

THE MILITANT

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strike against job cuts

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10,000 demonstrate for rights in Kosovo

Clinton: U.S. occupation force will stay in Bosnia

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Some 10,000 Albanians marched in Pristina, Kosovo, December 25 for the second day in a row demanding the right to study in Albanian-language universities that have been closed down by the Serbian government. The protests occurred one week after U.S. president William Clinton announced he was extending the U.S. military occupation force in Bosnia indefinitely.

Political instability is mounting in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo, as assailants launched two attacks on Serb cops December 25, near Podujevo. In one attack they exploded hand grenades near the police station and in the other attack they fired shots at the police.

A court composed of four Serb judges and one Albanian sentenced 15 Albanians December 16 for up to 20 years in prison on charges of terrorism. During the nine-week trial the men were found guilty of belonging to the pro-independence Kosovo Liberation Army, which claimed responsibility for assaults on police stations and other government targets.

Simmering pressures have begun to boil over against Belgrade's measures to stifle demands for independence voiced by many Albanians in Kosovo. Schools teaching in the Albanian language — from elementary schools to Pristina's university — have been closed since 1991.

In 1990, the Serbian government dissolved Kosovo's parliament after stripping the province of its autonomy the previous year. Kosovo was granted autonomy in 1974

U.S. troops will stay in Panama too



The Clinton administration reached an agreement December 24 with the government of Panama that would allow U.S. troops to remain in the country and set up a "regional drug interdiction center." Under the terms of the 1977 Panama Canal Treaties, Washington was required to hand over full control of the waterway, withdraw all U.S. troops, and give up its military bases by Dec. 31, 1999. Some 4,000 GIs are currently deployed there. Above, U.S. troops fan out during invasion of Panama launched by Washington on Dec. 20, 1989.

following demonstrations demanding a republic.

Some 500,000 Albanians demon-

strated in November 1989, in Pristina, the provincial capital. This action was followed

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Puerto Rican activist speaks out against U.S. imperialism

BY JOHN HARDING

BOSTON — A meeting here December 10 kicked off a year of activity in solidarity with the struggle of the Puerto Rican people. Puerto Rico is a U.S. colony in the Caribbean, one of the last official colonial possessions of any of the great imperialist powers. This year marks the 100th anniversary of the struggle against Washington's domination of the country following a U.S. military invasion on July 25, 1898.

The event was sponsored by the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners. The program saluted individuals in the Boston area for their efforts in support of political prisoners in the United States, including Puerto Rican nationalists imprisoned for activities in support of the Puerto Rican liberation struggle.

Jaime Rodríguez explained that plans have begun both nationally and in Boston for a march on Washington on July 25 "to denounce the U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico." Rodríguez encouraged the 50 participants in the meeting to join these mobilizations.

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Socialist workers, youth hold conference in Birmingham

BY NAOMI CRAINE

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — "Ask not what you can do for 'your country.' Ask what you can do for your class" was the theme of a southern regional socialist conference held here December 20-21.

The weekend began with a visit to the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute. This museum offers a vivid depiction of the system of racist segregation that existed throughout the southern United States into the mid-1960s and battles that brought it down. One thing that comes through in the exhibits there is what social force has the power to change the world. As the story of the civil rights movement unfolds, you see the Black working class coming into action, especially in the series of confrontations in this city in 1963 that became known as the Battle of Birmingham.

This area remains an industrial center today, with steel mills dotting the city and its suburbs, and coal mines in the surrounding region. Many of those who participated as youth in struggles of 1960s are still here, working in the factories and mines. A couple of these fighters were among the those who came to conference.

In all, 237 people participated in the two-day event, which was hosted by the Young Socialists National Committee and Socialist Workers Party branches in Atlanta, Birmingham, Houston, Miami, Philadelphia,

Continued on Page 8

Immigration cops step up arrests of Latino workers in Georgia plants

BY ARLENE RUBINSTEIN

TRENTON, Georgia — Fred Parrish, the president of the Atlantic Finishing Inc. garment factory here, is free on \$10,000 bond. Along with nine others, Parrish was indicted by a federal grand jury December 23 for smuggling Mexican workers into the United States to work in his t-shirt factory here and

common in the garment factories, carpet mills, and poultry plants of Georgia. A construction worker from Dalton, a giant carpet manufacturing center near here where there are very few unions, said, "Three months ago there was a raid here and about 50 workers were picked up. Then they were sent to a detention center in Elizabeth, New Jersey." Referring to the workers from Trenton he added, "I hope they weren't taken there."

