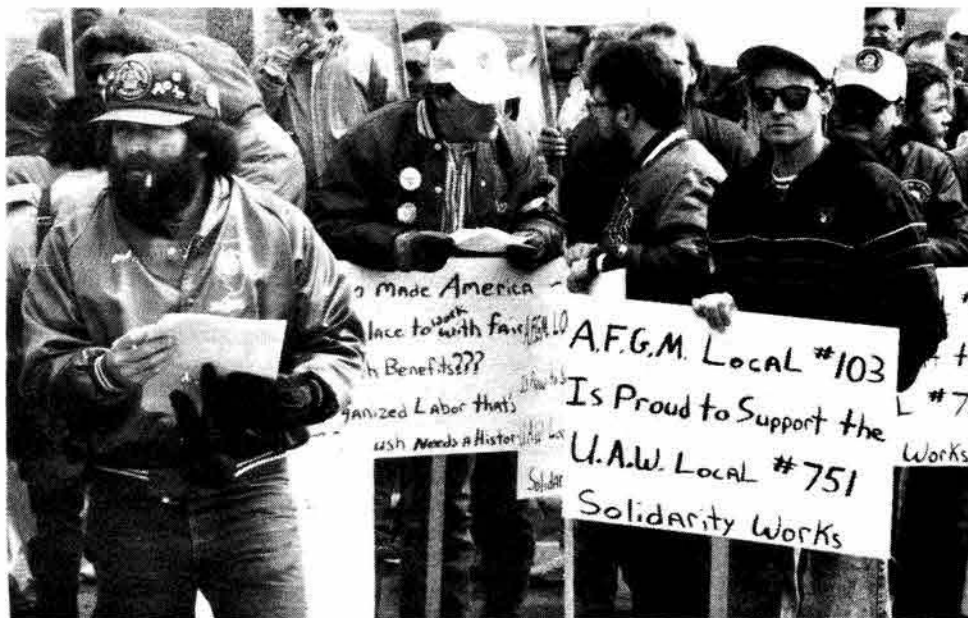
John Grayned, a longtime UAW member at Caterpillar in Decatur, echoed Nell's view on strong union support. "The purpose of our strike was to provide a liveable wage for people in the future. Caterpillar is looking to break our union to up their profits," he said.

Grayned also explained how working without a contract under Caterpillar's final

offer is affecting the workforce. "There is a lot of stress on the job. I work on second shift inspecting road graders. Before, there were two inspectors on that shift, but the other one retired and hasn't been replaced. So now I'm doing more work by myself. It's a glorified speed-up."

The UAW Local 974 News sent to members in the Peoria-area plants outlined some of the aspects of the final offer implemented by Caterpillar management. The wages for new or recalled workers at two parts distribution facilities will be reduced to less than half of what workers there presently make, and their benefits will be slashed as well. Caterpillar has also gotten rid of some of the previous contractual limits on how much work is sent out to non-union shops.

Seniority rights have been weakened. Workers can no longer transfer from one plant to another in order to hold a particular job or pay scale.



Militant/Paul Mailhot

March 1992 rally for Caterpillar strikers in Decatur, Illinois

One of the concessions the company has imposed that is most talked about affects health care benefits. The company has set up a 'network' with certain doctors and certain hospitals. If a worker goes to a doctor or hospital not in the network, he or she must pay 30 percent of the costs.

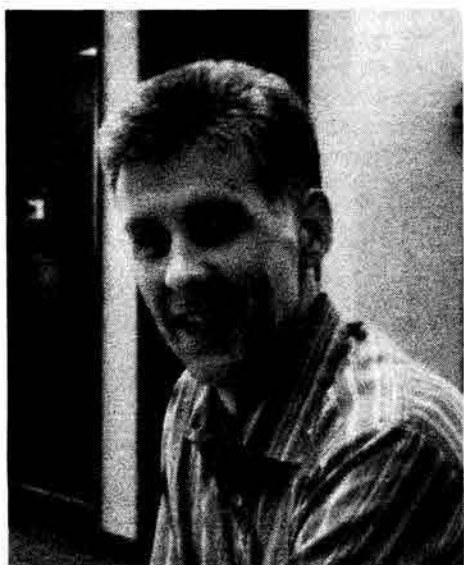
While the company has given a very modest pay raise to most workers, UAW

members explain that this means nothing. "We were never fighting Cat around wages even though we make less than John Deere workers," said Robert Cooling who will complete 20 years at Caterpillar next February.

Caterpillar has also done away with dues checkoff, where union dues are automati-

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Staff changes will strengthen 'Militant' coverage



Militant/Paul Mailhot

George Fyson



Militant/Paul Mailhot

Sara Lobman



Militant/Dave Wulp

Naomi Craine

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

To strengthen its coverage of world politics and the labor movement, the *Militant* has made three changes to its editorial staff.

George Fyson, an experienced journalist and socialist from New Zealand, has become the managing editor. For more than two decades, Fyson has contributed articles to socialist newspapers and magazines, including the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, which ceased publication in 1986. Fyson is 43 years old.

In New Zealand, Fyson started writing for the biweekly paper *Socialist Action* in 1969 as a young leader of the antiwar movement. Launched in 1969, *Socialist Action* was looked to by many as a major voice of the anti-Vietnam war movement in the country. Similarly, the paper became well known for its coverage of political campaigns by the indigenous Maori people of New Zealand in the 1970s. As a staff writer, and later as editor, Fyson covered a variety of activities, discussions, and debates in the Maori political movement. Fyson became the editor of *Socialist Action* in 1976.

Fyson has written on New Zealand politics and labor struggles, as well as covering the struggles of working people in the South Pacific.

In the 1980s, Fyson visited New Caledonia several times reporting on the independence struggle against French colonial rule. He attended two congresses of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS), which was the main political organization in the forefront of the anti-colonial struggle. Fyson wrote a major article for the *International Socialist Review*, "The Struggle for Independence, Democracy, and Equality in New Caledonia," which was printed in the *Militant* in 1988.

Fyson also attended and wrote on the Pacific-wide conference for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific, held in Suva, Fiji in 1986. At the time, opposition was growing to French testing of nuclear weapons in the South Pacific and to U.S. nuclear powered and armed vessels patrolling the region.

When *Socialist Action* stopped publication in 1988, Fyson contributed articles to the *Militant*, whose circulation began expanding in New Zealand and Australia in the late 1980s.

Militant editor Greg McCartan filed papers with the Immigration and Naturalization Service to gain authorization for the employment of Fyson. "Mr. Fyson came to our attention as a journalist writing in New Zealand about South Pacific affairs. He has a background of over 20 years as a journalist and editor," wrote McCartan.

"The position of managing editor requires a professional with an extensive background in news reporting and political analysis as well as experience in all aspects of newspaper production," said McCartan. "Kindly approve our petition for an H-1b visa so that Mr. Fyson can begin his employment with us."

The petition was approved by the INS on

June 30. It is valid for three years.

Coming on staff as well are Sara Lobman and Naomi Craine, both of whom have been active in the socialist and trade union movements for several years.

Sara Lobman, 30 years-old, joined the young socialist movement in New York in 1976. Lobman was propelled into socialist and anti-apartheid activity by the upsurge in South Africa, particularly the 1976 Soweto uprising. Three years later, the Nicaraguan revolution, combined with a visit to revolutionary Cuba, had a big impact on her. Lobman was a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance for several years. In 1985 she was elected to the YSA National Committee.

Lobman has ten years experience as a socialist in the labor movement. She was a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (ACTWU) in Colorado and West Virginia for six years and since 1988 she has been a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers' Union (UFCW) Local 431. In the most recent period Lobman was elected to the steering committee heading the work of Socialist Workers Party (SWP) members in the UFCW.

Lobman was the Socialist Workers candidate for Mayor of Des Moines in 1991. This past year she played an active role in speaking out against the brutal police beat-

ing of Larry Milton, a 35-year-old Black worker. Lobman has also been an activist in the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

Naomi Craine, 21 years old, joined the socialist movement in Detroit in 1983. Like many other young people, Craine was attracted to the Nicaraguan revolution and was active in opposing Washington's dirty war to overthrow it. Craine was elected to the YSA National Committee in 1987.

Craine has been an active socialist in the trade union movement. For the past three years she has been a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Union; for the past two years in ACTWU Local 385T at Fieldcrest Cannon's Decorative Bedding mill in Eden, North Carolina. Craine was a member of the steering committee for the work of the SWP's members in ACTWU. During the last two years, Craine has written articles in the *Militant* about various textile worker organizing drives in the south.

On the eve of the Gulf War in 1991, Craine announced her campaign to run for Mayor of Greensboro on the Socialist Workers ticket. In addition to speaking out against Washington's criminal war, Craine slammed Imperial Food, a North Carolina poultry company, for their "greed and criminal indifference" after a September 3, 1991, fire in their plant killed 25 poultry workers.

Supporters and opponents of Mark Curtis participate in public debate

BY KAREN RAY

BOSTON — Supporters of framed-up unionist and political activist Mark Curtis participated in a public debate on Curtis's case here at the Boston Public Library. The July 18 event was sponsored by Men to End Sexual Assault (MESA) and the Boston chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), two groups that have actively campaigned against Curtis over the last several months.

The debate drew 150 participants. Many were already committed to one of the two sides, but several were undecided. Participants included members of the Boston Area Rape Crisis Center, MESA, and abortion rights fighters.

Speakers in defense of Curtis were Maceo Dixon, a member of the International Association of Machinists and a leader of the struggle to desegregate Boston public schools in 1974-76, and Andrea Morell, chairperson of the Boston branch of the Socialist Workers Party, the party Curtis is a member of.

Mary Bertin of the Boston Chapter of the NAACP and a central organizer of the local campaign against Curtis, introduced the event, saying she "could not understand why all around the world Mark was considered a victim of a racist police frame-up. The real

story was Mark Curtis's rape of Demetria Morris." She added that she and the executive board of the NAACP intended to expose "the Mark Curtis Defense Committee as a racist and sexist sham."

In his presentation Fred Pelka of MESA stated that central to the case is that "a young Black girl says she was raped by Mark Curtis" and that "in four years the SWP has been able to produce nothing to impeach the essential honesty of her account." Pelka then joined with Ann Russo of White Women Against Racism and Violence to Women to give a dramatic reading of Demetria Morris's testimony given at the trial while being questioned by the prosecutor.

Russo went on to characterize the defense effort for Mark Curtis as "a campaign that says to Demetria Morris and thousands of other rape survivors, many who have been raped by 'nice white men,' that progressive white, feminist, and labor activists don't believe rape victims."

Maceo Dixon explained that Curtis had been found guilty in an unfair trial. At the time of the alleged rape Curtis and his co-workers were involved in a defense effort for 17 immigrant co-workers who had been arrested at the Swift-Monfort packinghouse in a raid by the Immigration and Naturaliza-

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Mandela condemns white minority regime

ANC leader calls on United Nations to help end apartheid regime's violence

BY SARA LOBMAN

UNITED NATIONS — Nelson Mandela, speaking before the United Nations Security Council on July 15, placed responsibility for the violence in South Africa squarely on the apartheid government of F.W. de Klerk. He urged the Council to appoint a special representative to South Africa who would investigate the situation and aid the Council in deciding what measures it should take to help end this violence.

Mandela, president of the African National Congress (ANC), reminded the Security Council that it had been considering the question of South Africa for 45 years because of the apartheid system which the UN has called a "crime against humanity." The UN decisions on this question have been directed at transforming South Africa into a nonracial, democratic country. "This objective has not yet been achieved," he stated.

"South Africa continues to be governed by a white minority regime," he said. "The overwhelming majority of our people are still denied the vote. They remain deprived of the right to determine their destiny."

Representatives of the South African government, Mandela warned, "will address you today. However sweet-sounding the words they may utter, they represent the system of white minority rule to which the United Nations is opposed. They continue to govern our country under a constitution which the Security Council has declared null and void."

Government responsible for violence

The responsibility for the break down in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) negotiations earlier this year rests with the government, Mandela explained. The Codesa talks were initiated by the ANC as part of drawing the broadest number of forces into the fight for a democratic, nonracial, and nonsexist South Africa. Nineteen organizations have been a part of this process.

The government "continues to look for ways and means by which it can guarantee itself the continued exercise of power," Mandela said. "The regime insists that the political majority, no matter how large, should be subjected to a veto by minority political parties."

"Control of state power by the National Party [the ruling party] allows it the space to deny and cover up its own role as well as those of its surrogates and the state security forces in fostering and fomenting the violence," the anti-apartheid leader added.

Mandela detailed the scope of the violence in the Black townships. In the last six years at least 11,000 people have died. In June alone, there were 373 deaths and 395 injuries.

The South African government, Mandela said, "has the law enforcement personnel and the legal authority to stop [the] violence and to act against the perpetrators." He noted that the "complicity of state security forces is established by the evidence which emerged in

numerous court trials, inquests, and commissions and has been confirmed by the Goldstone Commission as well as reports of international fact finding missions." The Goldstone commission, headed up by Supreme Court Justice Richard Goldstone, is charged with investigating incidents of violence.

"It is also clear that the central thrust of the violence is to weaken the ANC and the democratic movement of the country," Mandela said.

"In the face of this situation, it is also true that there are instances of counter violence by members of the democratic movement. At the same time, it is a matter of public record that ANC policy stands opposed to the promotion of violence. We remain firmly committed to this position. But our task of ensuring that this policy position is fully and completely adhered to is made more than difficult because of the practice of the state security forces [and] its surrogates."

Mandela noted that both Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists have blamed the government for failing to act against the violence.

"Not a single person has been convicted in connection with the 49 massacres that claimed the lives of at least 10 people in each of the incidents that have occurred in the past two years in the Transvaal," he reported.

Police convicted

"Where there have been proper investigations and vigorous prosecution, as resulted from the Trust Feed massacre of December 1988, convictions have been secured. Those convicted were policemen," Mandela noted. In April 1992, five members of the South African security forces were convicted in the murder of 11 people in an area called Trust Feed in Natal province.

Mandela explained the case of Matthew Goniwe. He and three other Eastern Cape leaders of the democratic movement were murdered in 1985. In May of this year a letter from the South African Defence Force (SADF), military intelligence chief, General C.P. Van der Westhuizen, then a brigadier to the State Security Council, was discovered. It proposed that the State Security Council authorize "the urgent removal from society" of Goniwe and the others. The authenticity of the document has not been challenged. No moves have been made to suspend Van der Westhuizen from his position.

The ANC president noted other examples. "No action has been taken to suspend the head of the South African Police (SAP) forensic laboratories, General Lothar Neethling, after a Supreme Court civil case finding in January 1991 that his involvement in the poisoning of activists was on the balance of probabilities true.

"Despite a judicial commission finding implicating several military personnel of the Civil Cooperation Bureau in political violence, none has been charged. At least 20 bureau members, and probably more, remain on the SADF payroll. Others have

been offered or received huge pensions. Several have demanded immunity from prosecution.

"In February 1992 it came to light that local white policemen based at the Ermelo police station encouraged and actively helped a gang of vigilantes in Wesselsfontein. No policemen concerned has been suspended."

Role of Inkatha

In 1986 the SADF gave military training to 200 Inkatha Freedom Party members who later became members of the Kwa Zulu police. Some of these trainees have been implicated in violence in Natal.

"No action has been taken to control and limit the powers of the Kwa Zulu police," Mandela explained, "in spite of the fact that extensive evidence exists of Kwa Zulu police partiality and involvement in the violence." In fact, on July 1 the powers of these police were strengthened.

Mandela accused the Pretoria regime of legalizing, for the first time since 1891, the carrying of dangerous weapons in public, as many Inkatha supporters often do. This created a situation where "hordes of men would spill out into the streets and enter public places carrying the most dangerous weapons."

The government, Mandela said, "is unable to explain why it virtually gave people a license to kill and maim. It has never explained why its police and army regularly accompanied these killers to places of safety after many murderous rampages and arrested nobody."

Covert police units

There are eleven covert police units, Mandela told the Security Council, operating around Boipatong and other regions of the country. They "exist for the purpose of suppressing the democratic movement which the government still regards as the enemy and a threat to so-called national security." There are allegations, he continued, that these units are involved in covert operations that "include the assassination of leaders and activists of the democratic movement" as well as "acts of terror against the population at large."

"In order to confuse the issue and evade its responsibilities the government insists that the source of violence is rivalry between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party,"



UN Photo 176007/M. Grant

Nelson Mandela

the ANC leader explained.

"The fact of the matter however is that the IFP has permitted itself to become an extension of the Pretoria regime, its instrument and surrogate."

"Its activities have been financed by the South African government. Its members have been armed and trained by the South African government. There is an abundance of evidence that it continues to benefit from covert co-operation with the South African government."

"It therefore becomes unclear when its members act as an independent force or as an agency on behalf of the South African government. However, it is not an independent force with whom the ANC must enter into an agreement to end the violence in the country."

The record, Mandela concluded, "confirms the criminal failure of the government to properly address the question of political violence which has claimed too many lives already, is tearing our country apart, and making the process of negotiations impossible."

Mandela reminded the Council of its commitment to the ending of apartheid. This makes it an "urgent obligation" that it intervene now "to help us end the violence." Putting such an international spotlight and other measures opposing the government-sponsored violence will "help the people of South Africa to transform our country into a nonracial democracy," he concluded.

UN debates apartheid violence

UNITED NATIONS — Meeting in emergency session, the United Nations Security Council voted unanimously July 16 to send a special envoy to South Africa to draw up recommendations to end the violence there.

The meeting was called at the request of ANC president Nelson Mandela after 49 people in the South African township of Boipatong, south of Johannesburg, were massacred in an attack organized by security forces.

Representatives of over 60 countries and organizations spoke at the meeting. Djibo Ka, foreign minister of Senegal spoke on behalf of the Organization of African Unity. "The South African government must be made to shoulder its responsibilities," he said, noting that the situation endangered not only South Africa, but neighboring countries as well.

Nelson Mandela, speaking for the African National Congress (ANC) demanded an end to Pretoria's complicity in the violence (see accompanying article).

U.S. Ambassador Edward Perkins complimented the Black majority in South Africa for their "skill and patience" and applauded the South African government for "abolishing institutionalized apartheid." He proposed a UN goodwill mission.

R.F. Botha, South African Foreign Minister argued that his country was set "irrevocably on a course towards freedom and democracy." "We still hear," he said, "the complaint that all South Africans are not represented in the current Parliament." This is "no longer in question, and no longer an issue," he insisted, since "the issue is the negotiation of a new constitution that will bring that about."

Botha attacked the democratic move-

ment in South Africa, demanding that the ANC "reveal the names of the members of the Communist Party serving in the ANC executive." There was substantial evidence, he said, "that the major cause of death in incidents of violence is the use of AK47 assault rifles" which he said were the property of the "ANC/Communist Party alliance."

The representative of the Pan Africanist Congress, criticized the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) talks, which broke down a few months ago, because the ANC and the South African government, who were now "implicating each other in the violence" were both part of those talks. He said the continuing violence vindicated the PAC's refusal to take part in Codesa.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has "never had a policy of inciting violence against anyone," said its president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, responding to documented charges by the ANC that it has collaborated with the regime in attacks on supporters of the democratic movement and other civilians. The massacre at Boipatong, he said, produced an "orgy of propaganda against Inkatha and the government." Buthelezi accused the ANC of maintaining "shock troops" to intimidate members of his organization and others.

René Mujica Cantelar, representative of Cuba said that the violence in South Africa was a result of some members of the international community taking unjustified moves in lifting some of the sanctions against South Africa. He called on the Security Council to condemn the massacre in Boipatong and to emphasize the responsibility of the South African government.

— S.L.



Militant/Greg McCartan

Pretoria march of 30,000 unionists, July 13. The African National Congress and other democratic forces have begun a mass-action campaign to force the white minority regime to yield power.

DeBates tours South Africa to get firsthand account of fight against apartheid

Continued from front page
tral offices of the ANC.

"We found the campaign of mass action wasn't a result of 'militant' youth pressing Nelson Mandela away from negotiations, as the big-business media reports," DeBates said, referring to the ANC president. "It's a political campaign to make the regime take concrete steps to end the violence," which has claimed more than 1,800 lives across the country this year. It aims to "place the demand for an elected constituent assembly at the center of the fight for a democratic republic, and as a result, recruit to the ANC and the trade unions. As Mandela points out, the ANC is trying to get negotiations going again, but only if the regime accedes to its demands."

At a rally of 30,000 union members in Pretoria, DeBates marched in the lead delegation and was welcomed by rally organizers, who pointed to the presence of a socialist from the United States "as an example of the international solidarity that has made our victories possible."

"I was struck in my discussions with rank-and-file workers how the demand for a constituent assembly is now raised by millions in the country," she said of the rally. "Everyone I spoke to rejected [South African president F.W.] de Klerk's stance of holding onto veto rights for the white minority in any new constitutional arrangement. They would simply tell me: 'We need a democratic government in power in order to begin to meet our needs.' Each person I met expressed a determination to keep up the mass action campaign until the government agrees and returns to the negotiating table on that basis."

ANC recruitment

DeBates pointed to discussions she had with leaders of the ANC's Far-North sub-region, whose two-room headquarters is located in the small town of Sibasa, Venda. As DeBates entered the room, volunteers had just finished processing a stack of applications for membership in the ANC received that day. Tenda Ratshitanga, a leader of the ANC in the region, explained that since the start of the mass action campaign, many who had previously not signed up were now becoming members.

Ratshitanga said there are now 45 branches of the organization in this region, one of the most rural in the country. Branches in the area were discussing how best to participate in the mass action campaign. About one million people now belong to the ANC, DeBates was told by ANC leaders.

"I also attended a meeting of 75 young people who were setting up a new sub-branch of the ANC Youth League in Sebokeng township," DeBates said. "They've broken their branch up into four sub-branches because it got too large. I was the first international guest to visit the chapter, so they really listened intently when I gave greetings and explained how working people and youth around the world need to unite in a common struggle against exploitation and oppression."

Other steps forward, DeBates said, include the formation of a national organization of "civics" — groups based in various communities made up of all who want to join regardless of political affiliation. The civics spearhead rent and consumer boycotts as part of the mass action campaign, press for upgrading of services to Black townships, and organize to establish local governments responsible to the community rather than appointed by the regime.

"I spoke with youth in several townships who are active in organizing more self-defense units," the socialist candidate said. "They proudly pointed out how by setting up barricades, regular patrols at nights, and self-imposed curfews in the evenings, they've made it a lot harder for the security forces or others to carry out acts of violence

in the townships."

These efforts are being aided by a new mass distribution of posters and flyers produced by the ANC, she said. For example, a four-page newspaper explains the goals of the campaign and some of the actions already planned, including a general strike at the beginning of August.

Freedom Charter

The paper focuses on some of the main demands of the Freedom Charter, the revolutionary democratic program of the freedom struggle adopted by a broad conference held in South Africa in 1955. Short sections outline the goals of the struggle, including demands such as: "A people's education," "There shall be houses and comfort!" "Sharing the land among those who work and need it," and "Health for all!" The Congress of South African Trade Unions, the major labor federation in the country, has also put out a similar campaign leaflet.

A special box, addressed, "Dear soldiers and police," says that "our fight is not with you. We are struggling against the National Party and its corrupt politicians. We are opposed to the generals who lead the hit squads and plan the murders, but refuse to take the blame." The ANC leaflet encourages readers to "discuss this leaflet with your fellow soldiers and police."

"In Boipatong township we spoke with residents who had been attacked as part of the campaign of violence. Forty-nine people died there in one assault in June," DeBates said. "Every day in the newspapers there are more stories about ANC and union leaders being attacked, killed, or



Estelle DeBates, Socialist Workers candidate for vice-president of the United States, with members of the ANC Youth League during her recent fact-finding tour.

building a disciplined organization, and one that embraces the aspirations and historic goals of the broadest numbers of the population — the ANC has scored important gains recently," DeBates said.

One of these gains is the political isolation of the Inkatha Freedom Party, which had taken some stands against aspects of apartheid over the years, but had also collaborated with the regime. Inkatha leaders sought to propel the organization into a country-wide formation, but today have failed in that goal.

The ANC has also turned world public opinion around to a certain extent on who is responsible for the violence in the country. For years the regime was able to point to instances of violence as fighting between the ANC and Inkatha or simply "Black on Black" violence. The implication was that Blacks were incapable of leadership.

"Today," DeBates said, "the fact that apartheid itself, and the government that organized and defended that barbaric system, is responsible for the violence is understood by millions around the world. It has helped isolate the regime further. It has allowed the revolutionary democratic movement to press its demands and widen the space for political activity."

All these developments, DeBates said show "the growing political authority of the ANC — not only because of its past deeds but what it does today — and the confidence working people have that they can press forward their demands in the national, democratic revolution."

This is also why the white minority regime is in crisis, she said. "The national, democratic revolution in South Africa poses major problems for the rulers of that country. The fight for a government that represents the majority, led by a revolutionary leadership of the highest caliber, means that working people can and will place their stamp on the outcome of the

country and de Klerk's regime have balked at accepting the ANC's demands," she said.

DeBates also explained the interest those she met with expressed in political developments in the United States and around the world.

"Because the media paints a picture of all politics in the United States moving to the right, revolutionary-minded youth here were especially heartened when they learned of the work that socialists carry out within the working class, the reception the socialist election campaign is getting in many countries, and actions being taken by young people and workers to defend our rights and standard of living," DeBates said.

U.S. political situation

"I pointed to the fact that my running mate [James Warren] won an eight-month leave of absence from his job at a steel plant, with the help of fellow members of the steelworkers' union," she said, "as just one example of the political space within the working class to carry out communist work."

"Of course, many people wanted to find out more about the fight against police brutality, the causes and the outcome of the events in Los Angeles after the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King, and whether the labor movement was responding to attacks by the employers."

One topic that many people asked DeBates about was the fight to defend abortion rights in the United States. There is growing discussion on a woman's right to choose among anti-apartheid activists in South Africa, since abortion is currently illegal under most circumstances.

Kgotso Sindelo, international coordinator of the ANC Women's League, told DeBates that some 250,000 women seek illegal abortions in the country each year. Many are maimed or die as a result of botched operations. For this reason, she said, the Women's League is working with other groups to press for the legalization of abortion. The ANC itself has not yet taken a position in favor of a woman's right to choose abortion.

ANC Youth League regional chairperson Joseph Mathebula spent a day with DeBates, touring her around the northern area of the country, including the Venda bantustan. Mathebula said he has been arguing in favor of abortion rights among fellow activists by pointing out the health hazards of illegal abortions.

