

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

On the lookout for revolutionary fighters

— PAGES 8-11

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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Chechen fighters resist pounding by Moscow

Yeltsin's anti-Muslim crusade won't crush independence struggle

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Vastly outgunned and outnumbered, 200 Chechen independence fighters held off thousands of Russian troops in the village of Pervomayskoye for three days in mid-January. Moscow's forces, reinforced by tanks and helicopter gunships, pounded the town with aerial and artillery bombardment.

Failing to force the Chechen guerrillas' surrender, the Russian generals ordered the village and its inhabitants annihilated January 17. Pervomayskoye, located in the republic of Dagestan near the border with Chechnya, was reduced to ashes by a barrage of missiles.

In response, Chechen fighters widened their resistance. One group earlier commandeered a Turkish ship carrying Russian passengers on the Black Sea. Another guerrilla unit reportedly captured a group of Russians in Grozny, Chechnya's capital. A few Chechen fighters broke out of the siege of Pervomayskoye and launched a counterattack against the Russian troops. Another 200 to 300 guerrillas crossed the border from Chechnya and took over a schoolhouse in the neighboring village of Sovetskoye.

"I know almost every person who lives there," Patimata Getinova angrily told a reporter as she watched the fires consume Pervomayskoye. "What point are they making by destroying a peaceful city? Does Boris Yeltsin think this will stop Chechnya from wanting to be free?"

The Russian army destroyed Pervomayskoye despite the presence there of 100 hostages who had been seized by the Chechens in a raid on a hospital in nearby Kizlyar January 9. The independence



Chechen fighters cling to their positions in Pervomayskoye, as the Russian army bombarded the town and a helicopter hovered overhead.

fighters took over the hospital after being beaten back trying to attack a Russian helicopter base in Kizlyar.

The Chechen group, named the Lone Wolves, had released most of the 2,000 hostages they captured in the raid and demanded to be allowed to return home. They staged the attack to demand that Russian forces withdraw from Chechnya, where 40,000 troops invaded 13 months ago to smash the movement for independence there. Some 30,000 people have been slaughtered in Yeltsin's war, mainly

civilians, and more than 600,000 have been forced from their homes.

"Wolves have come, and they will stay in Kizlyar until Russia withdraws all its troops from the Northern Caucasus," declared rebel leader Salman Raduyev on January 9.

The Chechen independence fighters were allowed to leave Kizlyar January 10 and headed home with 130 hostages, but were halted near the border with Chechnya when Russian helicopter gunships

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NATO troops begin foot patrols in Yugoslavia

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

The U.S. and other imperialist troops in Yugoslavia pushed to establish the right to move their military force anywhere they want, as the first major deadline of the Washington-imposed "peace" agreement approaches. Under the guise of enforcing provisions of the accord that require all

Socialist rail workers plan campaign against war drive

— page 5

combatants and their weapons to be moved at least two kilometers from the front lines by January 19, NATO troops have begun foot patrols.

"We are going to go dismounted now," declared Lieut. Col. William Briscoe of the U.S. Fourth Battalion, 12th Infantry. "The Americans will go anywhere and everywhere." According to the *New York Times*, in some cases NATO commanders can order combatants to move as far back as they deem necessary. Capt. Hugo Jackson, commander of Company C, told the *Times* he has orders to move any weapons that he considers a danger even further than two kilometers outside the zone of separation, setting the stage for future mil-

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35,000 teachers in Ontario rally against cuts

BY MARY ELLEN MARUS

TORONTO—A massive turnout of teachers from all over Ontario converged on Queen's Park December 13 to protest CAN \$400 million in proposed cuts to the province's education system.

Nearly 400 busloads of teachers organized by the Ontario English Catholic Teachers Association traveled from as far as Ottawa and Sudbury, making it the largest protest yet against Premier Mike Harris's Conservative government and one of the largest demonstrations at the provincial legislature in recent memory. Local papers reported more than 35,000 joined the protest.

Tom Jordan, a special education teacher, explained why he came on one of seven buses from Brockville. "These cuts will hurt the most vulnerable. There will be a two-tiered education system — one for the rich and one for the poor."

Claire Pryor, a high school librarian from St. Pious in Ottawa, detailed the effects of the cuts saying, "Adult education and night school will be ended, which will hurt immigrants. Department heads, vice principals, and guidance teachers will go as well as junior kindergarten. French programs will be knifed. Classroom sizes will increase as well as teachers' workloads. On top of this another \$400 million is due to be cut from post-secondary education." University tuition will rise by up to 20 per-

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New York strikers fight concessions

BY ABBY TILSNER AND SARAH KATZ

NEW YORK — Braving the Blizzard of 1996 and harassment by cops and city officials, some 30,000 janitors, maintenance workers, elevator operators, and

cleaners continue to walk the picket line in eight-hour shifts determined to defeat an assault on their living and working conditions.

Members of Service Employees International Union Local 32B-32J walked out

January 4 and are fighting the attempt by management to impose a two-tier wage system, starting new hires at \$352 per week versus the current \$573 per week. New hires would reach parity only after six years. Currently all union members make the same wage regardless of seniority.

The union is demanding a 3.8 percent wage increase over the next three years, while management has proposed only 2 percent. Also at stake is a reduction in paid sick days and holidays, and proposals to slash medical care and other benefits.

These fighters went on strike against the Realty Advisory Board on Labor Relations, which represents the owners and managers of some 1,000 commercial buildings in New York City including the World Trade Center, Trump Tower, Empire State Building, and Rockefeller Center.

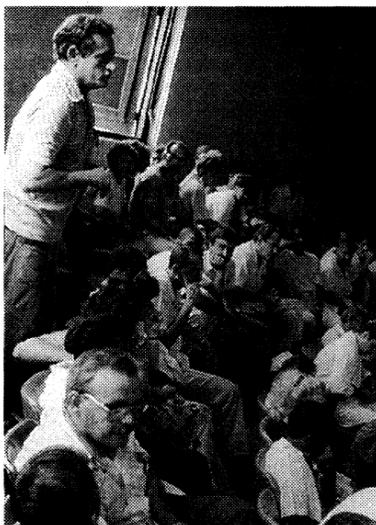
The last time this local struck commercial buildings was in 1948. Many

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Help the 'Militant' send reporters to Cuba

An international team of *Militant* reporters—including Mary-Alice Waters, editor of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, and *Perspectiva Mundial* editor Martín Koppel—is going to Cuba in February to cover the 1996 Havana Book Fair, one of the major cultural events in Latin America. They will also provide firsthand reports on meetings in factories and other workplaces to prepare for the April convention of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC).

To make this unique reporting trip possible, your generous contribution is needed now. Please send your check or money order to the *Militant*, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014, payable to the *Militant* and earmarked for the Cuba reporting trip.



Juventud Rebelde/Angelito Balonica February 1994 workers assembly in Cuba

Tel Aviv frees 800 prisoners

The Israeli government released 812 Palestinians from prison January 10 to relatives in the West Bank and Gaza. Tel Aviv had agreed to free 1,200 inmates before the January 20 Palestinian elections, based on negotiations in September. Israeli officials say there are about 4,000 Arabs still being held in jails; Palestinians maintain that some 5,500 inmates remain in Israeli prisons.

The Israeli regime also announced January 10 that it would allow Palestinian workers from the West Bank and Gaza to return to their jobs on January 11. The government had sealed off the territories in response to protests that followed the assassination of a Palestinian January 5 by explosives hidden in a cellular telephone.

S. Korean president took bribes

South Korean president Kim Young Sam admitted January 10 that he accepted donations for a political slush fund. Kim said his case was different from Roh Tae Woo and Chun Doo Hwan, two former presidents who are at the center of a growing corruption scandal rocking the country. "I too received help for my political activities before I became president," Kim asserted. "I have never, however, received any dirty or shady money." Roh Tae Woo is already on trial, charged with receiving hundreds of millions of dollars in bribes. Chun Doo Hwan, recovering from a 26-day hunger strike, was indicted January 12 on bribery charges. The two also face a possible trial for their role in a December 1979 coup and the 1980 massacre of hundreds of demonstrators in Kwangju.

Meanwhile, Seoul is attempting to use the severe food shortages in North Korea to extract concessions from Pyongyang. Kim Young Sam claimed his government was ready to send food assistance, but not while the North Korean regime "pours all its national resources into maintaining its military power."

Yemen, Eritrea govt's clash

Eritrean soldiers battled Yemeni troops December 16-18 and captured Greater Hanish, the main island in an archipelago



Militant/Ron Richards

Thousands participated in a series of activities to celebrate the centennial of the Puerto Rican flag, like the action above held on December 22 in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Pro-independence groups organized a meeting of 2,000 at the theater of the University of Puerto Rico, during which several speakers called for the liberation of 15 Puerto Rican patriots held in federal prisons in the United States.

between the two countries. The island chain is spread across one of the world's major shipping lanes, 100 miles north of the southern entrance to the Red Sea.

At least 16 soldiers were killed in the territorial dispute, which had been simmering for months. Evacuated Yemeni soldiers said the Eritrean military used thousands of troops in the battle. Eritrean internal affairs minister Ali Said Abdalla said his government was willing to withdraw its forces from Hanish, under an agreement for the joint withdrawal of troops supervised by a third party.

Peruvian govt protests jet sale

Government officials in Peru protested the sale of four Israeli Kfir fighter bombers to the regime in Ecuador, saying it could spark an arms race and lead to a new military confrontation. A military

clash in January and February 1995, over a disputed border area, left 78 soldiers dead and hundreds wounded.

Local television and newspapers in Peru reported January 5 that the Peruvian military was massing troops along the border, while the Ecuadorian regime was building barricades in the same area.

The Peruvian government said Ecuadorian aircraft violated its airspace in late December and that Ecuadorian soldiers had entered the disputed border area and opened fire on a guard post. An agreement was reached last July stipulating that neither country may send its forces into the area or fly aircraft over it without the approval of international observers.

Haitian cops fire on peasants

Haitian police opened fire on a demonstration of peasants January 10, killing a 10-year-old girl and wounding three others. The peasants were demanding electrical service be brought to the town of L'Estere. Haitian cops, accused of responding with brutality towards past protests, are being trained by U.S. and Canadian advisers.

Meanwhile, White House officials said January 10 that United Nations soldiers will remain in the country, but all U.S. troops would leave when a new government takes office. The U.S. Department of Justice cop-training program will remain, however. U.S. officials say a plan is being considered that will establish a force of 1,000 to 1,500, divided into a police contingent and a military unit. According to

the *New York Times*, Haitian president-elect René Preval told U.S. officials that he "favored a continued international military presence."

Guatemalans elect president

Alvaro Arzu was elected president of Guatemala January 8, by 31,000 votes — the closest election in that country's history. Arzu, who served as a tourism official under former dictator Gen. Romeo Lucas García, defeated Alfonso Portillo, the hand-picked proxy of former military dictator Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt. Ríos Montt led a right-wing coup in 1982 and presided over one of the bloodiest periods in a 35-year civil war that has left 120,000 people dead.

Only one-third of eligible voters cast ballots in the presidential runoff, which was the third presidential election in the country since 1986. "We made great efforts to call citizens to the polls," said Rigoberta Menchú, the Nobel Prize-winning Indian rights activist. "Still, this is very positive for democracy in Guatemala and in restoring credibility in its institutions."

No-fault divorce law debated

Rep. Jessie Dalman is sponsoring a bill in the Michigan legislature that would repeal the state's 1972 no-fault divorce law. The bill, revised after a series of hearings, would be part of a package requiring counseling before marriage and divorce, alimony schedules for people married more than 10 years, and parenting plans in divorce. Michigan Gov. John Engler said he would sign the bill, which will be reintroduced in February.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, if the bill becomes law, a spouse seeking divorce from a partner who objected would have to obtain counseling and prove either adultery, physical incompetence, three years imprisonment, two years desertion, drug or alcohol abuse, or significant or repetitive mental or physical abuse of spouse or children.

If both spouses agreed to a divorce, the no-fault law system would still apply, but consenting partners with children would have to go through counseling.

Coal miners hit by job cuts

Jobs in the coal industry in Virginia have dropped to 7,860 in 1996 from 14,339 in 1980. Officials report that the state will probably lose another 2,000 mining jobs by the year 2005. In Virginia's coal-producing counties, 22 percent of the residents live below the poverty line.

In Wise County, Virginia, the jobless rate has climbed to 17.7 percent. The unemployment rate statewide fell to 4.4 percent in October. Ron Flannery, director of the planning district that includes Wise County, said he expects the mining jobs to be replaced with lower-paying jobs at two state prisons now under construction.

— MAURICE WILLIAMS

THE MILITANT

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NATO begins foot patrols in Yugoslavia

Continued from front page
itary confrontations.

Several thousand troops from the various warring gangs in Bosnia retreated from their front lines January 14, five days before the deadline. The two-and-a-half-mile buffer zone will be occupied by imperialist troops. In mid-March Bosnian troops will move to occupy some of the land around Sarajevo held by Belgrade-backed forces led by Radovan Karadzic.

NATO continues to build up its occupation force of 60,000 soldiers in Bosnia. Its troops have already closed or knocked down every military roadblock in two-thirds of Bosnia, and are now manning hundreds of roads and convoy routes. NATO forces have also occupied a key dam, allegedly to prevent sabotage by Croatian soldiers. British troops have taken control of some hydroelectric plants in Bosnia.

The NATO military mission in the Balkans is a war drive against working people in Yugoslavia as a whole, with the goal of demolishing the social gains of the socialist revolution won by workers and peasants in the 1940s. The imperialists aim to restore capitalist social relations there using massive military firepower.

Clinton gives troops war pep rally

U.S. president Bill Clinton paid an 18-hour visit to the Balkans January 13, where he spoke to GIs at the U.S. staging base in Tazsar, Hungary; the Aviano air base in Italy; and in Tuzla, Washington's headquarters in Bosnia. Clinton commended the soldiers for being "warriors for peace" during his pep talk in Tuzla. "Where our values and our interests are at stake, we must act," he said. "Your country is very proud of you."

Chechen fighters resist bombardment

Continued from front page

fired on their caravan of 11 buses and two trucks. The Chechens then fled toward Pervomayskoye, capturing 37 members of a local militia force and setting up their defenses in the village.

"Let us go home and we will free the hostages," a Chechen guerrilla told reporters and some Russian military leaders at a meeting on January 11.

According to the *New York Times*, the generals shook their heads. "We know they are committed," Gen. Aleksandr Mikhailov, spokesperson for the Russian Federal Security Service, said. "But if we have to, we will annihilate them."

Gen. Mikhail Barsukov, director of Moscow's security service, promised on January 13 that the rebels could return unharmed to their homes if they released the hostages and gave up their weapons. When Gen. Mikhailov, was asked the next day if the guerrillas would be guaranteed safe passage to Chechnya, he replied ominously, "That's their problem."

The latest flare-up in the Chechen struggle delivered yet another blow to Yeltsin, who is trying to reassert his authority since returning from two months of recovery following a heart attack in October. A similar raid occurred in the southern Russian town of Budyonnvsk last summer, with the Chechen fighters returning home as heroes.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, Yeltsin was shown on Russian television January 9 pounding a conference table and lambasting the interior minister, Gen. Andre Nikolayev, among others.

"I told you, Gen. Nikolayev, on numerous occasions that the region should be sealed," Yeltsin exclaimed. "And all this happened when information about movement [of rebels] was received, but no actions taken."

The Chechen resistance to Moscow's occupation has increased tensions between Yeltsin and some of his allies. "Popular sentiment against the war will grow, and it will all be to the detriment of Mr. Yeltsin in the forthcoming elections," asserted Yevganny Volk, director of the Heritage Foundation in Moscow.

"We should have withdrawn our troops to prevent all these deaths and horror," a

At Tazsar airfield in Hungary, where nearly 7,000 GIs are preparing to go to Bosnia, Clinton bragged that the war base there was now "home to the largest American military operation in Europe since World War II." So far, some 7,600 of the projected 20,000 U.S. combat troops have entered the sector of Bosnia to be occupied by Washington's forces.

Clinton also met with Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic in Tuzla and stopped for a brief chat in Zagreb with Franjo Tudjman, president of Croatia, to twist his arm into complying with the Dayton plan. Bosnian government forces and troops who look to Zagreb exchanged artillery fire in the Usora valley of Bosnia January 13. The Bosnian government has expressed fears of Zagreb's intent to annex regions of Bosnia captured by Croatian troops in earlier assaults on the republic.

The Clinton administration announced January 14 that U.S. civilian contractors will begin training Bosnian government soldiers in the next 60 days. Pentagon officials say the troops would be trained in Bosnia and possibly Turkey. U.S. military authorities have recommended that Military Professionals Resources Inc., which employs many retired U.S. military officers, be given the contract for the training.

Washington has already projected widening its role in the Balkans beyond its stated mission of "peacekeeping." U.S. defense secretary William Perry asserted January 11 that NATO soldiers will escort investigators looking for mass graves in Bosnia and provide security to all civilians and international organizations traveling through Bosnia.

"If the War Crimes Tribunal wants to go to Srebrenica and dig up some graves, we'll provide the security that allows them

20-year-old construction worker told a *Times* reporter in Moscow.

"The Russian president has now destroyed one of our towns," said Markha Valentinovna from the Dagestani town of Sovetskoye, as she watched the assault on Pervomayskoye. "He is trying to pit the people here against each other." Moscow's onslaught, however, seems to have provoked increased hatred toward Russian domination among many people in Dagestan, a Caucasian republic that, like Chechnya, is subject to Great Russian oppression.

The most vociferous supporter of Moscow's bloody offensive against Chechnya has been ultrarightist politician Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, who complained that the Russian president was not ruthless enough in crushing the independence struggle. Zhirinovskiy, one of Yeltsin's main rivals, formally announced his campaign for president January 10.

"If you don't stop the war in Chechnya in one month, burning all rebel bases with napalm, you will lose the elections and I will win them," he warned. "The Russian people have become the most humiliated nation on the planet."

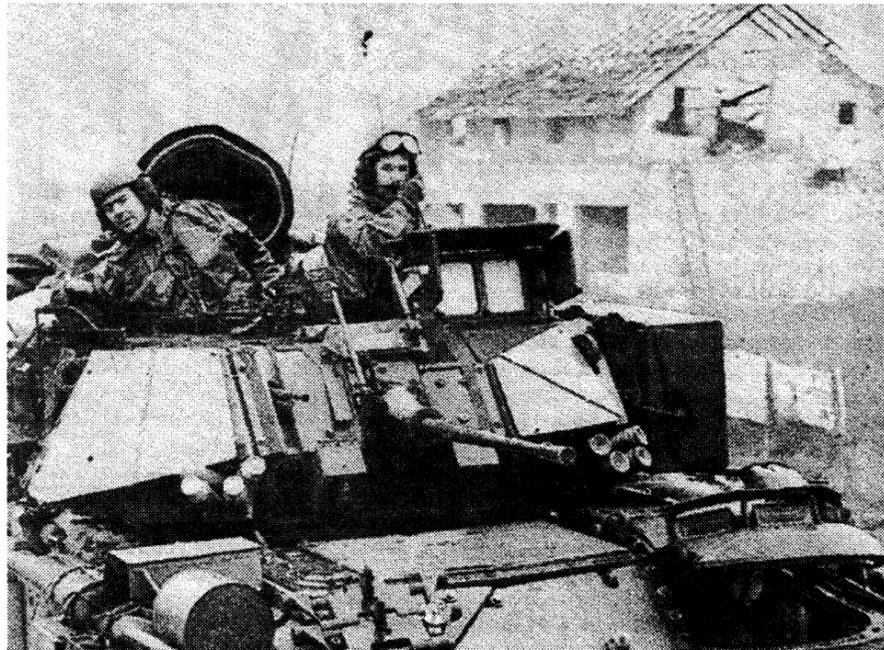
The fascist politician theatrically dropped to his knees and intoned, "We bend our knees to honor the memory of Russian soldiers who saved the world and civilization."