"They may be in jail," a woman working in a Mexican restaurant told the *Militant*. "The INS [Immigration and Naturalization Service] only sends a bus back to Mexico when they fill it up."

In September 1997 immigration agents arrested 165 workers at the American Rug carpet factory in Calhoun, about an hour from Atlanta. Jesús Morales, a worker at the plant from Guatemala, explained how "the head of personnel convened a meeting of the three shifts on September 25 supposedly to present us with a new program of better benefits. I thought it was a little strange when we went to the meeting room that we were all Latinos. I imagined the company must have known something. They closed all the doors and 60 immigration agents handcuffed the workers, and as it was pay day they gathered up all the checks."

Another worker from the plant, whose brother was arrested in the September raid,

added, "Another important fact is that the company told us if we had family and friends that needed work to bring them to that meeting. Fifteen or 20 of those arrested were just filling out applications."

The two workers said the INS set a \$2,500 bond in those cases.

Interviewed in the *New York Times* about the arrests in Trenton, Harris Raynor, a representative of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees in the southern region, is quoted as simply raising the union's protectionist campaign against the North American Free Trade Agreement. He said, "Ultimately, if retailers don't take responsibility along with consumers for policing these issues, and as long as our government — through policies like NAFTA, with no worker or environmental protections — keeps pushing the edge of the economic envelope, we will see more of these situations."

In contrast, Mario Flores, a worker in a Dalton rug mill expressed concern for the workers. "I was down on my luck, so I came here from Mexico," Flores said. "I was denied food stamps and had to beg to live in a shelter. Things are better for me now. But workers need each other in every country."

Arlene Rubinstein is a member of UNITE in Atlanta. Elvi Roblero contributed to this article.

Stop the deportations!

—Editorial, page 14

in neighboring Henegar, Alabama.

Militant reporters were unable to find out what happened to the workers from Mexico who worked in Parrish's plant.

Trenton is an isolated town in the mountains of northwestern Georgia, inaccessible to the rest of state except by going through Tennessee or Alabama. On a December 24 visit, the factory made of corrugated metal was closed, and the windows were boarded shut.

The local weekly paper ran a brief article titled, "Local employer indicted on alien charges," which reported only on the arrested bosses. Next to it was an ad that read, "May The Peace & Joy Of The Holiday Season Surround You."

Raids against undocumented workers are

Bolivian strikers: 'no gas hikes'

More than 20,000 people demonstrated in La Paz, Bolivia, during a one-day strike December 9 to protest a 25 percent increase in fuel prices. Miners, transport workers, teachers, university students, small business people, and others turned out for the march that culminated the national work stoppage. The government then announced that it would "offset" the price hike by raising taxes on luxury houses and cars, and launch a campaign against black marketeering.

Dominican consul for Havana

After 33 years, the government of the Dominican Republic announced December 11 that it is opening a consulate in Havana. An increasing number of governments in the Caribbean are moving to open ties with Cuba, despite the Washington's continuance and extension of the economic embargo on Cuba. The Dominican government severed diplomatic ties with Havana in 1964.

Clinton extends troops in Haiti

U.S. president William Clinton announced December 5 his decision to keep U.S. troops in Haiti. Some 500 GIs would supposedly participate in "public works projects," and Washington will also provide 50 cops as part of a 300-strong force under the aegis of the United Nations. Pentagon officials said "no time limit" was placed on the extension, and held open the possibility of sending in more combat troops in case of "political instability." In 1994 the Clinton administration organized an invasion of Haiti involving more than 20,000 U.S. soldiers. UN "authorization" for a continued military operation by Canadian and other troops is due to expire December 31.

German students: 'stop the cuts'

On December 18 some 30,000 students in Bonn protested the German government's moves to end tuition-free education in the latest of a wave of large protests over the last two months. As activists tried to enter government buildings they were repelled by club-wielding cops. Some protesters retaliated by pelting police with eggs, fire crackers, and stones. Students say classrooms are overcrowded, textbooks are ancient, and stu-



Some 20,000 workers protested fuel prices December 9 in La Paz, Bolivia.

dent stipends are low.