"We exchanged views on how the fight for abortion rights can be advanced," DeBates said. "I told him of our experience in explaining that the right of a woman to control her own body is essential to women becoming an equal in social and political life. This helps all workers and youth see the need to either win or defend abortion rights as an essential part of the fight to unify all working people in our struggle for emancipation."

DeBates said she intends to utilize her experiences in South Africa on the campaign trail. "The battle in South Africa is an example for working people who want to fight imperialism's drive toward World War III. It's an example for those who are resisting the employers' attempts to make us pay for the economic crisis, and for those who want to defend our democratic rights," she said.

GENERAL STRIKE: AUGUST 3

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS NEWSLETTER

THE ANC PACKAGE

SIMPLE STEPS TO PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

THIS IS WHAT THE ANC IS CALLING FOR:

The regime must immediately:

- Stop all unlawful operations, including hit squad activity.
- Disarm, disband and confine to barracks all special forces as well as mercenary units.
- Suspend and prosecute all security personnel involved in the violence.
- Ensure that repression in the bantustans is ended.

The regime has made many agreements with the ANC on stopping the violence. It is time the regime implemented these agreements:

- Immediate phasing out of the hotels and converting them into places where families can live.
- Installation of fences around the hotels.
- Guarding of the hotels by the security forces — to be monitored by peace structures, and expulsion of those who occupy the hotels illegally.
- Regular searches of hotels with the participation of multi-racial peace structures.
- Banning the carrying of all dangerous weapons (including so-called cultural weapons) in public on all occasions.

The regime must also agree to:

- An International Commission of Inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and all acts of violence, as well as international monitoring of the violence.
- Release all political prisoners.
- Repeal all repressive laws, including those which were so hastily passed during the last days of the recent session of parliament. These laws:

legalise bugging venues and intercepting of mail by the government.

- Independent commissions to run the elections and state media. The security forces, public finances, and other areas will have to be controlled by multiparty structures.
- People in the TVBC states must have the right to take part in the interim structures and elections.

THE MAIN DEMANDS

- **Constituent Assembly**
 - elected on the basis of one-person one-vote through proportional representation
 - a single chamber not subject to veto by any other body
 - decisions by a two-thirds majority
 - a specified time-frame agreed to in Codexa
 - methods to break deadlocks
- **Interim Government**
 - all legislative powers will pass into the hands of the Constituent Assembly
 - the Assembly will appoint an interim cabinet drawing on the best talent available from all elected parties.
 - local and regional administrations will fall under the Constituent Assembly and Interim Government

The ANC put forward these proposals for agreement by the end of June. It did not require any special effort to reach them. That is, if the NP did not want to cling to power.

DEAR SOLDIERS AND POLICE

Your generals and officers are forcing you to fight your own people. Our fight is not with you. We are struggling against the National Party and its corrupt politicians. We are opposed to the generals who lead the hit squads and plan the murders, but refuse to take the blame. We want to build a new police and army that all South Africans can be proud of. We want you to be part of the new army and police.

Don't fire on our people — they are fighting for your rights as well! Don't be brutal when dealing with demonstrators — we want peace and a new South Africa! You are not the enemy — the National Party government and its generals are. Support the struggle for peace. Protect the people! Discuss this leaflet with your fellow soldiers and police.

ANC's four-page paper, which is being distributed throughout the country, explains goals of mass action campaign.

arrested. I found that opposition to the violence and anger at the involvement of the security forces — which is becoming more and more clear to people — is fueling the widespread response to the call for mass actions."

Result of charting revolutionary course

"Because they've fought to chart a revolutionary course in the struggle — one that raises the political self-confidence of workers and rural working people, one that doesn't shy away from the hard work of

struggle.

"It necessarily means extending both democratic liberties to the whole population — it's important to remember that Blacks still don't even have the right to vote! — and far-reaching measures that address the historic impact of apartheid," she said. "These include a radical land reform, nationalizations of some monopoly industries, and the ability of the working people to mobilize to press the struggle even further."

"That is why the wealthy rulers of the

Communist forces in Britain join together to reach new generation of young fighters

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

SHEFFIELD, Britain — The Communist League of Britain and groups of young socialists in London, Manchester, and Sheffield fused into a single organization at a special Communist League congress here June 27-28.

In the "Tasks and Perspectives" report to the congress, Communist League leader Tony Hunt said the fusion is part of the growing resistance to the deepening world capitalist disorder and the worldwide response to it by working people and revolutionary-minded youth.

Hunt pointed out that since the U.S.-led war against Iraq, during which the assault on democratic rights and living conditions in Britain was reinforced, "more and more youth have resisted these attacks and a growing number have been drawn toward building communist organizations."

The congress was attended by 84 people, including 54 delegates from the Communist League and young socialist groups in Britain. Five of the 16 members of young socialist groups were not members of the Communist League prior to the congress. And for 11 of the participants, this was their first congress. One additional person joined the Communist League at the congress.

More than half of the delegates were industrial workers and trade unionists. At the congress there were eight delegates who are members of the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union (AEEU); two members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM); 13 members of the Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers' Union (RMT); and 11 members of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU).

International participation

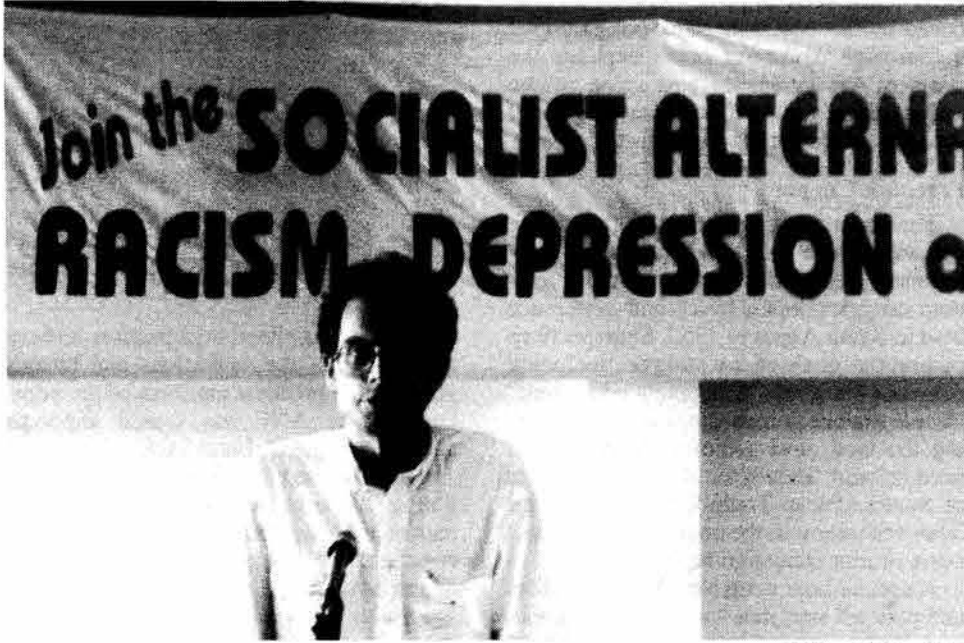
Delegates and participants came from a range of countries including Australia, Canada, Cyprus, France, Ireland, Lesotho, New Zealand, the United States, South Africa, South Korea, Sudan, and Sweden. The leadership delegations at the congress included Michel Prairie and Daphne Wenham from the Communist League of Canada; Jean-Louis Salfati from the Communist Organizing Committee of France; Carl-Erik Svenson and Kerstin Granberg from the Communist League of Sweden; and Jack Barnes, Estelle DeBates, Frank Forrestal and Ken Riley from the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. DeBates, the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. vice-president, had spent the previous nine days campaigning in Britain.

Leading up to the special congress, the Communist League and the young socialist groups were involved in joint political work and common activity. Part of this work included drafting a political resolution on the fusion itself. This resolution (printed below) was then adopted at a joint meeting of the Central Committee and leadership delegations from the young socialist groups.

The special congress opened with a report on "Advancing the fusion of the international communist movement with a new generation of young fighters." The report was given by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist

Workers Party in the United States.

Barnes explained that the fusion process is a "political maneuver" whose goal is to increase the numbers and experience of younger fighters by bringing them into a communist movement that spans several generations. Throughout the world, said Barnes, there are "handfuls of youth" inter-



Tony Hunt, a leader of the Communist League, said fusion with young revolutionaries enables party to "speak more forcefully in the interests of the working class."

ested in learning about communism and not a "counterfeit version of it." The challenge is to find the "handfuls," said Barnes.

"Youth today are coming forward in a way not seen for some time. Youth feel the crisis. The war in Yugoslavia is unacceptable to them. They are incapable of accepting the ongoing horrors of capitalism. However, they initially react not because they have found a winning strategy but because they hate much of what's happening and come to dislike what is happening to them, the person they are becoming."

"Young people want to know what is going on in the world the same way Farrell Dobbs explained it in the Pathfinder book *Revolutionary Continuity*," said Barnes. When Dobbs, who became a long-time central leader of the SWP, was growing up during the depression in the 1930s he read H.G. Wells's *Outline of History*, hoping it would give him some insights into existing social relations.

Real education

"Farrell couldn't find the answer there," said Barnes. "It was only after he came in contact with the communist movement that his real education began. Just like today's young fighters, Farrell's education began with reading pamphlets like Karl Marx's *Wage Labor and Capital* and Frederick Engels's *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. Barnes said that more young people today are reaching for Marxist classics like the *Communist Manifesto* and James P. Cannon's *Socialism on Trial*.

"Today more young fighters are attracted to Marxism than in any other period since

the early 1920s," said Barnes. "The reason for this is that in the late 1920s the majority of fighters were politically destroyed — many physically destroyed — by the counterfeit of Marxism — the Stalinist movement, which destroyed the Bolshevik party that led the 1917 revolution."

"Some of the best fighters were even

turned into anti-communists," said Barnes. "But the Stalinist apparatuses that corrupted one generation after another are breaking down around the world. With the disintegration of the Stalinist movement, it is now more possible to learn the real history of the workers' movement."

Barnes added that the fusion was justified by the dynamics of the class struggle in the world, at the center of which are the deepening conflicts among the imperialist powers.

"The world is heading toward a global conflagration as the crisis deepens. But the working class will have their chance to stop it. We will confront different forms of Bonapartism and incipient fascism, as well as see the breakdown of bourgeois politics," said Barnes.

"The horrors we see in Yugoslavia — the systematic slaughter of civilians and destruction of whole cities — are the product of Stalinism. The terrible war there is not the result of mass 'ethnic consciousness.' It demonstrates the complete failure of Stalinism, which is the opposite of the course Lenin set out on."

"The wars are led by remnants of the former Stalinist parties in collaboration with mafia-style proto-capitalists. 'Ethnic cleansing' is their fascist-like rationalization for the brutalization being carried out primarily from Belgrade." (See article on Yugoslavia in this issue by George Fyson and Jonathan Silberman.)

China will come apart

"The same breakdown of Stalinism will occur in China as well," said Barnes. "As in the former Soviet Union and Eastern European states, China will come apart at the seams. Similar to the petty-bourgeois social castes in Europe, the vain but growing hope of the privileged caste in China is to integrate itself into the declining world capitalist system."

"With a population of more than 1.1 billion people, China has now gone the furthest of all the deformed workers' states in introducing the capitalist market system in growing parts of the country," said Barnes. "This is most glaring in the two southern provinces of Guangdong and Fujian. Guangdong alone has a population of 63 million."

Barnes explained that China is seeing a massive expansion of foreign capitalist investments. "All the daily newspapers were worried that China was going to take over Hong Kong (as if it belonged to the crown in London). The opposite is happening. What we are seeing is the growing Hong Kong-ization of China," said Barnes.

"It's like a capitalist's dream come true. On the one hand, there is cheap labor; on

the other, a repressive state to keep the workers down." But Barnes said there are signs of growing resistance inside China, including strikes, protests over unemployment and rising prices and other forms of resistance. Barnes referred to a recent article in the press that had the headline, "Capitalist-Style Layoffs Ignite Sabotage and Strikes in China."

In their scramble to dominate the Chinese market, the imperialist countries are tripping over each other. After Hong Kong, which leads the pack in foreign investment, Germany, Taiwan, Japan and the United States are vying to become the dominant investors. Foreign investment has increased from \$1.8 billion in 1983 to \$12 billion in 1991 and is heading sharply upward. In the first three months of 1992 the rate of foreign investment doubled again, totalling \$6.5 billion.

"Unlike what exists in Europe," said Barnes, "in Asia the United States is not integrated into any military alliances. The United States comes from the outside, which makes the situation more explosive." He noted that China has one of the largest armies in the world and it is the fourth largest exporter of heavy modern conventional arms.

Goal: 'speak more forcefully'

In the report on tasks and perspectives, Tony Hunt explained that the goal of the fusion was to put the party in a better position to "speak more forcefully in the interests of the working class and revolutionary youth worldwide."

Hunt said the fusion will enable the party "to respond rapidly and politically to participate in the fights that break out under the growing tensions produced by depression conditions as imperialism continues its nationalist economic offensives and steps toward war." Hunt noted that the fusion is not "a magic wand," but a maneuver that will strengthen "the norms and rhythm of a party whose large majority is composed of industrial workers." Young workers and students will be more attracted to a party that has a "collective daily rhythm" that reaches out with "the weekly *Militant* newspaper, the *Militant Labor Forum*, and the arsenal of revolutionary literature produced and distributed by Pathfinder."

Hunt said "it's important to remember that being a student, like being young, is a temporary period in life. Sooner or later a student has to earn a living—and sooner rather than later I personally assure you. What's important is to give them a framework for activity, and Marxist education. By reaching out to workers and youth our institutions will come to life as never before."

Since 1988 when the Communist League was formed, its membership, like that of all small revolutionary working-class organizations in the imperialist world over the last decade, has declined, said Hunt. "That is a function of the objective period opened in the early and mid 80s and the retreat of the labor movement. At the same time the League has become politically stronger, functioning not as part of the 'British left,' but as part of the international vanguard of the working class, reaching out with and through the strengths of the world communist movement."

International socialist conference

One of the goals of the fused organization, said Hunt, "is to link up with a layer of revolutionary and communist youth worldwide who will be present at the international socialist conference at Oberlin in August." We should organize to "win as many young fighters and others as we can to attend the conference."

During the congress, a lively discussion and debate broke out. Martin, a young socialist member from Manchester, said he became interested in working class politics during the imperialist war against Iraq. He described the war as "a rotten corrupt capitalist war." He said the perspective he heard at a *Militant Labor Forum* during the war convinced him to get more involved in the work of the League.

The recent tour of SWP candidate for vice-president Estelle DeBates was impor-

From Pathfinder

Revolutionary Continuity Marxist Leadership in the United States

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How successive generations of fighters took part in the struggles of the U.S. labor movement, seeking to be part of an international leadership that could advance the interests of workers and small farmers.

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tant, said Martin, because her campaign helped "connect what was going on in Britain with other fighters around the world from Yugoslavia and South Africa to Los Angeles."

Several delegates said that in the recent period they have been a part of more political discussions and debates on the job and in their unions. Many explained their experiences selling *Militant* subscriptions and Pathfinder pamphlets and books at work.

Alan, who was a youth during the Korean War and served two years in the British military, joined the communist movement in the 1960s. In the discussion, he commented on the growing inter-imperialist conflicts between Britain and Germany. "The unveiling of the 'Bomber' Harris statue, which the Queen Mother attended, is a grim reminder of this. 'Bomber' Harris of the British Bomber Command, was the architect of the saturation bombing that killed 593,000 German civilians during World War II," he said.

"Some 35,000 Germans were killed by U.S. and British bombers during the bombing of Dresden, while the city was filled with refugees fleeing from the Soviet army," Alan continued. "This [statue] is a reminder to the Germans that Britain still has illusions that it is the boss."

"In a similar vein, the protest by British families over the United States' 'friendly fire' during the Gulf war that killed nine British soldiers has put a strain in U.S.-British relations. The callous response by the U.S. government reinforces the view that relations will never be the same," he said.

AnnaLucia, a member of the young socialist group in London, described her experiences on a recent *Militant* sales trip to an abortion rights demonstration in Dublin, Ireland. While there the sales teams found a lot of interest in the *Militant* as well as the Pathfinder pamphlet, *The Catholic Church and Abortion Rights*.

AnnaLucia described her experiences in the young socialist group in London. She said the group was on a different course than the CL and that it was better to fuse the two organizations. She said that some of their activities took the group away from working with the party. The fusion will bring the communist movement closer to the day when a Britain-wide youth organization can be formed, she said.

Brian, a delegate from London and a member of the AEEU, said the political report on the fusion overestimated the political situa-

tion in the world and warned that such a perspective will make it more difficult to win youth to the movement. He proposed, instead, that the Communist League build an independent youth organization now. Leading up to the congress little leadership had "been taken" by the young socialist groups, he said. A few other delegates raised reservations about the fusion as well.

Bernie, a young socialist from Manchester who also fused with the CL, disagreed. He said the "best way to launch a youth organization in the future was through this fusion." He also said the young socialists were a "real organization despite the defects and that we confirmed in practice that we can bring young people around."

Another delegate, Doreen, who is an airport worker, raised questions about the *Militant* article on the Canadian fusion convention that took place May 30-31 in Toronto. The article, "Communists in Canada combine forces to win new young fighters to the movement," was written by *Militant* staff writer Paul Mailhot.

Youth affected by labor's retreat

In Mailhot's article he wrote, paraphrasing Communist League leader Steve Penner, that younger people are "affected to a greater degree by the retreat of the labor movement, as they are less likely to draw on the lessons and continuity of past struggles to help understand the temporary nature of this retreat." This makes it harder to form and sustain young socialist organizations.

Later in the article Mailhot explained a point Jack Barnes made that "individuals in all parts of the world are more open to being reached by ideas of communist politics now than at any other time since the opening years of the Russian revolution."

Doreen said she found it difficult to reconcile these two seemingly contradictory points. A few of the delegates focused their contributions on this question. "Both are true," argued Pete, a TGWU member in London. "The labor movement is and has been in retreat but this doesn't mean workers are ground down and defeated. There is more openness to revolutionary ideas in the world, in places we were blocked off from before," he said. Pete pointed to the successful Pathfinder promotion trip to Tehran, Iran as an example of this and drew on his experience of the favorable reception to Pathfinder books and socialist literature during a trip to South Africa.

Communist League member Connie,



The Gulf war has had a big impact on youth and working people in Britain. Above, one of the British personnel carriers attacked by U.S. warplanes. Nine British soldiers were killed as a result of 'friendly fire' during the war.

who has been active in the communist movement since the 1940s, said that "we need to absorb the meaning of the historic break-up of Stalinism. What we can do with our weapons, particularly Pathfinder Press, in the world today is unlike any previous period."

Likewise, Connie said it was extremely significant that the *London Times*, a major British daily, wrote a feature article on the Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate. (See "A voice from the wilderness," reproduced in the last issue of the *Militant*.)

This year Pathfinder has participated in bookfairs in Havana, Cuba; the United States; Britain; Iran; Australia; and has plans to attend bookfairs in Germany and Sweden this fall, said Connie. She also noted that Pathfinder books are being distributed in South Africa by a well-known book publisher and distributor there. "We should always remember that Pathfinder is one of the best ways to promote our revolutionary continuity."

Special opportunities

In a summary report to the congress, Barnes discussed two contradictory political developments that have come together in the world. The first is the decline of the working class movement in the last decade. "The trade union retreat, the absence of leadership in the labor movement, the relative weakness of the strike weapon, combined with the defeats of the revolutions in Grenada and Nicaragua, which in turn blocked off the potential for revolutionary change in El Salvador — all of this has weighed heavily on the communist movement," said Barnes. "In addition there is no ongoing socialist revolution anywhere, unlike the early 1980s with Nicaragua and Grenada."

'Youth attracted to communist movement'

The following resolution was adopted by a May 23-24 joint meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist League in Britain and leadership delegations from the young socialist groups in London, Manchester, and Sheffield.

The aim of the congress is to bring together, in a common organisation, the members of the Communist League, most of whom are revolutionary workers organised in industrial fractions, and the revolutionary-minded fighters who are members of the young socialist groups.

Explosive class tensions and sharpening political polarisation mark the deepening crisis of the world market order. As we respond to the bourgeois-created reality of depression, war, racism and reaction, the fusion of the Communist League and the young socialists prepares us to speak more forcefully in the interests of the working class and revolutionary youth worldwide.

The fusion will place our movement in Britain in the best position to fight to win more young people to a working-class perspective on world politics and to a commitment to the line of march of the modern workers movement — towards wresting state power out of the hands of the capitalist exploiters, oppressors and warmakers and opening the door to building a new society.

The aim of the fusion is to organise the current cadres of the league, and young fighters in political solidarity with it, in a way that enables us to respond rapidly and

politically to participate in the fights that break out under the growing tensions produced by depression conditions as imperialism continues its nationalist offensives and drive to war.

The fused organisation can more effectively reach out with the institutions our common movement has been building — the weekly *Militant*, the Militant Labour Forum, and the panoply of revolutionary weapons produced and distributed by Pathfinder. It will enable us to advance the professional expansion of Pathfinder sales as we begin to implement the perspectives previously adopted by organising to upgrade branch bookstores and train comrades in every branch as experienced salespersons.

Since 1988 when the Communist League was formed, its membership, like that of all small revolutionary working-class organisations in the imperialist world, has declined. That is a function of the objective period opened in the early and mid 80s and the retreat of the labour movement. At the same time the League has become politically stronger, functioning not as part of the "British left", but as part of the international vanguard of the working class, reaching out with and through the strengths of the world movement.

Through the short but intense political period of the assault on Iraq in 1990-91, the Communist League carried out a working-class campaign against imperialism and war. Calling for "troops home now" and "end the blockade", we fought to move into and use

the political space opened up, in order to convince other workers, farmers and anti-war youth that war grows out of the desperate attempts of the rulers to defend their social system. We used the weapons of the *Militant*, *New Internationalist* and Pathfinder books and fought to get them into the hands of others to explain the need for workers and their allies to take power out of the hands of the rulers in order to stop not only this war but those that will follow. We sought to centre our campaign through the work of our union fractions within the workplace and unions and, at the same time, as revolutionary workers, in the mass movement. The work of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party as outlined in the "Opening Guns of World War III" remains our model in face of the coming experiences we can anticipate.

The war in the Middle East reinforced the assault on democratic rights and living and working conditions in this country, as well as the more and more rabid nationalist and racist bias of the bourgeoisie.

While the pace and intensity of politics today is not like that during the war, the axis of our participation in fights against racist attacks, frame-ups and assaults on women's rights is the same: to explain to the young fighters we meet that the growing brutality and violence of the bosses, at home and abroad, is their inevitable response to the crumbling of their world order put together after World War II. In order to fight effectively

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Second, said Barnes, "is the break-up of the main transmission belt of imperialism into the workers movement, the Stalinist murder machine. This disintegration has weakened the forces of social democracy as well."

"Both these things have come together in depression conditions," said Barnes, "and pose special opportunities for the communist movement."

"We have not had this openness since the period after the Russian revolution in 1917 through much of the 1920s. At that point, where Stalinism took hold, it became extremely difficult to carve out any space for the communist movement. Many were attracted to the Stalinist movement thinking that it was genuine communism. In the process many able fighters were corrupted."

"If this evaluation of the world is not true then we should alter our plans to expand the distribution of Pathfinder books and pamphlets," added Barnes. "It would have practical implications. We tend to underestimate the leverage Pathfinder gives us, as well as the desire to read and discuss the books and pamphlets that carry the true history of the communist movement."

Fusion will strengthen party

Barnes said the young socialist groups, which existed for only a few months, were real organizations. "They were responsible people. Sometimes they went away from the movement but the party reached out and brought them back in," explained Barnes. Barnes emphasized that the fusion with the young socialist groups "will strengthen the party and it will aid in regrouping with vanguard fighters who had diverged from the movement in the past."

In the four years since the Communist League was founded in 1988, the League has recruited nine members. Six have joined over the last twelve months. Through the fusion five members of young socialist groups have joined the League and two former members have rejoined.

Coming out of the fusion, the newly strengthened organization is now faced with the challenge of consistently carrying out communist youth work and recruiting young fighters to the movement. The best way to do that is to advance the norms and rhythm of a party whose large majority is composed of industrial workers. A key aspect of this will be to continue winning and integrating the new members into the activities of the Communist League.

A report on the "Guidelines for Election of the Central Committee" was given by CL leader Andy Buchanan at the convention. The congress discussed and adopted a proposal to elect a central committee of 12 members. Of the 12, five had been members of young socialist groups.

Following the conference two Communist League members joined international *Militant* reporting trips to South Africa, Yugoslavia and Greece, where the World Federation of Democratic Youth held a forum against imperialist intervention in Yugoslavia.

At the congress messages were read by leaders of the Communist League to the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, to the African National Congress of South Africa, to the Democratic Peoples Republic of North Korea, and to the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

A total of \$500 of Pathfinder literature was sold at the congress. One of the more popular titles was the new edition of *Art and Revolution* by Leon Trotsky.

Warren, Curtis talk about world politics

BY CHRIS REMPLE

DES MOINES, Iowa — A highlight of the July 9-11 election campaign tour of Iowa by James Warren, Socialist Workers candidate for president, was a visit to Mark Curtis.

Curtis is a former meatpacker who was framed up by Des Moines cops for his role in defense of immigrant workers who were arrested by the immigration police in March, 1988. Curtis tried to unite his coworkers to use the union to defend the victimized workers. He was framed on rape and burglary charges and has currently served 4 years of a 25-year sentence in an Iowa prison.

Curtis is one of the national chairpeople of the Socialist Workers election campaign.

Warren visited Mark Curtis at the Iowa State Penitentiary. He reported on his recent trip to Cuba and his discussions with working people there. His tour was organized by the leadership of the Cuban Communist Party.

Warren spoke of the factory visits in Cuba as a highlight of the tour. He reported a great curiosity among Cuban workers about the Socialist Workers campaign in the United States, the petitioning drives to get on the ballot, the changing political climate in Miami in which communists function openly and

many other aspects of the socialist campaign.