The Chechnya nightmare plaguing the Russian rulers began in 1991, after Dzhokhar Dudayev was elected president and declared independence for this republic of 1.2 million people.

Chechnya became part of the autonomous mountain republics of the Soviet Union following the victory of the Russian revolution in 1917. Under the leadership of V.I. Lenin, the revolutionary soviet government took measures to restore to the people of the northern Caucasus land that was stolen from them under czarist rule.

During the 1920s, Joseph Stalin and the bureaucratic caste around him organized a political counterrevolution, destroying the communist leadership and blocking the oppressed peoples from fully exercising their sovereign rights.

Stalinist repression of the Chechens



U.S. tank enters town of Broko in Bosnia. Washington is calling the shots in the imperialist intervention, aimed at overthrowing the Yugoslav workers state.

to do that," Perry said. U.S. admiral Leighton Smith, the commander in chief of NATO forces in Bosnia, echoed Perry when asked about Washington's military mission in the Balkans. "What I've said we needed is that ability to move forces in theater as we need them," Smith replied.

Perry said the U.S. military was not about to launch a manhunt for political opponents. "We want to be clear we're not conducting posses," he said. But he stated that Washington would provide intelligence information to tribunal investigators. NATO forces "are prepared to arrest indicted criminals if we come across them in the course of our duties," he added.

Washington sets up spy network

According to the *Washington Post*, the CIA is establishing a spy network in Bosnia to monitor "activities of political and military opponents" of the accord the

Clinton administration rammed down the throats of the warring gangs in Yugoslavia. CIA agents will join with spies from the U.S. Defense Department to gather information concerning threats to imperialist interests.

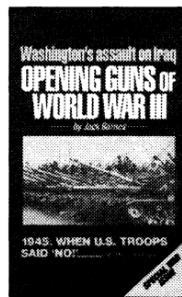
Meanwhile, the conflict of interests between Moscow and Washington is widening as political instability continues to wreak havoc on the Yeltsin regime. The Chechnya crisis and the bending by Russian president Boris Yeltsin to pressures heaped on him by ultrarightists and Stalinist forces has dismayed the U.S. rulers. "Yeltsin is swerving away from reform," lamented the *Times* editors.

The first 150 Russian soldiers arrived in Tuzla January 12. Moscow agreed to send the troops provided they would not be under direct NATO command. A Russian general who is deputy commander at the NATO headquarters in Brussels will relay orders to troops in the field. Their actions are supposed to be coordinated by the U.S. commander in Bosnia, Maj. Gen. William Nash. Washington is clearly calling the shots in this military mission. Of the three sectors in Bosnia to be patrolled by Washington, London, and Paris, the U.S. military operation will include troops from Russia, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Turkey.

In another development, the United Nations Security Council January 15 set up a new occupation force of 5,000 troops to oversee the withdrawal of Belgrade-supported Serb forces in Eastern Slavonia. Eastern Slavonia was captured from Croatia in 1991. Washington had insisted that the operation be conducted under UN command.

BOOKS FOR WORKING-CLASS CAMPAIGN AGAINST WAR DRIVE

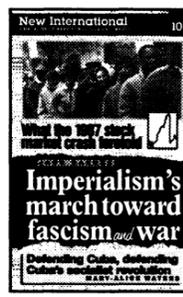
Pathfinder publishes a number of books and pamphlets that are valuable weapons for working people opposed to the imperialists' march toward war in Yugoslavia. Below is a selection of titles documenting earlier opposition to imperialist war, battles to defend unions and democratic rights at home, and the struggle for socialism.



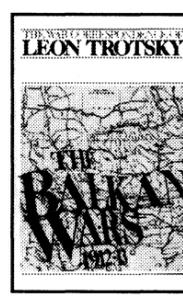
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Protests mount over racist killing by GIs

BY DON MACKLE AND LISA POTASH

FAYETTEVILLE, North Carolina — Public outrage over the killing of a Black man and a Black woman by two white soldiers here has led to a series of public protest meetings organized by the state NAACP. At the same time, the U.S. military brass has initiated an investigation into "extremist activities" among the 510,000 members of the U.S. Army.

Michael James, 36, and Jackie Burden, 27, were shot down in a city street here on the early morning hours of December 7.

James Burmeister II, 20; Malcolm Wright Jr., 21; and Randy Lee Meadows, 21, have been arrested in connection with the killings. Burmeister and Wright have been charged with the execution-style murders. They are GIs in the 82nd Airborne Division of the U.S. Army stationed at Fort Bragg.

According to press reports, the third defendant told the police that the soldiers went downtown that night "to mess with Blacks and drug dealers." After Burmeister's arrest, police say they found white supremacist literature and a Nazi flag in the room he rented.

On December 27, more than 300 people attended a community forum held here in the Lewis Chapel Baptist Church, on "Community and Military Response to White Supremacist Activity In and

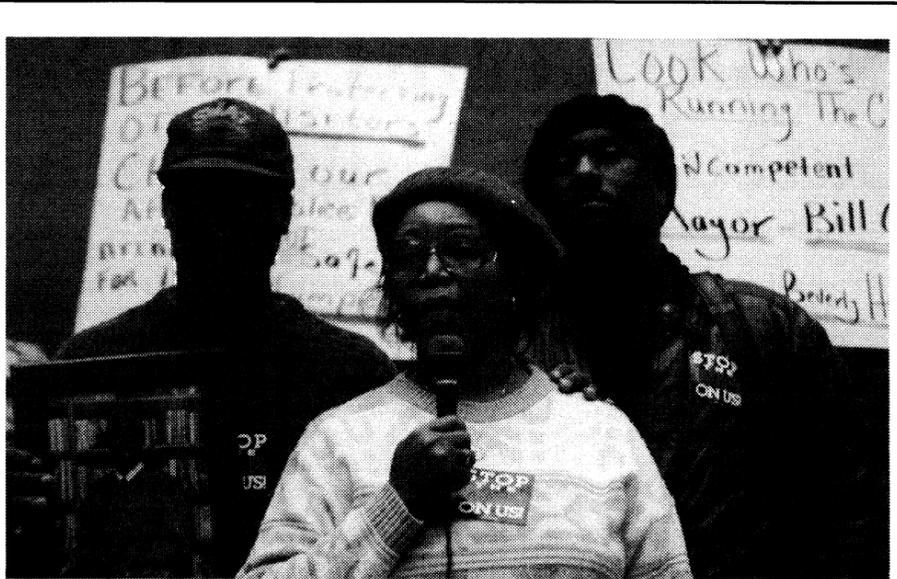
Around Military Bases." It was sponsored by the NAACP. A number of members of the families of both victims attended the meeting, the first of three in cities in this area surrounding the military bases.

The event began with statements by city officials, NAACP representatives, and spokespeople for the Fayetteville police and sheriff's departments. Residents who spoke related a history of racial attacks in the area, including Ku Klux Klan activity and cases of racist police brutality.

One resident held up pictures of himself taken, he said, after he was beaten by police. His case against the police was closed without any action against the officers involved, he added.

"Why are the police being commended at this forum?" asked Roger Gore, a retired military man. He told his story of being abused by the cops during a false arrest.

Fayetteville city council member Ida Ross said racist violence is not something new in the area. "I saw lynching in my father's church yard when I was a child," she reported. Ross said she and others have been fighting to name a street in Fayetteville after civil rights movement leader Martin Luther King Jr. "We started in 1986 and today we still don't have a street named after him," Ross said.



Militant/Linda Joyce
Brenda Jackson, speaking at January 5 rally in Atlanta against the cop killing of her son Jerry Jackson. "My son was killed unjustly. He was murdered in cold blood, shot down like a dog," she said. Atlanta mayor Bill Campbell announced on January 8 that he would ask the district attorney to convene a grand jury.

A number of speakers stressed that ongoing protest and educational actions against racism and racist attacks are necessary. "Why does the NAACP always wait to do something until there is national attention?" asked Demetria Gore, 21.

"It's time to unify and speak up and make the organizations move," said Mason Raymond.

"We have to start with the children," stated Will Manuel. "They are cutting affirmative action and whittling away at your feet. One day you have to stand on

your own and you will find they've cut your legs from under you."

A small number of young people attended the December 27 meeting. Marcus Johnson, 15, a student at E.E. Smith High School, said the hearing had not been widely publicized. "We need to talk about how to get to the kids," he said. "We need to have assemblies over stuff like this in our school."

An active-duty GI serving at Fort Bragg was repeatedly interrupted by applause when he spoke detailing racism in the military. He said he was previously assigned to the 82nd Airborne Division but explained that the unit is "handpicked, and there are very few Black or Hispanic officers in it."

The three soldiers arrested in relation to the killings serve in that division. A press release by the army brass of the 82nd Airborne said, "The investigation has determined that there are soldiers who hold extremist views; however, there is no indication that any organized extremist movement is operating out of the division."

The army investigation reaches beyond looking into racist activities among GIs to include "any organized extremist movement." According to an army press release, the brass has identified 22 soldiers from the 14,736 members of the 82nd Airborne "with active, passive, or former links to several categories of 'skinhead groups.'" The December 23 *Washington Post* reported that the army includes among the 22 some GIs who belong to an antiracist group called Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice (SHARP).

Findings from the worldwide investigation in the military are due March 1.

The community meetings are being organized by a task force set up by the state NAACP to solicit testimony from soldiers and civilians on racist groups and activities in and near military bases.

British cops attack peaceful protest

BY TONY HUNT

LONDON — The death in police custody of 26-year-old Wayne Douglas in the predominantly Black area of Brixton in south London has outraged many working people. A peaceful protest of 300, Black and white, took place in front of the Brixton police station December 13. Two hours later riot police attacked a crowd of 200 who had marched up main street in Brixton from the original protest. The cops blocked off most escape routes from the area before they charged at protesters.

In the disturbances that followed as demonstrators tried to defend themselves from the vicious cop assault, a policeman and a businessman were seriously injured and hospitalized. A number of local shops were burned out and looted. Two young people reportedly suffered gun wounds.

The *Evening Standard* reported that the police actions included "carrying semi-automatic carbines and shotguns... as firearms were openly deployed for the first time in a riot in mainland Britain."

Douglas, a resident of a homeless hostel, was found unconscious in his cell at Brixton police station at about 3:30 a.m. on December 5. He was dead on arrival at the hospital. He had been arrested on a charge of aggravated burglary. The Metropolitan police claimed he died of a heart attack.

But area residents described a different story. One eyewitness told the *Caribbean Times* how Douglas threw down a knife he was carrying when confronted by the cops. "As soon as he did it, they all jumped on him," said the unnamed by-

stander. "They dragged him to the park and beat the s___ out of him. They murdered him. I could hear the guy screaming... They were jumping on him, kicking him, hitting him with their batons."

Another account in *The Voice* said that "you could hear the sound of their batons on his bones." According to the *Guardian*, two witnesses gave statements to a local lawyer detailing the police assault.

This latest killing has thrown a spotlight on cop racism and brutality, and on the rise of deaths in police custody — especially of Blacks. Metropolitan police figures show that Blacks are five times more likely to be stopped and searched by cops.

A "complex social situation" was the reason for this, said Metropolitan Police Commissioner Paul Condon on December 14, as his officers swamped the Brixton area. Condon blamed "thugs and criminals" for the previous day's police riot. He also announced the police department is testing the waters for attacks on free speech. "We have established a criminal inquiry," he said, "not just into the criminal offenses on the streets but into the inflammatory nature of the speeches made outside the police station."

Rudy Narayan, one of the speakers and the principal target of the cop charge of "incitement to riot" responded. "There wasn't a problem until he marched on the Black people and assaulted them," he stated. Civil Rights UK, Narayan's organization, has called for the cops involved to be charged with murder.

Earlier in 1995, Condon had sparked outrage when he declared that most street crime in London is committed by Blacks.

On December 14, BBC television news detailed the upward trend in deaths under police custody. Thirty-one people died under the cops' eyes from 1991 to 1993, the report said. The same figure jumped to 48 for the 1994-95 period, of whom 25 died inside police stations.

The *Independent on Sunday* explained the statistics show "you are four times as likely to die in custody if you are Black."

The death of Wayne Douglas follows the killings in custody of Brian Douglas and Shiji Lapite earlier in 1995. In 1994, Richard O'Brien, an Irish man, died while being arrested by police officers in Walworth, just a few miles from Brixton. An inquest jury recently returned a verdict of "unlawful killing" on O'Brien's death.

Andy Morris, deputy chairman of the community organization Brixton City Challenge, said that the increased cop powers under the Criminal Justice Act meant "police can stop young people,

Black and white, whenever they want.

"Young people around here are fed up with the way police handle them," he said.

After anti-police riots in 1981, the government initiated a program to "regenerate" Brixton. More than £200 million of "regeneration funding" has reportedly been spent so far. This has had minuscule impact on the abysmal living and job conditions and rampant discrimination facing Blacks, especially youth.

The average unemployment rate in Brixton is 17 percent. For Blacks in Brixton joblessness reaches 29 percent. Throughout London, Blacks between the ages of 16 and 24 are twice as likely to be out of work as whites of the same age.

A worker relaxing in a local bar told BBC, "They could put £1 billion into Brixton but it would make no difference unless they controlled the police."

"The police treat us like animals and they think they can always push us around," one area youth told the *Evening Standard*. "But we have now shown we are not going to tolerate this behavior any longer."

South African student jailed on frame-up charges in Utah

BY LISA HICKLER

OGDEN, Utah — Thabo Mzilikazi, a student and artist at Weber State University (WSU) and a member of the African National Congress of South Africa, was sentenced to one year in jail and fined \$925 at a hearing here November 9. Mzilikazi was convicted in September on charges of "gross lewdness," a Class A misdemeanor, for allegedly fondling a female student against her will during a visit she made to his dorm room. The conviction came down despite numerous contradictions in the testimony of his accuser, and a complete lack of corroborating evidence.

Mzilikazi and his defense maintain his innocence. Yet from the beginning, the courts and cops have attempted to pressure him to plead guilty. As Second District Court Judge Michael Lyon imposed the maximum sentence, he told Mzilikazi, "Your continued denial is of great concern for the court." Lyon said that as long as Mzilikazi continued to insist on his innocence, no "therapy" would do any good. Therefore, he said, he had no choice but to impose the one-year jail sentence.

About 25 people packed the county courtroom to attend the sentencing hearing, most of them students from the WSU campus. His supporters were shocked and outraged by the jail sentence. Prior to sentencing, many of them had participated in a campaign to send letters calling for a suspended sentence. About 90 people, most of them students, faculty, and staff from the WSU campus signed petitions and wrote letters on Mzilikazi's behalf.

In an article on the sentencing hearing, *WSU Signpost* reporter Christine Bush wrote, "As the rain fell outside the court room, tears fell inside as Thabo Mzilikazi was sentenced to one year in jail Thursday... Several Weber State University students were present at the sentencing. Some of them verbally protested, saying 'Justice was not done here today.'"

After the sentencing, the Nigerian Organization, a community group, and the African Resources Forum, an organization based at the University of Utah campus, met to discuss the case. Almost \$600 was raised for Mzilikazi's legal expenses between the two gatherings. "We were

Continued on Page 13

from Pathfinder

Malcolm X Talks to Young People

"I for one will join in with anyone, I don't care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth." —Malcolm X \$10.95



Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover postage and handling.

Socialist rail workers discuss war drive

BY DENNIS RICHTER

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A recent meeting of socialist rail workers here put selling the new edition of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War — 1956-58* at the heart of its campaign to oppose the imperialist war drive against workers and farmers in Yugoslavia.

Socialist Workers Party members who are active in the United Transportation Union (UTU) met to discuss how to campaign most effectively against Washington's war drive; oppose the employers' assault against workers in the United States and elsewhere; and win more workers to the communist movement. The meeting drew on the political discussions at four regional socialist educational conferences held over the New Year's weekend. Participants in those conferences discussed the stakes in organizing a political campaign to oppose the NATO war drive — a campaign that above all must be based on reaching workers on the job, at plant gates, at picket lines, and in working-class communities.

Many of the socialist UTU members had participated in such a working-class campaign against the U.S.-led slaughter in Iraq five years ago. Before, during, and after the Gulf War, they sold socialist books and newspapers to co-workers, taking the space that was open to discuss and debate the imperialist aims of Washington's war drive.

Most workers today don't realize that the U.S. rulers are driving to war against Yugoslavia, several people noted in the discussion. Many believe some version of the propaganda that the NATO operation is really a "peacekeeping" mission. A "good discussion" with a co-worker doesn't mean it will end in agreement, but will be part of an ongoing give and take.

Through discussing the question of imperialist war, some workers will be open to a broader understanding of the world, including the fact that the only road to peace for the working class is to take power out of the hands of the warmakers. The example set by working people in Cuba best shows what the working class is capable of. *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War* explains how a political leadership of the Cuban revolutionary movement was forged that guided workers and peasants to overthrow the exploiters.

To get on a campaign footing, the socialist workers voted to take a goal of selling 80 copies of the *Episodes* book to other rail workers by March 15. In the course of selling the book, the socialist rail workers will also encourage their co-workers who are interested to attend the congress of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC), to be held at the end of April, in order to learn more about how working people organize themselves when they hold state power.