Polish gov't restricts abortions

Warsaw's lower house of parliament reimposed a ban on abortions December 17, except in cases of serious threat to the life or health of a woman, irreparable damage to a fetus, or if the pregnancy is the result of rape. This ban was imposed in 1993, after decades of women having the right to choose in the Polish workers state. The law had been eased in 1996 to also allow abortions for such reasons as "economic hardship." Doctors who violate the abortion law face up to two years in prison.

Russian company dumps U.S. bank loan over Iran threats

Flouting Washington's urgings to cut off business dealings with Tehran, the Russian oil giant Gazprom canceled an agreement with the United States Export-Import Bank before the U.S. government could do so. A senior Gazprom official told reporters the move was made in response to U.S. "pressure on Russian companies implementing

projects abroad." Previously the bank had agreed to finance Gazprom's purchasing of equipment and services from U.S. companies with a \$750 million loan guarantee. A December 18 *New York Times* article stated, "The Clinton Administration has also been considering sanctions against Russia" over Gazprom's decision to explore for gas in Iran. But so far, nothing of the sort has taken place. Gazprom "is already working on arranging some other form of financing" independent of the U.S. Import-Export Bank to buy U.S. products, said Stan Pshonik, a senior Compressor Control Systems official.

'No one can veto Palestinians'

As part of supposedly brokering talks over Israeli withdrawal from the occupied West Bank, Washington proposed in mid-December that U.S. authorities be given the power to decide on the release of Palestinian activists jailed by the Palestinian Authority. Under this scheme the CIA would be notified and would consult with the Israeli government whenever someone detained by Palestinian officials is to be released, with Washington having the final say. Ahmed Abdel Rahman, the secretary general of the Palestinian Cabinet, responded to this probe against Palestinian sovereignty asserting, "No one has veto power over the Palestinians — not the United States and not Israel."

Meanwhile, Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu continues to balk on Tel Aviv's agreement to return Zionist settler-stolen land back to the Palestinian people. The regime says it is unlikely that they will pull out from West Bank territories before talks with Washington, scheduled for early next year, take place. The Israeli government consistently justifies this with claims that the Palestinian Authority doesn't crack down hard enough on so-called terrorists, meaning fighters for self-determination.

Indian peasants slaughtered

A December 2 late night raid of Lakbuanpur Bathe village in Jehanabad, India, ostensibly organized by the landlords' private mercenary group Ranvir Sena, left more than 60 peasants dead. Some 300 heavily armed thugs pulled scores of men, women, children out of their homes and executed them. Dozens more were injured in the attack. Peasants in the region have been resisting the landowners' seizure and occupation of a government plot of land. Local governments in the region used this struggle to justify beefing up their cop forces and upgrading their weaponry to include grenades, and night vision devices. Former chief minister of the state of Bihar Jagannath Mishra took the occasion to call for martial law and for the ouster of current Chief Minister Rabri Devi.

Medicare bosses cut benefits

Medicare HMOs (health maintenance organizations), claiming they are not receiving sufficient subsidies from Washington, are raising their fees to retired workers and cutting the extent of the benefits. Some of these medical care packages, which now cover 5.9 million people — nearly a sixth of all elderly and disabled people — will for the first time begin charging monthly premiums. Others will eliminate free prescriptions, eye glasses, and dental care. Humana Inc., one of the largest HMOs in the country, told Wall Street analysts that it would triple its fees for some name-brand drugs. Many of these planned cutbacks are set to go into effect on Jan. 1, 1998.

U.S. mulls plan to suspend deportation of Haitians

The Clinton administration is considering a move to suspend deportation proceedings for up to 20,000 Haitian immigrants for one year, the December 17 *New York Times* reported. Thousands of Haitian immigrants demonstrated in Miami and Washington, D.C., in October protesting the government's decision to exempt many Nicaraguan, Cuban, Salvadoran, and Guatemalan immigrants from the new laws, but not Haitians. White House officials said that the deportations could destabilize "an already fragile government." Political instability would upset the plans of U.S. investors, who have since 1994 pushed for the regime to impose austerity measures and sell off the state-owned port authority, the telephone company, and the Port-au-Prince airport.

—BRIAN TAYLOR AND MAURICE WILLIAMS

THE MILITANT

U.S. troops out of Yugoslavia!

The Clinton administration's plan to extend its occupation force in Bosnia is an effort to maintain U.S. military dominance in Europe. The 'Militant' explains how this powder keg will inevitably explode as the Yugoslav toilers resist Washington's moves to reestablish capitalist property relations there. Don't miss a single issue!