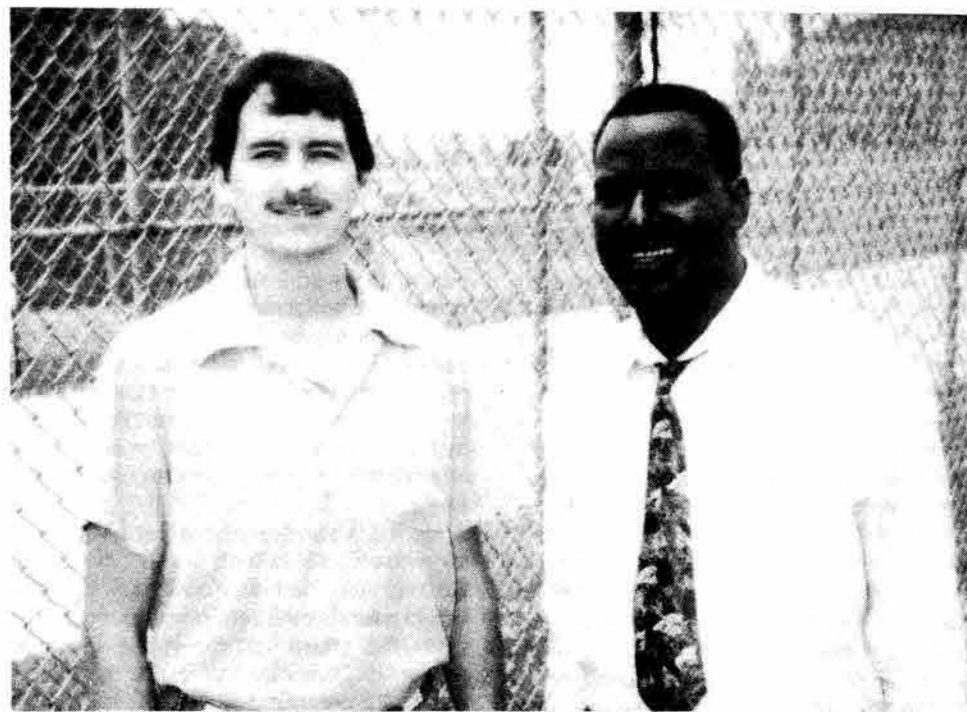
Curtis asked about the efforts by the Cuban people to meet the challenges they face today due to the U.S. trade embargo and the loss of trade resulting from the collapse of the governments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Warren reported that right now working people in Cuba are organizing voluntary work brigades chiefly on farms to wage a fight for food self-sufficiency.

Warren said many Cubans asked him about the possibilities in the United States of promoting solidarity with the Cuban revolution. He replied that those opportunities are greater now than in the past.

Curtis had been able to tell some of his fellow inmates about Warren's upcoming visit and several were standing in the prison yard or tending the flowers near the visiting area to meet or catch a glimpse of the Socialist Workers candidate.

At a campaign rally in Des Moines a statement was read from Curtis. He explained, "Even though I cannot be at this rally tonight, I am campaigning for the Socialist Workers campaign here at the Iowa State Penitentiary in Fort Madison."

Curtis blasted the nationalism promoted



James Warren and Mark Curtis at John Bennett Correctional Center in Iowa

by U.S. rulers and their scapegoating of different sections of working people for the economic crisis of capitalism. He pointed to the international character of the working class. Curtis concluded his greetings by urging supporters to join the campaign, stating, "There is no better time to join the fight for freedom and socialism."

Warren also met with packinghouse

workers interested in his campaign in Perry, Iowa. One, Sharon McCoy, is serving as an elector for the Socialist Workers campaign. Another young worker, recently returned from Mexico, decided to subscribe to *Perspectiva Mundial* and purchased a copy of the Marxist publication *Nueva Internacional* as well as other literature to read more about the communist perspective.

New York petitioning campaign off to strong start

BY SARA LOBMAN

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Campaign in New York have hit the streets to collect the 15,000 signatures required to get James Warren and Estelle DeBates, candidates for U.S. president and vice-president, on the ballot.

Mary Nell Bockman reports that eight days into the drive, about 7,700 people have signed the nominating petitions for Warren and DeBates. The petitioning teams, which include a full-time team of 15 and dozens of local supporters who volunteer before and after work and school, report a tremendous interest in the socialist alternative.

Warren, in New York between tour stops, was able to join a team in Washington Heights, scene of numerous protests against

the cop murder of two Dominican youths. Hundreds of people have signed the socialist petitions in that area alone. Warren and several supporters also brought the campaign to a protest against a plant closing organized by workers at the Tarrytown General Motors plant.

Several supporters spent most of the week in Buffalo, N.Y. where, for several weeks this spring, abortion rights activists successfully defended clinics from attacks by the antiabortion Operation Rescue. Before heading home, this team will visit the Seneca Indian reservation where there have been major confrontations with the police stemming from Seneca opposition to proposed new taxes.

Petitioners report that 250 people have

purchased copies of the *Militant*, nine subscribed to the *Militant*, one subscribed to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and eight bought copies of *PM*.

A Militant Labor Forum on the mass protests sweeping South Africa featured national campaign director Greg McCartan. A dozen of the 70 participants at the event had just found out about the campaign. Two of these young people are making plans to attend the International Socialist Conference in Oberlin, Ohio.

Maurice Williams, who works at the Monfort packinghouse in Marshalltown, Iowa, reports that supporters of the socialist campaign in the plant sponsored a campaign barbecue in the town of Waterloo on June 20th. Workers sold tickets, distributed leaf-

lets, and organized friends and relatives to participate. Nineteen signatures were collected to put the socialist candidates on the ballot and more than \$70 was raised among the 25 people who attended.

"This campaign is for the future of our children and for the fight against police brutality," explained Adrian, who works at the Monfort plant and attended the barbecue.

On July 11, campaign supporters collected 1,000 signatures to put Socialist Workers-endorsed candidate Milton Chee, an aerospace worker, on the ballot for San Francisco Board of Supervisors, reports Cathleen Gutekanst. Petitioners then gathered at the Pathfinder bookstore for a two-day educational conference on the Cuban Revolution. Seventy people attended the discussion. At a fund-raising party that weekend, \$600 was raised to help campaign supporters attend the upcoming International Socialist Conference in Oberlin, Ohio.

Supporters of oil worker Joanne Kuni-ansky, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress in Pittsburgh, completed a drive to get 4,000 signatures to place her name on the ballot in November "a week ahead of schedule and with hundreds of signatures to spare," according to Arnold Weissberg.

Among the young people who have come to campaign-sponsored forums and classes are Melissa, 21, who met socialist petitioners at a Gay Pride Day event she helped organize; Damon, 20, who met the socialists at a pro-choice demonstration; and Ron, an active-duty GI, who attended a forum on Haiti after signing a campaign petition the previous afternoon.

Marea Himelgrin reports a victory for democratic rights in Minneapolis when police were forced to allow the campaign to continue a 20 year practice of setting up literature tables in a neighborhood called Dinkytown. Since the streets are full of tables staffed by merchants and other political groups, the socialists were surprised when police officer Lt. Jack Nelson ordered the table down. They figured it had something to do with the campaign signs demanding "Justice for Rodney King! Federal prosecution for those who beat him."

Several days later, as supporters of the socialist campaign were preparing for a protest, an officer came up and "formally apologized." He said a statement from the police chief was in the mail and the tables would not be taken down again.

Support is growing at the Ford assembly plant in Atlanta where Miguel Zárate, socialist candidate for U.S. Senate in Georgia and Bob Braxton, candidate for U.S. Congress, work, Susan LaMont reports. Thirteen workers at the plant have subscribed to the *Militant* and \$40 have been donated to the campaign.

Socialists waging fight to gain ballot status

BY SARA LOBMAN

Supporters of the socialist campaign in Florida and Ohio are waging a fight to get their candidates on the ballot. In both states they have already successfully collected the thousands of signatures required.

Laura Garza is the socialist candidate for U.S. Congress in the 18th District in Florida. Ronald Garnez Parks is running for U.S. Congress in the 11th District in Ohio. Sup-

porters in Ohio have also petitioned to get Socialist Workers presidential and vice-presidential candidates James Warren and Estelle DeBates on the ballot.

In addition to filing thousands of signatures, the state of Florida requires that "minor parties" pay a \$10,000 bond and a 10-cent-per-signature fee before filing nominating petitions. A Federal Court ruled July 1 against a lawsuit filed to win relief from

these undemocratic requirements.

Campaign supporters launched an immediate fundraising and protest effort. Many people who bought the campaign newspaper, the *Militant*, donated toward the fees. Teams of campaigners called scores of people who had expressed an interest in the socialist campaign. More than 8,000 signatures were filed, in 52 counties, much greater than the 5,625 required. In addition, thanks to the contributions raised, \$800 was paid in fees.

However, supporters have been notified by officials in Dade County, where over 6,000 of the signatures were filed, that only 2,200 there were accepted as valid.

Garza explained in response, "These moves by government officials and the courts restrict the rights of millions of ordinary people by favoring candidates with big financial resources and screening out any alternative parties or candidates." Her campaign supporters are asking all supporters of democratic rights to urge the state to put the socialist candidates on the ballot.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign in Ohio recently filed 3,107 signatures to get Parks on the ballot. They have now launched a public campaign to ensure ballot status. Statements of support for the right of the socialist candidates to appear on the ballot have come from a number of prominent individuals in the Cleveland area. These include Tom Buckley, Professor of Law at Cleveland State University; Amanda Byrne, vice-president/action of the Cleveland chapter of the National Organization for Women; and Terry Daughterty, shop steward of United Auto Workers Local 2262.

Maggie McCraw from Miami and Roni McCann from Cleveland contributed to this article.

Socialist campaign fund results

The Socialist Workers election campaign fund ended on July 1.

Contributions to the fund have helped finance the extensive international travel of the candidates, insure expanded press coverage of the campaign, and field teams of volunteers petitioning to get the candidates on the ballot.

A total of \$50,474 was received towards the \$75,000 goal. The results from around the country are listed below.

Further contributions are welcome. Please send them to the Socialist Workers 1992 National Campaign, 191 7th Ave., New York, NY 10011. Tel: (212) 675-6740.

Contributions to the 1992 Socialist Campaign

City	Goal	Received	City	Goal	Received
Atlanta	\$2,800	\$2,415	New Haven	\$700	\$30
Baltimore	2,300	1,070	Newark	7,000	1,461
Birmingham	2,200	1,330	New York	9,000	3,735
Boston	3,000	705	Philadelphia	2,500	2,034
Chicago	3,500	2,075	Pittsburgh	2,100	2,570
Cincinnati	700	250	Portland		500
Cleveland	2,600	1,755	Salt Lake City	3,000	3,060
Des Moines	2,000	2,010	San Francisco	6,000	5,800
Detroit	2,200	1,000	Seattle	2,000	800
Greensboro	1,600	1,155	St. Louis	2,500	2,660
Houston	2,700	1,647	Twin Cities	3,600	3,125
Los Angeles	5,500	4,682	Wash., DC	2,300	2,385
Miami	2,000	1,555	Other		115
Morgantown	1,800	550	TOTALS:	\$75,600	\$50,474

Behind Belgrade's carnage in Yugoslavia: What road to unite working people?

BY GEORGE FYSON
AND JONATHAN SILBERMAN

Over the past year Yugoslavia has been gripped by a murderous civil war orchestrated above all by the regime in Serbia, as well as by leaders of Croatia and other republics. The Yugoslav working people, who 45 years ago made a mighty socialist revolution, are the ones who are paying with their lives.

Into this situation the rival imperialist powers of Europe and the United States are seeking ways to intervene, wield their forces, and place their stamp on the outcome of events. Acting through the United Nations, they have placed an embargo on Serbia, and are weighing the prospects of serious military involvement beyond the UN forces currently stationed there.

The military conflict in Yugoslavia has now been going on for just over one year. Beginning in June 1991, skirmishes in Slovenia were followed by a devastating war in Croatia.

In recent months a further slaughter in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been going on. Indiscriminate massacres of civilians and devastation of cities to a degree rarely seen in the history of warfare have resulted in at least 7,000 deaths in only three months. (The government of Bosnia-Herzegovina puts the death toll as high as 50,000.) Earlier, some 10,000 people were killed in the war over territory in Croatia in the second half of 1991.

The war has created as many as 1 million refugees in Croatia, and some 1.2 million in Bosnia-Herzegovina just in the last three months. The number of refugees in Bosnia-Herzegovina — now one quarter of its population — is the highest anywhere in Europe since World War II. The former Yugoslavia has a population of 24 million.

Capitalist-minded political commentators argue that the current conflicts in Yugoslavia are the modern expression of centuries of tribal or ethnic strife that has gripped this part of the world. They use this to justify the need for outside intervention in the form of an economic embargo and possible military attack, claiming the people of Yugoslavia are helpless to solve the problems they face through their own struggles.

Crude drive for control

The truth is the opposite. Today's conflicts in Yugoslavia have nothing in common with the historic rise of nation-states that accompanied the bourgeois-democratic revolutions against feudal conditions in the period from the 16th to the early 20th century. Nor are they similar to modern national liberation struggles against colonialism and imperialist oppression. Instead, what is involved is a crude drive for control over territory and resources among the conflicting bureaucratic gangs that rule in the regions of the former Yugoslavia.

As in the former Soviet Union and elsewhere in Eastern Europe, elements of the old Stalinist bureaucracy have discarded their previous verbal claims to "communism" as easily as a snake sheds its old skin. Now they are gang-ing up with would-be capitalists to grab as big a portion of the loot as they can, just as any mafia operates to protect and enlarge its turf. And they are competing among themselves for a poor cousin's place at the table of world capitalism.

The main aggressors on the Yugoslav battleground are the bureaucrats based in Serbia, the dominant republic in the former Yugoslavia, whose largest city, Belgrade, had been the federal capital. The regimes of the Croatian and other republics have shown themselves to be no less keen to plunder resources for themselves, as the Croatian regime's annexation of a piece of Bosnia-Herzegovina in early July demonstrates.

None of the fights being waged by the regimes and their surrogate forces in Yugoslavia today are in the interests of working people there, whose parents and grandparents

carried out a powerful revolution in the 1940s that overturned the rule of the exploiting landlords and capitalists of different tongues and creeds, and forged a united Yugoslavia.

The conflicts of the past year have been noteworthy for the inability of the regimes to mobilize large numbers of working people to fight; for the large number of desertions from the Yugoslav army; for the cases of fraternization between soldiers and those they were supposed to be fighting; and for the mounting protests against the war, especially in Belgrade. Just in the past weeks, tens of thousands of people have demonstrated in numerous protests against the war, including a rally of 100,000 June 28.

Modern class struggle

Despite the nationalist demagoguery of the bureaucrats and protocapitalists, what is taking place is not national, religious, ethnic, or tribal struggle. It is the *modern class struggle*.

The events in Yugoslavia are not the product of communism, but of its counterrevolutionary opposite: Stalinism. The Yugoslav crisis is one in a series that has gripped the workers states in Eastern and Central Europe and the former Soviet Union over the past two years, bringing down governments and shattering the ruling Stalinist parties.



Working people and youth throughout Yugoslavia oppose the Belgrade regime and its policy of war. Women in Belgrade demonstrate demanding an end to military conscription.

Today the components of the former Yugoslavia have an enormous foreign debt to imperialist banks and financial institutions, rampant inflation, and massive unemployment. Yugoslav workers have been forced to migrate in search of work. Even before the latest wave of war-generated refugees there were 600,000 Yugoslav workers in Germany alone.

Different sections of the ruling stratum in Yugoslavia

advance variations on the approach to getting out of the mess the country is in. Although they drape their rhetoric in different "national" colors, they share the desire to shove the effects of the crisis onto the backs of working people. These petty-bourgeois and aspiring bourgeois layers are only interested in safeguarding their own privileges, diverting workers from acting in their own class interests, and continuing the fruitless attempt to be welcomed as equal partners into the world capitalist system.

Today this is a less realistic perspective than ever. The world capitalist system is in the initial throes of an historic crisis. Instability, economic depression, social crisis, and war are what this system holds in store.

Out of the class struggles that will inevitably result, workers will have their chance to build communist parties capable of leading revolutionary anticapitalist struggles to establish governments of the workers and farmers and join in the worldwide fight for socialism. The future battles that workers face in Yugoslavia, in overthrowing the parasitic caste that today presides over the bloody dismemberment of the federation, are part of this worldwide struggle.

The tasks working people face can be best appreciated by reviewing the road they have already traveled — what the workers and peasants achieved in the Yugoslav revolution of the latter part of the 1940s, and how that revolution was betrayed.

The rise, accomplishments, and degeneration of the Yugoslav revolution

The Yugoslav revolution is one of the historic conquests of the working class, just like the Russian revolution of 1917; the Chinese revolution of 1949; and the Cuban revolution of 1959. It was a mighty "festival of the oppressed," as Lenin described the Bolshevik-led October revolution in Russia. The revolutionary example set by the toilers in Russia and elsewhere in the old tsarist empire inspired generations of working-class leaders in Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia was an economically backward country at the time of the revolution. Indeed the Balkans, which comprise Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, and Yugoslavia, were the most backward part of Europe. The region accounted for just 2.5 percent of European industrial production, most of this closely connected with agriculture — milling, wine-pressing, and manufacture of vegetable oils. About 80 percent of the Yugoslav population of 16 million were peasants, 1 million of whom were landless and worked as migratory, seasonal farmworkers.

The land was in the hands of a few large landowners and the peasantry was oppressed by the hangovers of semifeudal conditions, onto which the harshest of capitalist social relations had been grafted. Agricultural taxes in the Balkans were among the highest in the world. The mortgage and loan debts of the peasants were enormous. Interest rates for seed and tools in the region ran up to 80 percent. In many areas the peasants were restricted to subsistence farming. The modern working class numbered at most 100,000.

Yugoslavia was dominated by foreign capital, first British and French, and then by growing German interests in the 1920s and 1930s. It was effectively a semicolony of these European imperialist powers, with its economic and social development held back in their interests.

Yugoslavia was united as a country at the end of World War I with the coming together of six republics under the

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Serbian monarchy. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, established in 1918, took the name Yugoslavia in 1929. When World War II opened, there was little or no all-Yugoslav industrial infrastructure. Within this framework, the north and west were relatively more modern and advanced, the south more backward.

Different languages, alphabets, religions

The legacy of colonial domination by the "European" Austro-Hungarian or by the "Asian" Ottoman empires — as the bourgeois press insists on designating them today — left its mark in the form of different languages and alphabets, ethnic origins, and religions. Serbia, home of the oppressive Karageorgevich monarchy, dominated Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Slovenia, and Vojvodina. National oppression was enshrined in law. There was no separation between the state and the church — the Serbian-linked Greek Orthodox hierarchy, that is.

The workers' movement was weak, beset by both the objective backwardness of the country and harsh repression. Many political oppositionists were imprisoned, some were executed.

Despite the weakness of the organized Communist Party and workers movement, the 1917 Russian revolution had great prestige there. Yugoslav peasants were attracted by the revolution's agrarian reform; the youth by its democratic and broader social conquests. In the brief democratic interlude following the country's formation after World War I, the Communist Party grew rapidly. By 1920 it had 60,000 members and in the elections of that year, the party came in third, winning 12 percent of the vote. But a period of severe repression followed. By the outbreak of World War II, the Communist Party — which was underground or semilegal from 1921 onward, and whose leadership spent many years out of the country — numbered about 12,000, with 30,000 in the Communist youth organization. It had also gone through a qualitative political transformation through its adherence to the course of the Stalin-led Communist International.

This was the general condition of Yugoslavia at the outbreak of World War II. In April 1941 the Axis powers invaded — primarily German troops, assisted by Italian, Bulgarian, and Hungarian forces. The Axis occupation won the support of the Yugoslav landowners and capitalists in their majority; the rise of German imperialist domination had ensured their pro-German orientation.

Military coup

Prior to the Axis invasion, the Karageorgevich monarchy had concluded an agreement with Hitler, and petty-bourgeois forces within the army officer corps then ousted the government in a coup. The king fled, along with the "royal purse." The new government, which proclaimed neutrality, organized no resistance to the Axis forces that soon crossed its borders. After 11 days, including the horrific bombing of Belgrade, which ranks alongside the devastation of Coventry and Dresden, the German occupation was complete.

In the Croatian capital of Zagreb, a fascist regime under nationalist colors, the Ustasha, was established. It actively collaborated with the occupation forces, carrying out mass killings of Gypsies, Jews, and Serbs.

The Serbian monarchy set up shop in Britain. Pro-monarchy forces, known as Chetniks, established a guerrilla operation under the royalist general Draza Mihailovic. They received financial and military aid from the Allied powers — the governments of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union.

The principal opposition to the occupying forces was the armed "Partisans." Led by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Partisan movement was a national liberation army. It was originally set up to harass the occupying forces, not to launch an insurrectionary struggle. This was in line with dictates from the Stalin regime in Moscow, which had recognized the occupation administration and was looking to avert a German invasion of Russia.

The Yugoslav party, now headed by the Croatian-born Josip Broz Tito, followed Moscow's instructions, establishing small armed units at first. It had no idea, nor intention, that within four years it would be in power.

But the armed resistance to both the home-grown and occupying fascist forces proved tremendously popular, and the peasant masses pressed for broader social goals. Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union, Stalin gave the go-ahead to the Partisans to organize a military struggle, calling on them to act jointly with Mihailovic's Chetniks and all forces opposed to the occupation.

Workers and peasants poured into the ranks of the Partisans, who waged a courageous struggle that tied down 33 Axis divisions — some 500,000 troops. The fight was bitter and hard: nearly 2 million Yugoslavs, or 11 percent of the population, died in the war.

Popular committees

In the course of the successful struggle, popular committees were elected to administer liberated zones, organizing education, health care, and munitions production. Peasants seized the land of landowners who had fled or collaborated with the occupying armies. As liberated zones became linked, a newspaper began to be published three times a week, a railway system was organized, and a mail system established. In November 1942, a broad national body based on elected representatives of the popular committees was established — the Anti-Fascist Council of People's Liberation, or AVNOJ (pronounced Avnoy).

A year later, in November 1943, AVNOJ set itself up as a provisional government and announced that the king could not return. At the same time, at the meeting of U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin in Tehran, Iran, the allied powers first agreed that influence in post-war Yugoslavia would be shared equally between the imperialist allies and Moscow.

By the autumn of 1942, the Partisans numbered 150,000. By the end of 1943 they had grown to 300,000, and by the end of the war they were effectively a full-fledged army numbering 800,000.



Indiscriminate massacres and devastation of cities have left at least 17,000 dead and 2 million homeless.

The Partisans took on the character of a mass social movement. Without aid from any outside source, the movement won working people from every nationality. This included substantial recruitment from German, Italian, Bulgarian, and Hungarian prisoners of war and deserters, a recruitment policy that became the subject of sharp criticism from Moscow.

The Partisans took steps to mobilize women in the struggle, organizing two national conferences for this purpose. The predominance of young fighters was reflected in the peasants' description of the armed Partisan detachments as "the youth."

The big majority of fighters were peasants, including in the Proletarian Brigades, which formed the backbone of the Partisan army. Many workers from the cities joined the brigades and other Partisan units as well. The Proletarian Brigades were the first fighting units that were not restricted to operations in a particular region.

Against chauvinism

In uniting the toilers from every nationality behind the antifascist struggle the Partisans advanced a program that struck at the heart of national privilege and went a long way to overcoming national enmities. It called for equality and mutual respect for all nationalities and opposed the chauvinism and domination of one nation over others.

The Partisans combined this with the objective of implementing social and economic advances in the interests of working people. The Partisans also looked beyond old "Yugoslavia," and presented the perspective of a broader Balkan federation.

Already by 1940 the Communist Party had adopted a program that provided for the right to self-determination for all oppressed nationalities. The success of this approach in uniting working people in the Partisan movement confirmed in life that defense of national rights and opposition to national privilege are not the path toward nationalism, but the only road to unite the working class in the international fight for socialism.

This stance allowed the Partisans to win over masses of peasants and workers from the murderous Croatian fascists and Serbian nationalist forces. In the town of Focha in Bosnia, for example, Ustasha forces in May 1941 killed all Serbs who had not fled. Six months later a Partisan unit, made up of Serbs and Croats, seized the city. They tried and executed Ustashi who were guilty of these crimes, but did not touch any Croat simply for being Croatian. Then the bourgeois-led Chetniks defeated the Partisans and captured the town. They, in turn, killed every Croat they could round up.

Workers and farmers make revolution

Under pressure from the "Big Three" — Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union — who demanded the restoration of the monarchy at the end of the war, Tito agreed in early 1945 to a joint government responsible to a regency — a representative of the crown — whose members would be approved by the national committee of the AVNOJ. The AVNOJ would have full legislative power.

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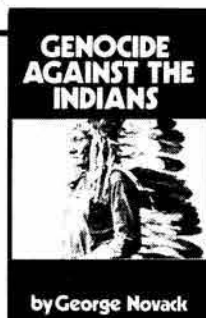
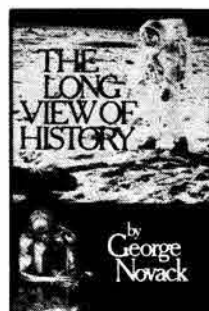
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ers until a constituent assembly convened to make final decisions. A joint government of Tito and Ivan Subasic, prime minister of the royal government-in-exile in London, was established on March 7, 1945.

At the same time, the revolutionary mobilization by the Partisans encroached on capitalist property relations more and more. A Partisan decree of November 24, 1944, ordered the confiscation of the property of occupiers, including extensive German capital, and their Yugoslav collaborators. This amounted to 80 percent of industry, most banks, and almost all large commercial enterprises. (The subsequent nationalization law of December 1946 largely registered an already existing fact.)

The new government also enacted a massive land reform in August 1945. This confiscated the property of the great landowners without compensation, put 95 percent of the cultivated land into the hands of the working peasants, and placed a limit of 30 hectares (74 acres) on the sale of land.

The government instituted steps toward economic planning, including a state monopoly of foreign trade. It took measures that during the initial years of the revolution substantially narrowed the gap between different parts of the country.

This increasingly anticapitalist course of the government made clear that Subasic and the four other representatives of the bourgeoisie and landed nobility had no real sway in the country. It was acting as a workers and peasants government on the momentum of the revolutionary struggle. Power was in the hands of the Communist Party, the leading force in the AVNOJ.

The bourgeois figures resigned over the course of 1945, including Subasic. In the fall of 1945, the monarchy was abolished—implementing the AVNOJ decision of two years earlier—and the bourgeois parties boycotted the November 11 elections to the constituent assembly because they knew they would be heavily defeated. The new Federal People's Republic was installed on November 29 and the new constitution adopted on Jan. 31, 1946.

In the course of implementing these anticapitalist measures, and propelled by the mobilizations of workers and peasants that went along with them, a workers state was established in Yugoslavia—a state based on the workers' successful conquest of state property in the basic means of production, a thoroughgoing land reform, economic planning, and a state monopoly of foreign trade.

Moscow's hostility

To lead this revolution through to completion, the Partisans had to break from the attempts by Moscow to strangle the struggle of the toilers in Yugoslavia. Stalin's policies subordinated the interests of the working class and its allies in Yugoslavia—and everywhere else—to the interests of the materially privileged bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union.