Workers face worldwide depression

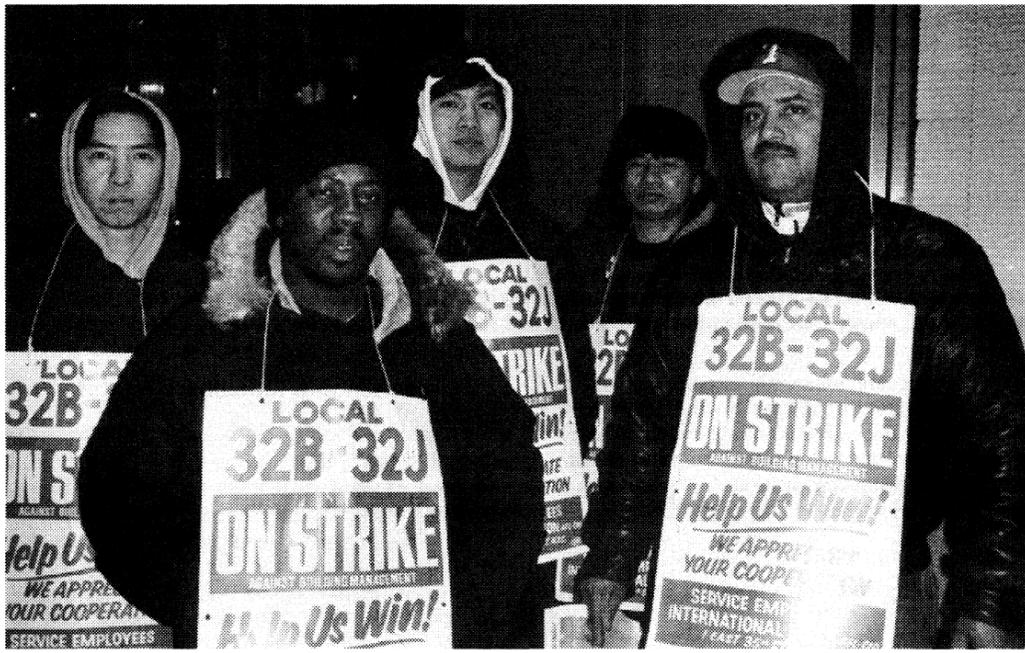
In a report to the meeting Joe Swanson, an Amtrak worker in the San Francisco area, noted that NATO's moves in the Balkans are taking place in the context of worldwide depression conditions. Working people everywhere are being squeezed by the bosses and their governments. "The rulers in Mexico are on a drive to privatize oil, rail, and other industries," he cited as one example.

In the United States, both the Democratic White House and Republican Congress are using the current budget negotiations to cut deeper into social gains the working class has won, Swanson said. "Their debate is tactical," he said. "It's over how fast they can cut without a social explosion and how far they can go in their political campaign to make working people blame immigrants, 'welfare cheats,' and other workers for the economic crisis."

On the railroad, workers face growing attacks on living standards and working conditions. A dozen workers have been killed in accidents on Conrail over the last 19 months, reported Doug Hord, a UTU member in Boston. Cutting the crew size and forcing newly-hired workers to take

on more responsibility has contributed to an increase in injuries and deaths.

Socialist rail workers related discussions with their co-workers on the need to mobilize union power to fight against these conditions. Sarah Ullman, also from Boston, said that during a recent blizzard one of her fellow workers commented that the safety hazards they face are worse than a few years ago. "Nature hasn't changed," he said, just the bosses' demands. The latest contract proposal that will be placed



Militant/Eric Simpson

Some 30,000 workers in New York are on strike against an attempt to impose a 40 percent cut in the starting wage for new hires. Socialists want to reach workers resisting the employers' assault and discuss how to fight the bosses' war drive against Yugoslavia and the attacks on workers here.

before the membership of the UTU continues the pattern of concessions that has led to today's working conditions.

At the same time, there is resistance by working people that the rulers fear. Swanson pointed to the upsurge in the independence struggle in Quebec as "the most important recent event in the class struggle in North America." Another example of resistance is the fact that the United Auto Workers members who struck Caterpillar for a year and a half are now back on the job with their spirits unbroken.

Swanson noted that some workers are attracted to radical right-wing groups who make emotional appeals to resentments, envy, fear, and prejudice. These groups rail against the government, the banks, and big business. They sometimes include some form of anticapitalist demagogy. This makes it more important than ever for communist workers to make it clear what they stand for — defending the rights of Blacks, immigrants, and women; fighting against capital punishment and police brutality; supporting the socialist revolution in Cuba; and building a fighting labor movement that will be central to the struggle for a workers and farmers government.

Swanson said that some liberals and trade union officials cede ground to radical rightists and fascist figures like Patrick Buchanan. He pointed to Mark Levinson, an economist with District 37 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees and member of the editorial board of *Dissent* magazine. In an opinion column printed in the January 8 *New York Times*, Levinson praised Buchanan's chauvinist opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. He described Buchanan as being "correct that our trade policy does little to protect workers," while he criticized the Republican presidential contender on several other questions.

Selling socialist books on the job

Activists at the meeting described some of their initial experiences discussing the war drive with co-workers and selling them socialist books. Dan Fein, a Southern Pacific worker from Salt Lake City, said that after attending the socialist educational conference in Seattle, he started talking more with co-workers and sold a copy of *New International* no. 10, featuring the article "Imperialism's March toward Fascism and War." Fein commented, "Explaining the war drive and why we oppose it gets you into discussions on the

most fundamental political questions."

Swanson related how talking to as many co-workers as possible can lead to real results. During the *Militant* subscription drive last fall, his lunch break coincided with that of a number of workers he ordinarily didn't get a chance to talk to. He used the occasion to make a presentation on the *Militant* to a group of workers in the break room. Three of them bought subscriptions to the paper. One worker read the paper and later asked Swanson

30,000 janitors on strike in New York, 2,000 newspaper workers striking in Detroit, and other fights going on, even if many are modest," she said. "We should be there and bring co-workers and young fighters with us."

"It's important to take on questions like the death penalty, even though many co-workers don't agree with me," said Ray Parsons, who works on the BN-Santa Fe in Chicago. He described the debate at his workplace over the planned execution of a woman who said she wanted to die. Parsons and others at the meeting have been involved in defending Mumia Abu-Jamal and opposing the death penalty.

Million Man March

A number of the socialists had attended the Million Man March in Washington last October, and many said some of their co-workers had gone. Communist workers agreed that this event, as well as discussions afterward on how to advance the fight for Black rights, had been a big opportunity to sell the *Militant* and Pathfinder books and get into political discussions.

Over the years many rail workers have backed the fight of framed-up unionist Mark Curtis. Meeting participants celebrated Curtis's coming release on parole, and discussed making sure their co-workers know about this victory and the next stage in his fight. They also reported on success in selling dozens of copies of the pamphlet *Why is Mark Curtis Still in Prison?* on the job and at regional and national UTU meetings.

A Militant Labor Forum entitled "NATO's drive toward war in Yugoslavia and working-class resistance to austerity in France" was held at the local Pathfinder bookstore during the meeting. Rail workers Craig Honts and Laura Anderson from Los Angeles reported on their trip to France and their participation in the massive demonstrations against the Juppé plan.

A fundraising pitch was given to raise money to get Pathfinder books to the Havana Book Fair in February and to support a special effort to sell *Nouvelle Internationale* in France. A total of \$450 was raised on the spot. Participants plan to ask their co-workers for matching funds.

Dennis Richter is a member of UTU Local 1006 at Conrail in Waynesburg, Pennsylvania.

for subscription order forms for some of his fellow unionists.

The meeting also underscored the importance of selling the *Militant* at the plant gates, mine portals, and rail yards. Seth Galinsky, who works for CSX in Miami, reported that a co-worker he had never met came up to him and asked if he had "that paper." The worker had bought the *Militant* from a team outside the rail yard a few years back and had heard Galinsky was associated with the paper.

Vanessa Knapton, a young yard conductor on the BN-Santa Fe in Los Angeles, presented a report to the meeting proposing tasks for the socialist unionists in the coming months. She stressed the importance of getting to strike picket lines and other social protest actions. "There's

N.Y. building workers strike

Continued from front page

workers have been on the job 10 or 20 years and have never been on strike before.

On visits to four picket lines these reporters met strikers from Yugoslavia, Trinidad, Columbia, Peru, Yemen, Italy, Egypt, Cuba, and the United States, among other places.

Ari Silver, in charge of fire safety for a building on Wall Street, said "They're trying to break the union." Many unionists agreed with this sentiment and think management will look for any reason to fire them in order to hire new workers at the lower wage.

Also struck were commercial buildings not represented by the RAB, but whose workers are organized by the SEIU. Workers have gone back to work at those buildings whose owners signed a "Me Too" agreement to abide by whatever terms are signed by the RAB and SEIU.

Gus Bevona, Local 32B-32J president, announced at a press conference that 100 labor leaders belonging to the New York City Central Labor Council pledged to give full support to the strike, honor picket lines, and contribute to the local strike fund.

Strikers receive \$50 per week strike allowance.

Since the strike began cop presence has been beefed up in places like the World Trade Center, Pennsylvania Station, and other areas with a concentration of office buildings.

Following the blizzard that dumped a couple feet of snow here January 7-8, city

cops escorted scabs to shovel clear some of the walkways in front of struck buildings.

The *New York Times* reported January 7 that police said they had made 32 arrests since the strike began, most in the downtown and midtown areas on minor charges like disorderly conduct, trespassing, resisting arrest, and criminal mischief.

Silver saw a fellow fighter arrested. "This guy was standing down the street when two police cars with their lights flashing went speeding down the street, he waved to the cars. The police car pulled over and arrested him for obstruction of justice."

On the picket line in front of the IBM building at Fifth Avenue and 55th Street Zora Bukumirovic, originally from Yugoslavia, spoke about her run-in with the cops. "I was almost arrested when I stood in front of a garbage truck one night. They called the police. The cops asked me to move, but I refused. The cops and my union steward started to grab me. They forced me to move. Why am I on strike then?"

Many Teamsters working for Federal Express have honored the picket lines as well as unionists from United Parcel Service and the United States Postal Service.

A demonstration has been called for January 19 from 11 a.m. to 6 p.m. at Rockefeller Center by a group called United Union Members of New York City.

Abby Tilsner is a member of the United Auto Workers at General Motors in Tarrytown, New York.

Interview with Cuban colonel José Quevedo

In February 1996 Pathfinder Press will release a new edition of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War—1956-58*, including material never before available in English.

In conjunction with the publication of this book, the *Militant* is running a series, titled "Pages from Cuba's revolutionary history." This series will feature articles by and about combatants of the July 26 Movement and Rebel Army, which led the revolutionary war that overthrew the U.S.-backed tyranny of Fulgencio Batista and opened the socialist revolution in the Americas. Many items will be translated for the first time from publications in Cuba.

As the first installment, we publish below an interview with Colonel José Quevedo of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba (FAR). It is taken from the Oct. 4, 1995, *Granma International* weekly, where it appeared under the headline "Colonel José Quevedo at 70. His Greatest Decision."

BY LUIS BÁEZ
(Prensa Latina)

One of the fiercest battles in Cuba's final war of liberation was fought at Jigüe. For ten days, both sides confronted each other without yielding any ground. Only an extraordinary display of valor by the rebel forces and the strategy put into play by Fidel Castro, our commander-in-chief, succeeded in overcoming the stubborn resistance of Batista's troops. This victory marked a definitive turn in the military operations undertaken in Cuba's easternmost region, as a consequence of the offensive unleashed by the Batista dictatorship, in a final attempt to avert the imminent rebel triumph.

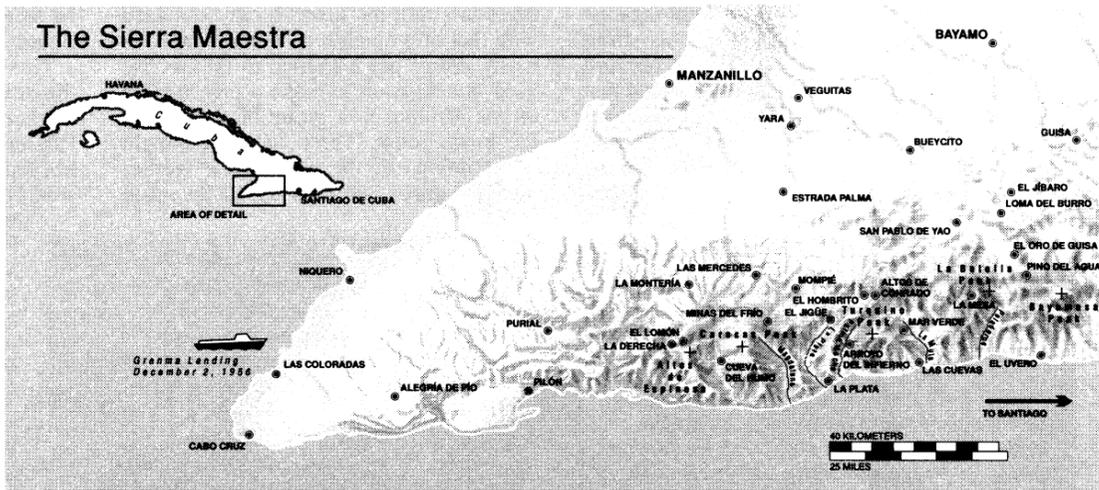
Commandant José Quevedo, now a colonel of our Revolutionary Armed Forces, was at the head of the government troops located in Jigüe. Now he has just reached his 70th birthday.

The father of five children and grandfather of two, he is the author of several books: *La batalla de Jigüe* (The Battle of Jigüe), *El último semestre* (The Final Six Months), and *Vale la pena recordar* (Worth Recalling).

During the war he kept a journal, but gave up that practice with the rebel victory. He now regrets this. If he had continued his journal he could have recorded specific data about incidents and events, which would have contributed to the recounting of Cuba's history.

An extremely forthright man, he told me about various aspects of his life with great sincerity.

This is his life, in his own words, told at



Map shows part of Sierra Maestra, where many of the battles referred to in the interview took place, including El Jigüe, where Quevedo commanded Batista's troops in 1958 before joining Rebel Army.

a moment when his experience and the conviction of always having followed his conscience give it an incalculable value.

I do not believe that he withheld anything from me. If he did, it was some secret he wishes to take to his grave.

* * *

Why did you choose a military career?

I am a soldier's son. My father rose to the rank of colonel. He spent much of his life in the La Cabaña military unit. We lived in La Cabaña and Casablanca.

In 1944, when Ramón Grau San Martín assumed the presidency, my father was one of the few officers who wasn't discharged. He rose to the rank of colonel and was sent to Oriente province as commanding officer of the 1st Regiment. He retired in 1945.

Tell me about your entrance into the army.

I answered a recruitment call at the Cadet Academy at the Morro fortress and got one of the places. That was in 1943. I graduated three years later. I had already completed the first year of law school at the university.

I wouldn't say that I had a definite vocation for military life, it was more that it seemed like the right thing to do, having grown up among the military.

Did you ever get a law degree?

Yes. After finishing in the Cadet Academy, I continued studying law at home, and taking the exams. At the end of the 1950s the university was closed. At that moment I had three or four classes left in order to graduate. After the January 1 triumph of the Revolution, I enrolled and passed those subjects I needed to graduate. Clemente Inclán was still rector of the university. I got my degree in 1960. I could say that I'm a lawyer who graduated with the Revolution, although I have never practiced a law career.

How do you view the military coup of March 10, 1952?

I wasn't in Cuba at that time, but in the United States. I had been sent there with Colonel Manuel León Calá on a visit to the West Point Military Academy in New York. This trip had two objectives: to attend the festivities for the Academy's 150th anniversary and to study their educational system and instruction methods.

Knowing that León Calá was not a Batista supporter, I told him of my intention not to return to Havana and to find work as a Spanish teacher.

He informed me that Colonel Ramón Barquín, the military attaché in Washington, was not sympathetic toward Batista and that it would be a good idea to talk to him. We went to Washington and I had a meeting with Barquín. He was of the opinion that if young officers abandoned the armed forces, that would leave the way open for Batista to consolidate his power. That was why I returned to Cuba and stayed within the army.

Years later, Barquín led the abortive April 4, 1956, conspiracy, which also included José Ramón Fernández and Enrique Borbonet.

Did you take part in that conspiracy?

Yes. What happened is that they didn't find me out. They detained me, interrogated me, reassigned me. But lacking any proof, they never charged me with any crime and gave me back my post.

What was your assignment at that time?

I was located in the San Ambrosio Garrison. I had specialized in logistics as the result of a course I took in Fort Eustace, Virginia, in the Military Transportation Academy. I was also working as a teacher in the Higher Academy of War located in Atarés Castle.

How did you react to the assault on the Moncada Garrison?

I thought it was a madcap idea. I didn't think Batista could be brought down in that way.

Why were you sent to fight in the Sierra Maestra?

This is something that I have never been able to explain. When the armed struggle in the Sierra Maestra started to intensify, combat units were formed to be sent there. One was formed with personnel from the San Ambrosio Garrison and the Cadet Academy.

A number of officers were trained for this purpose, including Captains Francisco Sierra Talavera, deputy director of the Cadet Academy, and Miguel López Naranjo from the G-4 command.

When the second attack on Pino del Agua occurred, Sierra Talavera was in Guisa with the company, and was given orders to send a reinforcement platoon. That platoon was ambushed and almost all its members killed. Evelio Laferté, who later joined the Rebel Army, was taken prisoner there.

Sierra Talavera was blamed for what happened. They sent him back to the capi-

tal. He was discharged. Within a few weeks he was reincorporated. The company had been left without a leader. Surprisingly, they decided to send me. I went off in the direction of the eastern mountains without any kind of training.

You just said that you didn't agree with the March 10 coup d'état and that you were active in the April 1956 military conspiracy. So, what led you to fight against the Rebel Army?

It shouldn't be forgotten that I was a soldier and following orders. In time of war you can't resign or demobilize. There are only two routes left open to you, you either continue on and see what happens, or you join the other side. I'm not trying to justify my actions. I am telling you

the truth.

Did your experience in the academies lead you to believe that it was possible to make a revolution without the support of the army?

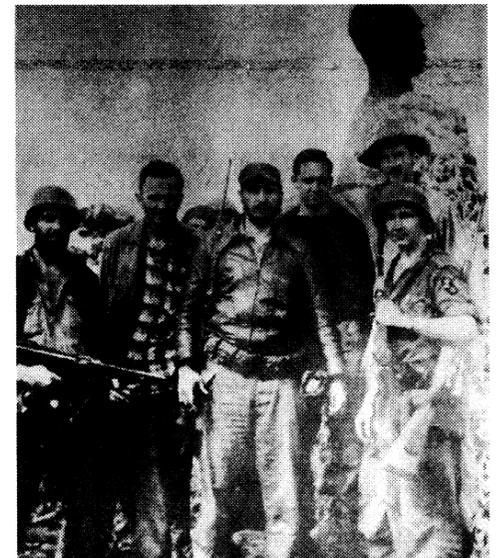
No, I never believed that was possible. I was of the opinion that a revolution could be made with the army, but never against the army or without the army. I never thought that the Rebel Army could defeat us, however well trained it was.

The academies were mistaken, and so was I.

What did you think was the solution?

I thought the military was the only force that could bring down Batista. I didn't believe that the solution could arise from a group of civilians who took up arms and went off to the Sierra Maestra.

Sincerely, I never believed that Batista could be brought down by guerrillas or by



Council of State Office of Historical Affairs, Havana
Rebel Army leaders, at Turquino Peak, Sierra Maestra, 1957. Camilo Cienfuegos (left), Fidel Castro (center), Raúl Castro (right).

firing off shots in the Sierra.

Were you afraid during the Jigüe battle?

Yes. But when you are responsible for certain persons, your fear diminishes.