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Washington pushes for 'unconditional' inspections in Iraq

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Washington has not let up in its campaign of war threats against Iraq, pushing the United Nations Security Council to demand December 22 that Baghdad allow outside weapons "inspectors" full access to "any and all" buildings, equipment, documents, and vehicles. The Security Council warned that failure by the Iraqi government to grant "unconditional access to any site or category of sites is unacceptable and a clear violation of relevant resolutions" — a pretext it could try to use to justify a new military attack on that Middle Eastern nation.

The U.S. government failed to get the Security Council to approve the wording in its original draft to "condemn" Baghdad for ruling some areas off limits. Russian ambassador Sergei Lavrov, as well as representatives from China and Paris voiced opposition to condemning Iraq. Lavrov also asked for language making the record in favor of Iraqi sovereignty, which was absent from the UN statement.

The U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, William Richardson, insisted that Washington's spies be permitted to investigate any facility in the country. He said his government might launch a military assault,

over the objections of Paris and Moscow, if it deemed such a move necessary. "It is our view that there are enough justifications in existing UN resolutions to proceed with military force," Richardson said on the December 21 NBC television program "Meet the Press." He warned that the Clinton administration has "not ruled any options out, including the military option."

One week before the Security Council meeting, Russian foreign minister Yevgeny Primakov told a December 17 NATO conference in Brussels, "We are against the use of force [against Iraq]."

Australian official Richard Butler, the chief UN arms "inspector," claimed he had evidence that Baghdad was hiding weapons in presidential buildings and other facilities that the Iraqi government calls sovereign sites. "We have finally had evidence or reason to believe that prohibited items have been or do exist" in these places, Butler proclaimed December 20.

Iraqi newspapers charged that Butler was a liar who "provided the United States with a new excuse to continue its hostile and feverish activities against Iraq."

Washington has been organizing "surveillance" flights over Iraq, including a four-



Washington has an armada of warships in the Arab-Persian Gulf, capable of launching Tomahawk missiles into Iraq. Some 29,000 U.S. troops are stationed in the region.

hour mission of U-2 spy planes that, according to Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon, took place December 22 or 23. "It did what it was supposed to do. It came back unchallenged," Bacon added.

Meanwhile, Baghdad announced December 21 it will submit a new plan under the UN-imposed "food for oil" deal. The agreement permits the government of Iraq to sell \$2 billion of oil every six months, dictating that 30 percent of the revenue be used to pay Gulf War "reparations" and other al-

leged UN costs. The rest is earmarked to buy food and medicine.

Iraqi trade minister Mohammed Mehdi Saleh said the new proposed pact would include some changes on buying spare parts for water sanitation, agricultural, and other equipment. The proposals are aimed at easing the devastation on the Iraqi people, who have been hard hit by the U.S.-led seven years of sanctions. Over 1 million Iraqis have died — including 500,000 children — because of the embargo.

Iran conference highlights U.S. gov't weakness

BY MA'MUD SHIRVANI

NEW YORK — The government of Iran hosted a meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in Tehran in early December, attracting governmental representatives from 55 countries with a total population of more than one billion people. It was the eighth meeting of the OIC, attended by 28 heads of state, prime ministers, and crown princes. Some 2,500 people were at the three-day conference, including members of the press from each country.

For the occasion the Iranian government built a new conference center. It declared a four-day holiday in order to highlight the event, as well as ease the traffic in the capital city and facilitate security.

Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat told the Tehran daily *Ettela'at International* that U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright had spent 40 minutes with him attempting to dissuade him from traveling to Iran. "But since the most important item in the conference was to be Palestine, I felt that I had to

come and come," Arafat said.

It was reported that some other governments also were unsuccessfully pressed by Washington not to attend. Among other Middle Eastern leaders in attendance were Syrian president Hafez Assad, Saudi crown prince Abdullah, Foreign Minister Amr Moussa of Egypt, and Vice President Taha Yasin Ramadan of Iraq.

In marked contrast, most governments in the Arab world had boycotted a U.S.-sponsored economic conference a month earlier in Doha, Qatar, in protest against U.S. complicity with the Israeli regime's failure to honor its previous agreements with the Palestinians. Albright was conspicuous for her presence at the boycotted conference.

The next meeting of the OIC is scheduled to take place in Qatar in the year 2000, and Iran will head up the organization in the interim.