For the Moscow bureaucrats, the task of Communist Parties in other countries was to do whatever was necessary and expedient to advance the shifting foreign policy needs of the Soviet regime. This was justified in the guise of "defending" the Soviet Union. Under the banner of "socialism in one country," the Communist International was transformed by Stalin into a tool for the counterrevolutionary diplomacy of the Soviet government. In May 1943 Stalin dissolved the Comintern altogether to emphasize to Washington and London that Moscow had no thought whatsoever of attempting to extend the world socialist revolution.

In the course of World War II, Stalin wished above all to maintain the alliance with his British and U.S. allies. To prove his reliability, Stalin used Moscow's influence and the Communist Parties in various countries to ensure that revolutionary struggles against capitalism were defeated. In relation to Yugoslavia, Stalin loyally followed Churchill's and Roosevelt's dictates.

"It seems that Great Britain and the Yugoslav government [in London] have good reasons to suspect the partisan movement of having a communist character and aiming at a sovietization of Yugoslavia," said a Comintern letter to Tito in 1942. "Why have you created, for instance, a special proletarian brigade? At the present moment, the main duty is to merge all anti-nazi trends."

The Partisans were not mentioned in the Soviet press, their radio broadcasts were censored; until 1944 they were refused any aid by the Soviet Union. The CP was urged to organize jointly with the Chetniks and Moscow publicly supported the return of the monarchy to Yugoslavia. At three international conferences—Tehran in November-December 1943, Yalta in February 1945, and Potsdam in July 1945, Stalin reaffirmed his commitment to a 50-50 sphere of influence split between Britain and the Soviet Union for post-war Yugoslavia.

Leadership trained as Stalinists

The Yugoslav CP did not enter the struggle with the intention of breaking from Moscow. Its leadership had been trained in Russia or by Stalin's secret police in the Spanish Civil War. In 1937, on orders from the Kremlin, the entire central committee of the party with the exception of Tito was purged. Tito himself had spent two years in Moscow and had become leader of the party only follow-

ing Stalin's murder of the previous leader, Milan Gorkic. The party had loyally followed Stalin's previous twists and turns.

Faithful to this approach, the program of the first session of AVNOJ in 1942 guaranteed "no radical changes whatsoever in the social life and activities of the people". But the dynamics of the struggle and the scope of the revolutionary mobilization of the toilers imposed shifts on the CP leadership, which was determined to lead the antifascist struggle.

The alliance with the Chetniks proved impossible. As early as 1941, the Chetniks were organizing armed actions against the Partisans, and as the war progressed the overwhelming bulk of the Chetniks' operations were of this character.

The Yugoslav CP leadership, based on its own apparatus that more and more took on the character of an independent government, charted an independent course from Moscow, while continuing to subscribe to a Stalinist political framework.



This was important in facilitating a different outcome to the struggle in Yugoslavia from what happened in Greece, where the CP did carry out Stalin's orders. The Greek Partisans were disarmed under the British occupation. The struggle was then drowned in blood. The Yugoslav CP was also from the Stalinist stable, but it was able to lead a determined national liberation fight that, in the exceptional circumstances of war and foreign occupation, ensured the success of the anticapitalist revolution.

The world at the end of World War II

The emerging imperialist war victors were alarmed by this development. The revolution meant more than just material conquests for the Yugoslav toilers, important as these were. Its success engendered solidarity by fighting

workers and youth around the world. Revolutionaries in other countries reached out to defend and assist the Yugoslav revolution.

Thousands of workers and youth went on work brigades to Yugoslavia to build roads, railroads, and other public works. In the summer of 1950, 3,000 people from France were organized in the Jean Jaurès Brigade, the Rosa Luxemburg Brigade, and the Renault Brigade made up of auto workers from Renault Billancourt. Brigades went from Britain and elsewhere in Europe, and plans were made for a U.S. brigade that never came to fruition.

Imperialism reacted to the Yugoslav revolution with economic pressure, hostile propaganda, and overt military threats. Between July 16 and August 8, 1946, Yugoslav airspace was violated 172 times by British and U.S. bombers and fighters. But the postwar relationship of forces did not permit a direct military intervention aimed at overturning the revolution.

The revolution in Yugoslavia was not the only social overturn that came out of World War II. In Albania a popular revolutionary struggle of a similar character achieved success in 1944. A civil war continued to threaten capitalist rule in Greece, and was only finally defeated in 1949.

The wartime victories over fascism spurred massive mobilizations throughout Europe. In Italy the workers and farmers were armed and in a position to press for a government of the toilers. The Communist Party, however, was a major force in the coalition government that followed the fall of Mussolini and was determined to preserve its bloc with the bourgeois parties. The CP organized the disarming and demobilization of working people, thus saving capitalist rule.

As the victorious Soviet army swept through Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and eastern Germany, it prompted a wave of workers' struggles and mass uprisings. The first response of the Kremlin was to move quickly to crush the developing independent movement and to prevent radical social transformations and the overturn of capitalist property relations. Coalition governments were set up with the most prominent bourgeois politicians that would go along.

Buffer zone

Stalin's goal was to implant pliant coalition regimes in order to use Eastern Europe as a buffer zone to protect the USSR against future invasions, while at the same time preserving capitalism in an attempt to maintain the wartime alliance with British and U.S. imperialism.

The Kremlin also imposed its own "war reparations," dismantling factories and taking them to the Soviet Union, siphoning off cash and raw materials, carrying away products to the USSR, and establishing joint economic enterprises with the new governments that were under Soviet control and to Moscow's economic benefit. The property of the old landlord classes was expropriated and agrarian

Continued on ISR Page 7

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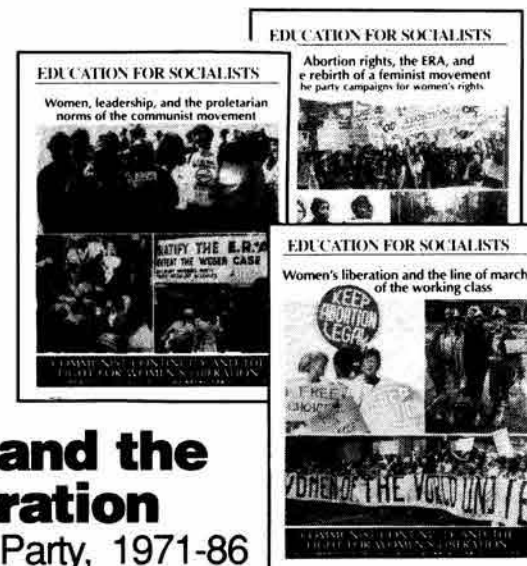
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International volunteer effort helps open library at Pathfinder Building

Preparing for resistance to the capitalist crisis by new generations

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

In early May, Pathfinder Press moved into its new offices on the fourth floor of the Pathfinder Building in New York City. The construction of the offices is part of the Pathfinder reconstruction project launched more than one year ago. The Pathfinder Building houses the offices of the *Militant* newspaper and *Perspectiva Mundial*, Pathfinder Press, and the national offices of the Socialist Workers Party.

A team of international volunteers remodeled the floor. Next to the new editorial and business offices of Pathfinder, they built a reference library.

This library is now being used by staff writers for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* newspapers, Pathfinder Press, and by the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party. It is a working library, designed for the requirements of writing *Militant* articles and reports, as well as for putting out new pamphlets and books by Pathfinder, and other research work.

The library has some unique features. In addition to the hundreds of books cataloged on its shelves, there are several rows of working files. These political files contain documents from the history of the most important working-class struggles that have shaped the modern communist movement.

The library is well organized. It is maintained by the writing staffs of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* and the editorial department of Pathfinder. There are no librarians on the premises. To increase productivity a new microfilm reader and a xerox machine specially designed for libraries were installed. The library catalog has been put on a computer network, which is a big aid in finding reference material. Also installed on the computer network is an index of SWP discussion and information bulletins.

In the course of preparing what was to remain in the library, a large quantity of files and other items stored in the Pathfinder Building had to be systematically sorted through. As a result of this work, two large donations of documentary materials were shipped to the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace in California and to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in Madison. Both institutions will ensure that these files are protected, well organized, and accessible for use.

Completing the library was the final and most time-consuming part of moving the editorial and business offices of Pathfinder Press. What began as a simple office move turned into a massive project that drew on the labor and creative energy of more than 200 people from 23 cities in the United States and from Canada, New Zealand, and

Britain. The volunteers spanned several generations and included some of the newest and youngest members of the communist movement.

Dozens of volunteers, many of them trade union activists, came in after working jobs during the day. It took a tremendous effort to finish. Supporters worked six- and seven-day weeks, often late into the evening.

During the seven-week project, many volunteers were also actively engaged in political work at the same time. For example, carloads traveled to participate in the mobilizations in defense of the abortion clinics in Buffalo, New York, and then returned to New York City to continue work on the library. Others traveled with fellow unionists to support the strike against Caterpillar by United Auto Workers members in Illinois.

Resistance: reason for library

Why put all this effort into organizing a library? It is part of preparing for the resistance by new generations to

“The great thing that the revolutionary workers’ movement has is its ideas . . .”

the effects of the capitalist crisis at home and abroad, including the drive toward a third world war by the rival imperialist powers.

The first few weeks of the mobilization were capped by a celebration in New York. Participants heard a talk by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the SWP. “New generations of fighters are becoming political in a world where fewer walls than ever before separate working people from each other,” said Barnes. “Over the past two years, workers and farmers of the former Soviet Union and throughout Eastern Europe have had the door to world politics opened to them after decades of being blocked off from participating in politics by the Stalinist parties and regimes in those countries.

“The regimes that were responsible for ruthless censorship, brutal repression, and the stultification of ideas and working-class political activity have crumbled. Not since the years after the Russian revolution in the early 1920s has the world been more open to being reached by Marxist ideas.

“The spreading depression conditions throughout the capitalist world, and the shattered illusions in the stability and longevity of the counterrevolutionary Stalinist apparatuses, are heightening interest and hunger for revolutionary literature in the world.”

“The historic interests of the capitalists as a class wouldn’t be harmed if all the libraries in the world burned down,” Barnes said, “so long as they held onto the scientific and technical books they need. The opposite is true for the working class. We would be devastated.

“The capitalist rulers have no historical world view or strategy to confront the terminal weakness of their system. They produce not ideas, but ideological rationalizations for the brutal and ruinous consequences of their rule. Their decisions are made pragmatically with only one thing in mind: how best to shore up their profits. Their tools are not books and pamphlets but military power, corruption, and violence by cops, and ultimately by organized fascist gangs, against those who resist their exploitation and oppression.

“The great thing that the revolutionary workers’ movement has is its ideas,” said Barnes. “Often you hear that the bosses have all the property and all the wealth, but the workers have organization and that’s what is important.

“This is true, but the working class needs more than organization. The bravest fighters in the world will be defeated until they can learn from the victories, as well as the defeats, in earlier battles, drawing the lessons of them together and discussing them. Working people and young fighters entering politics are handicapped by lack of experience and knowledge about their history. They need to learn the lessons of previous struggles and revolutions.

“This is why the new library, which opens doors to the ideas, experiences, and political conquests of the modern working class, is so important,” said Barnes.



Militant/Eric Simpson

Many unionists and young activists donated their time after work to help in setting up the library.

Following the completion of the project Barnes spoke about it further at the May 30–31 fusion convention of the Communist League and Young Socialists in Toronto. “Putting the library together is putting together the future, not the past,” he said.

“It’s what Farrell Dobbs used to say: when you become part of the revolutionary workers’ movement you have to first learn to be a citizen of the world.” Dobbs was national secretary of the SWP from 1953 to 1964. “Bourgeois democracy is a very selfish set of institutions,” Barnes said. “You’re taught to believe in ‘your own country’ and when you get right down to it, to take care of ‘number one.’ The last thing they want you to do is to recognize that you’re part of an international class — the workers of the world.”

“Farrell explained,” said Barnes, “that you also have to become a citizen of time. You have to get rid of the self-centered view that what happens in your own lifetime is the only thing that’s important.”

Barnes said that one of the most important accomplishments of the library project was the reorganization of the files on the Cuban revolution, noting that the way these were organized will serve as a model for other political files that were not tackled in the project.

For ten days central SWP leaders worked on reorganizing the political files on Cuba. The scope of these files reflects the fact that the Cuban revolution has played a decisive role in the advance of the working-class struggle and renewal of revolutionary leadership in the 20th century. It has been central to the recruitment and political development of the cadres and leadership of the SWP.

Documentation on every question that mattered in the Cuban revolution — from the U.S.-organized Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 to Cuba’s agrarian reform in the early 1960s, to the internationalist missions to Angola, to the rectification process in the late 1980s — is now organized and accessible in the new library.

Pathfinder: ‘pamphlets for proletariat’

Today in its new offices, Pathfinder is busy at work filling new orders for bookstores, book distributors, and book chains from around the world. During the past few years sales of Pathfinder books have expanded significantly.

In an article for the *Militant* in 1931, James P. Cannon, a founding leader of the Communist Party who was expelled from that organization in 1928 and who then became a central leader of the SWP for decades, pointed to the central place leaders of the revolutionary workers movement had always given to the publication of newspapers, pamphlets, and books. This was true, Cannon said, of both Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of modern communism.



Militant/Eric Simpson

More than 200 people from 23 U.S. cities and several other countries worked on setting up the new library.

Marx wrote on one occasion, "We still lack a printing press, but as soon as we have money we intend to purchase one. Then our printing establishment will be in a position, not only to run off our newspaper, but likewise to print the pamphlets necessary for the defense of the proletariat."

The first pamphlets and books produced by the movement that Cannon led grew out of the *Militant* newspaper, which was launched in 1928, and can be found on the new shelves in the library. The books and materials from this period were printed under the Militant Press imprint; later it changed to Pioneer Press in the 1930s and to Pathfinder Press in the early 1970s.

The main publishing by the early movement was of pamphlets and books by Leon Trotsky, one of the main leaders of the Russian revolution and Bolshevik party. After Lenin's death in 1924 Trotsky led the fight in the Soviet Communist Party and Communist International to defend and put into practice the internationalist program charted while Lenin was alive. By the latter 1920s in the Soviet Union, a petty bourgeois social layer led by Joseph Stalin reversed the direction of the revolution that had begun in 1917. Leaders and parties in the Communist International, which was set up to extend the revolutionary process initiated in Russia, were bullied or enticed into following a parallel course in their own countries. Those who refused to do so were expelled, as was Trotsky in 1927 and Cannon in 1928.

Though some letters and articles by Lenin were suppressed by the Stalin regime, the basic works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin were in print and available at the time. The job of revolutionists, a small handful at first, was to publish new books and pamphlets that continued the revolutionary course set out by the founders of Marxism.

Their early efforts included such pamphlets as *The Turn in the Communist International and the German Situation* (1930), *World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan*, (1931) and *Communism and Syndicalism* (1931) — all written by Trotsky and translated by members of the Communist League of America, the predecessor of the SWP. From these first pamphlets, this publishing effort has never been a profit-making endeavor, but has been based on voluntary contributions of those who used the publications in their political work on the job, in the unions and mass movements.

Upon receiving a copy of *The Third International After Lenin* in the late 1930s, Trotsky gave "his heartfelt thanks to all the collaborators from the typesetters to the general editor and back again." Trotsky recalled that "six years ago I looked a bit skeptically upon your plans to establish a publishing house in order to publish my books. Now I have to concede that my unjustly arrived at skepticism has been 'harshly' punished, in a way that makes me very optimistic."

Later in 1937 Trotsky wrote, "The [publishing] enterprise must be developed at any cost if we are willing to educate new Marxist cadres and to build up a new International. No sacrifices are too great in supporting and developing Pioneer Publishers."

Movement's first library

Stalinist opponents of the new movement recognized the power of ideas also — and sought to do what they could to squash them. After he had been expelled from the Communist Party in 1928, Cannon's apartment was ransacked on two occasions on orders from Stalinist leaders of the party. Most of his books, papers, and documents were stolen. As a result, little material is now available from the pre-1928 period when Cannon was a leader of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and later of the Communist Party.

A letter from Fannie Curran, a founding member of the SWP who lives in the Twin Cities, Minnesota, was unearthed during the work on the library files that gives a feel for the atmosphere in the Stalinist movement toward new ideas and critical thought. Curran described her early experiences in the Young Communist League (YCL), the youth group of the Communist Party, in a 1977 letter to Evelyn Reed, author of *Woman's Evolution, Sexism and Science*, and other Pathfinder books and pamphlets on the origins of women's oppression. Curran said that she and a few of her friends had set up a study group to read and discuss Frederick Engels's, *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*.

"I was very happy to be learning and especially Engels's *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, where he spoke so highly of women's roles, that I mentioned it to one of the leading members of the YCL," she said, who had great pretensions of being a "theoretician." She recalled that he was "absolutely incensed" that Curran was studying the book together with non-members of the YCL. Later in the letter Curran explained the real reason why the Stalinist YCL leaders were upset: "The study of women was the last thing" the Communist Party in the United States wanted since the

Stalinists in Moscow "were already beginning to negate all the benefits won after the revolution" for women's rights.

Throughout Trotsky's exile he was hounded and finally murdered in 1940 by the Stalinist secret police. In his writings Trotsky mentions several times his concern for the safety of his working files and those of his collaborators. Large sections of Trotsky's files were in fact stolen in the 1930s by Stalin's agents. They were also ransacked by Nazis in Norway.

“Working people and young fighters entering politics are handicapped by lack of experience and knowledge about their history...”

It was for this reason that Trotsky in the late 1930s transferred them to a major research library where they would be more secure. "The GPU [Stalinist secret police] is going to do everything in its power to get its hands on my archives. It would be best to deposit them with an established scientific institution," wrote Trotsky. Trotsky ended up placing his papers at Harvard University.

Documents find way to New York

Under the difficult conditions of the rise of fascist Germany and in the World War II period, Barnes pointed



Mass demonstration of Cuban workers on May Day, 1990. One of most important accomplishments of library project was organizing valuable files on Cuban revolution.

out in his Toronto talk, New York became the repository for all sorts of files, letters, documents, and manuscripts of revolutionary organizations around the world that collaborated with the SWP. At the time the SWP was associated (it could not join because of reactionary U.S. government legislation) with the Fourth International, which was founded in 1938. This organization's purpose was to regroup revolutionists who were continuing the communist policies of the Bolshevik party and Communist International under the leadership of Lenin.

During the war revolutionists in many countries were forced to work under clandestine conditions. Many of the organization's leaders were killed or exterminated in Nazi concentration camps and some in Stalin's prison and labor camps as well.

Barnes cited the story behind the publication of *The Jewish Question, A Marxist Interpretation*, by Abram Leon. Leon was a leader of the Belgian communist movement and was active in the revolutionary underground. He finished writing *The Jewish Question* in the shadow of the Nazi occupation. Just after completing the work, he was captured by the German Gestapo in 1944 and died a martyr's death in Auschwitz.

The French edition of this book was sent to Mexico where it was translated by Duncan Ferguson, who was there on assignment overseeing the household where Trotsky had lived and his family still resided. Ferguson was a long-time member of the SWP and also a trained sculptor. Many of the chapters of Leon's book were serialized in the *Fourth International* magazine, which was published in New York.

At the time the question of how to fight anti-Semitism and prevent a repeat of the horror of Nazi death camps was a hotly debated issue in the workers movement because of the rise of Zionism, which had been a minority point of view among Jews — especially those who were workers — prior to the war. Leon's materialist approach to the origins of Jew-hatred, and the particularly virulent form it takes during the epoch of imperialist decline, was welcomed in the United States.

A 1945 letter by an SWP leader pointed to the potential interest in an English edition of the book, given that "there is much agitation among the Jewish people in this country, just as there is the world over, over the plight the Jews have suffered during the war and the failure of the big powers to provide a haven for the homeless Jews who have survived the terrible war." *The Jewish Question* was published by Pathfinder in 1950 and remains an important title in Pathfinder's catalog.

Fighting files

In preparing the new library, some 20 volunteers assembled and organized the library donations to the Hoover Institution and to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. During the month-long project, 75 file cabinets filled with political files from many decades were rearranged, reorganized, and prepared with careful packing lists for shipment. More than a dozen pallets of materials were finally shipped.

Barnes stressed that the library is a living tool that contains "stripped-down working political files. What we have assembled is an honest account of the gains and experiences and fights of the Marxist movement. It's there and usable as active, fighting files."

In this regard, Barnes said it was important to see the donations to the two institutions in the right framework. "The library of our movement is in a building in New York — the central library," he said, "but it now has big extensions in California and Wisconsin."

Both the Hoover Institution and the Madison library are open to the public, and a good portion of the new material has already been made accessible. In return, both institutions are responsible for preserving the materials, which includes microfilming and cataloging.

The vast majority of the material is accessible without restrictions. To ensure the integrity of future publishing plans, a large percentage of the papers are protected by copyright. In addition, time restrictions have been placed on access to materials that deal with internal discussions to ensure the democratic norms of the party.

Madison donation

The donation made to the State Historical Society in Madison, Wisconsin, significantly expands the scope of documents on the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and related collections there. After receiving the shipments, Madison archivist Rick Pifer commented that "the recent donation is one of the richest bodies of material on socialism that I have seen."

Pifer stressed that, because the "files and other materials were maintained and organized so well by the Library for Social History, the papers will be accessible right away. This is uncommon," he said.

The State Historical Society is known for its collection of materials on the labor and trade union movements and on U.S. socialist and communist organizations and social protest movements. The SWP papers are among the most comprehensive collections in the library.

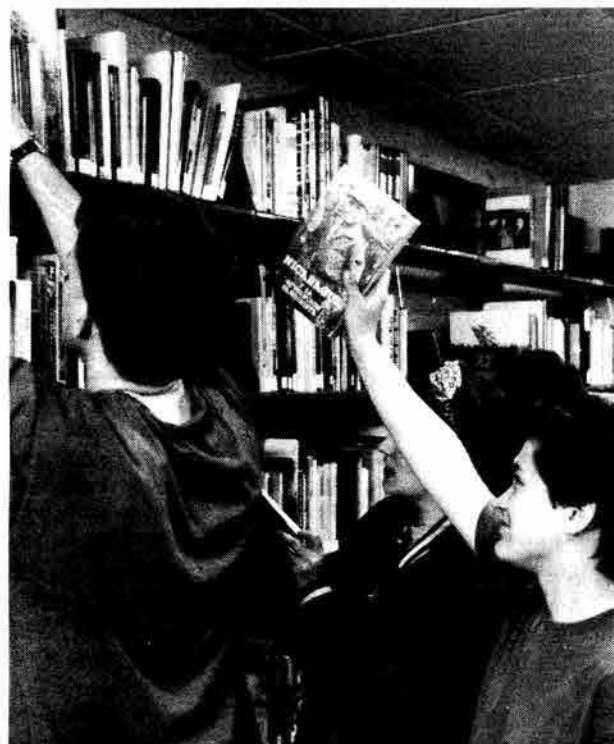
The SWP collection includes particularly comprehensive collections of the papers of central SWP leaders James P. Cannon and Farrell Dobbs, as well as substantial collections of papers of George Novack, Evelyn Reed, Vincent R. Dunne, and other party leaders. Some 150 tapes of talks and reports by party leaders are also included, as is material on the internal history of the SWP and on the participation of the SWP in the trade unions, civil rights organizations, and civil liberties cases spanning several decades.

The State Historical Society prides itself on its anti-Vietnam War movement collection. Central to these are the papers of SWP leader Fred Halstead, of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and of the National Peace Action Coalition.

Other collections at Madison of movements that the SWP has supported and participated in include the papers and records of:

- The Young Socialist Alliance, including its forerunners beginning in 1930.
- The Civil Rights Defense Committee. The CRDC was organized in 1941 to defend 18 members and leaders of the SWP and Midwest Teamsters union who were railroaded to prison under the anti-communist Smith Act

Continued on Page 14



Militant/Eric Simpson
Files of political documents were organized in the library and donations sent to other library institutions to be archived.

Continued from Page 13

for opposing World War II.

- The Committee to Combat Racial Injustice. This committee was formed in 1958 to defend two Black children, aged eight and nine years old, who were imprisoned in North Carolina for kissing a seven-year-old white girl. Through their efforts, the two Black boys were freed in 1959.

- The Kutcher Civil Rights Defense Committee. Kutcher was an SWP member fired from his job at the Veterans Administration in 1948 for his socialist views.

- The Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students. This defended three students of Indiana University indicted under an Indiana thought-control law (Anti-Subversion Act of 1951) for attending a public meeting sponsored by the YSA at Bloomington in 1963. The public meeting was a YSA-sponsored forum on "The Black Revolt in America." The case was won in 1964 when a judge found the Indiana law unconstitutional.

- Court records and other materials involving the 15-year battle by the SWP and YSA against the spying and harassment by the FBI and other government agencies. It includes the lawsuit, *SWP v. Attorney General*, that resulted in an unprecedented judgement in favor of the SWP and YSA in 1986.

- The Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson. This involved the case of a U.S.-born worker, Joseph Johnson, who had his citizenship revoked and was threatened with deportation in the mid-1960s under the 1952 McCarran Immigration Act.

As a result of the recent library project, several new donations were sent to Madison. These collections included:

- Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC). The SWP and the YSA worked with other political groups, currents, and prominent individuals in the United States and Canada in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee following the Cuban revolution in 1959. The committee sought to disseminate accurate information about Cuba. Many pamphlets were

produced by the committee that publicized speeches by Cuban leaders. There were more than 40 FPCC groups on college campuses in the United States in the early 1960s.

- U.S. Committee for Justice for Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). USLA was formed to aid in defending victims of political persecution and injustice in the countries of Latin America, regardless of the political views of the opponents of dictatorial regimes. Launched in 1966, the committee played a major role in freeing several political prisoners from certain death at the hands of repressive Latin American governments.

- National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP). Formed in 1980, the party openly called on members of the oppressed Black nationality in the United States to end their support to the two parties of big business, capitalist war, and racial and sexual oppression. It adopted an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist charter and had chapters and local organizing committees in over 50 cities. The SWP and YSA were active builders of the NBIPP until its dissolution in the mid-1980s.

Hoover Institution

The Hoover Institution contains one of the largest collections of political materials in the world. In 1991, the Library for Social History, which had been established in the Pathfinder Building in the early 1970s, donated its holdings to the Hoover Institution. This donation included a comprehensive collection of newspapers, pamphlets, and internal bulletins from revolutionary organizations around the world, especially those associated with the Fourth International.

The donation included important materials from organizations in North and South America, Western Europe,

material on the history of the Iranian communist movement.

- Additional materials to the Fourth International collection.

- A unique archive of the books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press and its predecessors. This collection contains various editions of each Pathfinder book and pamphlet (with differing introductions, translations, and contents); non-English language translations (Farsi, French, Greek, Japanese, Icelandic, Russian, Sinhalese, Spanish, Swedish) or editions of these works licensed by Pathfinder.