I'm not a brave person. I have been afraid many times in my life. The problem is to overcome it. It would be irrational not to feel fear. I have experienced some very difficult times, but a moment arrives when a feeling of tranquility comes over you.

Remember that there were ten days -- from July 11 to 21, 1958 -- of intense fighting. Fidel [Castro] had even sent me a letter, saying that we should meet together, to talk and surrender.

How did the letter sent by Fidel affect you?

Both the letter and Fidel's July 15 address played a very important role in my final decision.

Fidel offered us extensive information on the situation we were in and explained how the rebel victory was inevitable.

Imagine, up there in the Sierra Maestra; in the middle of the night, hearing over the loudspeakers a message from the rebel commander, directed at us. It had a real



Above: Batista government troops on the move, in response to *Granma* landing on December 2, 1956. Inset: Cuban General Francisco Tabernilla with U.S. Ambassador Arthur Gardner; Washington's backing was crucial for Batista's regime.

impact, not only on me but on all the battalion's troops.

He sent me two letters. The first did not reach me personally, since I had already left for the offensive.

The letter I'm talking about was sent to me in the middle of the battle on July 20, via Eulogio Rodríguez, a cook in the 103rd company who had been taken prisoner. When I read it, many thoughts went through my mind.

I asked myself how it was possible, in the midst of such a delicate situation, that the Commander-in-chief could express himself in such a respectful manner to someone who had been fighting against him and was still doing so. When I read it to the officers, they had a similar reaction.

Although at that moment we already knew that we were defeated, the letter was decisive in our decision to surrender.

How was your first meeting with Fidel?

It was incredible. When Fidel arrived, he greeted me with an embrace. He took

of Jigüe. What happened there was that the battalion surrendered. I was taken prisoner. The treatment we were given from the first moment by Fidel and the other rebels was exceptional. I helped in whatever way I could but I wasn't officially part of the Rebel Army.

One day, Raúl Chibás came to see me. We talked. He told me that Fidel had been thinking about how I could help most effectively: to talk to those officers of the dictatorship who weren't murderers and get them to come over to the Rebel Army.

Then Fidel spoke to me. He set out his



Colonel José Quevedo of Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba.

were all former officers of Batista's forces who had later joined the Rebel Army.

I also presided, in the early stages, over a group created by Camilo to purge the army ranks through an analysis of the records kept by the former officers. I subsequently formed part of the first general staff organized by the Rebel Army, as head of G-4 (rearguard). I remained in that post for two and a half years.

What do you remember of those days?

Many things: the joy, the enthusiasm. On a personal level, the happiness at having made a decision in time. There are unforgettable events. During my time in the Columbia encampment, I remember a tour we made of those military installations together with Commander Camilo Cienfuegos. There Camilo made a gesture of great human solidarity, which caused all of us accompanying him to stop and think.

On walking through what had been one of Fulgencio Batista's residences and seeing a huge cage with different species of birds in the patio, Camilo went up to it, freed them and said: "Here, in this land, even the birds must be free."

What were your thoughts when the revolutionary government expelled the U.S. military mission based in Cuba?

I thought that it was really taking things too far. I considered that and other decisions were too bold. That is what I thought at that time. I also considered the fact that Fidel had made decisions that had seemed impossible and they had produced results: I can now look at these things with hindsight. I now believe he is capable of more still than he has already done.

I have never spoken about these things. Now, at the age of 70, it is permissible for me to do so.

What was it like for you to be the military attaché in the Soviet Union?

One of the greatest feelings of satisfaction that I have had in my life. It was a demonstration of Fidel's and Raúl's confidence in me. The designation came as an incredible surprise to me.

All of my earlier projects may have been destined toward an assignment in Washington, but never in Moscow. I had never thought about that possibility.

Don't forget that I was trained in U.S. military academies. There they teach you to hate communism. I never took the time to find out whether it was good or bad.

I learned a great deal in the USSR. Above all to love and respect the Soviet people. The events that followed in that

nation are highly lamentable. I am convinced that it won't be too many years before it becomes a great country again.

Did you think of leaving Cuba at any time?

I didn't even have time to think about it. I could have left, as Fidel himself offered me the choice. When I was in the Sierra, after Jigüe, he told me that there were a number of things he could do with me: he could free me, but if he did that I could be arrested; he could get me out of the country; or I could stay in the Sierra. I opted for the last one.

Were you made offers to leave the country after the triumph of the Revolution?

Numerous, even a U.S. company which had sold weapons to the armed forces made very good offers. I also received threats. I received threatening letters from Mexico. There were people who saw me as a symbol of treachery. None of those things concerned me. Although I do confess that I wasn't a Communist.

Why did you accept the path chosen by the Revolution?

Because of my confidence in Fidel. I told myself that if he took that path it was because it must be the right one. I am first and foremost a Fidelista.

Why is that?

There are many reasons. When I entered into the life of the Rebel Army, I was gradually convinced by Fidel's conditions and also because I owed him so much, from my life itself to the political development that I have now.

Fidel is a man of great foresight. He can see further than others are able to see. With tremendous willpower. Always full of optimism.

He is an exceptional man. People like him are not born every day. He has known how to face problems as they arise, with great wisdom. He is the champion of opportunities. One of his great qualities is having known to make the appropriate decision at the opportune moment.

How do you feel at 70 years of age?

Firstly that life has passed me by. I would like to be younger now, to be able to help the Revolution more. I am very limited by my age and health problems. Nevertheless, I do think there are certain ways in which I can still be useful.

Do you regret anything?

I don't regret anything I did. Like any human being I've had good and bad actions. I don't think so much about the bad things I may have done, but rather the good things I could have done and didn't.

Perhaps not putting my trust completely in Fidel from the first moment. At times I have made decisions too late.

And your greatest decision?

To stay in the Sierra Maestra and join the Rebel Army. That has been the greatest decision of my life.



Workers at Calixto García factory, with July 26 Movement banner, set to greet Fidel Castro's Rebel Army column entering Havana, Jan. 8, 1959.

me to one side and started talking with me. Just the two of us.

Do you remember what you talked about?

He asked about my men: He took an interest in the various soldiers who studied with me in the university. He spoke to me with great respect and consideration. He always addressed me very respectfully, but also with great affection and intimacy.

Fidel talked and talked. I was surprised. I answered in short sentences. There were times when I didn't know what to say to him. He had already offered me what I was going to ask him for. At times much more than I had even hoped for.

It seemed like something completely out of this world. It isn't normal for your enemy to receive you, after a ten-day battle, as if you had just finished a sports meet.

But you already knew what Fidel was like.

Yes, I knew him from the university; however, I didn't really know what he was like, because I wasn't in his circle of friends. It was after Jigüe that I began to feel like his friend.

At what point did you realize that the Rebel Army would win?

While I was a prisoner, I saw the way the Rebel Army acted toward the people. I was greatly struck by their unselfishness. The way the Rebel Army behaved was completely different from the way the government's army behaved. On the other hand, I realized that the rebel forces had acquired a great deal of experience. They had gained strength physically. Any unit of the Rebel Army was by then more valuable than Batista's army. I began to feel as if I was in a different world. Moreover, they fought for an ideal.

When did you decide to join the Rebel Army?

I did not decide to join during the battle

ideas. I agreed with them. His confidence in me made me very happy. From that time on, my life took a 180-degree turn. That wasn't easy. Above all, when one is molded by another system.

Was that when they ratified your rank of commander?

No. I don't think there was any particular time in which that was discussed. I don't remember one.

One thing that I have not forgotten is in Palma Soriano, when the rebel victory was in sight, Fidel asked me what I was thinking of doing when the war ended.

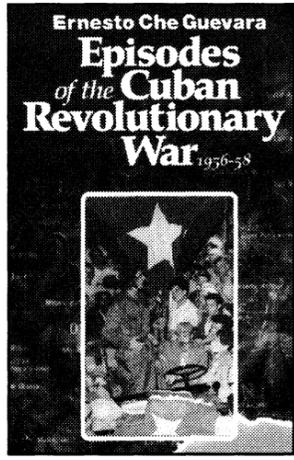
I replied that I planned to retire, to go and work in something else. He answered: "No, no. You have to stay with us. We are going to need your experience." It is likely that, without putting it in so many words, he was ratifying my rank at that time.

What did you do on January 1, 1959?

Following the triumph of the Revolution, I was part of the freedom caravan for two days until, on Fidel's instructions, I traveled to Havana on January 4 to report to Commander Camilo Cienfuegos.

I was initially part of a military advisory commission of which Carlos M. Durán, Evelio Laferté and Rodolfo Villamil were also members. They

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On the lookout for revolutionary fighters

Hundreds at meetings in three cities celebrate life of SWP leader Ed Shaw

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS AND STEVE CLARK

Photo displays from the struggle for power and the opening years of the Cuban revolution were among the most popular features at each of four regional socialist educational conferences held over the New Year's weekend in Atlanta, Boston, Detroit, and Seattle. As reported in last week's issue of the *Militant*, some 560 people participated in these events, jointly sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialists.

Leaders of the communist movement speaking at the gatherings urged participants to spend some time looking at the photos and studying their captions. The political and military battles portrayed on the displays, and the fighters pictured throughout them, helped bring to life a central conference theme: why working people and youth in North America and elsewhere need to emulate the Cuban revolution. The exhibits

helped underline the importance of building the kind of revolutionary organizations capable of leading workers and farmers to follow the Cuban example of wresting power from the capitalist exploiters — and defending that power of the toiling majority, the dictatorship of the proletariat, arms in hand, against counter-revolutionary violence by the property-holding minority.

Only along that road, the conference speakers explained, is it possible to advance the fight for a socialist world.

The New Year's gatherings took place 37 years to the day after the revolutionary victory over the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship on Jan. 1, 1959. The rare photos of the Cuban revolutionary movement on display were reproduced courtesy of Pathfinder Press, which had assembled them for publication in a new English-language edition of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War: 1956-58*, as well as Pathfinder's



Photo displays on Cuban revolution attracted a lot of interest at meetings to honor the life of Ed Shaw. Above, participants at meetings in San Francisco (top) and Miami (inset) view exhibits.

other titles on the Cuban revolution.

The exhibits began with a photo of Cuban leader Fidel Castro confronting police chief Quirino Uribe during a November 1950 demonstration in Havana, one of numerous student-led protests against the corrupt government of Carlos Prío and its subordination to Wall Street and Washington. The display included photos of workers' and students' demonstrations both before and after the 1953 attack on the Moncada barracks in Santiago de Cuba that initiated the revolutionary armed struggle against the U.S.-backed Batista tyranny. Fulgencio Batista had seized power through a military coup in 1952. In addition, there were numerous pictures of the Rebel Army during the two-year-long revolutionary war that culminated in a victory for working people in the closing weeks of 1958 and the daybreak of 1959.

Conference participants got a kick out of an Associated Press dispatch from Dec. 31, 1958 — the day Rebel Army forces

captured the city of Santa Clara amid a popular uprising, sending Batista into flight from the island at 2:00 a.m. the next morning. In the true spirit of objective bourgeois journalism, the U.S. newspaper article was headlined: "Cuba Rebels Driven from Santa Clara: 4,000 Casualties Reported in City; Batista Troops Pressing Attack!"

Among the photos attracting the most attention were those taken by Lee Lockwood, a young reporter who happened to be in Havana on January 1, when the Rebel Army entered the capital just hours after Batista had fled the country. Lockwood captured the faces of working people, including many Afro-Cubans and women, who with increasing confidence came to the forefront of street mobilizations and began forming militias to defend the revolution from its enemies.

The exhibit extended through the first years of the 1960s, when the workers and farmers government led the toilers in ex-

propriating the plantations, factories, banks, warehouses, and other holdings of both Yankee and Cuban capitalists and landlords, and establishing a workers state. The socialist revolution had opened in the Americas.

Celebrating Shaw's life

These exhibits, while a highlight of the New Year's socialist conferences, had in fact been prepared several weeks

earlier for three public meetings in December to honor the life and political contributions of Ed Shaw — a longtime SWP leader who died in Hialeah, Florida, on November 9 at age 72.

Shaw had been a national leader of the movement in defense of the Cuban revolution. He traveled to the Caribbean island shortly after the triumph of the workers and peasants to find out the truth about the revolution firsthand. He then did a nationwide speaking tour in the United States showing slides from his trip and explaining the accomplishments of Cuba's working people. That tour was sponsored by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, of which Shaw was the Midwest director in the early 1960s.

The exhibits, made possible with the assistance of Pathfinder's editorial and printing staffs, had been put together by organizers of the meetings to celebrate Shaw's life, held in Miami, New York City, and San Francisco on December 3,

10, and 17 respectively. The displays grew and developed over the course of the three weeks, with the addition of several photos reproduced from slides taken by Shaw that he used on his tours, as well as leaflets and articles from the *Militant* highlighting events that marked the half century of Shaw's political life.

As in any newspaper, magazine, or photo section of a book, the captions prepared for the displays helped make the events portrayed in the photographs understandable to everyone at the meetings, from those with little or no prior experience in socialist politics to those who had been in the communist movement for decades. The captions were closely read by participants who gathered around the exhibits during the receptions before and after the meetings for Shaw, as well as throughout the New Year's weekend conferences.

'Suicide Squad'

Jack Barnes, the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and a longtime friend and collaborator of Ed Shaw, spoke on behalf of the SWP national leadership at the three meetings to honor Shaw's life. At the close of his talk in New York, Barnes called special attention to the photo exhibit, attractively displayed along the walls of Columbia University's Earl Hall in upper Manhattan, and illuminated by the bright afternoon sun.

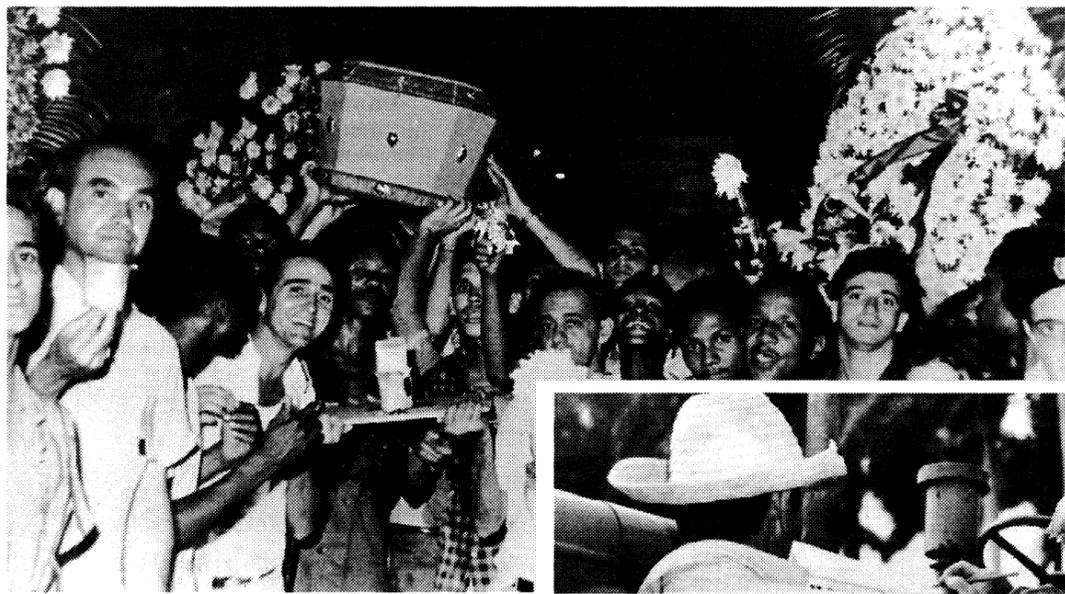
"To the youth here," Barnes said, "I want to suggest a particular picture. It's the photograph of the 'Suicide Squad' of Che Guevara's column in the Rebel Army.

It was a volunteer squad, almost all of its members in their late teens or early 20s and selected by their fellow combatants. They took the most hazardous tasks and the most dangerous place in the order of battle in every fight — from the Rebel Army's base in the Sierra Maestra mountains of eastern Cuba, to the final drive to take the cities of Fomento and Santa Clara and open the road to march to Havana.

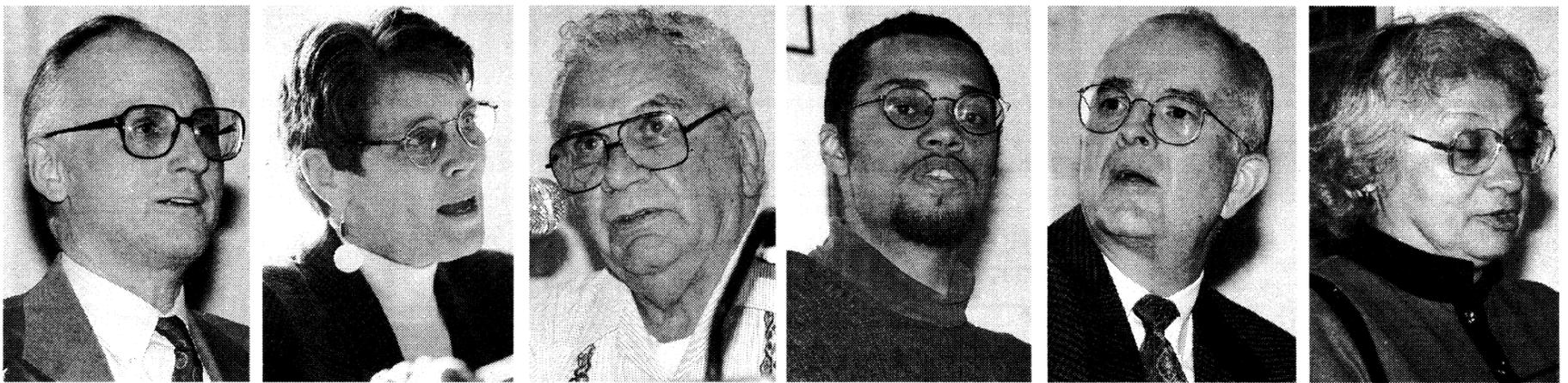
"They called themselves the Suicide Squad," Barnes said. "That was the name these exemplary fighters chose.

"Che explains in the *Episodes* that sometimes, when young fighters — they were often very young — weren't selected for the Suicide Squad, they actually wept. But they were determined to be elected the next time and began getting ready to make sure they were.

"Like everyone else in the Rebel Army," the SWP national secretary said, "the members of this squad took their weapons from enemy troops in combat,



Granma (left) Bohemia (top two photos) Some of photos displayed at celebrations of Shaw's life. Left, "Suicide Squad" of Guevara's Column 8 — young volunteers who took most dangerous assignments during 1956-58 revolutionary war. Top, August 1960 march in Havana, with symbolic burial of coffins representing nationalized foreign companies. Above, peasants sign second declaration of Havana in 1962, the manifesto of the revolution.