- A collection of speeches by Cuban leader Fidel Castro and other Cuban leaders beginning in the early 1950s, described by the *San Francisco Chronicle* as "what is believed to be the most complete collection of annotated [Castro] speeches."

- A collection of materials on the Grenada revolution, including the speeches of Maurice Bishop, a central leader of the revolution and the New Jewel Movement, historic copies of *New Jewel* and *Free West Indian* newspapers, and other materials.

- The papers of Peng Shu-tse, a founder of Chinese communism and a leader of the Fourth International. The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that Peng's works "are regarded as the only reliable scholarly source on the early history of Chinese communism."

William Ratliff, curator of the Americas and International Collections at Hoover Institution, said in a phone interview that the donation of the Trotsky and SWP materials are "one of the most important acquisitions ever made by the Hoover Library and Archives." Deputy Archivist

“What we have assembled in this library is an honest account of the gains and experiences and fights of the Marxist movement. It's there and usable as active, fighting files . . .”

Asia and the Pacific, and Africa. Many of the materials date back to the period before the Fourth International was founded in 1938. The collection also contained a wide range of materials from other political currents in the international working-class movement.

The more recent collection put together during the library project completes the transfer of the Library of Social History to the Hoover Institution. Since it was established in 1973, the main organizers of the Library of Social History took special care to ensure that the materials were well organized and maintained. Their painstaking work made the transfer possible. During its 20-year history the central people responsible for the library included Reba Hansen, Rob Cahalane, Rich Lesnick, and Barbara West.

The latest donation has received substantial publicity. The Hoover Institution issued a press release entitled, "Hoover Institution Archives Acquires Major Holdings from Socialist Workers Party of the United States." The cable TV station CNN covered the story on July 16.

The *San Francisco Chronicle* wrote, "Researchers at the Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford University were enthusiastic yesterday about the scholarly opportunities created by the acquisition of the main archives of the Socialist Workers Party . . . including a massive collection of letters, notes and manuscripts of Leon Trotsky, the exiled Bolshevik revolutionary slain by agents of Josef Stalin in 1940."

Here are some of the highlights of the donation to Hoover:

- Substantial new additions to Hoover's collection of manuscripts, letters, and other materials of Leon Trotsky. "They include Trotsky's testament and drafts of his biographies of V.I. Lenin and Joseph Stalin," the press release issued by Hoover explained. Hoover — together with Harvard and the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam — was already one of the major repositories of Trotsky's papers. In addition, a quantity of Spanish translations of books and pamphlets by Trotsky was donated.

- A substantial collection of the writings and correspondence of SWP leader Joseph Hansen. In the 1930s Hansen was one of Trotsky's secretaries. Later he was the editor of the *Militant* newspaper and several magazines, including *Fourth International*, *World Outlook* and *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*. Hansen was the author of *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution* and *The Leninist Strategy of Party Building* published by Pathfinder Press.

- A comprehensive collection of

Dale Reed added, "I have been extremely impressed, not only with the quality of these collections and their research potential, but also with the obvious care that has been taken in organizing and maintaining them."

Tape recordings

The audiotape preparation was a popular task during the Pathfinder Building library project in April. For hours volunteers listened to tapes, some of them several decades old. The tape project was organized by Bob Schwarz, one of the many volunteers working on the project.

Schwarz said volunteers listened to 150 tapes, all of which are now part of the Madison collection. "There are tapes of SWP conventions and meetings that dealt with the Yugoslav revolution," Schwarz said, "debates on the meaning of Stalinism after the Khrushchev revelations, interviews and talks on how the McCarthyite witch-hunt affected SWP work in the labor movement, the impact of the emergence of the civil rights movement in the 1950s, and much more."

The volunteers spent considerable time checking the quality of the tapes as well as cross-referencing to determine which tapes were already in print in part or in full. The transcription of these tapes is now under way. "Volunteers from 23 cities and three countries are involved in this work, and more are needed. To help out, all you need is a cassette

Continued on next page

Help needed to transcribe revolutionary leaders' talks

Volunteers are needed to transcribe more than 75 tape recordings of speeches and interviews by revolutionary leaders given in the past four decades. These tapes are a key component of some 150 tapes that have been reviewed, cataloged, and placed in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the use of class struggle fighters and scholars and historians of the working-class movement.

These tape recordings contain invaluable historical material that will be used in research and publishing projects. Transcription is essential both in preparing some items for publication and in making others available for reference and serious study.

Volunteers need only have a cassette tape player and a typewriter. While most of the tapes are in English, three of them are in Spanish. A time limit of six months has been set for completion of the project.

Anyone interested in volunteering for this project should contact their local Socialist Workers Party or Communist League branch (see addresses on page 20) or Bob Schwarz, c/o Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014, USA.



Militant/Paul Mailhot
The library is maintained by 'Militant' and 'Perspectiva Mundial' staffs and Pathfinder's editorial department. Staff writer Sara Lobman filing magazines.

Yugoslavia

Continued from ISR Page 3

reforms were carried out, but with the objective of fostering the freest development of capitalism.

Stalin thought he had secured imperialist agreement with the course in the secret Potsdam accord with the U.S. and British governments in July-August 1945. Building on earlier conferences during the war at Tehran and Yalta, the Potsdam agreement set down guidelines for these three major powers to maintain their wartime alliance, divide up the spoils of war, and parcel up Europe: Britain and the United States would run Western Europe through traditional economic penetration; Eastern Europe would fall into the Kremlin's sphere of influence; and Germany, to be destroyed as an economic power, would be run as a joint military enterprise of the three, with a minor cut for France.

Washington and London, however, had different plans. They acted to prevent the workers' struggles that were exploding across the continent from being victorious. They encouraged the local capitalist classes in Eastern and Central Europe to use whatever political leverage they had to the detriment of Moscow. They sent troops to Greece to crush the civil war.

Potsdam crashed on the rocks of reality. An "agreement" could not hold back the class struggle. The colonial revolution was advancing. The division of Europe was shutting off Eastern Europe from capitalist penetration. The criminal deindustrialization and plunder of Germany was dragging down the rest of Europe economically too. Britain could not play the world power role assigned to it; its decline was being sharply exposed in its inability to hold the line in Greece or in any way contribute to European economic reconstruction. Meanwhile, in the United States a labor upsurge developed.

Truman Doctrine

The U.S. rulers made a sharp foreign policy turn. The changing relationship of forces within the imperialist camp coming out of the second world war — the military su-

premacny and industrial monopoly of the United States, the relative decline of Britain and France — convinced Washington to go onto the offensive.

This was codified in a bellicose March 1947 speech by President Harry Truman branding the Soviet Union an "aggressor." The wartime alliance was definitively over. (Churchill had made his "Iron Curtain" speech along the same lines at Fulton, Missouri, a year earlier).

Guided by the Truman Doctrine, Washington committed huge forces to Europe, including active intervention against the Greek insurgents. The Central Intelligence Agency was established in 1947, and the foundations were laid for the formation of the NATO military alliance between the North American and major European imperialist powers in 1949. The new militarization drive was accompanied by a renewed antilabor and red-baiting drive at home.

The "economic" complement to the Truman Doctrine was provided by the Marshall Plan, named after the U.S. secretary of state. This paved the way for the reconstruction of Europe through Germany. U.S. imperialism pushed aside Britain and France, its junior wartime allies, in an effort to unify and develop capitalist Europe under its own banner.

Stalin's response in Eastern Europe was to order the local Stalinist parties to abolish the coalition governments and carry out the expropriation of capitalist property — a popular move given the unemployment, inflation, and social dislocation following the war. Tight bureaucratic control, backed up by the occupying Soviet army and the use of secret police forces based on the Kremlin model, held the active participation and mobilization of the masses in this expropriation within the limits set by Moscow. In this way, several deformed workers states came into being.

This was Europe as the 1940s drew to a close: successful popular revolutions in Yugoslavia and Albania, civil war in Greece, social overturns in Eastern Europe, unresolved conflicts between the victorious wartime imperialist powers.

Tito-Stalin Split

In 1948 a fierce struggle that had been developing between Moscow and Belgrade broke out into the open. Moscow criticized policies of the Belgrade government

and dredged up conflicts from the civil war and before. The Yugoslav leadership condemned Moscow's plunder of the so-called buffer zone of Eastern Europe.

But the split was not over political perspectives. The open breach developed because Moscow sought to impose on Belgrade the Soviet bureaucracy's "national" interests. It demanded unequal economic relations with Yugoslavia and opposed independent political initiatives by the Yugoslav regime. Moscow feared that if Tito's attempts to establish a Balkan federation were successful, such a group of workers states not completely under its control could present an alternative pole to the current Kremlin clique — in the world and in the Soviet Union itself.

These conflicts brought the Soviet Union to the brink of war against Yugoslavia. Moscow imposed an economic blockade and conducted threatening troop movements on the border. It recruited agents inside Yugoslavia for operations against its opponents, including assassination, and attempted to organize a coup against the Yugoslav regime.

Between July 1, 1948, and Sept. 1, 1949, there were 219 armed incidents on Yugoslavia's eastern borders. Stalin and his supporters declared Tito to have been an agent of the Nazi secret police, the Gestapo, and vilified "Titoism" internationally. For example, in a series of purge trials conducted in the late 1940s in Czechoslovakia against a section of the bureaucracy, the defendants were denounced as "Trotskyite-Titoist-Zionist bourgeois nationalist traitors."

Marxists at the time sought to counter the hysterical worldwide campaign that was launched against Tito, aimed at cutting off the support and sympathy the Yugoslav revolution had gained among revolutionary-minded workers and youth. They reached out to the Yugoslav workers and farmers, seeking to present a political course that would deepen the revolution. The Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States explained in an August 1948 statement:

"The open break between the Cominform [the Comintern's short-lived successor] and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is the clearest expression to date of the deep crisis convulsing Stalinism. . . Revolutionists can only hail this development — this first rift in the ranks of world Stalinism which must unfold in open view of the world working class. . . What is more, it confronts the rank and file of the Yugoslav CP and of Stalinist parties elsewhere with the need of reexamining the ideas and the methods of Stalinism."

But the Yugoslav leadership did not turn toward the world's toilers. Instead, the Tito leadership acted to break the forward motion of the revolution and hastened its bureaucratic degeneration. Although Tito had broken with Stalin, he had not broken with the class-collaborationist politics of national socialism he had learned in the school of Stalinism.

Not internationalist

The Yugoslav regime initiated a conciliatory foreign policy toward imperialism. The Yugoslav CP had never had a proletarian internationalist perspective. For five years after World War II, for example, Yugoslavia kept 100,000 German prisoners of war — workers and farmers conscripted into Hitler's armed forces — turning them to efforts of economic reconstruction. (German prisoners of war were kept throughout Eastern and Central Europe.)

Most telling of all, Belgrade lent credence to the U.S.-organized war to block national unification and social revolution in Korea. The Yugoslav regime joined Washington and its allies in denouncing the workers and peasants government that had come to power in northern Korea for its "aggression" against the U.S.-imposed puppet government in the southern half of the country. Tito demanded that Chinese forces withdraw from Korea, while supporting the presence of the U.S. fleet off the coast of China.

While sharply at odds with Stalin, the Yugoslav leaders also joined him in stabbing the Greek revolution in the back. They closed Yugoslavia's borders and halted all aid to the Greek fighters, since the Greek Communist Party supported Moscow. Tito subsequently declared Yugoslavia neutral during the U.S. war against Vietnam.

In the late 1950s, after Nikita Khrushchev had become Soviet head of state a few years following Stalin's death, an accommodation was reached between Moscow and Belgrade. These relations, however, always remained within the framework of satisfying the separate interests of the caste in Yugoslavia.

Foreign policy is always an extension of domestic policy, and Tito was no exception in this regard. The secret police, modeled on its Soviet counterpart, was used to eliminate all opposition in the party and society. While the repression did not reach the levels of that in the Soviet Union in the 1930s, the secret police nevertheless became the base of the corrupt and ruthless regime.

'Workers' self-management'

Capitalist methods of competition among enterprises and profitability were institutionalized in industry, packaged as "workers' self-management." Market mechanisms were extolled. A private market for peasant trade was widely extended. As a result, Yugoslavia began to import

Continued on next page

New library in Pathfinder Building

Continued from previous page

tape player and a typewriter," said Schwarz (See box on opposite page).

One thing that struck those working on the tape project was how many speeches by SWP candidates were broadcast on the radio and TV networks. It wasn't until the late 1950s that at least minimal access to the radio and TV media was virtually cut off by the government to candidates outside the framework of capitalist politics.

Until then, the party was received very well by radio and TV audiences. Consider the following excerpt from a *Militant* article, "Viewers Praise Dobbs-Weiss TV Broadcasts" in 1952, at the height of the anti-communist witch-hunt:

"In the first mail after the national convention of the Socialist Workers Party, at which presidential candidate Farrell Dobbs and vice-presidential candidate Myra Tanner Weiss made radio and TV speeches on national hook-ups, 81 letters and postcards were received. Of these, 77 asked for copies of the speech and SWP literature; most expressed agreement and interest with the views expressed in the telecasts and broadcasts. There were four enclosures of money. The TV-Radio stations received phone calls asking for 'programs like this.' Four of the mail responses were hostile."

In addition to talks by SWP leaders, several taped speeches by Cuban revolutionary Che Guevara were found, four of which were given while Guevara was in the United States. Ten recordings of unpublished speeches by ANC leader Nelson Mandela will also be transcribed, said Schwarz.

Rebuilding Pathfinder's print shop

The accomplishments of the move into the new fourth floor have put the communist movement in good stead for tackling the final piece of the overall project — the reconstruction of the Pathfinder print shop on the lower floors of the building. Already, work has commenced on transforming a 4,000-square-foot area, formerly used for storage of paper and books, into more space for a modern printing facility. Major pieces of printing equipment have been temporarily stored in warehouses so that the reconstruction brigade has space to work. This has put a premium on finishing the project as rapidly as possible.

The remodeling of the print shop is essential both for shop safety and to have sufficient space for meeting the production goals of Pathfinder. The print shop needs new floors and ceilings, better lighting, new plumbing, and air conditioning to create the best conditions for high-quality printing and to meet the long-term needs of future Pathfinder publishing efforts. Once the plant infrastructure is in place, the next

target will be to upgrade the printing equipment.

The goal is to model the print shop on the high standards that have guided the reconstruction of the upper floors of the Pathfinder Building. To make all of this possible, substantial funds are needed.

The project is financed by the International Expansion Fund, which was launched in August 1990. The fund grew in response to the increased opportunities for the distribution of Pathfinder books and socialist periodicals that emerged in the late 1980s. To date, \$1,800,000 has been pledged by 176 supporters of the project and more than \$1,600,000 has been collected.

Much of the print shop machinery is old and needs to be replaced. The four-unit web newspaper press is over 20 years old, the two sheetfed presses were manufactured in the 1960s and the book guillotine was built in 1954. To complete the reconstruction and capital expansion, the fund must reach \$3,000,000.

Major donations are needed to carry the project through to completion. Currently there are enough funds in hand to complete the section of the factory where books and paper used to be stored. Also urgently needed are skilled volunteers — electricians, plumbers, brick masons, and carpenters — to sign on to the volunteer crew. The project is now at an important turning point.

Only contributions by supporters — and the volunteer labor of the international reconstruction teams — make the reconstruction possible. The fund, which is made up of donations from those who can contribute \$1,000 or more, is slated only for capital expenditures. It is not used to meet ongoing operating expenses.

The contributions made by supporters have come from a variety of sources: trust funds, estate and accident settlements, special bonuses that industrial workers have received, and savings.

Anyone interested in making a contribution to the fund or seeking more information should send in the coupon below.

Contribute to the International Expansion Fund

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

Write to International Expansion Fund:
406 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Continued from previous page

coal and all manner of agricultural goods that the country could itself have produced, since particular enterprises did not find it sufficiently profitable to produce, store, and distribute these items. The state monopoly of foreign trade was allowed to erode.

Ernesto Che Guevara, a central leader of the Cuban revolution, remarked after his visit to Yugoslavia in 1959 that "the enterprises compete among themselves in the national market as if they were private capitalist entities."

Within a short period of time social differentiation began to reappear and widen. Those who benefited were first and foremost layers of state, party, army, and management bureaucrats. Also favored were a layer of rich peasants and the professional petty-bourgeoisie, some skilled workers, property owners, and artisans from the pre-war days who rapidly became the privileged technicians of the new economy.

Unemployment and part-time work, often designated as "unpaid vacations," grew. The gulf between rich and poor in Yugoslavia began to approach that of a capitalist country with a comparable level of development.

What these developments signified was that by the mid 1950s a bureaucratic caste, the Yugoslav counterpart of that existing in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European workers states, had consolidated itself at the head of government and in society.

This privileged social layer enjoys incomes and access to goods and services far greater than that of ordinary working people. While it remains a minority of the population, it is nevertheless a broad social grouping. It exists as a parasitic layer, playing no special or necessary role in society other than to use its position to guarantee its own perks and privileges. The resources of the state make up the trough from which it feeds.

Differentiated layer

The privileged bureaucracy has differentiations within itself. At one end are those with the higher positions in smaller institutions in society such as productive enterprises; educational, health, and other such institutions; and the cultural establishment, including leading artists, performers, and sports stars. At the other end are the administrative chiefs of the state, ruling party, and army.

The caste is a petty-bourgeois social layer, standing between the working people on the one hand, and world imperialism on the other. Its members share bourgeois aspirations, habits, and values, often aping the lifestyles of bourgeois layers in western capitalist countries.

The Yugoslav bureaucracy — like its counterparts in Russia and elsewhere — was from early on a breeding ground for regional competition. The bureaucrats in the most advanced regions used nationalist demagoguery as a weapon for self-enrichment — demanding control of the spoils of foreign investment and of trade conducted across their international borders, for example.

In the 1960s and 1970s, a section of the bureaucracy in Croatia called for income from the lucrative Dalmatian coast area to be allocated entirely to the Croatian, not the federal, government. They resisted using such resources to even out the imbalances across Yugoslavia by advancing the less developed regions.

Provinces and republics closed their markets to one another, seeking to become self-sufficient. This inevitably worked to the detriment of the least developed regions. By 1985, for example, the income of the average Slovene was 70 percent higher than that of the average Macedonian; by 1989, it was 125 percent more.

The historical roots of national divisions in Yugoslavia had been dealt huge blows by the revolution. But the bureaucrats began the process that they continue today — to do their utmost to revive the old nationalist causes, seeking to mobilize workers and farmers around their reactionary appeals, for the purpose of holding onto power and expanding the resources under their own control.

Their ability to do this has been limited by the deep-rooted gains of the Yugoslav revolution, which is seen in the extent to which, despite the appeals of the demagogues, large layers of working people do not see themselves as "Croatian," "Serbian," or some other nationality, and refuse to endorse the chauvinist course laid out by the bureaucrats. A common response reported over the past year is: "We are Yugoslavs, not Croats or Serbs."

In proportion as social inequality grew and tensions developed — between working people and the rising parasitic caste; between the rulers of different regions; and within the bureaucracy as a whole — the Yugoslav bureaucrat's needs called for a powerful arbiter, standing over society as a whole, to secure their rule. In this situation Tito, a figure with great authority deriving from his identification with the revolution, was able to emerge as a Bonapartist leader. In this role he straddled the interests of the caste and the workers and peasants, keeping in check the interests of the bureaucrats, and functioning as the supreme arbiter within the caste itself.

Workers, students confront bureaucracy as economic crisis sharpens and national divisions reemerge

Protests by workers and students in Yugoslavia emerged in the 1960s, focusing especially on the new privileges of the ruling social layer. These began to spread on a Yugoslavia-wide basis. Forty thousand students occupied the University of Belgrade in 1968, promoting a petition that opposed the ruler's privileges and calling for democratic rights. The petition was then signed by 200,000 students around the country. The students also opposed the U.S. war in Vietnam in the face of official government neutrality.

Over the next four years a deep economic crisis set in, with a real explosion in mass unemployment. This marked the beginning of a prolonged economic crisis, the product of bureaucratic mismanagement and the slowdown in world capitalism.

Following the worldwide recession of 1975, investment declined, the foreign debt escalated, production fell, and unemployment grew rapidly. By 1985 the average wage was only 40 percent of what was officially considered necessary to support a family of four at 1979 living standards. Inflation skyrocketed, to a rate of 2,500 percent by January 1990.

In the 18 months leading up to the summer of 1991, the Yugoslav economy contracted by more than 40 per-



Partisans united workers and farmers of all nationalities in the antifascist struggle during World War II. They opposed domination of one nation over another.

cent. A number of local governments and enterprises announced bankruptcy.

It was not Tito's death in 1980 but the drastic economic decline and crisis that led to the disintegration and resulted in the civil wars that have raged over the past year. However, the Bonapartist ruler's demise did mark a turning point in the acceleration of the centrifugal forces in Yugoslavia.

These strains finally shattered the ruling Communist Party. The party was formally dissolved in early 1990. Many members left the party before its final break-up, declaring themselves to be Croatian nationalists, Slovenian nationalists, or some other variant. The caste in Belgrade demagogically advanced Serbian nationalist goals, often behind the cloak of being the defender of "Yugoslavia."

Redividing the loot

This process has amounted to the bureaucracy restructuring itself — redividing and reapportioning the loot, the caste's pillage of the social surplus, among itself and using workers and peasants as unwilling pawns in their bloody mafia turf war.

At the same time as each wing of the bureaucracy has sought to gain control over more resources, they all cherish hopes of linking up with those they have the closest economic relations with among the imperialist powers. Depending on which wing of the caste and which region, this may be either the German, French, or other capitalists.

The Belgrade bureaucracy's first sharp use of nationalist demagoguery was in response to protests by working people and students in the Kosovo region of Serbia. People of Albanian ethnic origin make up 90 percent of the population of Kosovo, and they are victims of sharp social and economic discrimination by the Serbian authorities.

In November 1988, a march of 500,000 in Kosovo's main city, Pristina, demanded an end to second-class treatment of the province's Albanian population. The march was headed by miners, carrying pictures of Tito and Yugoslav, Albanian, and Turkish flags. The following February a general strike took place with similar demands. Some

1,300 zinc and lead miners occupied their mines, many going on a hunger strike. Miners in Slovenia and unionists in Croatia sent messages of support.

The Stalinist rulers in Belgrade responded with a hysterical chauvinist campaign. They said that Kosovo is part of a Serb "homeland" and that Albanians "breed too much". They circulated false stories of rape of Serbian women by Albanians in Kosovo.

They mobilized massive demonstrations in Belgrade with a lynch-mob atmosphere against the people of Kosovo. After whipping up this wave of Serbian nationalism, the Belgrade government not only refused to meet the Kosovo Albanians' demand for separate "republic" status within the Yugoslav federation but revoked what autonomy Kosovo previously had.

The bureaucracy in Croatia and Slovenia supported Belgrade's crackdown against Kosovo. All the bureaucrats had been shaken by the worker resistance of the previous years. In the first six months of 1988 there had been 800 strikes involving 150,000 people across Yugoslavia.

The rulers in Croatia and Slovenia orchestrated their own nationalist mobilizations, eventually holding plebiscites for independent statehood that received a majority of votes. The Belgrade government countered with further appeals to Serbian nationalism, arguing in favor of "Yugoslavia" and in the same breath for Serbian ascendancy.

These processes led to the civil wars and murderous onslaughts of the last year.

Way forward for working people

These events reflect the crisis of bureaucratic rule in the context of the absence of any independent working-class leadership in Yugoslavia.

What is decisive for the working class is not merely its strength in relation to the bureaucratic rulers, but its understanding of its historic line of march as part of an international class and its allies in this struggle.

The Yugoslav revolution itself represented a giant stride in that direction for the workers and peasants. This is the direction working people there need to take up again, by organizing themselves to sweep away the parasitic bureaucracy that has led them to the disastrous position they are in today, and replacing it with a government of workers and farmers.

The revolution that is required in Yugoslavia is a political revolution, that differs from the revolution needed in capitalist countries only in the sense that working people will, in the course of overthrowing the bureaucratic caste and its system of domination, safeguard and build on the achievements of the first, anticapitalist revolution. Those conquests are the nationalized property in the basic means of production, wholesale trade and banking; the state monopoly of foreign trade; and the consequent capacity for economic planning.

In order to carry through the political revolution, a vanguard party must be forged by the most politically conscious, active, and self-sacrificing workers in the factories and fields, a party conscious of the line of march of the working class and drawing on the lessons of past struggles to point the way forward — a communist party. Such a vanguard party can draw in others committed to this working-class perspective.

The last thing the people of Yugoslavia need is an imperialist military intervention, which on whatever basis it begins will end up being turned against them. Over the past year, sections of working people in Yugoslavia have shown by their own actions the potential they possess to place their stamp on events:

- The hundreds of thousands who have protested against the war in Belgrade and elsewhere in Serbia;
- the widespread refusal by those under the rule of Belgrade to fight in the "Yugoslav" army against fellow working people in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia;
- the mothers of soldiers from Serbia who joined their Croatian counterparts in Zagreb in opposition to Belgrade's war against Slovenia;
- the fraternization between soldiers of the Yugoslav army and those they were sent to fight in Slovenia;
- the preparedness of large numbers of Sarajevo citizens of Serbian and Croatian origin to defend their city side by side with their Muslim brothers and sisters against the rightist cutthroat gangs of the Serbian Democratic Party.

All these are examples of the class solidarity that powered the Yugoslav revolution and that can point the way forward again.

Rather than imperialist intervention, what working people in Yugoslavia need above all is time to engage in politics — to test out leaderships, organizations, and programs that can advance their interests. Out of these experiences, and through contact with class-conscious fighters throughout the world, a new vanguard can be forged.

This vanguard will lead the struggle to overthrow the bureaucratic regime, reach out to workers around the world in the process; and take up the march toward socialism as part of this international struggle.

Gov't plan threatens farmers' livelihood

BY JACK GARFIELD

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — The livelihoods of tens of thousands of debt-ridden family farmers have recently been placed in greater jeopardy by the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA), an agency of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

In recent weeks, FmHA spokesman Joe O'Neill said, 30,000 farmers across the country received notices of delinquency in loan payments.

This figure represents one fourth of all FmHA borrowers. The FmHA is currently carrying \$5.6 billion in farm indebtedness.

Farmers who get these letters have 60 days to respond to a series of options for reorganizing their debt. The FmHA has 90 days to reply.

The agency's responses can range from approval to foreclosure.

"I don't think we'll have mass foreclosures," stated Gary Mersinger, a supervisor in the agency's Madison County, Illinois, office. "Most of these debts can be restructured. Some cases won't be saved, and there will be some sad farmers who might need to look for other jobs."

If farmers who receive delinquency letters "don't respond we're going to get mean and nasty real quick," Mersinger told the *Granite City Journal*.

More than 1,000 Illinois farmers received delinquency notices.

Texas, Mississippi, and Oklahoma farmers topped the FmHA's list of delinquencies.

Farmers do not get fair prices

"The root of the problem is not 'farmer indebtedness'," Larry Mitchell, director of federal and state relations for the American Agricultural Movement (AAM), said in an interview. "The root is not receiving a fair price for what they raise. As long as the cost of production is greater than the price of the crop, this [indebtedness] will continue."

Mitchell, who raised cotton, corn, grain, and sorghum until his Texas farm was foreclosed in 1988 by a commercial bank, said he thought "up to 50 percent of those getting the [delinquency] letters could end up in foreclosure."

This would be a big increase in foreclosures compared to the number of farmers who lost their land in late 1988 when the government sent out 80,000 delinquency notices, Mitchell said. In Minnesota that year, according to the state FmHA, 2,126 farmers responded to the notices. Of these, five were foreclosed. Around 88 percent underwent some kind of debt restructuring.

The Farm Credit System, another major federal lending agency, "is on the hunt" for those in arrears of payments, Mitchell said, compounding the crisis facing working farmers.

The Farm Credit System lends to "as many or more farmers as the FmHA," he noted.

As debt and the threat of foreclosure encircle working farmers, their productivity continues to increase. The U.S. Department of Agriculture recently reported that during the 1980s, crop production per acre rose 27 percent; output per breeding unit on live-

stock farms grew by 26 percent; and farm production per hour increased 30 percent, while time used in producing crops declined by 16 percent.

The AAM is trying to help farmers facing the 60-day deadline find ways to work through complicated regulations to arrive at debt restructuring proposals, Mitchell explained, a task which is "extremely complicated."

Several facts explain this.

"This is the busiest time of year for farmers," National Farmers Union president Leland Swenson stated in the *Illinois Agri-News*. Now, they're faced with a 60-day deadline to put together a debt-restructuring component. This whole process is just devastating to farm families and their communities. We are losing more than 30,000 farmers a year as farm income continues to drop."

In addition to these pressures, the maze of rules, guidelines, and procedures reflect changes coming out of the bipartisan 1990 farm bill.

1990 farm bill

This law strictly limits debt writedowns (reductions) and buyouts to \$300,000 — a figure often topped by family farms — while allowing farm borrowers to be eligible only once for debt restructuring.

In addition, Kathy Ozer, director of the Family Farm Coalition, said in an interview, there is a new method of determining the value of the farm.

For the first time, "non-essential assets" are computed as part of the net worth of the farm, she explained. They could "include a second or third tractor, an IRA [retirement] account, the worth of a life insurance policy and so on."

Since these assets are now part of the farm's value, they cannot be used as collateral for new loans.

The FmHA continues to allow farmers to

deduct the cost of foreclosure procedures to compute the cost of the farm for obtaining loans from other sources. This can result in dropping the farm price by up to 20 percent, enabling the farmer to get a loan sufficient to pay off the FmHA debt.

But this discount may now be offset by the inclusion of non-essential assets, pushing the farm's value over \$300,000 — the new ceiling for being able to receive such credit.

The final catch in this tightening tangle of restrictions, according to Lynn Hayes, an attorney for the St. Paul-based Farmers Legal Action Group is the "good faith" clause.

If the FmHA finds farmers "withholding or concealing what it believes are nonessential assets, they can add financial penalties, interest or deny approval to a restructuring package," she said.

Antifarmer policies

The potential disaster unleashed by the delinquency notices means that "everybody who thought they had their problems solved, at least for the time being, doesn't," according to Jo Bates, president of the Empire State Family Farm Alliance.

The plunge of milk price supports means that her upstate New York dairy farm is losing between \$1,100 and \$1,500 a month.

"You can't make payments. Everybody's in trouble," Bates said.

Carroll Narmyer, who operates his Iowa farm in bankruptcy, believes that the current run of delinquency notices won't be the last.

"This is a continuation of a government policy to drive family farmers out of business, in favor of the agribusiness corporate giants like Tyson, Cargill and the rest," he commented. These huge companies are eligible to buy farms that have been foreclosed or taken over by the FmHA.

An unusually long spate of dry weather in Iowa and southern Minnesota has

worsened this squeeze, he said. "If we don't get a crop out, crop insurance just covers inputs. We can end up even further back."

Narmyer, vice-president of the Iowa American Agricultural Movement, raises corn, soybeans, hay, oats, and hogs. His wife's job, and the vegetable stand they maintain in the summer, provide cash "when we run low," he said.

Farmers receiving the FmHA notices, Narmyer said, "have been very quiet. Receiving one is sometimes seen as proof of your own failure. So people try to figure out what to do on their own. But now the government has figured out all the angles we've used to stop them in the past."

"It is a challenge every day to keep going," the Iowa farmer said.

From Pathfinder

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Caterpillar workers continue fight

Continued from page 3

cally deducted from UAW members' checks and turned over to the union.

One indication of the continuing strength of the union is that, despite frustration and confusion over the UAW officialdom's abrupt halt to the strike on April 14 and their order to go back to work without a contract, union members report that there is little problem collecting union dues.

Larry Solomon, president of Local 751 in Decatur, about 80 miles southeast of here, reported that members regularly come into the union hall to pay their dues and others pay by mail.

One of the company attacks most felt by the workers at Caterpillar is the ongoing victimization of 10 or so UAW members whose firings were strike related.

One of these workers, Roger Suddith, who worked in East Peoria for 26 years was fired, according to the company, for harassing a coworker while off the job.

After the strike, Local 974 organized a demonstration at Caterpillar's corporate offices in Peoria in support of the fired UAW members.

UAW members in many of the plants have expressed solidarity for these workers. Some workers wear caps or buttons with names of fired coworkers.

At the Mossville plant some workers wear caps and T-shirts with the slogan "Where's Clem?" calling attention to fired coworker Clem Mize.

Cooling felt that the union needed to provide fired workers with funds. "And I don't mean \$100 a week" he said, mentioning strike pay, "but closer to what they'd be making if they were on the job."

Management reacted to shows of solidarity with fired coworkers and other expressions of support for the union by banning certain buttons and clothing.

In East Peoria caps with "I didn't," referring to crossing the picket line were banned. Another with the word scab and a slash through it was also banned. In Decatur management made workers remove a button with the slogan "I'm not a hero." This addressed a statement by the top manager at the Decatur plant, Ron Diamond, who called those who crossed the picket lines heroes. Diamond, who is retiring, is well remembered by the Decatur

strikers for having predicted that at least 400 of their ranks would cross the picket line. Only 11 out of almost 2,000 workers crossed at the Decatur plant.

In his keynote speech to the UAW convention in San Diego in mid-June, union president Owen Bieber reported no progress in talks with Caterpillar. He defended an "in-plant strategy" as the way forward for UAW members there.

The UAW has held training sessions on this strategy with shop stewards who are to pass this on to other UAW members.

Larry Solomon explained that the training sessions for the "in-plant strategy" call for following the work rules exactly and doing no more than what the boss orders.

Some UAW members at Caterpillar support the "in-plant strategy" as their only alternative today. Others, however, don't think it accomplishes anything.

As John Grayned put it: "How can you have an 'in-plant strategy' when the company is on speed-up? How can you have an 'in-plant strategy' when I have to do anything the boss tells me?"

At the UAW convention, Bieber also announced that the international union was asking several cities that have passed anti-apartheid resolutions to not do business with Caterpillar because of their ties to South Africa.

Several hundred delegates to the UAW convention were also organized to demonstrate at a Caterpillar dealership in San Diego during the convention. At the end of the convention the central negotiating team for the union at Caterpillar was brought on stage to a standing ovation. Members of the team from Local 974 in Peoria were flown to the convention late since the local's leadership had decided not to send a delegation to the convention. They stated that their finances would not allow for the trip.

Bieber's real attitude toward affecting Caterpillar's business was expressed in a letter he sent to the *Peoria Journal Star* after the convention. This letter complained about the paper's reports that Bieber had called for putting Caterpillar out of business when he had compared Caterpillar to Eastern Airlines. In his letter to the editor, Bieber stated that the UAW officials ended the strike at Caterpillar to prevent the company from "hiring inexperienced replacement and

ruining the reputation for quality and productivity that has been the reason for the company's tremendous success in the market place.

"The UAW has no intention of putting Caterpillar out of business. Just the opposite: We are determined to keep the company in business by saving Caterpillar from the incompetence of its own managers, who can't seem to realize that a veteran, dedicated work force is the most precious resource any company has."

The UAW international officialdom continues to look to electing Democratic politicians in November and to the National Labor Relations Board as the way to fight Caterpillar. However, only one of the UAW members that this reporter spoke to even mentioned the elections and many pointed out that recent National Labor Relations Board rulings show the agency is in Caterpillar's corner.

On July 16 Caterpillar management announced a net loss of \$53 million for the second quarter. The company claims this loss is mainly due to low sales and not the five-and-a-half-month UAW strike.

UAW members point out, however, that their strike had a tremendous effect on Caterpillar's ability to meet orders. As proof of this they point to letters of complaint sent to the company by Caterpillar dealers.

The *Peoria Journal Star* reported on an April 7 letter from Hewitt Equipment in Montreal that said several dump trucks built by management and scabs during the strike needed 92 hours of repairs after being delivered to them.

In their discussions UAW members at Caterpillar express mixed views. "A few even think we have to take the company offer," said Larry Solomon. He added, "There's a lot of tension and we have some angry people, but they'll get stronger."

A number of UAW members show an attitude similar to their determined mood at the end of the strike.

On the final day of the strike last April, Tom Nell insisted on being on the picket line in East Peoria until the lines were finally taken down. Today he and many others continue to look for ways to fight for their union.

Gov't to slash farm safety funds

BY JACK GARFIELD

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — Forty-nine farm safety programs in 28 states are slated for elimination under funding cutbacks proposed by the Bush administration. The programs are sponsored by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health.

The slashing of such programs means farm safety work "is going to be set back 10 years" in the upper Midwest, according to Dr. Ian Graves, a director of occupational health at the University of Minnesota School of Public Health.

Farming and mining are the deadliest occupations in the United States. Nearly 1,300 people, 300 of them children, are killed annually in farm accidents. Another 170,000 farm residents yearly suffer disabling injuries.

The pending cuts aim at research, education, accident prevention, child safety, and cancer screening programs, along with Farm Extension Services safety staff positions.

Currently, Washington spends 30 cents yearly for individuals working on farms; miner safety programs receive \$183.68 per worker annually.

Brazilian peasants struggle for land

Six participants in land occupation convicted in frame-up murder trial

BY AARON RUBY
AND ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

SÃO PAULO, Brazil — On June 27, after a three-day trial in the city of Pôrto Alegre, in southern Brazil, five men and one woman, members of the Landless Rural Workers Movement (MST) were convicted of complicity in the murder of a soldier. The trial received a lot of publicity in the Brazilian news media.

The frame-up charges stemmed from an August 8, 1990, army assault against 600 landless rural workers who were demanding government recognition of land they had occupied six months before. The MST is a mass movement of landless rural workers carrying out land takeovers and fighting for an agrarian reform law.

The six "were denied bail for 17 months because the judge said they were going to continue to participate in other land seizures," explained Neuri Rossetto, an MST national leader, in an interview at its national office in São Paulo.

Despite voting 5-2 that the six did not commit the crime, the court handed down sentences of up to seven years, stating that "in some way [the peasants] contributed to the death of the soldier."

The peasants and farm workers had set up a camp in the main square of Pôrto Alegre and were in the middle of negotiations with the state government to fulfill a two-month-old promise to grant legal recognition of land. The military police attacked the protesters with bayonets and tear gas. The soldier was killed in the melee after shooting a woman protester in the abdomen.

Considerable evidence contrary to the state's version of the events, including photographs of four of the accused being arrested before the incident took place, was presented by the defense.

A campaign of vilification against the MST members, using photos of the dead soldier and interviews with his widow, sought to cut off support for the frame-up victims. The MST, the Central Trade Union Organization (CUT), the largest of three nationwide union federations, and the Worker's Party (PT) organized a campaign of support for the six, which received messages of support from across Brazil and internationally. Many MST organizers are members of the PT.

The six plan to appeal the verdict and the MST called for messages of support to be sent to their offices in São Paulo: MST, Rua Ministro Godoy 1484, 05015-001, São Paulo, SP, Brazil, Fax 55-11-871-4612.

Exploitation of the countryside

The frame-up of these workers is part of a series of attacks by capitalist landlords and industrialists against this movement. There are over 4 million families of landless peasants in Brazil. The MST is currently involved in occupations by 12,000 of these families.

One percent of landowners in rural Brazil control forty-four percent of the land, with some properties reaching nearly 3 million hectares, much of which is fallow. The richest 20 land owners possess 5 percent of the land. On the other hand, the other 90 percent divide 21 percent of the land between them. There are some 23 million rural toilers of a population of 147 million.

As a result of rapid industrialization there has been a violent transformation of Brazilian society. One-third of the population lives in the countryside today, compared to two-thirds of the population 20 years ago.

Exploitation in the countryside has reached the level of virtual slavery in some cases. Twenty-seven such cases involving 4,833 persons were documented in 1991. These workers are often lured into remote areas, not paid, and are kept there by force. The Catholic Pastoral Land Commission (CPT), which supports the MST, estimates that there are some 40,000 persons in those conditions today in Brazil.

Rising struggles by workers and peasants in the late 1970s and early 1980s brought to an end 21 years of dictatorship in 1985. As a result of these struggles the MST was founded that year, explained Adilton Do Paula, a national leader of the group.

On May 18 of this year, some 800 families occupied 1,800 hectares of fallow government land and set up a camp called Fa-



'Militant' correspondent Aaron Ruby (left) speaks with Miguel Serpa, leader of the Landless Rural Workers Movement at the Fazenda Ipanema camp.

zenda Ipanema outside of the city of Sorocaba, an hour west of here. Participants came from 13 cities around the area. "It is the largest of the 300 current occupations in the state of São Paulo," explained Francisco Alves, an organizer for the MST along the road to the camp.

"Land is not given it is conquered!" reads the main banner at the entrance to the occupation, defended by a security perimeter manned by MST members. While there have been threats and the military maintains an armed roadblock the government has retreated from initial attempts to cut off the occupation.

For many of the millions of landless peasants, direct occupations offer the only way to obtain land. Once the land is occupied it must be defended from the landlords, whose response is often violent.

The landlords and capitalist farmers formed the Democratic Rural Union (UDR) in 1985 as a direct response to the movement of rural workers and peasants to take control

of some of the land. The UDR fields candidates in the elections. Besides support of the military, landlords have their own private armies, which they use to attack peasants and farm workers fighting for their rights.

In 1991 there were some 383 violent conflicts involving 242,196 people, resulting in 49 deaths, according to a CPT report.

The Fazenda Ipanema camp of 3,000 is well organized, with its own cleanup and sanitation, health clinic and school for the 1,100 children. Everything including field work, cooking, construction, and washing is divided up among the members and discipline is strict. Planting has begun and a number of wells are being dug. Entertainment is organized by the camp members and a band recently gave a concert in the camp.

Ezequiel Da Conceição, part of a delegation from Sorocaba, said that there is broad support in that city. He pointed to a demonstration on May 28 and to the food, medicine, and clothing donated. The local unions in the town have been organizing collec-

tions, which have been sufficient to supply the 40-day takeover and they have brought a sound truck each day for entertainment. CUT and the MST are circulating statements explaining the occupation, appealing for support and donations, and inviting townspeople to visit the camp.

Benedito Meireles Dos Santos, a factory worker who had heard about the occupation by word of mouth, came to the local MST office in Sorocaba, donated by the CUT, to ask if he could join the occupation. He explained, "I want to farm because of low pay and jobs are too insecure and I'm not afraid of the government."

Most of the landless workers and peasants currently have no options to find jobs in the cities. José Rodia, a leader of the PT's union work, said that today there are officially 1.3 million unemployed in São Paulo in a population of 12 million. Nationally 11 million were unemployed or underemployed in 1990, a figure which has increased considerably. Some 60 million receive an income below subsistence levels according to MST and CUT leaders. Only one out of three Brazilians receives adequate nutrition. Inflation is running at about 22 percent monthly.

This crisis is intensified by government austerity programs implemented to make increasing debt payments to foreign banks. Some \$15 billion was paid in the last 2 years. Brazil's current foreign debt stands at \$142 billion.

Days after the Ipanema takeover the government declared the land a "national forest" and demanded they leave. There were virtually no trees on the land. According to Da Conceição, this treeless "forest," which has been fallow for decades, was presented to the June Earth Summit conference by the Brazilian government as an example of its ecological program.

Miguel Serpa, an MST camp leader on his thirteenth land occupation, said they are willing to exchange the occupied land for another lot but will not leave empty-handed.

"We have no other option but to fight and we will. Each time we fight we get better and more confident," he said.

'Youth attracted to communist movement'

Continued from Page 7

tively, we explain, it is necessary to chart a course to unite working people to take power out of the hands of the rulers.

The experience of our movement worldwide over the last two years demonstrates the attraction of young people to the communist movement. This reality has been reinforced by the experience of the Communist League and the young socialists in Britain. It makes possible the perspective of the fused party pursuing youth work more aggressively, heading to the stage of establishing a communist youth organisation.

We strive to get into the hands of every fighting youth our fundamental guides—"The Opening Guns of World War III", "Buchananism, What It Is and How to Fight It" and *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: The Proletarian Party and the Trade Unions*. The accuracy of each of these basic documents has been daily tested against the unfolding events of world politics, and they have held up well.

Above all, the fusion and the political course we are charting through it aim to advance the norms and rhythm of functioning of a party whose large majority is composed of industrial workers. The fusion enables us to strengthen and maintain not only a weekly rhythm built around the distribution of our weekly newspaper, the *Militant*, at plant gates and elsewhere, but a collective daily rhythm of political activity and outreach which is the heart and soul of a campaign party. It advances us toward more disciplined proletarian norms of organisation and leadership as described by James P. Cannon and Leon Trotsky in *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party* and related correspondence. The fusion enables us to combat more directly the drift toward petty-bourgeois norms of functioning in which individual decisions on priorities and preferences effectively negate democratically arrived-at collective decisions.

By starting from the actual size of our movement today, rather than being frustrated by it, and integrating ourselves more systematically into the world movement we are part of, we will establish measured and consistent work on the axis of class politics and deepen our convergence with revolutionary and communist forces on a world scale. This orientation puts us in the best position to respond rapidly to events and thus increase our attractiveness to young fighters who can be won to building the communist movement.

Our goal is to better organise the youth work of our movement along the lines that have always guided the communist movement. The organisational forms have been and will remain many and varied, and more often than not youth work is done without the form of a separate youth organisation. When the opportunity to build a communist youth organisation is created by political conditions, however, the relationship of the communist youth to the party is that of an auxiliary organisation: organisationally independent and politically subordinate. This is the opposite of any kind of youth vanguardism, with its politically destructive elevation of youthful energy and drive to a substitute for communist program, organisation, education and discipline that consciously knits together the past, present and future of the revolutionary workers movement.

Through the fusion we want to advance our efforts, along with young socialists in the U.S., Canada, Sweden, Australia, New Zealand and Iceland, to link up with a layer of revolutionary and communist youth worldwide who will be present at the international socialist youth and campaign conference at Oberlin, Ohio, this August. One of the immediate goals of the fused organisation is to turn out and to win as many young fighters and others to attend the Oberlin conference.

In line with the actual size of our movement, and in order to carry out the decisions of the February 21 Central Committee meeting to transfer more of the administrative functions of the national office to the London branch and other branches insofar as possible, we should further restructure the leadership in the weeks leading to the fusion conference. Following the example set by several other components of our international communist movement, we should elect a small working Political Bureau composed of three Central Committee members resident in Sheffield and Manchester plus one leader of the young socialists and move the seat of the Political Bureau to Sheffield. The Political Bureau will elect its convenor from among the members in Sheffield.

By making such a move now, we will be acting in a timely way to cut back on the leadership structure and apparatus to bring it more in line with our real financial and cadre resources today and allow us to grow into new structures as our future needs and size dictate.

Our goal in organising to carry out the fusion perspective is not to maximize the numbers of youth brought into the fusion in a "hot house" manner, but to come out of the fusion with the kind of organisation that is capable of maintaining the rhythm and activity of a proletarian, campaign party that will consistently carry out communist youth work and recruit young fighters to our movement in increasing numbers.

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Belgrade protesters march against war

Demand an end to 'ethnic cleansing'

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia — About 2,000 people surrounded the federal Parliament building here July 15 linking hands in a protest against the war.

"I am a Croat, Jew, Albanian, Serb, Muslim, Macedonian and Hungarian," read a sign a woman carried around her neck. Many other protesters held up similar signs. The picket line was led by a group of women dressed in black with a banner reading, "Women in Black Against the War."

"In this region of the world all nationalities used to live peacefully," said Lina Vukovic, one of the marchers. "Now it's a mess."

The protest, organized by the Center for Antiwar Action, focused on denouncing the escalation of forced removals of populations in Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina in operations widely known as "ethnic cleansing." Serbian and Croatian rightists are trying to create all-Serb or all-Croatian towns in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Vojvodina, and other regions of former Yugoslavia where people of all nationalities have lived together for decades.

"We are against the government of [Slobodan] Milosevic and especially fascist forces like [Vojislav] Seselj's Radical Party," said Biljana Bakic, a law student at Belgrade University who took part in the protest.

The Serbian Radical Party, formed last year, advocates a Serbia "only for the Serbs" as its general secretary Milko Vucic put it in an interview. In the May 31 parliamentary elections in the recently declared new Yugoslavia, comprised of Serbia and Montenegro, the party won 30 percent of the vote becoming the second largest party in the new federal parliament. The elections were boycotted by most opposition parties.

"This war is terrible and it wasn't necessary in the first place," Bakic explained. "People at the head of this government want to grab anything they can get their hands on. That's why there is a war," she added.

While several pedestrians joined or waved in solidarity with the protesters, not everybody agreed with them. Once in a while the pickets faced shouts like, "Go to Bosnia and tell it to the Croats and Muslims!"

The Center for Antiwar Action was founded in July 1991. "The Center strongly believes that there is no greater evil than the affliction of war, to which we have arrived because three national leaders — Tudjman, Milosevic, and Kucan — refuse to agree on a peaceful settlement to the Yugoslav crisis," its founding statement declares. Their national projects have dragged us into a dirty war. We represent those who do not see this as our war and who know that ethnic states cannot be established in the Balkans, even at the highest possible price — human life."

The center appeals "to all citizens, irrespective of their national and political affiliation, to join us by setting up antiwar centers around the country."

The July 15 protest was preceded by a series of demonstrations by students at Belgrade University. The students declared a strike June 8-10 shutting down many of the university's operations.

"The current situation in this country forces us to be no longer quiet observers of the events endangering the very existence of the Serbian people," the student's strike organizing committee said in a statement. "At this moment we are exposed to the drastic sanctions and we have already experienced the isolation that makes both life and work unbearable," it continued.

The students are demanding dismissal of the parliament, the resignation of Milosevic, and the formation of a "national salvation government" that would include leaders of the opposition and would organize new elections for a constituent assembly.

Ten thousand high school and college students marched July 7 to press their demands.

In two dozen interviews students — with-

out exception — expressed opposition to military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina by U.S. forces, European Community troops, or other imperialist powers. "This is for us to resolve," said student leader Branimir Pipal. "More people will get killed if foreign troops come in."

Most of the same students were also against the embargo imposed by the United Nations Security Council against Serbia and Montenegro. "The sanctions hurt us," said Sonja Todorovic, a 23-year-old electro-technical engineering student. "Unemployment now is huge. My father's pension is 80 German marks while rent is 170 German marks. Young people can't find any apartments," she said.

Not everybody opposed the sanctions though. "Many people in Serbia still listen to Slobodan Milosevic. They believe him," said Djordje Popovic, a high school student at the July 15 picket line. "Maybe the sanctions will help to wake them up."

Students reported that opposition to the draft in Yugoslavia was deep.

"I can't kill my fellow human beings just because they are Croatian," said Aleksandar Josic, a 21-year-old student.

Josic is from Zvornik, a small town in Bosnia across the border from Serbia. There are now barely 10 or 15 Muslim families left in the town, which used to be 70 percent Muslim, Josic said.

"There are 11 Serbian paramilitary formations in Zvornik now and I'll be forced to join one of them if I go back," he said. "They moved all the Muslims out. We never

Refugees displaced by Yugoslav war now number one and a half million

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

ZAGREB, Croatia — Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Alijeh Izetbegovic, president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, signed a military pact here July 21 to fight against the forces of Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia.

Meanwhile tens of thousands of refugees continue to stream out of Bosnia as fighting has intensified in the northeastern part of what used to be Yugoslavia. The total number of refugees displaced by the war is now estimated at 1.5 million or more.

Serbian forces have carried out heavy shelling of Sarajevo, the majority-Muslim city of Gorazde, and other towns in Bosnia during the last week.

At the same time Croatian rightist paramilitary forces have become more active in Bosnia. The biggest such group, known by initials HOS, is the official, although formally illegal, military wing of a rightist party called the Croatian Party of Law (HSP). Its leader, Paraga, advocates annexing all of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Croatia. HOS members, numbering 50,000, fight under their own command. They dress in black uniforms and can frequently be seen mingling with Croatian army soldiers. Some HOS soldiers display Ustasha signs on their vehicles. The Ustasha was a fascist Croatian nationalist group that ruled Croatia during the German occupation of Yugoslavia in World War II.

HOS members often have been joined in battle by members of small fascist groups from other European countries. These groups carry names such as Viking Youth, Flemish Military Order, and Nazi Skinheads for Power. In recent months the Croatian government has attempted to curb the activity of such groups in Croatia and Bosnia.

On July 15 Serbian artillery fired 15 shells into a stadium filled with refugees in the Croatian city of Slavouski Brod, across the border from Bosnia-Herzegovina. At least eight people died and more than 30 were wounded.

The number of refugees in Croatia has already surpassed 700,000. Meanwhile President Tudjman announced that his government will begin deporting refugees to



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

July 15 protest at the federal parliament building in Belgrade. Marchers demanded an end to "ethnic cleansing" in Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

had any problems in the past."

His best friend was expelled from Zvornik because he is half-Croatian, half-Serbian.

Last May in the majority-Croatian town of Hrtkovci, in Vojvodina, Serbian refugees began to arrive from Croatia. They were put up by residents there.