Militant/Eric Simpson; photo of Tom Leonard by Salm Kolis

Speakers at New York meeting to celebrate Ed Shaw's life. From left, Joel Britton, Mary-Alice Waters, Tom Leonard, Brock Satter, Jack Barnes, Virginia Garza.

before they were ever supplied with more and better weapons from the guerrillas' limited arsenal. Like everyone else, those who aspired to join this squad had to prove they could fight before they were allowed to take on this special assignment.

"These young people carried out the most dangerous missions imaginable," Barnes said. "But they were not people who courted death." They did court danger, he said, if that's what was needed to advance the fight of the Cuban workers and peasants to wrest power from Batista.

years in the Socialist Workers Party. Others were from younger generations of fighters, including close to 50 members of the Young Socialists and other young people. At the New York event, held the same weekend as a meeting of the SWP National Committee, members of the leadership and supporters of the communist movement in Canada, New Zealand, Sweden, the United Kingdom, France, and Iceland were also present.

The New York meeting was opened by Joel Britton, the SWP's national trade

wrote, "and Eddie played the situation with his great deadpan expression."

Shaw was a materialist through and through, Waters explained. "He had an insatiable curiosity, an interest in the world, in science and history." As a merchant seaman, he had developed a love for travel, especially "because of what he could learn from the struggles of working people all over the world as he did so. He was at home with the lives of working people in many parts of the world."

In a letter he sent her a few years ago, Waters said, Shaw remarked that his "real adult education began in 1943," when he had finished his training for the merchant marine and was waiting to ship out. Not content to while away his hours only at the 42nd Street hotel where he was staying in New York City and at the nearby bars, he wandered into a second-hand bookstore on the same street and picked up two books: *The Origin of Species* and *The Descent of Man* by Charles Darwin.

"Those two books began to open the world to me, to all of history," Shaw wrote. A few years later, while at sea, a fellow sailor gave Shaw two more books: *The Dialectics of Nature* and *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, both by Frederick Engels, one of the founders of modern communism. "Engels was the one who recruited me to the Marxist movement," Shaw wrote in his letter to Waters.

Waters then introduced veteran SWP leader Tom Leonard, who also spoke at all three celebrations. Like Shaw, Leonard had been a merchant sailor as a young man in the 1940s and early 50s. In recent years, Leonard and Shaw had collaborated in preparing a series of talks and classes drawing some of the political lessons of the activity by communist workers in the maritime union.

Union militant in maritime

Leonard pointed out that Shaw, having been born in 1923, came into the world "five years after the beginning of the great Russian Revolution," and "his life span covered a period of tumultuous imperialist wars and revolutionary struggles." (For more on Shaw's life, see "Ed Shaw: 50 years in the fight for socialism" in the Nov. 27, 1995, *Militant*.)

"Ed grew up in a community with a wide variety of taboos that he occasionally talked and wrote about to friends, usually in a humorous but never in a derogatory way," Leonard said. Shaw had been born in the small, rural Illinois town of Zion, which had been founded in the late 1800s by a Christian religious sect

"The taboos included things like not bouncing a ball or playing in the house on Sunday, no gum chewing, no bare legs in public, no smoking, no eating pork, and so on." In the religious school Shaw attended for a few years, students were taught that the earth was flat, Leonard said. As Shaw grew into his teens, he increasingly rebelled against the narrowness of the world outlook that surrounded him.

At the same time, Leonard added, "During his lifetime, Ed used up an

awful lot of labor power, both physical and intellectual. In the process, he acquired a wide variety of skills and work habits, some of which can be traced back to his early years as a working farmer on that small farm in Zion."

After high school, at the outbreak of World War II, Shaw enrolled at the Armour Institute in Chicago, now known as the Illinois Institute of Technology. Failing the handwriting section of a test for a scholarship offered by the U.S. Marines, he moved to New York in 1942 and entered the military-run Maritime Service training school at Sheepshead Bay, where he got his papers for the merchant marine. As more and more merchant seamen worldwide were dying from torpedo and bomb attacks, jobs on cargo and passenger ships were advertised at the time, as Shaw once put it, as "a draft-deferred civilian occupation with good pay and possibilities for travel and adventure."

Leonard said that both he and Shaw were part of a generation of workers "a little too young to have participated in the strikes and rise in working-class consciousness that reached a high point in the mid-1930s. But we were old enough to be affected by the social crisis of the Great Depression," he said, "and to absorb the solidarity and combativity that working people demonstrated during the labor struggles in the years just before the second inter-imperialist war."

Leonard described Shaw's first deep sea voyage, a trip to the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico in 1943. The majority of the seamen on that ship were Puerto Ricans who lived on the island. During that voyage, Leonard said, Shaw not only got his baptism in the labor movement, being elected a union ship's delegate, but received his first education "about the oppressive role of U.S. imperialism in Puerto Rico and the Caribbean." In particular, Shaw learned firsthand "about the Puerto Rican independence movement, which many of the crew members supported."

After being introduced to socialist literature by other seamen, including some SWP members, during layovers in Philadelphia and New York, Shaw joined the SWP in 1944. He was particularly attracted to what he learned about the campaign to defend 18 leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis Teamsters union who were imprisoned for their communist

Continued on Page 10



Militant/Eric Simpson

Some 250 people attended New York event to pay tribute to political contributions of Ed Shaw. The meeting took place at Earl Hall theater, Columbia University.

"It was the greatest honor to be a member of the Suicide Squad," Barnes explained.

"That was exactly the kind of person Ed Shaw was. If he had been there, if he had been one of those young people, he would have been right in the middle of it."

Most important, Barnes said, Shaw devoted his life as a leader of the SWP to recruiting those kinds of workers and rebel youth and training them as cadres of the communist movement. "That's who communist workers have our eyes on," Barnes said. "We're on the lookout for revolutionary material — workers and young people with the revolutionary spirit and determination of those who formed the backbone of the Rebel Army."

Shaw and other party leaders were always looking for young fighters who had decided to put revolutionary activity at the center of everything they did. "That's who revolutionists can count on, those you can trust on your flank as class combat accelerates," Barnes said.

That central theme developed by Barnes and other SWP leaders at the celebrations of Shaw's life, set the political tone and axis for the four New Year's socialist educational conferences and the concrete tasks presented there.

Broadly attended meetings

Altogether, more than 420 people attended the three December meetings to celebrate Shaw's political contributions. The audiences included family members, friends, and co-workers of Shaw; members of local Cuba coalitions and a leadership delegation from the Antonio Maceo Brigade; activists in groups organizing defense of Pennsylvania death-row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal, abortion rights organizations, and Haitian rights groups; as well as many of Shaw's comrades in the communist movement.

A couple of dozen members of each audience had worked with Shaw for many

union director, who attended all three celebrations and helped politically coordinate the speakers, written messages, and displays. Britton welcomed the 250 participants and introduced Mary-Alice Waters, who chaired the New York event as well as the Miami and San Francisco gatherings.

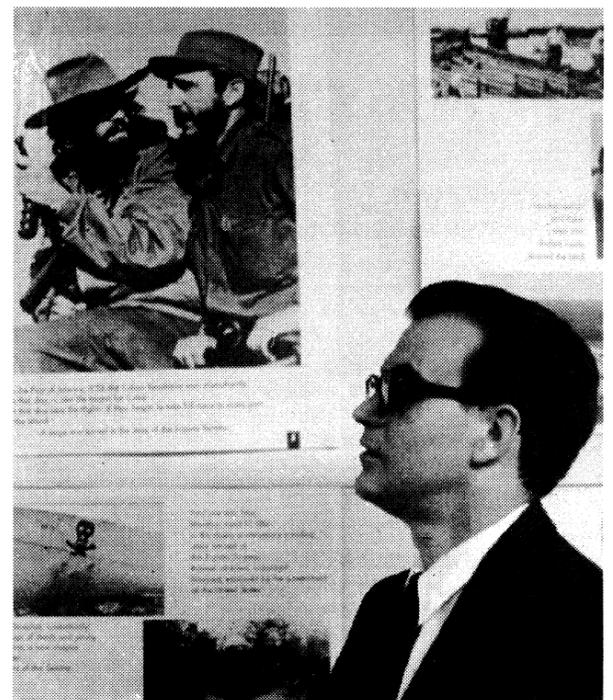
Waters is the editor of the new English-language edition of Guevara's *Episodes*. Like Barnes and Britton, she was part of a younger generation of central party leaders who had been won to the communist movement by Shaw and others in the SWP leadership in the early 1960s, under the impact of the Cuban revolution and upsurge in the struggle for Black freedom.

"Ed had a wonderful, I would say an earthy, an irreverent sense of humor," Waters said. "He loved writers such as Mark Twain and Kurt Vonnegut, who satirized the evils and absurdities of the society we live in. He loved to prick the balloons of pretension, of pomp, of obscurantism that mark class society," Waters said. Shaw knew that beginning to see through such fakery was one of the ways working people — including he himself as a young sailor — were inspired to resist these injustices and irrationalities.

Waters related a story told by Catarina Garza in one of a dozen or more written messages received in the weeks following Shaw's death. Garza was also a seaman who had joined the SWP in the 1940s and collaborated with Shaw in building the party for many years.

Shaw was working in a factory during the 1950's, Garza wrote, and one day the boss came through the plant shaking hands with the workers. "I'm Mr. So and So, but call me Frank," the boss would say as he went down the production line. He eventually reached Ed, who stepped forward, grabbed his hand, and said, "My name is Mr. Shaw, but you can call me Ed."

"The owner was taken aback," Garza



Militant

Ed Shaw during 1964 campaign for U.S. vice president

Shaw: a revolutionary life worth emulating

Continued from Page 9

views and opposition to Washington's entry into World War II. (The story of that political frame-up and international labor defense campaign is told, among other places, in *Teamster Bureaucracy*, the last of a four-volume series by Farrell Dobbs, a Teamsters organizer and longtime national secretary of the SWP, who was one of those tried and imprisoned.)

"Ed used to point out," Leonard continued, "that seamen not only got to see the world, but that since the ships always docked in the poor part of town, in the slums, you saw what life was really like in colonial countries in Latin America and elsewhere. Ed thought it was easier for sailors to become internationalists, at least if you had any inclination in that direction to begin with. That was the experience of many of us who were in the party and in the seamen's unions."

Fight for Black freedom

Leonard pointed out that Shaw's experiences with Jim Crow segregation during the war years, both on the merchant ships and off, turned him into an intransigent opponent of racism, as well.

Mary-Alice Waters, in her remarks in New York, pointed to one of those experiences, which Shaw had recounted to her in a letter. In June 1943 Shaw was in Detroit on his way to ship out on the Great Lakes. "I was in a hotel near Cadillac Square when the 1943 race riot erupted," Shaw wrote. "That was an eye-opener."

"I watched a mob catch up with and overturn a streetcar, pull out a Black conductor and beat him to death. The look on the faces of people in that mob is stuck in my mind as the ugliest thing I have ever seen. I wandered around, and probably saved the life of one guy being pursued by a small group," Shaw said.

"He ran past me and ducked into an alley. The pursuers asked which way he went. I pointed the opposite direction and off they went, looking for blood."

That experience, Waters said, "marked the rest of Ed's life." As a cadre and leader of the Socialist Workers Party, he was to be an active participant in the struggle for Black freedom over the years.

Waters also read an excerpt from a message from Betsey Stone that shed light on how a hatred of all forms of oppression and discrimination becomes blood and bone of communist workers such as Shaw. Stone, a friend and comrade of Shaw for 35 years, recalled the story he had told her about how he met his wife Mary.

They both were working at a factory in Miami in the late 1970s, Stone said. One day, "somewhat out of the blue, Mary, who hadn't talked politics with Ed, asked him if he was a communist. Taken aback, Ed asked why she would think that. Mary, a Cuban by birth who had come to Miami as a child, replied that from what she knew a communist treats women and Blacks as equals. She told Ed, since you do that, I thought you might be one."

Asian Flu Strikes Schools In Virginia, Carolina

CAROLINA EDITION Journal and Guide

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CITIZENS FIRE BACK AT KLAN

Ku Kluxers Use Guns At Monroe, NC

Shots Exchanged Near Residence Of NAACP Head

Special to Journal and Guide MONROE, N. C. — It has been reported here that a group of Ku Klux Klansmen, some of them robed and masked, swarmed against a group of colored citizens near the home of the president of the local NAACP branch late Friday night.

fired on a group of some 30 to 40 colored citizens near the home of the NAACP president, Dr. A. F. Perry.

MR. WILLIAMS also said that when someone in the colored gathering summoned the five police officers came over to disarm them.

Police Chief A. A. Mauney has a different version of the affair, however. He says that several police cars were in the caravan of "about 50 cars" that "disbanded" when a train cut across its path. The chief said that he had instructed his men to get in front of the caravan and if any violations occurred to stop the procession.

EVEN THOUGH North Carolina law forbids the wearing of masks by adults in public gatherings, Chief Mauney said that he had had reports that some of the Klansmen were hooded.

Police officers in cars in the caravan said that they did



Front page of Oct. 12, 1957, *Journal and Guide* of Norfolk, Virginia, reporting on armed self-defense by Black community in Monroe, North Carolina, against racist nightriders. Robert F. Williams (inset, center), president of Monroe NAACP chapter, was main organizer of this effort and was framed up by the government in 1961 for his activity. Inset at right, armed guards in front of the house of Albert E. Perry, NAACP vice president in Monroe, where Klan was stopped dead in its tracks by defenders.

"The political fortunes of Ed Shaw were completely intertwined with the Cuban revolution," Jack Barnes explained in the closing talk at the New York celebration, as he did in Miami and San Francisco as well.

Political fortunes tied to Cuba

"The Cuban revolution was the most important event that occurred in the world class struggle during Ed's lifetime," Barnes said. "Of course, it's also the most important event that has occurred in the lifetime of anyone in this room, with the exception of anyone here who may have been alive during the opening years of the Bolshevik-led revolution in Russia."

Only by recognizing that this judgment is not an exaggeration, Barnes said, is it possible to understand Shaw's political life, and his contributions as part of the leadership of the communist movement spanning several generations.

"Ed had already been an active proletarian revolutionist for close to 20 years when the Cuban revolution began unfolding," Barnes said. "He had been through many experiences in class politics that have been described at this meeting. He had already absorbed a lot of communist politics."

"But for a communist, a victorious socialist revolution — the practical demonstration in life of how the working class can do it — is the decisive test of everything you've previously learned and done," Barnes said. "It revitalizes revolutionary ideas, and produces a commitment to press forward the struggle, in ways that our class has experienced only twice in our century: coming out of the October 1917 Russian revolution, and then out of the Cuban revolution at the opening of the 1960s."

It was the response by the revolutionary internationalist cadre of the Socialist Workers Party to the Cuban revolution, Barnes said, that "put the decisive stamp on the political relations between people of my generation and those like Ed who won us to the communist movement in those years."

Barnes recalled a meeting held on Feb. 27, 1961, at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, where he was a student. Looking out at the audience, Barnes said there

were several other people in the room who had also attended that meeting and, like him, later gone on to join the Young Socialist Alliance and then the Socialist Workers Party. At that meeting, Ed Shaw had spoken about the Cuban revolution along with Robert F. Williams, a militant civil rights leader from Monroe, North Carolina, who was framed up later that year for organizing armed self-defense of the Black community against the Ku Klux Klan.

Shaw and Williams were on a nationwide speaking tour sponsored by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Shaw had actually first met Williams, a Korean War veteran, when both were working at an aircraft engine plant in New Jersey in the early 1950s.

What struck Barnes most about that meeting, he said, was that during the discussion period, "I began noticing that as questions were asked about Cuba, Robert Williams started answering them. And as questions were asked about the battle against racism, Ed started fielding them. That fact had a bigger impact on me than even the content of their answers. Like a number of other young people in the room, I began to learn something about the kind of political organization — and the kind of people — I had never known before."

Following the meeting, Barnes and several other Carleton students showed slides from their own trip to Cuba the previous

summer, continuing the discussion and debate begun during the Williams-Shaw tour.

A 'known quantity'

Barnes said it was Shaw who had recruited him to the Socialist Workers Party. "It's important to explain how he recruited me, however," Barnes added, "because it says something important about how fighters are won to a communist organization."

Shaw never directly asked him to join the SWP, Barnes explained. He already considered himself a revolutionist before he met Shaw, Barnes said. During his stay in Cuba the previous summer, he, like many other young revolutionists, had been involved with friends in a militia unit, and he had joined in the giant street demonstrations to celebrate the overturning of capitalist property relations.

During the week of August 6-13, 1960, most foreign-owned mines, factories, and utilities had been expropriated and nationalized. Barnes pointed to a number of photos on display, picturing workers, peasants, and young people in Cuba during the week-long jubilee that culminated in a massive mobilization in Havana and the "Burial of the monopolies." Coffins bearing the names of each of the major imperialist corporations were carried by workers to the seawall and then sent to their grave beneath the waves.

When Shaw and Williams had come to



Mounted police ride into mass picket at Square D plant in Detroit, September 1954. Despite McCarthyite witch-hunt, 1,200 members of United Electrical Workers union struck for better wages. Big-business press hammered that this was a "communist" strike, since UE had been expelled from Congress of Industrial Organizations in red-baiting purge. But thousands of auto and other workers from CIO locals swelled picket lines, helping UE members push back union-busting assault. Shaw, who worked across street from Square D, participated in organizing solidarity.

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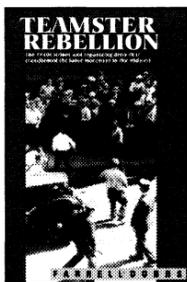
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from Pathfinder



campus in early 1961, Barnes said, "Ed was already a known quantity to me and others who ended up joining the communist movement. We had heard about him in Cuba before we met him. He was one of the leaders of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and people we knew and trusted in Cuba told us to look him up and work with him when we got back to the United States."

Revolutionaries in Cuba were committed to the perspective that defense of the Cuban revolution in the United States should be organized without factional bias or exclusion. "They thought that no one party should control this work," Barnes said, "and that those who spoke in the name of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee should judge everyone on the basis of how they carried out its work, not what other organizations they happened to belong to."

"Ed and other leaders of the SWP agreed with this approach," Barnes said. "Surely one of the greatest tests of any political organization is the capacity of its members to participate in mass work with others, regardless of diverse points of view, to carry out agreed-on tasks."

"So, by the time Ed came to Carleton," Barnes explained, "all he had to do was to tell us what party he supported and introduce us to some other members of that party, so we could judge for ourselves whether they too shared his approach to the Cuban revolution."

"Once we found out more about Ed's party, the SWP, a whole different world opened for us politically."

Standing up to witch-hunters

In June 1961, Shaw was subpoenaed by the U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee to appear before hearings on the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The subcommittee, the Senate counterpart of the House Un-American Activities Committee, was chaired by Sen. James Eastland, a notorious segregationist Democrat from Mississippi. Sen. Thomas Dodd, a liberal Connecticut Democrat, was also a prominent member of the witch-hunting committee.