On June 4 Seselj's Serbian Radical Party organized a rally in Hrtkovci and along with local rightists demanded that all Croats leave town to make room for the Serbian refugees.

When antiwar activists, reporters, and local residents began denouncing the rightists campaign, the Serbian Radical Party organized a "town meeting" and took over the town. Hundreds of Croatian families have already been forced out of the town.

Josic was appalled by the forced removals of populations. "The first time I heard I was a Serb was five years ago," he said.

"The revolution in Yugoslavia after

World War II was like a medicine. It united people," Josic remarked. "But later, maybe 10 years later, all progress stopped." Josic's view, though, was rare. Most of the several dozen people this reporter talked to, all opponents of the Milosevic regime, thought that not much progress was made towards resolving ethnic divisions among working people by the 1945 revolution in Yugoslavia.

The Serbian government-controlled news agency Tanjug reports almost daily alleged atrocities committed by Muslim or Croatian paramilitary groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A July 14 dispatch said that "Muslim forces committed another serious crime against the Serb population in the eastern part of the ex-Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina," killing 20 civilians July 12 near the town of Bratunas. These stories could not be confirmed through other sources.

their countries. On July 16 the government of neighboring Slovenia closed its border to all refugees.

In response to Zagreb's newly announced policy on refugees, the government of Hungary said it will impose strict controls on travel of anybody coming from the former Yugoslav republics.

The human tragedy facing millions of working people as a result of the war was graphically illustrated at the Hungarian-Croatian border July 17.

A woman from the Bosnian city of Mostar was removed from the train along

with her three children by Croatian immigration officials. She had fled the war and was trying to visit relatives in Zagreb.

"They told me in Budapest I did not need a visa to get into Croatia," she pleaded. The immigration cops did not give in despite pleas for sympathy from the train conductors.

As the train approached Zagreb, hundreds of refugees could be seen in overcrowded train cars with their laundry hanging out of the windows. In one rail yard dozens of people had spread along the tracks eating lunch, left stranded after Slovenia shut its borders.

Rightist killers terrorize Sarajevo

Continued from Page 1

the hill across the way is now in the hands of Bosnian army forces.

Daily life is nerve-racking. "I play Russian roulette every day ducking bullets on my way from work," says Azra Gluhic, a school maintenance worker. Schools have been shut down since April 5 when the siege of Sarajevo began. Most factories and other businesses have been destroyed or forced to close.

Gluhic goes to work twice a week for a few hours. Since a 150-mm shell turned her house in the majority Muslim "Old Town" north end of the city into rubble, she lives with her sister next door. As she speaks the electricity goes off and a candle is lit.

At dusk several families from the neighborhood gather at the makeshift shelter, the Gluhics' basement. Bookcases, couches and bedding are stuffed into the main stairwell to provide protection from shrapnel.

Two Serbian families and one Croatian family are crammed into the basement along with another dozen neighbors who are Muslim. "This is nationalistic madness," says Haris Halilovic, a hotel worker. "You can see it here, this is not a war between Serbs and Muslims."

"It is true that Serbian people are under attack in Sarajevo," he says, referring to the argument used by the rightist forces to attack the city. "They, together with Muslims and

Croats, are under attack by Karadzic's gang."

The night is considered quiet by all accounts — only a few shells, a mortar attack against the Bosnian presidency building in the early morning hours, and lots of shooting around the Holiday Inn.

"On a heavy night you have up to 600 shells lobbed into the city," said Mic Magnusson, of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) at next morning's press briefing. The day's toll: three dead and more than 30 wounded, most civilians.

By day, when under the sun the artillery eases, people line up for bread, as well as meager portions of mostly canned food brought in by two dozen UNPROFOR flights daily.

While the conditions of life could give the impression of desperation approaching, most people interviewed are not broken. They seem more determined to defend the city from "these madmen who want ethnic cleansing," as Halilovic put it.

On July 24 two Bosnian athletes from Sarajevo flew from the airport, along with an escort of 30 people, to Spain to participate in the Olympic competition in Barcelona.

"This is a small breach in the siege," 3,000-meter runner Mirsada Boric commented while waiting for the plane at the airport.

U.S. gov't threatens Iraq

Continued from front page

dent George Bush said Hussein "caved in" and warned that "the real test of his behavior will be in future UN inspections."

Iraq's deputy prime minister Tariq Aziz contradicted Bush's statement. He argued that Baghdad had "put the United Nations in a position in which it was forced to deal with us in a different way."

This set off a debate in Washington, in which some are saying Bush compromised himself by allowing the Iraqis to determine the composition of the new UN inspection team. No one from the United States, or members of the so-called allied coalition, were members of the team.

The Bush administration is now planning to speed up arms inspections.

In recent months, the Bush administration has been increasingly put on the defensive. Recent studies show many of Washington's self-proclaimed military feats of Washington during the Gulf War were outright lies. "Of the 50 Scud launchers (30 fixed, 20 mobile) Iraq was said by General [Norman] Schwarzkopf to have possessed when the war started, 81 had reportedly been wiped out by the time the war ended," wrote Mark Crispin Miller, in a *New York Times* op-ed article last June titled, "Operation Desert Sham."

Miller said, "All those upbeat claims must make the truth now seem incredible. In fact, for all their sorties, the U.S. forces did not destroy a single mobile launcher."

This point is corroborated by the findings of Rolf Ekeus, head of the United Nations commission charged with destroying Iraq's arsenal of weapons. "Hardly any missile, Scud missile, was destroyed through attacks. . . . What has been destroyed is through the peaceful means of inspection," Ekeus said.

President George Bush has been vulnerable to accusations that his administration "appealed" Iraq before the Persian Gulf War. Probes for investigations into this — what is called "Iraqgate" — are focusing on the charge that Washington was involved in a series of questionable economic and military transactions with the Iraqi regime, right up to the point when Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in August 1990.

The Washington-led coalition facing Iraq today is a far cry from the 30 countries that backed the United States in the Gulf War. Former coalition supporters Egypt and Syria publicly pulled out of the alliance in March by opposing any new military attack on Iraq. This has put pressure on the Saudi regime, which clearly does not want to be the only Arab government that is part of any military intervention.

The Turkish government dealt one of the biggest blows July 24 when it announced its airbases were off limits to coalition warplanes. An article in the *Wall Street Journal* last April anticipated just how significant this was: "In the next few months, the most important decision affecting the ability of the U.S. to maintain military pressure on Iraq won't be made in Washington or Baghdad. It will be made in Ankara."

Britain is the most consistent backer of the U.S. government in Europe. But it is clear that even this alliance is on weaker ground following emotional protests in Britain of the "friendly fire" deaths of British soldiers during the Gulf War.

While Paris claims it backs Washington's war threats, it is no secret that U.S. relations with that country are icy. During a recent visit to Washington to discuss European defense policy, it was reported that French foreign minister Roland Dumas was bluntly asked by U.S. secretary of state James Baker, "Are you for us or against us?"

Inside Iraq, newspaper reports indicate that Baghdad has renewed its claim to Kuwait territory, as Saddam Hussein confronts instability at home. Food prices have risen 20 percent in the last month as the U.S.-led economic embargo on that country enters its third year. Several merchants have been rounded up on charges of profiteering.

Everything points to a continued drive by Washington to confront Iraq. Bush briefed Congress July 27 to emphasize that his threat of military intervention was real. According to a White House official, Bush warned that the situation "could explode at any moment."

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

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The Fight to Bring Down Apartheid. Video, *Stop the Violence*, followed by a panel discussion. Sat., Aug. 1, 7:30 p.m. 2552-B W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

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Iran and Its Neighboring Republics of Central Asia. Speaker: Ma'mud Shirvani. Fri., July 31, 7:30 p.m. Dwight Hall, 67 High St. (between Elm and Chapel). Donation: \$3. Tel: (203) 772-3375.

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Haiti: the Struggle for Democracy. Speakers: Cecilia Green, Haiti Solidarity Group, Ann Arbor; representative, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Aug. 1, 7:30 p.m. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

MINNESOTA

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New U.S. Threats Against Iraq. Sat., Aug. 1, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

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Defend a Woman's Right to Choose Abortion! Speakers: Rhett Ruecher, student representative, Students for Choice at the University of Missouri, St. Louis; Rollande Girard, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Aug. 1, 7:30 p.m. 1622 S. Broadway. Donation: \$3. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Hear James Warren, Socialist Workers Candidate for U.S. President. Sat., Aug. 1. Reception:

6:30 p.m., program: 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

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Hear Estelle DeBates, Socialist Workers Candidate for U.S. Vice-President. Sat., Aug. 1. Reception: 7 p.m., program: 7:30 p.m. 1405 E Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

CANADA

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Hear Estelle DeBates, Socialist Workers Candidate for U.S. Vice-President. Sun., Aug. 2, 7:30 p.m. 3967 Main St. (between 23rd and 24th Ave). Donation: \$3. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

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Was World War II a War for Democracy? Sat., Aug. 1, 7 p.m. 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Donation: \$3. Tel: (3) 656-055.
The Myth of Overpopulation. Sat., Aug. 8, 7 p.m. 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Donation: \$3. Tel: (3) 656-055.

Public debate on Curtis case held in Boston

Continued from Page 3

tion Service, Dixon explained, adding that this was a big political issue in Des Moines — a city run by the packinghouse bosses.

Dixon pointed out that 30 minutes before Curtis was arrested, and during the time the rape was supposed to have occurred, he had been at a local restaurant and bar with his coworkers discussing the defense effort underway at work, and explained that Curtis was arrested by "a cop who wanted a collar. The frame-up began when officer Gonzales pulled down his pants," he said. "Once going to Curtis's car the cops found political literature and knew who they had. What followed was a beating by the cops who called him 'a Mexican lover just like you love those coloreds.'"

Andrea Morell responded to statements by Pelka and Russo that this is a case about rape. She said "it is an important episode in the ongoing battles between workers, the employers, and their government in this country and around the world."

"It is above all about the cynical use of the criminal charge of rape of a Black woman against a union and political activist to make an example of him," Morell added. She explained that a central assertion of Curtis's opponents is that "women and children don't lie and you lose your right to be presumed innocent in such cases. This is an argument for giving up the presumption of innocence, with a progressive veneer."

During the question period Pelka insisted Curtis had had a fair trial since the

jury was all white. Dixon responded by explaining that skin color does not determine a jury of one's peers. "Who would be a jury of Judge Clarence Thomas's 'peers,' he asked, 'Black youth from Roxbury?'"

Curtis supporters set up a literature table in front of the library and had a steady stream of people come by and take material.

Following the debate the New England

Curtis campaign completes fund drive

BY MIKE GALATI

DES MOINES, Iowa — Supporters of imprisoned union and political activist Mark Curtis completed one of their most successful fund-raising efforts ever on June 1, collecting \$60,641 for the Mark Curtis Parole Now! Fund.

The Parole Now! Fund appeal was launched in February, after the victory scored by Curtis in his federal civil rights lawsuit against the Des Moines cops for the brutal beating he received the night of his arrest.

The goals of the fund campaign were to take advantage of the political openings resulting from this court victory, to broaden the support for Curtis's fight for justice, and to raise the substantial funds needed to pay a large part of the financial debt owed by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

With the money raised during the Parole Now! Fund by supporters around the world, coupled with the more than \$60,000

awarded by the court to Curtis and his attorneys as part of his victory against the cops, this goal has been surpassed. For the first time since the committee was formed almost four years ago, it has no outstanding debts.

New support was won for Curtis's fight as well. From France, the Movement Against Racism asked to be listed as an endorser of the Defense Committee. The M25 Three Campaign from Britain, a committee organized to defend three Black men framed by the cops, wrote to express support. A letter of support from a prisoner in Morocco was forwarded to the defense committee by Amnesty International.

This victory puts all supporters of Curtis's fight for justice in the strongest position to organize a broad campaign to demand his release on parole.

Mike Galati is a meat-packer in Marshalltown, Iowa, and a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 50N.

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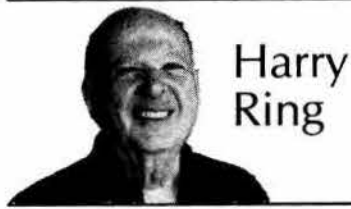
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Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10. Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

Peddling new brand of poison — Margaret Thatcher, Britain's former Tory prime minister, is now



Harry Ring

a \$1-million-a-year consultant to Philip Morris. She will help block attempts to ban tobacco ads in the European Community and fight tobacco taxes. Currently, she's a non-smoker, but maybe she'll take up the habit.

Benefits of U.S. rule — Ten hospitals in Puerto Rico have been cited by Medicare as having above-average numbers of deaths. The local government responds that many people don't have the money for medicines or the knowledge of proper diet and, therefore, are more sick when they enter a hospital.

Capitalism, it's wunnerful — Colorado ski resort operators made a bundle selling luxury home and condo lots around the bases of their ski slopes. Now they have a bill in Congress to give them 40 acres of federal land for employee housing. The available private land, they explain, is too expensive to use for workers' housing.

Let's not be too rational — A study commissioned by the Environmental Protection Agency concluded that by the year 2000 global warming could increase the world's hungry from 640 million to a billion. What to do? Simple. Curb the population.

No designated driver — In Bowling Green, Kentucky, James Jagers, an amputee, was going home in his wheelchair after a couple of beers. Encountering a blocked sidewalk, he steered into the road. A cop busted him for drunk driving. Under protest, Jagers accepted the D.A.'s deal to drop the charges after a year, if he didn't operate the wheelchair under the influence.

Ironical type — "The irony is that American industry needed — and still needs — to reduce the size of its work force in order to prosper and grow" — James Cramer, a Wall Street investment manager.

Golden shaft — a California judge ruled that the posh Neiman-Marcus chain illegally deducted \$1.3 million from employee paychecks. When an item was returned, N-M deducted the commission from the salesperson's pay. When there was no employee ID on the return, they deducted the commission from the entire staff of the department.

Still sniffing around — Pinkerton, the private cop agency with a

long record of spying on workers and helping to bust strikes, is peddling a new service E.N.D.S. (Environmental Narcotics Detection Service.) It claims to use "advanced detection technology to test any surface . . . for molecular traces of narcotics."

Thought for the week — "There's people out there with nuclear bombs and yet we've got all these politicians trying to make a political platform based on a record. . . . Arnold Schwarzenegger blew away dozens of cops as the Terminator. But I don't hear anybody complaining about that." Ice-T, responding to the attacks on his rock song, "Cop Killer."

Nuclear threat remains 47 years after Hiroshima

BY SARA LOBMAN

Forty-seven years ago, on August 6, 1945, the U.S. government dropped an atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. Three days later a second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. Tens of thousands of people died instantly and the death toll, due to radiation, continues to mount even today.

The devastation from these bombs was almost unimaginable. Hiroshima was a city with 76,000 buildings. Ninety-two percent were destroyed. The intense heat and pressure from the blast melted roof tiles and buckled steel. Even three miles from the center of the bomb's impact the majority of buildings were damaged. For a mile in every direction, the city was reduced to ashes.

In the years since 1945 U.S. government officials and school textbooks have claimed that the U.S. goal in dropping the A-bomb on Japan was humanitarian. They argue that this act ended World War II, thus eliminating the need for an invasion of the Japanese home islands and saving more lives than it cost. This is a lie. In fact, the Japanese government had already agreed to negotiate a surrender. Its armies had already been defeated.

Japan's requests for peace reached Washington by July 13. Five days later an A-bomb was exploded in a test in the New Mexico desert, confirming its destructive power. The only two other bombs in existence were quickly shipped to the Pacific. The United States government was determined to use its new weapon before the end of the war.

It had cost over \$2 billion dollars to build the bomb. An entire city had been built and the best scientists drafted to develop the project. Many of these scientists begged the government to call off the bombing of Japan. They suggested that detonating the bomb over the ocean would be enough to establish the vast increase in U.S. military strength.

On August 6, after Hiroshima had been destroyed, then-president Truman threatened the people of Japan. You face "a rain of ruin from the air the like of which has never been seen on this earth," he said. Three days later Nagasaki was annihilated.

Today, the U.S. government claims it has a right to use military force to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons to other countries. "Stop the Subcontinent's bomb", a *New York Times* editorial said in late April. It went on to explain that India and Pakistan both have "well-advanced nuclear programs." "U.S. analysts worry North Korea may be hiding nuclear potential," ran a *Wall Street Journal* headline in June.

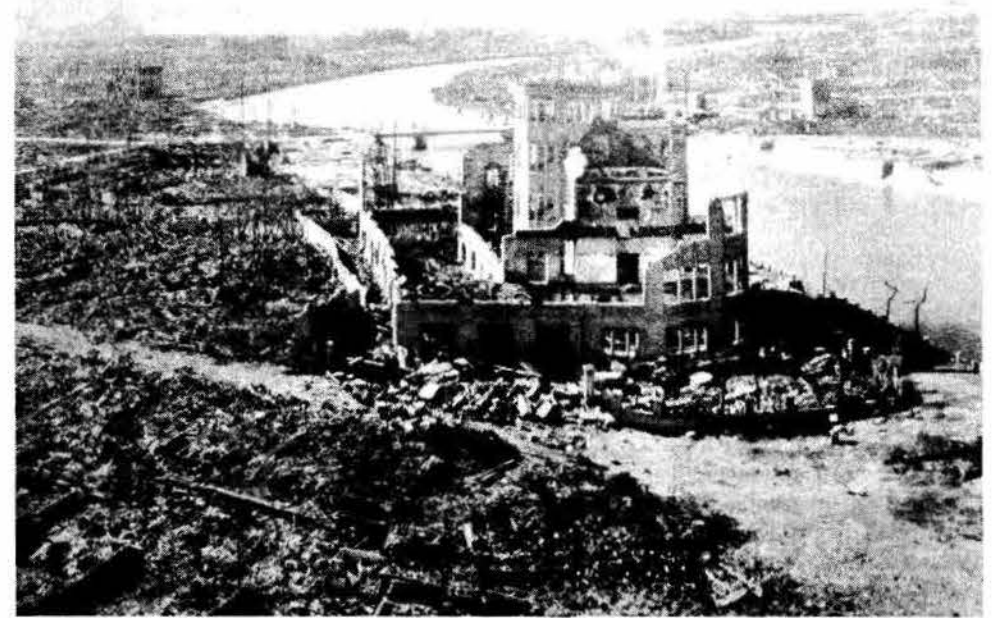
The continued embargo against Iraq and other U.S. attempts to force the Iraqi people into submission are carried out in the name of destroying that country's ability to develop nuclear weapons. The United Nations Security Council, led by Washington, issued a warning to Iraq on July 17 that it risked military intervention if UN "inspectors" were not allowed into the Agricultural Ministry to search for documents they claim have information about Iraq's nuclear weapons program.

With today's technology, it is possible for many countries to build nuclear weapons

and many of them will. This fact will become a favorite excuse for the U.S. capitalist rulers to drive toward wars with those governments or peoples who conflict with their interests.

But those who know the truth about the

bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August of 1945 will question Washington's motives. For the fact remains that the United States is the only government to have ever used a nuclear weapon against human beings.



Hiroshima on Aug. 7, 1945, the day after the U.S. atomic bombing. Tens of thousands of people died instantly. Of the city's 76,000 buildings, 92 percent were destroyed.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interest of the Working People
August 7, 1967 Price 10¢

More than 4,000 persons were arrested during the Detroit uprising and charged with crimes ranging from inciting to riot and sniping to breaking the 9 p.m. curfew and looting. Impossible bonds of \$10,000 to \$25,000 were set for even minor charges.

Residents in the areas where the uprising was strongest describe how police invaded homes without warrants, smashing doors and furniture, injuring inhabitants and tearing rooms apart in a search for guns and ammunition. A number of black persons, including women and children, were shot and some killed by police firing wildly into homes with rifles and machine guns.

The police used the uprising as a pretext to arrest and harass black militants. One of the defendants in the August police-created riot of last year was arrested for looting as he stepped out of his own store.

Vaughn's Book Store, a nationalist center in the city, came under vicious attack. Eyewitnesses saw four carloads of uniformed white police break windows and show cases. Books were shoved onto the floor and drenched with water. They also burned the back room of the store. A fund has been set up to help reopen this center for black thought and activity.

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

August 15, 1942

Under the slogans "Freedom or Death," "Do or Die," the masses of India are fighting

and dying for Indian independence as British imperialism attempts to drown the movement in blood.

The All-India Congress party general committee, yielding to the nationwide demand for immediate action to win independence, endorsed on Saturday, August 8, a resolution for a "civil disobedience" campaign, placing its direction and the date for the beginning of the campaign in the hands of Gandhi.

At dawn the next day Gandhi, Nehru, and other Congress leaders were arrested and the Congress was declared outlawed, precipitating the immediate launching of the independence campaign. No sooner were the first crowds on the streets than British police and troops fired into their midst, while airplanes spewed teargas.

Ever since Britain, without consulting any section of the population, declared India in the war in September, 1940, the tide of colonial revolution has been rising. The masses of India do not want to fight and die in this war in order to maintain British rule in India.

The defeats in Malaya, Singapore, the East Indies and Burma had destroyed British prestige in the Far East and had brought to unprecedented heights the national self-confidence of the Indian masses.

The way out for India, and for all the peoples, will not come from Churchill or Roosevelt, Hitler or the Mikado. The way out is the brotherhood of the peoples against all the oppressors. A Free India will be a powerful and reliable ally of Free China and the Soviet Union. A Free India, putting an end to the imperialist privileges of British capitalism and the crumbs it hands out to its labor lieutenants, would speed the British working class on the road of socialist revolution.

Every worker, every honest democrat, throughout the world must give unconditional support to India's fight.

Women coal miners meet

BY JEANNE FITZMAURICE

MORGANTOWN, West Virginia — The 14th National Conference of Women Miners was held here June 26-28. The gathering was sponsored by the Coal Employment Project (CEP), which has supported women in their efforts to get mining jobs and to fight sexual harassment and other discrimination.

Since 1983 the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) has endorsed the meetings and encouraged union locals to send representatives.

A workshop entitled "Political Action: Women in Politics," discussed sexual harassment, abortion rights and the 1992 presidential elections.

Bonnie Boyers, a workshop convenor, pointed to the approaching Supreme Court decision on the Pennsylvania law restricting abortion rights. She urged the workshop participants to actively defend a woman's right to choose.

The meeting reaffirmed the purpose of the CEP — to get women hired in the mines and to fight discrimination.

The conference was attended by close to 50 people. About 30 were women currently working in coal mines in nine states, east and west. While this is fewer than have come to past gatherings, the women spoke of the CEP as a support group and as a tool to fight discrimination.

Women, who only won the right to work in the mines in the 1970s, rarely have the seniority to survive severe layoffs. While discussing a resolution that proposed finding jobs for women on the UMWA staff, several miners spoke out adamantly in favor

of affirmative action in all hiring. One Pennsylvania miner pointed out that there would be no women miners if the coal operators were not forced to hire them. The idea of preferential seniority for women miners in layoffs was not discussed.

A number of women from the conference joined striking miners from UMWA Local 3009 as well as other unionists from the Morgantown area on a picket line at the home of a coal operator who has refused to negotiate with the union. The miners are on strike in eastern Tennessee, and have been sending delegations to Morgantown to carry out a corporate campaign against Dipple and Dipple, the mine owners.

During the Morgantown gathering, a much discussed topic was the January 31, 1993, expiration of the UMWA contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association. UMWA president Richard Trumka, campaigning for re-election in a nearby town, came by the conference.

There was considerable informal discussion of safety questions, including the May 9 explosion at the Westray coal mine in Nova Scotia, Canada, where 26 miners were killed.

Participants agreed to hold the 1993 conference in the Southwest, in the area of the Navajo reservation, where the Peabody and Pittsburgh and Midway coal companies have large mines.

Jeanne Fitzmaurice is a member of UMWA Local 1570 and is the Socialist Workers candidate for the West Virginia House of Delegates from Monongalia County.

Big victory in spy files release

The recent decision by the Puerto Rico Supreme Court ordering the government in that U.S. colony to release its vast "subversives" files is a resounding victory in the fight against political spying and harassment, both in Puerto Rico and the United States. It is a blow to the FBI and other political police agencies that are used to victimize striking unionists, protesters against cop brutality, defenders of women's rights, and other fighters for social justice. This victory reflects the wide respect and hearing that advocates of Puerto Rican independence have won. It points toward the opportunities to gain even broader support for that fight.

As we reported in our last issue, the government was forced on June 30 to start releasing its illegal spy files on 135,000 people and many organizations in Puerto Rico — primarily independence supporters and other political and union activists. The files were compiled by the intelligence division of the police, with the active involvement of the FBI.

The police, the FBI, and both ruling colonial parties on the island fought tooth and nail to prevent the release of the files. They brazenly argued that issuing the uncensored files would invade the "privacy" of the cops who snooped on people's homes and infiltrated private meetings. Under massive public pressure, however, the court ruled that the files had to be released in full, including the names of the cops, undercover police, and informers. So far 5,000 people have started lining up at a government office in San Juan to receive their files. They include workers, students, teachers, pro-independence parties, civil liberties groups, socialist organizations — even a former judge and a retired president of the University of Puerto Rico. Some have used the court ruling to sue the government for damages.

The files, which demonstrated the vast number of people targeted and the extent of the cops' dirty tricks, have

created, as the *Miami Herald* noted, "a swirl of . . . indignation and outrage" throughout the island.

As the contents of the "subversive" files reveal, the political cops have resorted to wiretapping, mail interception, use of snitches and provocateurs, disruption programs, and much more in their war on democratic rights. Large U.S. companies operating in Puerto Rico were given access to the files to screen out union militants and independence supporters. Government employees and students have been blacklisted.

The pro-independence movement, the main target, has fought and exposed this government harassment for years. Their efforts, and the most recent victory, have helped educate hundreds of thousands of working people and youth — including in the United States. This is precisely why the government feared the disclosure of the spy files.

The court ruling comes in the wake of the Puerto Rican Senate hearings on the 1978 Cerro Maravilla murders, in which the police, with FBI complicity, killed two pro-independence youths. The hearings confirmed the use of police frame-ups, death squads, and other government crimes, which have been at the center of political discussion among working people and others.

This victory can be a powerful weapon to explain the nature of the imperialist government in Washington, and its colonial domination of Puerto Rico, and how the FBI and other cop agencies are used to enforce this oppression. It can be used to win broader support in the fight to free the two dozen Puerto Rican independence fighters locked up in U.S. jails for their political beliefs. In this period of growing capitalist depression and social crisis, it will become more important as working people seek to defend themselves against the U.S. rulers' greater use of police violence and frame-ups.

Workers face war, depression

Continued from front page

United States is promoted by the same reality of economic decline. Many commentators have pointed to the deep "malaise" that persists over this both among working people and the middle class.

These factors have plagued the Bush administration with low levels of support, and have led to divisions in the Republican camp, including open debates over the possibility of dumping top administration figures from Danforth Quayle to budget director Richard Darman and treasury secretary Nicholas Brady in order to make the Bush presidential ticket look more attractive.

Perot's decision to throw in the towel followed a series of attacks and exposés against him by politicians of the two major capitalist parties and in the press about his autocratic methods as a company head and in politics generally. Many of those who were initially attracted to Perot's demagogic rhetoric and promises to clean up a corrupt system were less keen when they learned more about his history and methods. Vice-president Danforth Quayle accurately depicted Perot as a "temperamental tycoon who has contempt for the Constitution of the United States."

Early in his campaign Perot made himself notorious with his statement that he would not have homosexuals in his cabinet, and supported banning them in the military. Shortly before he quit, he was heckled at the NAACP convention when he used the phrase "your people" in singling out the problems of Blacks.

The capitalist rulers clearly decided that, for the time being, the risks of putting such a person as Perot in office outweigh any benefits they would gain from having such a "strongman" in charge of the administration. They would rather keep trying to shore up the battered two-party system.

Since he gave up his campaign, Perot has released a package of draconian proposals for creating a "balanced budget," on the backs of working people. These include raising gasoline taxes by 50 cents a gallon; doubling the cigarette tax; slashing farm subsidies by \$17 billion over five years; big cuts in expenditure on mass transit and arts programs; and reductions in spending on social security pensions, Medicare, and Medicaid. A study commissioned by Perot himself estimated that implementing this program would lead to higher unemployment. The bulk of his proposals would hit working people the hardest.

Perot urged that unless such decisive action is taken an "economic catastrophe" is imminent. He added that the United States is "on the edge of a severe recession or depression," and predicted the complete collapse of the

financial establishment.

Much of what Perot says about the state of the capitalist economy is true. Widespread estimates persist that the current "recovery" will be short-lived. "America's slowest economic recovery on record is again showing signs of faltering. After a flurry of awful economic figures, there is talk of a 'triple-dip' recession," notes a July 21 article in the *Financial Times*, adding that the latest "surge in the unemployment rate, to 7.8 percent — sent shock waves through financial markets."

Despite Perot's demise in this campaign, depression conditions are guaranteed to continue to contribute to the rise of more Bonapartist-type figures of his kind.

Democratic Party presidential candidate William Clinton is hoping to ride the tide of alienation from politics, with his latest pitch for the "forgotten middle class." Clinton has just completed a Midwest speaking tour, where he addressed truck drivers, farmers, and unionists, and demagogically harped on his low-income origins in the South. Clinton claims that his proposal to spend an extra \$200 billion in public investment over four years will pull capitalism out of its decline.

The warlike face of the Clinton-Gore ticket came sharply into focus when Clinton gave a blank check to Bush to take any action he felt necessary against Iraq. Clinton has also been more energetic than Bush himself in advocating that the United States begin bombing "Serbian targets" in Bosnia-Herzegovina and tighten the embargo on Serbia. Elsewhere, Clinton has emphasized his support for Washington having "the strongest defense, ready and willing to use force when necessary." He has also called for tightening the economic boycott of Cuba.

Speaking in Houston July 23, flanked by police officers, Clinton proposed the hiring of 100,000 more cops.

Clinton is demonstrating his readiness to follow in the footsteps of his Democratic Party predecessors, who took the United States into all the major wars of this century, from World War I to the Bay of Pigs in Cuba to Vietnam.

There is no better time than right now to join the fight for the socialist alternative to the twin parties of war, racism, and economic depression: the Socialist Workers ticket headed by James Warren for U.S. president and Estelle DeBates for vice-president.

This campaign demands, "No to another war against Iraq!" It is a demand that should be widely raised now.

Rather than war, what working people need is international solidarity with all those fighting against capitalist exploitation and oppression, from South Africa to the strikers against the *Pittsburgh Press*.

Pittsburgh workers rally to support 'Press' strike

BY BILL SCHEER

PITTSBURGH — Thousands of workers massed at the *Pittsburgh Press* and *Post-Gazette* newspaper buildings throughout the night of July 26, preventing delivery of newspapers.

The *Press*, using scab drivers, was unable to move its delivery trucks as hundreds of workers blocked the truck exits and kept the trucks from leaving the building. Police arrested 39 strikers and supporters.

About 600 members of Teamsters Local 211 went on strike May 17 when the *Pittsburgh Press* tried to institute a new distribution system that would eliminate 450 drivers' jobs and replace 4,500 youth carriers with a small number of adult delivery workers. The other daily newspaper, the *Post-Gazette*, which uses the same distribution system, also stopped publishing May 17.

The company was able to print some papers at remote sites and some papers were delivered. The police, including a special riot squad equipped with helmets and long clubs, announced they would wait for a court injunction before trying to clear the workers from the streets to allow the delivery trucks to pass.

Bill George, president of the state AFL-CIO, said the striking Teamsters union had accepted a federal mediator's proposal for a seven-day cooling-off period during which the picket lines would come down and the paper would not print. The company rejected the offer.

On the evening of July 26 workers from more than a dozen unions began showing up at the United Steelworkers union building, next to the *Press* building, as word spread of the company's plans to print.

"I had to be here," said one worker who came on his own. "They say Pittsburgh is no longer a union town. We'll prove them wrong tonight," he said.

A group from the carpenters' union organized a quick calling and got "a couple hundred" members to come out. "We'll stay as long as it takes," said one carpenter who planned to call off work.

As many as 5,000 workers turned out during the night. Marching around the *Press* building the crowd chanted "Stop the *Press*" and "Stop scabs" as they marched by the Vance Security guards.

Impromptu rallies and chants broke out as a bullhorn was passed around. One student wearing an "Abolish the Death Penalty" button came over after a rock concert ended nearby and received a rousing ovation when he brought greetings to the crowd.

A chant of "Homestead 1882 - Pittsburgh 1992" caught on briefly. The reference was to the historic strike in nearby Homestead where workers defeated the Pinkerton guards sent in by the Carnegie Steel company. The strike was later defeated when the governor of Pennsylvania called in the National Guard.

Larry, a striking Teamster, carried a sign that said "Scabs are Scum." He told the *Militant* he had been in three previous strikes against the newspaper including one that lasted five months. But this is the first time the company has tried to print during a strike.

"They have no intention of settling," he said. "They want to break the unions and take us back to the turn of the century." Looking around at the thousands of workers from many unions, he said, "We're finally beginning to understand that my problem is everyone's problem."

Newsstands around town have posted signs saying they will not carry the *Press* or *Post-Gazette*. Union spokespeople say the *Press* phone lines have been jammed with people trying to cancel their subscriptions.

Mayor Sophie Masloff announced the city would cancel all advertising in the *Press*, and said she had canceled her subscription. However, the mayor also declared the city would mobilize the police.

Meanwhile, "Stop the *Press*" buttons, stickers, and posters have appeared all over town.

Keep the reports and articles coming!

Over the past weeks while the *Militant* has been on a biweekly schedule dozens of articles about significant issues and struggles have continued to be sent to the *Militant* by worker correspondents from around the world. We would like to thank everyone for these important and timely articles that help make the *Militant* a better paper. Unfortunately we have been unable to print many of these due to space limitations. With our next issue we will be back to a weekly schedule and should be able to fit in more reports, so keep them coming.

Detroit grocery workers end strike at Kroger

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

Local 876 ended their strike against the Kroger grocery chain June 18. Meat cutters represented by UFCW Local 359 also voted to ratify the contract. The nine-week strike was the longest grocery chain strike in the history of the Detroit area.

Kroger underestimated the resolve of the striking workers, especially the resistance of the part-time

consecutive weeks particularly angered part-time workers who had already worked for Kroger for several years with no health coverage or other benefits.

Under the five-year contract, which clerks ratified 2,078 to 1,132, Kroger agreed to wage increases of \$2 an hour over the life of the contract for all workers on the basis of seniority. The average number of hours a week a part-time worker must work to be eligible for "full-time" benefits was reduced from 40 to 34 hours. However, the 12 consecutive weeks requirement was maintained. Many part-timers voted against the contract, which still limits the number of full-time workers to 2,000. Ali Hammoud, a part-time meat clerk who voted against the contract, said, "It might have been good for the full-timers, but there was nothing in it for me."

Both the UFCW negotiating and advisory committees called for rejection of the contract. At the same time UFCW officials publicly warned that if strikers rejected the contract, the strike would drag on and Kroger would hire permanent replacements, giving workers no perspective for continuing the fight to press their demands. "The contract wasn't acceptable, but we were all ready to take what we could get at this point," said Brad Osada, a meat clerk.

Janitors march to mark anniversary of cop attack

Justice for Janitors held a march and rally in Los Angeles to mark the second anniversary of a violent police attack on a peaceful march of janitors fighting for union recognition.

Several hundred janitors and supporters assembled in Century City, scene of the 1990 police attack, and marched from there to Beverly Hills. Along the way they circled several big office towers to press their demand for union contracts.

Cops were on hand throughout the march, but the June 15 demon-

stration was not attacked.

The victims of the 1990 attack were members of the Service Employees International Union striking against a contractor who provides janitorial service in commercial office buildings. As they marched in Century City, members of the Los Angeles Police Department in riot gear attacked them, beating people with their billy clubs. Some 150 people were injured and dozens of demonstrators were jailed.

TV cameras were there during the attack, and the graphic scenes of cop violence on the news that night made a strong impact.

Three weeks later, the strikers won a contract. Currently, according to a union staff member, 7,000 janitors in the city are under union contract. But many janitors remain unorganized.

The janitorial work force is mainly Latino, mostly men and women from Mexico and Central America. Wages are very low. Those under union contract make up to \$5.95 an hour and have medical benefits. Nonunion workers get paid as little as \$4.25, the minimum wage, and have no benefits.

They are subjected to intense speedup. A worker is forced to clean as many as three floors of an office building in a single night.

In its continuing effort to organize the unorganized, the union is demanding a single set of wages, benefits, and working conditions throughout the mainly unorganized office buildings in the area from Century City to Beverly Hills.

Two other demands were made by the recent demonstration. One is that janitors be paid for time lost during the riots sparked by the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King.

The union is also demanding that the city stop stalling and make "a fair and rapid settlement" of the janitors' lawsuit pending against the police department and the city on behalf of those beaten and jailed in the 1990 police riot.

Metal Workers win victory at Stockholm factory

The workers at Ericsson's main factory in Stockholm, organized by the Metal Workers Union, won a victory when they defeated a company attempt to take away a \$1-an-hour bonus by refusing to work overtime.

Ericsson, a company in the electronics industry, has laid off many workers while pushing the remaining workers to work overtime. "They know we are so low paid that in most cases we say yes to overtime work," explained one worker.

In the section where the job action took place, doors for telephone and telegraph offices are painted. When the quality of the doors is deemed high, workers get an extra dollar an hour. One day the boss was not satisfied with the quality and decided to take back the bonus. So the workers refused to work overtime.

"The boss didn't like the action, neither did the union officials. But they couldn't stop us," said one of the workers who participated.

"We did all we could to make the workers stick together. The best of all is that workers from Pakistan, Turkey, several African countries, Finland, and Sweden participated," a worker from Latin America explained. "We are just 29 workers in my section, but we won the bonus back and we are doing what we can to inform other workers of our victory. We hope this will make it easier for others to see that we all face the same problems and that it will encourage others to fight the same way we did. The bosses do all they can to divide us and if we want to win, we must be united."

The following contributed to this week's column: Arlene Rubinstein, member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 26 in Detroit; Candace Wagner from Detroit; Harry Ring and Joel Britton from Los Angeles; and Kerstin Granberg from Stockholm.

ON THE PICKET LINE

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

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

Members of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW)



May support rally for workers on strike against the Kroger grocery chain in Detroit. Workers ratified a contract on June 18.

LETTERS

Abortion fight

I think the recent activity around the fight for abortion rights at the 1992 Democratic Convention needs some discussion. Although I find it inspirational that the convention has turned into a forum on this issue, I think it is important to recognize that the fight for abortion rights cannot be won in this context.

NOW [National Organization for Women]'s perspective that the issue will be decided in November indicates a collaborationist perspective of the women's movement as a whole. I think it is important to explain that the fight for women's rights, including the right to abortion on demand, is only one fight of many against the offensive against workers' rights in general. I would like to see some more discussion on this in the pages of the *Militant* in the context of the recent showing at the Democratic Convention.

Laura Kamienski
Sunbury, Pennsylvania

Yugoslavia conflict

I thought two things should have received greater emphasis in the front-page article on Yugoslavia in the July 17 issue.

First is the fact that there is an advance column of imperialist forces operating in Yugoslavia under the cover of a United Nations "peacekeeping force." This includes 750 members of the Canadian armed forces who as part of a UN-sponsored coalition participated in the slaughter of Iraqi soldiers and civilians. President

George Bush has stated that any attack on the UN forces would be a pretext for U.S. intervention.

Second is the idea expressed by U.S. General Galvin that imperialism must "stabilize this part of the world." The conflict in Yugoslavia reveals not only the growing inter-imperialist rivalries but also the weakening of imperialism as a whole as a result of the break-up of the Stalinist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. While this idea of "stabilization" is not the key element driving imperialism to war, it is certainly a factor and explaining it helps expose the role of so-called peacekeeping forces.

Al Cappe
Toronto, Canada

'We are human beings'

I am a prisoner at the Maximum Control Complex of the below institution. One of my brothers here advised me to write to you to send me your fine paper.

I also write to make you aware of the demonstration being put down at the Maximum Control Complex. Between May 16 and July 1, 33 brothers, including myself, started a hunger strike. We are putting on this type of demonstration because of the inhuman, punitive conditions we are being coerced to live with. We ask for the least human necessities. We are not animals, we are human beings.

Brothers and sisters of the struggle, we need your support. Write to John L. Nunn, Deputy Commissioner, Indiana Department of Corrections, 804 State Office Building,

100 North Senate Avenue, Indianapolis, IN 46204.

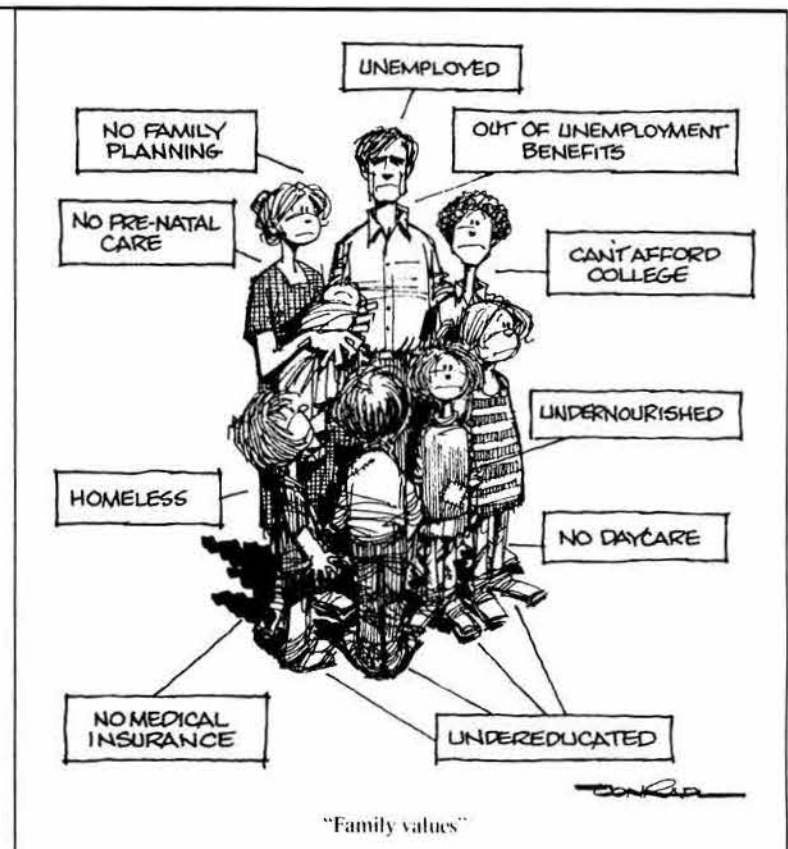
A prisoner
Westville, Indiana

Union contract ignored

Anyone who wants to see management rights in action should visit the IDS Newspaper Distributors in Farmingdale and New Rochelle, New York. To enter the plant, you must pass through a metal detector and receive a pass. You will then enter the "high tech" world of newspaper delivery where your every move and sound is taped by a revolving camera and microphone.

The workers are not allowed to talk at all and the "mike" is there to make sure that no sabotage takes root. There are at least ten to fifteen "supervisors" at all times to monitor the workers. The rules and regulations sheet that each worker has been given is mind-boggling. Workers have been suspended for talking, if their trucks break down, if they don't work fast enough, and if they don't do exactly what the supervisor tells them to, even if the supervisor is wrong. They are not allowed to make phone calls under any circumstances, have no breaks, and in general are treated like prisoners in a work camp.

The recent labor dispute that occurred with this company, the *New York Times*, and the drivers wasn't about money but about management rights and its potential for abuse. Everything employees, union or otherwise, feared has happened here. The union contract is



completely ignored and the grievances are growing daily. Discrimination abounds, as well as civil and human rights violations.

This has been brought to the attention of the labor board and while they are slow to act, they have expressed a serious interest in all of the charges. There is talk of numerous lawsuits against the company. E.C.

New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on sub-

jects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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

French truck protests result in gains

BY NAT LONDON

PARIS—Thousands of angry truck drivers, demanding government relief from economic austerity and worsening working conditions, succeeded in closing all main highways and many secondary roads throughout France for ten days in a massive action launched June 30. Major cities including Lyon, the second largest city, and Toulouse in the south were entirely cut off from the rest of the country.

Large auto assembly plants such as the Renault factory in Douai, the MCI plant in Maubeuge, and the Peugeot plants in Sochaux and Mulhouse were temporarily closed. All French highway traffic connecting Spain with the rest of Europe was also cut off. The action cost the French tourist industry \$200 million.

At the high point of the protests, over 160 barricades of tractor-trailers were in place. The main barricade outside of Toulouse involved 1,000 trucks and was reinforced by 11 other truck barricades around the city.

The truckers won broad backing among working people. They were supported by actions of ambulance drivers and taxi drivers. A simultaneous wave of protests by

small farmers also blocked road transportation and, in one instance, severed the main north-south rail lines, effectively cutting the country in two.

Collapse of freight rates

These actions were a continuation of protests by truck driver owner-operators and small farmers that started last fall. On November 4, truckers blocked the main highway linking Paris and Lyon for three days demanding reductions in sales taxes on diesel fuel and highway tolls for trucks.

Many truckers trace their problems to the end of fixed freight rates, which were abolished in 1986 as part of the French government's moves toward integration into the European Community. Since then, there has been a sharp drop in freight rates which has been aggravated by the economic recession. France has been in during the last year and a half. Today, one out of four drivers who own their trucks earn less than their operating costs. Last year 2,400 trucking firms out of a total 36,000 went into bankruptcy.

Owner-operators are a small minority of the 500,000 truck drivers in France. Only 14,000 drivers own their own rigs and employ no other workers. Many drivers work

for small outfits that employ less than 10 workers. All of them have been deeply affected by the worsening economic conditions. Today, it is not uncommon for drivers to work 60 or 70 hours a week and earn less than the minimum wage.

Drivers employed by big freight companies have also seen their working conditions deteriorate. The big trucking bosses, who contract out work to owner-operators when profitable to do so, have used this to try to pit their employees against the independent drivers.

However, while the protests launched last fall involved only the owner-operators and drivers in small trucking outfits, the more recent actions have drawn in drivers from big firms side-by-side with the independent truckers. Many drivers from other countries such as Belgium, Germany, and Italy also took part in the blockades on the French highways.

The truckers were protesting a new severe penalty system for drivers' licenses that the government put into effect July 1. Under this system truckers would lose their licenses, and therefore their jobs, when they accumulated six points for driving violations. The drivers insist that current economic conditions make it impossible for them to earn a living wage while complying with the weight and speed limits and other driving regulations imposed by the government.

Police violence

When the government called in the army, French television was filled with scenes of tanks trying to tow away the trucks while riot police broke truck windows and beat drivers with their clubs. One picture, which appeared in almost every paper, showed a policeman forcing a driver out of his truck at gunpoint.

The police repression was widely criticized and the truckers won increasing support for their action. A public opinion poll showed 60 percent of the French population supporting them and 38 percent opposed. The government was unable to shake the growing unity between the owner-operators and the fleet drivers. After a week the government was forced to open negotiations.

The government agreed to take measures to limit the amount of overtime for fleet



Police violence against strike was widely criticized

drivers. It also took measures to guarantee that freight rates would not fall below operating costs for owner-operators.

Limits were imposed on the use of the penalty system for truck drivers' licenses. If a company gives a driver an order that cannot be fulfilled under the legal speed and weight limits, the company and not the driver will now be legally responsible.

The truckers' action was spontaneous. It was not supported by the National Trucking Federation FNTR — which is dominated by freight companies — or by the various unions of fleet drivers. It was the result of the social crisis in France and the failure of the existing trade union officialdom to mobilize workers against the attacks by the bosses.

At the same time, many workers around the country noted how these actions showed the potential power of working people. One worker at a Renault auto plant, for example, told a truck driver delivering a load of steel, "If during our last strike we had organized a common action of Renault workers with the truckers, we would have had the power to win a clear victory instead of the defeat we suffered." All workers present agreed.

Nat London works at the Renault auto plant in Choisy-le-roi and is a member of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT).

Pathfinder Mural Bookstore opens in New York City

BY MERYL LYNN FARBER

NEW YORK — The Pathfinder Mural Bookstore opened its doors to the public here July 28.

The Friends of the Pathfinder Mural and supporters of Pathfinder publications around the United States and other countries led a six-month campaign to raise the funds necessary to open a professional and attractive bookstore adjacent to the Pathfinder Mural.

The mural, which covers a wall of the Pathfinder building by the Hudson River in Manhattan's Greenwich Village, features the portraits of leaders of revolutionary struggles around the world, whose writings and speeches are published by Pathfinder. These include Fidel Castro, Malcolm X, Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Nelson Mandela, Rosa Luxemburg, Farrell Dobbs, and many others.

One display features photographs of Dumile Feni, the internationally renowned South African artist who painted the portrait of Nelson Mandela on the mural and traveled around the country helping to publicize the mural project and raise funds toward its completion.

At the opening, the bookstore was dedicated to Feni, who died in New York in October of last year. An original Feni lithograph is displayed in the store.

The opening of the new Pathfinder bookstore was made possible by the donations of thousands of dollars and the sale of mural posters, postcards and photographs. The United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid awarded the Friends of the Pathfinder Mural a grant of \$2000 toward the opening of the store and visitor center.

Pathfinder Mural artists Cliff Joseph, Renee Majeune, and Carole Byard were among those who came to the bookstore on the opening day. Joseph is the artist who painted the portraits of Martin Luther King Jr. and Steve Biko. Byard painted the portrait of Malcolm X.

Customers bought nearly \$300 worth of Pathfinder books the first weekend the bookstore was open and also purchased mural posters and postcards.

The opening of the Pathfinder Mural Bookstore represents a step forward in the distribution and reach of Pathfinder books. The hundreds of people who come to see the mural can now purchase books that contain the speeches and writings of the fighters depicted in the six-story public work of art.

Bookstore customers can also purchase posters and postcards of the mural, which

are now distributed by Pathfinder Press. The three different posters available feature the portraits of Malcolm X and Nelson Mandela, each for \$8, and a large poster of the full mural for \$20.00.

Postcards of Malcolm X and Nelson Mandela can be ordered in packets of 10 for \$8.00. There are also bulk order discounts for the posters and postcards. Contact Pathfinder Press at 408 West Street, New York, NY 10014 for bulk prices. A video on the story of the mural, as well as 4 x 6 color photos of details of the mural, can still be ordered from the Friends of the Pathfinder Mural at 191 Seventh Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

The sales of these items have been an invaluable source of funds which allows for the ongoing defense, maintenance, and publicity of the mural. In the past 8 months more than \$5000 has been received through the sales of posters, postcards, photographs and videos.

The Pathfinder Mural Bookstore is open Tuesday through Friday from 11:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m., Saturdays from 11:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., and Sundays from 12 noon to 5:00 p.m. The store is located at 167 Charles Street. The telephone number is (212) 366-1973.

East Timor activist reports on independence fight

TERRY COGGAN

WELLINGTON, New Zealand — East Timor has been closed to the world since the massacre in Dili, the island's capital, last November 12, Timorese activist Agio Pereira said in an interview. East Timor is a country north of Australia that is occupied by military forces from neighboring Indonesia.

Pereira, secretary of the East Timor Relief Association in Australia, was in New Zealand to gain support for an independent international commission of inquiry into the massacre. Eyewitness reports indicate 198 people were killed when Indonesian troops opened fire on unarmed protesters. The Indonesian government has admitted up to 50 deaths.

Pereira pointed to the difference in jail terms that have resulted from trials following the events of November 12. Thirteen student leaders who organized the demonstration received sentences ranging from 6 months to 15 years, while six army officers who directed the attack on the protest re-

ceived terms from 8 to 18 months.

"The Indonesian military have set up what they call 'Ninja units' to create an environment of terror among the Timorese people," Pereira said. He explained that Indonesian soldiers raid homes dressed as traditional Japanese warriors. Up to 200 people have "disappeared" since the massacre.

East Timor was invaded by Indonesian forces in December 1975. Prior to that it was a colony of Portugal. The Timorese National Liberation Front, known as Fretilin, led the successful struggle against Portuguese rule, and is now leading the resistance to Indonesian occupation. According to Amnesty International, 200,000 Timorese have died at the hands of the Indonesian military during the 17-year occupation.

The United Nations Decolonization Committee, which still recognizes Portugal as the legal governing authority of East Timor, is due to meet this year to discuss the island's status. "The need is urgent for the broadest possible international pressure for

negotiations without pre-conditions to produce a diplomatic solution to the crisis in our country," Pereira said.

"Many people make the mistake of looking at the Indonesian regime as a rock that will last forever," Pereira explained. "But it's a military dictatorship coming into increasing conflict with the aspirations of its own people. The Forum for Democracy, the student movement, and other groups inside Indonesia have expressed concern about the situation in East Timor. This is a meaningful change in Indonesian politics."

Pereira said that Fretilin and its armed wing Falintil try to win over Indonesian soldiers serving their six-month term in East Timor. "Many of them go home saying that East Timor has a right to independence just as Indonesia itself did when it was fighting Dutch rule."

Terry Coggan is a member of the United Food and Chemical Workers Union in Wellington, New Zealand.