The Senate committee had subpoenaed more than a dozen people, including Shaw, after the appearance of an unsigned United Press International dispatch charging that the Communist Party and the SWP controlled the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

"Ed's testimony before the Senate subcommittee was a model," Barnes explained. "As revolutionary-minded young people, we considered Ed and anyone else who stood up to the ranking members of this witch-hunting Senate committee to be heroes." Steadfastly refusing to cooperate with this inquisition, Shaw refused to testify about the activities of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee or its members. Despite hours of bullying by Senator Dodd in an executive session June 14, Shaw didn't budge. This caused the near-apoplectic Dodd to shout, "You're the worst witness I have had in 30 years."

Shaw wore Dodd's exclamation as a badge of honor for the rest of his life, Barnes said.

At a public session the next day, Shaw read a statement blasting the subcommittee's violations of the Bill of Rights and suggesting that it instead investigate the April 1961 invasion of Cuba by U.S.-organized counterrevolutionaries at the Bay of Pigs. The invaders were held in check by the Cuban militias and then swiftly crushed by the Revolutionary Armed Forces. The Fair Play committee had organized rallies and picket lines across the United States and Canada blasting Washington for its efforts to overthrow the revolutionary Cuban government.

To top it off, Barnes said, throughout the public hearing Eastland and Dodd kept going back and forth demanding that Shaw put out his cigarette. "He kept stubbing it in the ashtray, but somehow, half an hour later, the smoke would still be drifting up."

"Ed drove those senators crazy," Barnes said to laughter from the audience.

At Shaw's suggestion, Fair Play for Cuba Committee activists ordered copies of the official government transcript of the



April 20, 1961, picket line in front of Detroit City Hall to condemn U.S.-inspired invasion at Bay of Pigs three days earlier. Protest was sponsored by Fair Play for Cuba Committee, of which Shaw, seen at center with glasses, was Midwest director. This photo is included as "Exhibit 39" in government booklet that includes Shaw's testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in June of that year.

Senate committee hearings and circulated them widely. "They spend your tax money producing thick green books with these hearings they're so proud of," Barnes quoted Shaw as saying. "So at least order some copies and let people read it!"

"That was the first time," Barnes added, "that we ever campaigned with an official government transcript."

Shaw's statement to the Senate subcommittee was also published in full in Cuba at the time by the weekly magazine *Bohemia*.

Shaw loved politics

One of the messages read at the New York meeting made the point that Shaw loved politics. That was true, Barnes said, but a more interesting question for revolutionists was, "Why did Ed love politics?"

"Ed loved politics," Barnes said, "because he deeply believed it is the one arena of freedom open to workers in capitalist society. To engage in working-class politics doesn't require property or wealth. It simply requires workers to work together to transform themselves, to become different people, as they fight to transform society. This is what politics is to a communist."

Barnes said that in Shaw's public talks, he "always went after the pretensions and lies of the capitalist rulers — the biggest thugs in the history of humanity; the biggest traffickers in the abuse of women; the biggest destroyer of the potential of youth; the teachers of hatred and division among human beings."

"But Ed never left it at that when he was talking to workers and revolutionists," Barnes continued. "At the same time, Ed always explained that it's ultimately ourselves — not the class enemy, not the bosses or the cops — who erect the biggest obstacles to revolutionary advances. Our greatest challenge is to free ourselves as a class from the bourgeois ideas, values, and goals that the exploiters impose upon us."

"The only way we can fight effectively against capitalist exploitation and oppression is by changing ourselves in the process," Barnes said. "Through revolutionary political activity, workers can become what they can never be under capitalism: human beings capable of reorganizing society and running it in the interests of the toiling majority."

Political 'state of grace'

Shaw and other SWP leaders of his generation and older did not and could not anticipate the Cuban revolution, Barnes said.

"Ed used to say that the Cuban revolution placed the SWP in a 'state of grace' — that is, it was undeserved, unplanned, and unpredictable. But suddenly there it was."

"Inside this metaphor is the most important of all lessons for communists," Barnes emphasized. "The lesson is this: When the biggest opportunities come to build the communist movement, it's already too late at that point to begin politically preparing to take advantage of them."

During the half decade from 1943 to 1948, when Ed first became involved in communist politics, a labor radicalization was under way in the United States, along

with an upturn in the fight for Black rights. "As a young member of the SWP, Ed could see a straight line forward to the revolution," Barnes said. "But that was not to be." What followed instead was a retreat of the labor movement and the anticommunist witch-hunt of the 1950s.

Became cadre during 1950s

"Ed Shaw became a cadre of the Socialist Workers Party, and learned some of the initial arts of proletarian leadership, during that retreat, well before the triumph of the Cuban revolution," Barnes said.

"It was then that he learned that there is no separation between work in the mass movement and the internal work of the party. It was then that he learned to be a disciplined, professional revolutionist."

In the fall of 1953 Shaw, along with a handful of other party members, moved to Detroit to help reinforce the party there. The big majority in that branch had abandoned hope of building a revolutionary party — recoiling in face of the witch-hunt, and softened by the relative prosperity following Washington's victory over its imperialist rivals in World War II.

Those in Detroit who were abandoning revolutionary proletarian politics, Barnes explained, proposed curtailing or outright doing away with petitioning to put SWP candidates on the ballot. They opposed organizing regular public meetings. They argued against adopting nationally centralized goals for sales and financial campaigns, proposing instead that national goals simply be the summation of local decisions.

"Some of them, rather crudely, even referred to subscription drives for the *Militant*, as 'pissing in the ocean,'" Barnes said. "That was the measure of their contempt for the political potential of working people."

Shaw was among the younger cadre of

the party who defended the SWP's communist continuity and dug in to help rebuild the Detroit branch. "Ed was part of the party majority who argued that communists could and should carry out public political work and broad propaganda campaigns, despite McCarthyism and the relative postwar prosperity and retreat of the labor movement," Barnes said.

During those years, the SWP branch in Detroit built a regular forum series on Friday nights that set an example for the entire party; organized a successful petition drive that put SWP candidates on the ballot in the 1954 elections; and participated along with others in building solidarity for defensive strikes and other battles in the labor movement.

Barnes told the story of Ed Keemer, a doctor who was Black and ran an abortion clinic in Detroit in the 1950s, when this medical procedure was still illegal.

During World War II, Keemer had been offered a commission in the armed forces like many other young doctors. Given a choice, he decided to join the Navy as an officer. But the Navy was completely segregated at the time. Blacks served only as cooks and sometimes as cleaners; they were not even allowed to serve the officers' mess. So Keemer was turned down by the Navy because he was Black. When he was subsequently informed he still had to be drafted, Keemer refused and was sent to jail, but subsequently won his case against the government.

Keemer later joined the SWP, which had campaigned in defense of his rights throughout his fight, and he wrote a regular column in the *Militant* for some time. Party members in Detroit, backed Keemer in his work running the abortion clinic and provided protection and support for many women who used it. "In those days, an abortion could be a matter of life or death for many women, especially working women who didn't have great resources and ended up being forced into murderous — often literally murderous — back-alley abortions," Barnes explained. Keemer charged a small flat fee and accepted women who couldn't afford even that.

Members of the Detroit branch, like their comrades across the United States, "spoke openly on behalf of communism, on behalf of the true legacy of the Russian revolution, throughout the witch-hunt," the SWP leader said. During a period when the party nationally couldn't afford to keep much of its arsenal of revolutionary literature in print, Shaw and his comrades set up a tiny lithograph in the back of the branch headquarters in Detroit to produce small pamphlets.

"This difficult period was the most important part of Ed's life, as it was for others in his generation of the party cadre and leadership," Barnes said. "It was only as a

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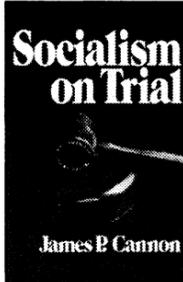
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Workers discuss bookstore threat, Quebec rights

BY BRIGITTE GROUX

MONTREAL — A January 8 threat to deface the Pathfinder bookstore here has received widespread radio and television coverage. That day, a message was written on the front door saying, "101. Warning. Remove the word bookstore from your sign or we will do it for you. (Signed) Law 101." The message was written in French except for the word "bookstore" in English. The store's sign features the name "Pathfinder" above the word "bookstore" in French, English, and Spanish.

The French-language daily *La Presse* ran a lengthy article and a large picture in its January 10 edition. The English-language daily *The Gazette* also ran a big article on the same day. Accompanied by a picture of bookstore spokesperson Michel Prairie standing in front of the scrawled threat, the article was headlined, "Sign vandals strike again — But target is sovereignists' bookstore."

The Gazette reported that Prairie "supports the promotion of French on signs and in the workplace. But he disapproves of legislation that forbids languages other than French" — a reference to Quebec's Law 101.

Law 101 is an affirmative action measure enacted in 1977 after years of massive struggles by Quebecois against various aspects of the institutionalized discrimination they have faced for decades because they speak French. Law 101 requires that all public signs in Quebec be in French, but prohibits the presence of any other languages. After years of protests, this undemocratic restriction was modified. Bookstores are now exempted because they sell "cultural products."

The media coverage reflects the fact that widespread discussions are taking place among working people and youth on the fight for Quebec independence.

"Pathfinder, yes I heard about it all day yesterday on the news," one unionized worker at the MacMillan Bathurst cardboard box factory told his co-worker Roger Annis, a bookstore volunteer. Others heard about it after Annis brought photos showing the front of the bookstore, including the trilingual sign and a close-up of the threatening message.

"Look," said one worker at the cafeteria table, "you can see French on the sign, it's very clear. There's nothing wrong with it."

At the Canadair aerospace plant, volunteer Vicky Mercier said two English-speaking co-workers asked her why she was a volunteer in a pro-independence bookstore. Both said they were against the independence of Quebec and engaged in an animated debate with Mercier.

Annette Kouri, another bookstore volunteer, showed the *La Presse* article to co-workers at Standard Paper Box. One said it was a serious threat and that since there is French on the sign other languages are fine. But she added that she doesn't like it when there is no French at all.

—CALENDAR—

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Abolish the Death Penalty! Stop the Execution of John Taylor! Demonstration at the Federal Building, Wed., Jan. 24, 4:30 to 6 p.m. 125 S. State. Sponsored by ACLU and others. For more information, call (801) 521-9862.

CANADA

Toronto

Video Presentation of "Cuba Shed Its Blood in the Fight Against Racism." Fidel Castro Speaks in Harlem. Also discussion of future activities in solidarity with the Cuban revolution. Sat., Jan. 27, 1:30 p.m. *St. Christopher House, 248 Ossington (at Dundas).* Donation \$3. For further information, call (416) 536-8901. Sponsored by Cuban Youth Tour Organizing Committee.

GREECE

Athens

No to the NATO War Drive in Yugoslavia — NATO/Greek Troops Out! Fri., Jan. 26, 8 p.m. *Small Amphitheater, Mezzanine, Architecture Building, Polytechnic University, Central Athens.* Sponsored by International Forum.

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

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CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Stop NATO War Drive Against Yugoslavia: Emulate the Cuban Road. Speaker: Susan Zárate, Socialist Workers Party, member of Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers union. Zárate participated in August 1995 Cuba Lives Festival. Sat., Feb., 3, 7:30 p.m. Dinner 6 p.m. 2546 W. Pico Blvd. (2 blocks West of Vermont). Translation into Spanish. Donation: \$4. Dinner: \$5. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

FLORIDA

Miami

The Fight Against Racism Today. Also showing of excerpts from "Eyes on the Prize,"

video documentary on the civil rights movement. Fri., Jan. 26, 7:30 p.m. 137 N.E. 54th St. Donation: \$3. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

East Timor: After 20 Years of Occupation. Also video presentation of "In Cold Blood." Speakers: Constâncio Pinto, U.S. representative of East Timorese Resistance; Jim Murphy, East Timor Action Network. Fri., Jan. 26, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Stop Government Austerity Drive: Unionists in France and Canada Lead the Way. Speakers: Ray McCracken, member, Canadian Auto Workers; Carolyn Allen, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Steelworkers of America; and Rosemary Rogers, Communist League in Canada. Fri., Jan. 26, 7 p.m. 7414 Woodward Ave. (2 blocks north of Grand Blvd.). Donation: \$4. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

BRITAIN

Manchester

Fight NATO's War Drive: Emulate the

Cuban Revolution! Speaker: Hugh Robertson. Fri., Jan. 26, 7 p.m.

Yugoslavia - Imperialism's March Toward Fascism and War. Speaker: Tim Rigby. Fri., Feb. 2, 7 p.m.

Both events at Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Tel: 0161-839-1766.

CANADA

Vancouver

Speak Out Against Deportations of Refugee Claimants. Speakers: Davood Ghavani, president of the Iranian Refugee Association of British Columbia; Tito Medina, Cross Cultural Community Development Program at Little Mountain Neighbourhood House; Paul Kouri, Communist League and member of the United Steelworkers of America Local 2952. Fri., Jan. 26, 7:30 p.m. 3967 Main St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

NEW ZEALAND

Christchurch

Eyewitness Report from France: Workers and Young People Resist Austerity Drive. Speaker: Nathan Simms, Communist League. Fri., Jan. 26, 7 p.m. 199 High St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (3) 365-6055.

Thousands protest cuts in Canada

Continued from front page

cent. She believes "we need a mass walkout of all the teachers across the province," not just the Catholic school teachers.

A York University student, Courtney Harris, said she was here to protest "just because I want to be able to go to school. My scholarship grant was frozen but the tuition increased." Her friend said that she holds down two part-time jobs during the school year to get by. Harris, who volunteers as a teacher at a North York elementary school, emphasized that in her grade six class there are not even enough desks and books to go around.

The education cuts are part of Bill 26, an omnibus bill that outlines cuts of \$8 billion. The bill would give the provincial government sweeping powers to enact user fees and close hospitals. Workers say it will lead to crowded classrooms and higher tuition fees; fewer hospitals with longer waiting lists; deteriorating public transit, roads, and bridges; and an increase in the number of homeless.

In the wake of this bill looms the possi-



35,000 people rally Jan. 13 against Ontario government plans to cut \$400 million from education budget.

bility of a strike by Ontario's 50,000 civil servants.

The government has promised to cut 14,000 civil service jobs, cut pensions, and privatize some operations. Current negotiations with the Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU) could leave

the union in a position to strike or be locked out in early February.

OPSEU teachers at the Great Lakes College private high school for foreign students, faced with the owner's demand of wage cuts from 40-70 percent, recently threw up a picket line in protest. Because the government eliminated anti-scab legislation workers had previously won, the strikers now confront replacement teachers.

Labor officials speaking at the rally said this demonstration was a model for the whole labor movement. The president of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, Sid Ryan, drew big applause when he said, "We're coming to a city near you," referring to the plans of the union tops to call for a second city-wide shutdown after the successful strike in London, Ontario, December 11.

When shown photos of the mobilizations by French workers in Paris in the *Militant* newspaper, Ginny Balogh, a French immersion teacher, responded, "That shows it can be done."

Naomi Joliffe contributed to this article.

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SWEDEN

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

Att. Young Socialists — *Trends Journal*, which forecasts business and social trends for marketers, predicts '96 will see "a new anti-establishment activism"



Harry Ring

among teenagers and preteens. The ensuing protests, the mag says, will target the "culture of greed and materialism" and "corporate America."

Border blood — The death toll of 25 in the recent bus crash in Mexico included one passenger who died en route to a Mexican hospital 60 miles away, and another who died at the hospital. The accident occurred 15 miles from the Arizona border but Mexican Red Cross workers hesitated to call for U.S. help. "We've had a lot of trouble before," one said. He cited a recent case where U.S. border cops demanded a patient's papers. "They detained the ambulance for a long time," he said.

As we near the 21st Century — A committee of the California legislature approved a bill allowing judges to order parents to padle minors convicted of graffiti. If

parents refused, or the judge decides they weren't hitting hard enough, he could order a bailiff to do the paddling.

Just work hard and you'll be fine — Forty-four percent of the U.S. families living below the poverty line include two full-time workers.

Flip this — "Good jobs for good people.... Good times, skills for the future... An employer who's respectful. Supportive." — A recruitment blurb from McDonald's.

User friendly — It's estimated that the 40th birthday party for Microsoft's top dog, Bill Gates, cost \$250,000, including \$98,000

for a miniature golf course that was torn up after the party.

The egalitarian system — Wisconsin's Gov. Tommy Thompson has come up with a new formula for allocating school district funding. The 25 poorest school districts will get an added \$512 per pupil. The 25 richest districts will get an added \$1,120 per pupil.

Everybody's hurting — In the wake of the bankruptcy, Orange County mansions are being offered at give-away prices. Like the 10-bedroom, 13-bath pad featuring a hair salon, and a disco with a fog machine. The asking price has been cut from \$22 million to \$9.9 million.

Every little bit helps — Rolls-Royce sold 1,556 cars last year, 142 more than in 1994. These may seem like modest numbers if you forget that sticker prices run up to \$366,000.

Declared the company's chief honcho, "We enter 1996 in good spirits."

Proud record — Another footnote to the World War II U.S. internment of Japanese Americans. One of those who experienced it told the *Los Angeles Times* that while desert internment camps were being thrown up, people in the Los Angeles area were held for several months in horse stalls and at the parking lot at the Santa Anita racetrack.

Iowa farmers protest factory-like hog facilities

BY NORTON SANDLER

DES MOINES, Iowa — Two hundred fifty farmers and their supporters crowded into the rotunda of the Iowa state capitol here for a protest rally January 9. Carrying signs and wearing stickers that said "Family farms yes, factory farms no," they were protesting the rapid spread of large-scale hog confinement operations across the state.

The rally took place minutes after Iowa governor Terry Branstad delivered his "Condition of the State" speech opening the current session of the state legislature.

The action was sponsored by Iowa Citizens for Community Improvement, Prairie-Fire Rural Action, and the Iowa Farm Unity Coalition. A sprinkling of trade unionists joined the protest, including three rubber workers who are members of the United Steelworkers of America Local 310.

The owners of hog-confinement operations seek to produce hogs under factory-like conditions where they regulate the genetics and the feeding of the animals to achieve uniform weight and quality. This is what the packinghouse bosses are pushing for. It is difficult for small producers to compete against the factory-farm owners and many working farmers are throwing in the towel as far as hog production is concerned.

These large operations also build lagoons to store tens of thousands of gallons of waste produced by the hogs. The odor from the confinement operations can be smelled for miles by those downwind of them.

In May 1995, the Iowa legislature passed a bill giving the state Department of Natural Resources, as opposed to local governments, control over licensing and approving the waste plans for confinement operations. This same law also made it difficult for working farmers and other local residents to go to court to stop the spread of these hog confinement operations.

Working farmers across the state have intensified their protests against the confinement operations since the passage of that bill.

There have also been several lagoon

spills in Iowa over the last six months spewing voluminous amounts of manure into rivers and streams and killing tens of thousands of fish. On Dec. 26, 1995, a cracked sewage pipe at the giant operation of Premium Standard Farms (PSF), just below the Iowa border in Missouri, leaked some 40,000 gallons of liquefied hog manure over the frozen ground into Blackbird Creek. There were six previous spills attributed to PSF in 1995 alone.

The protesters at the state capitol were demanding new legislation that again gives counties the power to regulate the growth of hog confinements. They also demanded repeal of the law prohibiting lawsuits against the factory-farm owners, tight regulation of lagoon construction, and an investigation of the monopoly pricing policies on the purchase of livestock on the part of the handful of companies that control the meat-packing industry.

"When 10,000 gallons of manure spills into the watershed, it's time to stand up," said Jim Sullivan, a farmer from Park County at the capitol rally.

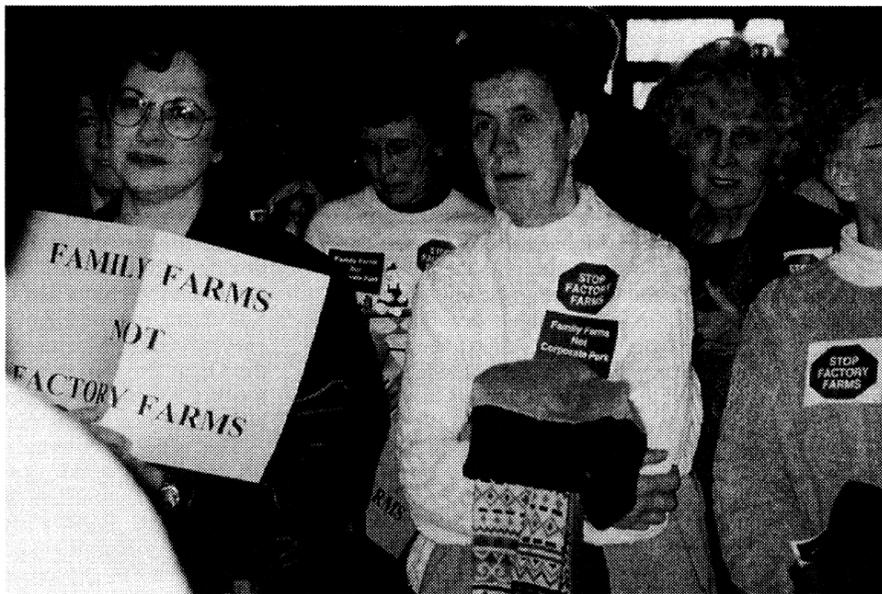
Matt Gehling, a Carroll County farmer added, "They [the confinements] are shell corporations, if they fail they can file bankruptcy and we'll be left to clean up the mess."

"This is a non-partisan issue," Scott County farmer Dean Wiesenberg stated. He decried the fact that farmers are being forced off the land and compelled to "join an unstable job market where they are told they are overqualified, that is, too old to work."

Referring to Branstad's speech, which had concluded a few minutes earlier, Marshall County farmer Larry Ginter told the crowd, "You [Branstad] want to pass a death penalty bill, what about the death of family farms? You want to get tough on crime, but what about the corporate criminals?"

After the rally, several dozen participants crowded into the anteroom of the governor's office to request that Branstad meet with the group sometime in the next three weeks.

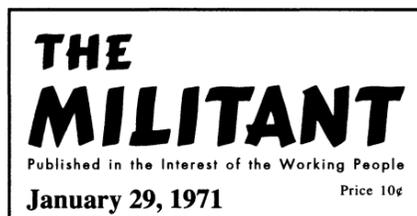
The rally received considerable media coverage, with camera crews from across the state filming the event.



Militant/Shirley Peña

Farmers at Iowa state capitol in Des Moines protest factory hog farms January 9

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —



January 26, 1946

Today at one minute past midnight the battle was joined in the most titanic and crucial labor struggle in American history. Eight hundred thousand CIO workers — the flesh and bones and blood of America's basic industry — threw down the gauntlet before the steel corporations, the most voracious and ruthless monopoly in the world.

Throughout the nation, at one blow from the mighty fist of steel labor, the gigantic mills, the vast blast furnaces and hearths, stood cold, silent and deserted. With its heart paralyzed, all American industry will in a few short weeks face virtual prostration.

The power in action of organized steel workers is joined with that of more than 900,000 other striking workers already massed on embattled picket lines from coast to coast. They are fighting for decent wages and security against the country's greatest monopoly giants, whose savage slogan is "Unconditional Surrender to Wall Street!"

First on the honor roll of the heroes of American labor are the 225,000 General Motors strikers. Last week they received mighty reinforcements. On Tuesday, some 200,000 electrical and radio workers poured from the plants of the electrical trusts. The next day, the united forces of 325,000 CIO and AFL packinghouse workers clamped fighting picket lines around the plants and stockyards of the meat barons.

Today no less than 1,700,000 workers are on strike at one time. They are all fighting for the same thing, a greater share of the wealth their labor produces, the wealth that is being drained off in unprecedented profits, for a handful of Big Business parasites who produce nothing yet demand all.

Youth jailed on frame-up charges

Continued from Page 4

taught injustices like this don't happen in America, but they do," commented Marianna Dimitriou, secretary of the African Resources Forum. Dimitriou organized information tables on the Mzilikazi case several times at the University of Utah.

The conditions of the maximum security jail where Mzilikazi is incarcerated are very restricted. He is allowed only weekly no-contact visits. He is not permitted to receive books, magazines, or any reading materials from outside the penitentiary. He can only subscribe to newspapers approved by prison officials, and can read only books from the prison library. He is not permitted to receive art supplies, and is allowed a pencil but not a pen. Personal items such as toiletries can only be purchased at the prison commissary. Supporters raised \$125 to open his account on the day of the sentencing. He may spend \$20 a week there.

Mzilikazi was encouraged to hear about the victory gained by Mark Curtis, a unionist and member of the Socialist Workers Party who was framed up by the police in Iowa on false charges of attempted rape and burglary. When he heard that Curtis would be paroled, Mzilikazi responded, "Although I feel a sense of indignation toward this system, I feel better seeing others coming through it stronger. I believe Mark Curtis is such an individual."

Letters to Mzilikazi can be sent to: Thabo Mzilikazi, Weber County Correctional Facility, P.O. Box 1511, Ogden, UT 84401. He may receive letters, wallet-sized photos, and photocopies of newspaper or magazine articles. No books, money, or other items may be sent to him.

Contributions to the Mzilikazi Defense Fund can be sent to: Freddie Cooper, MC 1801, Weber State University, Ogden, UT 84408.

Jan. 19 — The Pentagon admitted yesterday that U.S. forces are being used on an escalated scale in Cambodia. The heightened U.S. intervention occurred as South Vietnamese and Cambodian troops with heavy U.S. air support intensified the effort to open Route 4 linking Phnompenh to Kompong Som, Cambodia's only deep-water port.

The Associated Press reported from Phnompenh Jan. 18 that "American helicopter gunships flew at least three air strikes in support of Cambodian troops trying to reopen this key overland supply route to the sea.

There have been reports this week of further U.S. bombing attacks on North Vietnamese "missile sites" — the so-called "protective reaction" of U.S. bombers when these bombers are being tracked by North Vietnamese radar.

These attacks began shortly after the elections last November when it was "discovered" that Hanoi was tracking U.S. "armed reconnaissance" missions — as though it was something new.

Beneath the Pentagon double-talk about bombing "missile sites" however, there is also the real danger that Washington is actually bombing civilian population centers and it intends to reescalate this type of bombing.

One should remember that for almost two years, the Johnson administration bombed North Vietnamese villages under the pretense of bombing "military targets." It was not until after Harrison Salisbury's revelations in late December 1966 about the widespread destruction of North Vietnamese cities that the Pentagon finally was forced to drop its pretense about bombing "military targets."

On the side of the Chechens

The fierce resistance of a small band of vastly out-gunned Chechen fighters against thousands of Russian troops is another serious blow to Russian president Boris Yeltsin and to Yeltsin's friends in the imperialist capitals of the world.

Moscow's inability to quickly squash the rebel force is a testament to the fighting spirit and capacity of all oppressed people. "Does Boris Yeltsin think this will stop Chechnya from wanting to be free?" asked one resident in Dagestan — underscoring the reality that the struggle against national oppression can never be extinguished short of annihilation of entire peoples.

The drama unfolding in Dagestan has developed into a major fiasco for Yeltsin and his military commanders. The steady pounding of Russian missiles — one per minute — and leveling of the tiny village of Pervomayskoye is earning the regime in Moscow the hatred of millions of workers and peasants all over the region.

Yeltsin's response to the Chechen demands for national rights is that of a regime in permanent crisis. The Stalinist forces who have recently experienced a political revival, gaining the biggest bloc of seats in parliament, called the assault "a shame for Russian democracy." The most prominent voice rising to the defense of Yeltsin's war is fascist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, who asked for more, calling for napalm bombing the Chechen rebels throughout their land.

The defiant struggle of the Chechen people is a nightmare not only for Yeltsin, but for the imperialist rulers in Washington as well who have treated Boris as their darling in Moscow. It is a painful reminder to them that they are far from being able to reimpose stable and profitable capitalist domination in Russia, the other Soviet republics, or any of the other workers states in the region.

U.S. defense secretary William Perry made it clear that Yeltsin continues to have the Clinton administration's blessing in his assault on Chechnya. "We believe the Russian government is entirely correct in resisting this hostage-taking effort and resisting it very strongly," Perry said after Russian rockets had turned Pervomayskoye to rubble. He did suggest that a "surgical operation" would have been better — presumably like the one the Pentagon carried out in its war against Iraq, where 200,000 fleeing Iraqi soldiers and civilians were massacred under the careful guidance of Colin "Turkey Shoot" Powell.

On this score, the Clinton administration gets no quarrel from ultrarightist Patrick Buchanan who — à la Zhirinovskiy — has warned about the dangers of the "nationalist virus" in places such as Chechnya "spreading to the West."

The independence struggle in Chechnya is a just one. It strengthens the working class and oppressed peoples in Russia and the region. The communist movement has always championed the right of oppressed nations to self-determination as a precondition to building genuine unity on the basis of equality among all the toilers.

There is an especially bitter irony to the anti-Islamic crusade in Russia that has its boiling point in Chechnya at the moment. Because one of the very first decrees of

the Bolshevik-led government, issued in early December 1917, just after the triumph of the Russian revolution, was an "Appeal to all toiling Muslims of Russia and the East."

Without lending an iota of credence to any progressive character of Islam or any other religious beliefs or institutions, the Soviet republic declared: "All you whose mosques and shrines have been destroyed, whose beliefs and customs have been trampled on by the czars and the Russian oppressors! Henceforth your beliefs and customs, your national and cultural institutions are declared free and inviolable. Build your national life freely and without hindrance. It is your right. Know that your rights — like those of all the peoples of Russia — are defended by the full force of the revolution and its organs, the soviets of workers', soldiers', and peasants' deputies."

And a few years later, at the 1920 Baku Congress of the Peoples of the East, leaders of the Communist International joined with other revolutionary fighters — from inside the borders of the old czarist empire and beyond — in calling on all Muslim toilers in the region to join in a "holy war for the liberation of all humanity from the yoke of capitalist and imperialist slavery, for the ending of all forms of exploitation of man by man!"

Three quarters of a century later, we can confidently assert that for class-struggle minded workers in the United States, Europe, and elsewhere, reaffirming this clear pledge to oppressed and exploited toilers who may be Muslim, or who hail from parts of the world that are predominantly Muslim, is not a remote or external matter. From Chechnya and the Caucasus and all along the Silk Road, national groupings and minorities who are predominantly Muslim chafe against subordination to the Great Russian overlords and their agents, making mockery of Moscow's claims of normalization and stability, let alone the inviolability of borders.

This is not an external question for communist workers and for all working people in France, in Sweden, in the United Kingdom, or in Germany today. It comes directly into the fight to oppose NATO's imperialist war drive against Yugoslavia.

It comes directly into the fight by the workers and peasants in Russia to defend the political space they carved out with the collapse of the Stalinist regime there.

It also comes directly into the fight for democratic rights inside the United States. U.S. federal prosecutors just succeeded — after the first open sedition trial in many decades, a frame-up trial built around agents provocateurs — in railroading an Islamic cleric from Egypt and other defendants to prison with several facing life sentences.

The Chechens and other oppressed peoples in the mountain republics will continue to resist the Great Russian chauvinism that was reimposed on them by the regime of Stalin and continues to this day. Working people around the world should actively oppose the carnage meted out by the bloodthirsty Yeltsin regime, with Washington's backing, and welcome the example of fighting resistance set by the Chechen people.

Resist attacks on social wage

The Ontario government plans to raise class sizes, cut educational programs, and increase university tuition. In Germany, an impending recession is the pretext for demanding concessions from workers and pushing for privatization of public services. The Juppé government in France has not dropped its austerity drive against social security there. In Washington, as wrangling continues over a federal budget, the Clinton administration is steadily implementing cuts in social gains working people have won.

These governments are all acting on behalf of the capitalist rulers they represent by attempting to slash the social wage — entitlements such as medical care, social security, unemployment compensation, and others that the working class as a whole has won in struggle from the employing class. With their profit rates falling around the world, the bosses need to take back these gains as part of their attempt to shore up their system in crisis. The attacks on the social wage go hand in hand with the employers' direct attacks on workers' wages and conditions and their drive toward war to reconquer Yugoslavia and the other countries where capitalism has been overturned.

Cutting the social wage is not smooth sailing for the bosses and their servants in government, though, because the rulers are nervous about the response they can provoke among working people.

In the United States today, there is bipartisan agreement between the Democratic White House and Republican-dominated Congress to ax hundreds of billions from Medicare, welfare, and the rest of the social programs. There are real tactical disagreements among the rulers, however, which is why they have yet to pass a budget.

Some politicians, particularly House Speaker Newt Gingrich and the "freshman Republicans," favor a much faster pace, not just in dollar figures but in their ideological offensive against the working class. They aggressively argue that working people must sacrifice and give up their entitlements, that government has been "too good." They want to push harder to convince working people that immigrants, "welfare cheats," and other layers of our class are to blame for the economic and social crisis.

President Bill Clinton and the "moderates" in Congress are more cautious, and above all more hypocritical. They claim to be protecting working people, while they push through the deepest attacks on the social wage in decades.

Resistance by working people — like the massive mobilizations of workers in France in December, the rallies of U.S. federal workers at the start of January demanding to be able to work and be paid, and the current strike by 30,000 maintenance workers in New York — does make many among the bourgeoisie hesitate to push too fast right now, in fear of a social rebellion.

It's important for working people to fight back against every encroachment on our hard-won social wage — whether it comes from the Republican wolf or the Democratic fox. The value of each struggle lies not simply in what it can accomplish in holding back specific probes, but also in how the workers involved can gain self-confidence, common experience, and unity. These will be essential on the road to realizing that the only way to stop the bipartisan onslaught is to overthrow the dictatorship of the exploiters and replace it with the rule of the producers, the workers and farmers.

Bosses, union tops face turmoil after strikes in France

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

PARIS — "France is still reeling from the social unrest and economic damage caused by 24 days of nationwide strikes last month," writes the *International Herald Tribune's* Alan Friedman in a front-page feature January 11, accurately summing up ruling class concern here.

Spearheaded by rail and transit workers' strikes, working people faced down government and employer attempts to curb social spending and cut the budget deficit by forcing a longer working life before allowing eligibility for retirement.

In local strikes throughout the country, workers added their own specific demands. A five-week walkout by 2,700 transport workers in Marseille scored a significant victory January 9 when employers agreed to jettison a two-tier employment structure and give newly-hired workers full pay and benefits. They also agreed to pay the strikers for 20 days of their 33-day action.

In spite of the success of the workers' mobilizations in pushing back some of the harshest features of the government's austerity package, known as the Juppé plan, the faltering economy is forcing the rulers to press ahead. Official unemployment in France increased from 11.5 to 12 percent according to government statistics just released. Industrial production registered a 0.9 percent drop in October, two months before the social mobilizations whose economic impact will only be registered in future statistics.

Across Europe economic slowdown is clearly visible, blocking off the possibility of an export-led recovery in France and increasing pressure on the employers. Both the French and German governments have said in the last week that they have not met the criteria established by the Maastricht agreement for European monetary union.

Unemployment in Germany has reached 9.9 percent. Italian prime minister Lamberto Dini, whose government has just taken over the six-month revolving presidency of the European Union, said, "You can't think about monetary union with a Europe-wide unemployment level of 11 percent."

The French government has announced its intentions of continuing the offensive against the rights of working people. Prime Minister Alain Juppé has said that his austerity plan is still on the table.

Meanwhile French troops continue to leave for Bosnia and the government has said that the most visible features of the plan dubbed *Vigipirate* — "vigilance against terrorism" — will remain. These include deploying large numbers of armed police and soldiers in and around public buildings, and routinely stopping and searching people, especially those of north African origin.

Following the December social mobilizations a broad discussion has developed among working people and a shake-up of the labor movement has begun.

One of the three major trade union confederations, the French Confederation of Democratic Labor (CFDT), is going through major upheaval. Nicole Notat, head of the CFDT supported the Juppé plan's objective of a balanced budget, while tens of thousands of rank and file CFDT members — including the confederation's entire transport workers union, the FGTE — participated in strikes against the government.

A broad opposition, including the FGTE which held a national conference January 6, has called upon the leadership of the CFDT to convene an emergency conference to discuss the crisis. Notat responded with a well-publicized red-baiting circular denouncing a "network" of 13 prominent left-wing officials in the union.

The recent turmoil in the CFDT follows significant defections from the union federation by postal workers and health workers over the past couple of years.

BY ERNIE MAILHOT

PARIS — Sales of *Nouvelle Internationale* hit the 300 mark January 13, as a team of international volunteers, and a number of workers and students from France, continue to get a favorable reception for this Marxist magazine published in French.

Fifteen copies of *Nouvelle Internationale* were sold on January 12. Students at Nanterre snapped up four copies from a literature table, and a professor at the school bought one and said he planned to recommend it to his students. Seven other copies were sold at a community table in the Latin Quarter.

Three copies of the magazine were sold at a Militant Labor Forum on the "Struggle for the Independence of Quebec." Thirty-seven people attended the gathering, including many who had bought copies of *Nouvelle Internationale* and literature published by Pathfinder Press at tables set up by the international team.

'Militant' on the Internet

The *Militant* newspaper can be accessed through any internet provider at: gopher://gopher.igc.apc.org:70/11/pubs/militant. The internet site includes a menu item to browse the last four issues, as well as the capability to search by key word all the *Militant* articles that have been put on line over the past year.

Hundreds at celebrations for Shaw's life

Continued from Page 11

result of what Shaw and his party did during these years that they were ready for the new openings when the Cuban revolution came along in 1959."

Shaw served as the organizer of the executive committee of the Detroit branch in the late 1950s. He was elected to the SWP National Committee at the 1959 party convention and served on that leadership body until 1981.

At the end of 1961 Shaw was asked to organize a session of the party's leadership school in the Poconos in New Jersey. The following year he moved to New York City to take an assignment as a volunteer in the party's national office, assuming more and more of the responsibilities of an organization secretary. During much of his stay in New York in the 1960s, Shaw worked part-time as a compositor for the *New York Times* to support himself and his family.

Presidential campaign

In 1964, Shaw was nominated by the Socialist Workers Party as its candidate for vice president of the United States, running on the presidential ticket with Clifton DeBerry. DeBerry was among the some 100 participants at the San Francisco celebration of Shaw's life.

Youth for DeBerry and Shaw campaigned on many campuses, winning new recruits to the Young Socialist Alliance. The YSA had been formed in 1960 by young people who were partisans of the Cuban revolution, active in civil rights actions, and committed to advancing the communist perspectives of V.I. Lenin and the Bolsheviks in face of the Stalinist counterrevolution. By the time of the DeBerry-Shaw campaign, the YSA was also beginning to actively oppose Washington's growing military aggression in Vietnam.

"That's when I first met Ed," Mary-Alice Waters explained at the New York meeting. "I was the organizer of the Berkeley chapter of the YSA when Ed came to the San Francisco Bay Area on a campaign speaking tour."

Shaw just happened to arrive on the day the Free Speech Movement erupted on the Berkeley campus. This mass student protest was sparked by an attempt to shut down a table set up by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) to raise funds for the struggle against Jim Crow segregation. University officials said CORE was not a recognized campus organization, and ordered the cops to arrest those staffing the table. Thousands of students surrounded the cop car and would not let it move, day or night, for an entire week. These actions received widespread national and international press coverage.

"We canceled most of our previously planned meetings for Ed," Waters said. Instead, YSA members, who were part of the steering committee of the Free Speech Movement, took Shaw to the campus, where the protest organizers invited him to climb on top of the police car and give his speech there. He ended up addressing 2,500 students and expressing his support for the Free Speech Movement.

Waters also read a portion of a message from former *Militant* editor Doug Jenness. "Ed was really an excellent candidate, one of the best the SWP has ever fielded," Jenness said. "His talks were more like conversations he initiated, referring to a few articles he had read in the big-business press that day. Simply, concretely, and with a good dose of humor, he cut through the press's obfuscation and laid bare the workings of the capitalist system of exploitation and the reasons why the working class can be confident they can overturn this decaying order."

Shaw also worked closely with the members of the Young Socialist Alliance in those early years, Waters said. She recalled one time when Shaw stayed up all night with YSA members to help them finish an issue of the *Young Socialist* magazine in time for a big protest action against the Vietnam war.

Current Young Socialists leaders Verónica Póses, Brock Satter, and Tami Peterson spoke at the Miami, New York, and San Francisco celebrations respectively.

Following the 1964 campaign, Shaw accepted the responsibility as organization secretary of the Socialist Workers Party

for the next three years, serving alongside the party's national secretary, Farrell Dobbs. "That was Ed's biggest single contribution to the party," Barnes said, because it was crucial to making a transition in leadership to the new generation being won to the communist movement.

Leadership transition

"When we look at the kind of disciplined workers party we have today," Barnes said, "we can sometimes forget all the bridges that had to be built to get here. We can forget the time for political experience that had to be allowed in order for young leaders to handle revolutionary responsibility.

"Ed does not deserve more credit than the rest of his generation for making it possible for us to have the kind of party we have today," Barnes said. "He would have been very insistent about that.

"But Ed does deserve a special kind of credit, because he understood that taking on the responsibility as a national officer of the party during those years was a decisive part of ensuring a transition in leadership. It was necessary to build a bridge between the leaders who came out of the labor struggles of the 1930s and those who were going to carry the party forward, shaped by the Cuban revolution, the struggle for Black rights, and the battles that were coming against the Vietnam War and for women's rights."

Barnes said that Shaw, like every genuine leader of the workers movement, was never preoccupied with the leadership responsibilities or positions the party asked him to take on. "I don't think Ed cared in the least whether or not he had a particular leadership position one day to the next. I don't think he ever doubted that he would keep on doing what he had been doing as a party cadre, no matter what elected committee he was or was not a member of."

In agreeing to shoulder the responsibilities he took on in the 1960s, Shaw set an important leadership example for the communist movement. "Without such decisions by party cadres who have reached middle age — without their finding a second or third wind, before revolutionary breezes blow — the necessary bridges between generations cannot be built and the political continuity of the communist movement cannot be maintained."

In May 1968 Barnes was elected organization secretary of the party by the SWP National Committee, and three years later national secretary.

That entire leadership transition, beginning with Shaw's decision in 1964, Barnes said, made it possible, among other things, for Dobbs to more and more concentrate his energies on writing the four-volume political record of the class-struggle leadership of the Teamsters strikes and organizing drives in the upper Midwest in the 1930s — *Teamster Rebellion*, *Teamster Power*, *Teamster Politics*, and *Teamster Bureaucracy*. As the central leader of the Midwest Teamsters during those years, Dobbs was the only politically qualified person on earth who could have written that account as an indispensable guide to coming generations of worker-bolsheviks. Having completed it, Dobbs, before his death in 1983 at the age of 76, was also able to write the first two volumes of his historical and political account, *Revolutionary Continuity: Marxist Leadership in the United States*.

Above all, Barnes said, without this leadership transition, the party would not have been able to take advantage of the opportunities that began reopening in the 1970s to carry out disciplined communist political work in the most strategic organizations of the working class, the industrial trade unions. Along that course, he said, the SWP has been strengthened politically



Mass demonstration in Santiago, Chile, before September 1973 military coup that overthrew government of Salvador Allende. Shaw was personally involved in efforts to help revolutionists escape imprisonment, torture, and death following rightist coup.

as a revolutionary proletarian party. There is no other preparation possible for the sharpening class battles that are coming throughout the imperialist countries, as world capitalist disorder increases in the closing years of this century and the opening years of the next.

Party's publishing program

"One of Shaw's lifelong commitments was to advancing the party's program to publish, keep in print, and distribute the basic political works of the communist movement," Barnes said. As organization secretary in the mid-1960s, Shaw helped supervise the assembling of the printing equipment, and the gathering of the initial cadres, to expand the party's publishing program and begin the necessary training to establish a professional print shop.

"Ed had a special love for the Spanish-language publishing program of the party," Barnes noted. "For Ed, the number of books we could first effectively distribute, and then begin to publish, in languages other than English — especially in Spanish, the main language of the Americas, as he never tired of pointing out — was an acid test of the proletarian character of the party."

During much of the 1970s, Shaw shouldered leadership responsibilities for the SWP in the world communist movement as well. As recounted both by Waters and Barnes at the three meetings, Shaw traveled extensively throughout Latin America, collaborating with revolutionaries in many countries.

He visited Argentina and Bolivia during the revolutionary upsurges there in the early 1970s. And he was personally involved in efforts to help revolutionists escape imprisonment, torture, and death following the rightist coups in Chile in 1973 and Argentina in 1976.

During these years, Shaw also assisted revolutionists in Spain in their efforts to circulate communist literature among workers and youth during Franco's disintegrating dictatorship. He spent many weeks in Portugal during the rise of revolutionary struggles following the collapse of the military regime there in 1974-75.

As he carried out this work, Shaw was always on the lookout for young revolutionists, both inside and outside the U.S. borders, who could be drawn into the efforts to broaden the translation and circulation of communist literature in Spanish. The Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the modest but expanding numbers of Pathfinder books and pamphlets in Spanish, are a product of these

efforts by the SWP leadership.

Shaw moved to Miami in 1977 and became a member of the SWP branch there. After retiring from day-to-day political activity in 1982, he continued to follow the party's press and its work nationally and internationally and to carry out projects proposed by the party leadership.

Sell books workers need!

The celebrations of Shaw's political contributions helped prepare for the international effort, decided by the SWP National Committee during the weekend of the New York meeting, to expand the sales of revolutionary books and pamphlets to meet growing political opportunities among workers and youth. The plans for this effort are described in the article on the New Year's regional conferences in last week's issue of the *Militant*.

At the meetings for Shaw in New York and San Francisco, one of the speakers was Virginia Garza, one of Shaw's longtime collaborators in the SWP and a volunteer staff member in the early 1960s for Pioneer Publishers, the predecessor of Pathfinder Press.

Pioneer's office at 116 University Place in Manhattan, Garza said, was where she and other volunteers organized "the warehousing, shipping, and receiving of books — all in the same little room. The book supplies were kept in a walk-in closet," she said.

Then as now, Garza added, the only point of the operation was to get the books out of the closet and sell them to the revolutionary-minded workers and young people who needed to read them, study them, and use them as political weapons in advancing the working-class struggle.

Garza held up copies of several of the pamphlets Pioneer produced and distributed in those years. Some of them, she said, were produced in the 1950s and early 1960s by volunteers in Detroit and Chicago, because the communist movement did not at that time have either a print shop or the financial resources to keep up with the political needs of the movement and the openings that were beginning to attract a new layer of youth.

"By 1962," she said, "the need to expand the publishing operation became unpostponable. I remember Ed coming into New York from Detroit around that time and taking part in the plans of how we could change things, so we'd be ready for new political opportunities.

"When I go into the Pathfinder Building in New York today," Garza said, "I am amazed by what has been accomplished since those initial efforts. Communists can't afford not to continue advancing this work," she said.

With that goal in mind, Garza asked participants to make financial contributions to Pathfinder's program to continue publishing the history of the Cuban revolution and the record of its leadership, building on its publication in early 1996 of Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*. Altogether, participants contributed \$7,133 toward this effort at the three meetings.

Emulate Shaw's example

"Ed was a generalist — I think that's what doctors call them — as opposed to a specialist," Barnes said in closing his remarks at the New York meeting.

"He believed above all in the rounded capacities that workers can develop to put together an organization of their own to advance the revolutionary transformation of society and of themselves — which is the most important thing denied to workers under capitalism.

"The best way to celebrate Ed Shaw's life," the SWP national secretary concluded, "is by emulating his example."

Fewer jobs as German economy slips

BY NAOMI CRAINE

"German economic gloom grows," declared the front page of the *Financial Times* January 10. Newly released figures show that just two years into an upturn in the business cycle, Bonn is facing stagnation, growing unemployment, and a record number of insolvencies. The German economy is now just shy of an official recession. On this news, the value of the German mark slid against the U.S. dollar and other capitalist currencies.

The official jobless rate jumped to 9.9 percent in December, up from 9.3 percent the previous month. Nearly 4 million workers are unemployed in Germany, with another 2 million getting by on government-funded work programs. Many of the unemployed don't show up in the statistics, including older workers who have been pushed to take early retirement and the high percentage of women who have been laid off.

The same day the December unemployment figures were released, private economists announced that the German economy contracted by as much as 1 percent in the fourth quarter of 1995. The growth rate was zero in the third quarter. The German Institute for Economic Research in Berlin, known as DIW, issued a report projecting a mere 1 percent growth rate for 1996. Business insolvencies were up 11.3 percent in October, compared to September, and are projected to total a record 28,000 in 1995.

Probes against wages, conditions

The employers and government have intensified their attacks on workers' wages, conditions, and social benefits, blaming the economic pinch. Klaus Murmann, head of the bosses' association BDA, floated a demand January 2 for what he called a "three-pillar" system of wage agreements. The scheme called for workers' pay to be based not on an industry-wide standard, but on each company's profits and individual workers' "performance." Union officials de-



Ford workers in Saarlouis in southwestern Germany hold one-hour strike Feb. 7, 1995, demanding pay raise. Bosses are using economic pinch to demand concessions.

nounced the plan as "reactionary."

Murmann's probe came less than two months after the labor officialdom offered an "alliance for jobs" that would freeze real wages in return for the employers' pledge to create 330,000 jobs over three years. German chancellor Helmut Kohl welcomed the concession plan. He is scheduled to meet with union officials and the bosses' representatives later in January.

The "alliance for jobs" pact was first proposed by the president of IG Metall, the metalworkers union. The industry bosses, through their Gesamtmetall association, countered with a "collective emergency program" that includes holding the line on pay, lower wages for new hires, more "flexibility" in work schedules, and less industry-wide bargaining. The DIW joined the chorus, urging IG Metall "to renegotiate the generous pay and conditions agreed for the metalworking industry this year," as the *Financial Times* put it.

Thirty thousand metalworkers struck in

eastern Germany, and 200,000 workers demonstrated across the country, in 1993 to demand the national wage parity that was promised following reunification of the country.

Other economic figures released in January showed Germany's budget deficit stood at 3.6 percent of economic output, 0.6 percent higher than the European Union ceiling set by the Maastricht treaty. German finance minister Theo Waigel vowed January 9 that this year Bonn would come in under the 3 percent mark. The deficit limit is a requirement for joining the European Monetary Union that is supposed to begin in 1999.

Waigel blamed the deficit on overly high spending by state governments and on the cost of the social security network. He said the federal government will attempt to impose a moratorium on higher spending by the state administrations this year, and will push to privatize public sector industries such as water, garbage collection, and electricity.

Unemployment in eastern Germany continues to be much higher than in the west. The official jobless rate is nearly 15 percent there, and the actual rate considerably higher. Only 35 percent of east Germans have a regular, full-time job.

Crisis worse in east Germany

While the business press has bragged of somewhat faster growth of the economy in east Germany, the figures are illusory. In large part it is based on a construction boom that followed the reunification of Germany in 1990, which is largely exhausted. Much to the dismay of big business in Germany, stable capitalist property relations have not taken hold in the east German workers state.

Industrial output has collapsed in the region. In eastern Berlin, for example, which has a population of 1.3 million, the number of industrial jobs has dropped from 180,000 to 33,000 in the last six years. The Treuhand privatization agency has closed or "restructured" many enterprises deemed by potential capitalist investors as incapable of making a sufficient profit. Charged with selling off some 8,000 enterprises — from which the capitalists in west Germany projected a profit bonanza — the Treuhand has come out 270 billion marks in the red, dragging down the German economy as a whole.

Bonn's economic crisis, which follows massive protests by workers in France against the government austerity drive there, has the ruling classes throughout Europe worried. There are now 14 million workers unemployed in Europe. A business article in the January 10 *New York Times* fretted, "European nations risk a kind of social problem not seen in decades — structural poverty and the threat of social unrest."

Stefan Schneider, an investment economist in Frankfurt, told the *Wall Street Journal*, "Technically we aren't in a recession and we aren't going to get one. But we're damn close."

Australian gov't launches anti-Muslim campaign

BY DOUG COOPER

SYDNEY, Australia — The leak in early December of a secret Immigration Department cable sent to all Australian government missions overseas has caused an angry reaction. The pretexts for Canberra are the terrorist bombings of Jewish and Israeli targets in London; Buenos Aires, Argentina; and Panama City, Panama in 1994; and the fact that the Olympic Games in the year 2000 will be held here. Using these events as justifications the Australian government has chimed in with other imperialist powers and launched its own anti-Arab, anti-Muslim scare campaign.

The Immigration Department cable calls for closer scrutiny of all Arabs applying for short-term visas. It singles out applicants born in, or with links to, 20 villages in southern Lebanon, as well as four Shiite Muslim groups in Sydney.

The cable notes, "The Lebanese community in Bexley, Rockdale and Arncliffe areas of Sydney may have Hezbollah affiliations as may persons associated with the Al Zahra Association, the Al Ghadir Association, the Rissalah Association and the Arncliffe Mosque. All applicants who meet the Hezbollah profile are to be interviewed to assess bona fides." No indication of just what the government's "Hezbollah profile" consists of was made public.

Hezbollah is a radical Lebanese political group advocating an "Islamic republic" that opposes the periodic military strikes and ongoing occupation of part of southern Lebanon by the Israeli regime.

Of the 250,000 people of Lebanese ori-

gin here, some 70 percent live in Sydney. Less than 40 percent are Muslims.

Angela Chan, chairwoman of the New South Wales Ethnic Communities Council, labeled the cable discriminatory. "It is like claiming all Italians are members of the Mafia or all Chinese are members of the triads," she said.

Ayad Abbas, vice president of the Al-Zahra Muslim Association, strongly condemned the accusations as did association secretary Ahmed Mokachar. "We are one of the most peaceful ethnic communities in Australia and we pride ourselves on the fact we have been building bridges between all Islamic communities," said Mokachar.

"We have nothing to do with Hezbollah here; we are a religious group," said an association spokesman.

Kamalle Tabousy, of the Lebanese Muslims Association, told the *Sydney Morning Herald*, "There have been no examples of terrorist activities in the Muslim communities in Australia and we find it disappointing that there is a suggestion of that now."

A young Lebanese worker at the Capral Aluminium mill reports that the Arabic-language press prominently covered the story and noted that a lawsuit is likely to be filed against the government.

In a related development, the government announced proposed "official secrets" legislation that will strengthen its ability to censor the news, as well as a new voluntary self-censorship code that would reinforce the law.

The December 13 *Sydney Morning Herald* reports that a summary of the pro-

posed amendments to the Criminal Code issued by the Attorney General's Department shows that they would "prohibit disclosure and publication of information relating to operations, sources and methods of the Australian Security Intelligence Organization (ASIO), ASIS (Australian Secret Intelligence Service) and the Defence Signals Directorate (DSD).... The new laws would also prohibit the disclosure of information about the operations and capability of the Australian Defence Force which damaged its ability to perform its tasks...."

According to the *Herald*, "It would also be an offence for public servants to reveal 'information relating to international relations' that could endanger Australia's interests overseas or endanger the safety or lives of Australians" abroad.

Government employees who leaked "official secrets" would be subject to a maximum of two years in jail and a \$A12,000 fine (\$A 1 = \$US 0.74). Individuals who received and published such material would also be liable for a \$A12,000 fine and media corporations a \$A1 million fine.

The 'D-notice' press censorship

Some top media executives declined to attend a December 13 meeting in Canberra with Defense Minister Robert Ray to discuss a new system of voluntary censorship, known as D-notices.

The D-notice system, originally established in the 1950s, has been largely ignored in recent years. For example, recent revelations by the *Herald* of a massive U.S.-Australian bugging operation of the

Chinese embassy in Canberra deeply embarrassed the government.

Under the proposed system, editors would contact a senior Defense Department official when they believed what they intended to publish could be damaging.

A December 14 editorial in the *Herald* noted that the proposed law and resurrection of D-notices "would give the Government wide pre-emptive powers to prevent publication even though the claimed justification of preserving the 'national interest' might be spurious." The editorial stated "that the courts will often give more weight to a government's assertions of the need to protect the national interest than [they] will to a newspaper's arguments in favour of the free flow of information."

Tony Katsigiannis, the president of the Free Speech Committee, a national civil liberties organization, condemned the government's moves. "The media should not agree to any code of voluntary censorship, nor should they accept legislation which will muzzle them," he said.

Meanwhile, a mutual security treaty between Canberra and the military dictatorship in Indonesia — the first of its kind for Jakarta and the product of 18 months of top-secret negotiations — was announced by Prime Minister Paul Keating, December 14. The treaty was immediately condemned in Australia by supporters of democratic rights in Indonesia as well as opponents of Jakarta's 20-year occupation of East Timor.

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