The final declaration of the conference, adopted unanimously, called for Islamic unity, hailed the people of Palestine, Leba-

non, and Syria for their resistance against Israeli aggression, condemned Israeli state terrorism, as well as calling for self-determination for Palestinians and making Jerusalem the capital of an independent Palestinian state. The declaration called on all countries to ignore the U.S. sanctions against Libya and Iran. The final declaration was silent on the U.S. war drive against Iraq.

Ayatollah Sayed Ali Khamenei, head of the Iranian state, opened the conference with a keynote address that took a militant tone. He praised the "proud Islamic youth of Palestine and Lebanon" for fighting to "secure the rights of the Palestinian nation" and to "change the Islamic world from a passive to an active force." He said the Iranian government opposed the "land-for-peace" formula for Palestine because it means "Zionists handing back the occupied land of the neighbors in return for our recognition that Palestine belongs to the Zionists."

Khamenei condemned the presence of the U.S. fleet in the "Persian Gulf which is an Islamic sea" as a cause of instability and insecurity in the region. In calling on the OIC to counter the U.S. military presence there, he asked, "What can the U.S. do in the face of a united front of Islamic countries from Indonesia to North Africa?" According to press reports Khamenei received polite applause for his speech. As with the final conference resolution, his speech did not mention the U.S. war moves against Iraq.

The size and character of the conference in Tehran registered the failure of Washington's campaign to isolate Iran, a drive that stems from imperialism's hostility to the 1979 Iranian revolution. Working people overthrew the shah's monarchy there, a major prop of U.S. interests in the region that came to power in 1953 through a CIA-engineered military coup.

In a December 16 editorial, the liberal *New York Times*, which reflects the views of a major section the U.S. ruling class, expressed frustration at the failure of U.S. aggressive foreign policy in the region. "Washington's long effort to isolate Iran has reached a phase of diminishing returns. America's economic embargo, though justified when imposed, has turned out to be largely an empty gesture, honored by no other country and brazenly violated by American companies."

The editorial offered prospects of better relations with Iran if the government there shifted its policies to "end its support for terrorist groups, stop trying to build nuclear weapons and cease trying to disrupt the Middle East peace effort" — code words for demands that Iran not interfere with imperialist interests.

Iranian president Mohammed Khatemi

also addressed the OIC summit. In what some U.S. big-business newspapers called a "conciliatory" speech, Khatemi called for a "thoughtful dialogue" to resolve differences with Washington.

U.S. president William Clinton responded by saying that he was "quite encouraged" by the Iranian president's remarks and that "I would like nothing better than to have a dialogue with Iran," as long as it includes U.S. "concerns."

According to a report in the *Wall Street Journal*, an unnamed senior U.S. official "gave Tehran credit for some of the moderate statements that emerged from the Islamic summit.... 'Iran played a key role in shaping' the conference's communiqué, which condemned terrorism, called for dialogue between Islam and the West and — significantly — didn't call for lifting U.S.-supported sanctions against Iraq, the U.S. official said."

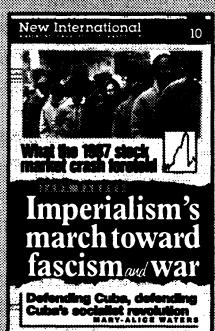
Washington and Tehran have been cooperating in the last few months to reach a settlement of the war in Afghanistan and bring about a stable government, according to a December 15 report in the *New York Times*. The currently dominant Taliban forces have been bogged down in the northern part of Afghanistan and facing fierce resistance, mainly by a Shiite population that is supported by the Iranian government.

In its efforts to penetrate Central Asia and the Caspian Sea region Washington also has to deal with Iran's growing influence there. All five Central Asian republics and Azerbaijan sent high-level delegations to the conference in Tehran. Azerbaijan was represented by its president, Heydar Aliiev.

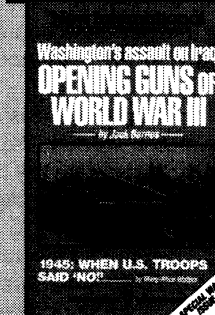
The final declaration of the conference called on "Muslim countries" to end all military ties with the Israeli regime. This demand was directed only against the Turkish government, which has signed military agreements with Tel Aviv since 1996 that allow Israeli pilots to fly training missions in Turkey. They plan to conduct joint naval maneuvers with Israeli and U.S. military forces in January. In protest against this item in the summit declaration, President Suleyman Demirel of Turkey left the conference before the final vote.

Shortly afterward, it was reported that the leaders of the European Union rejected the Ankara regime's application for membership, the only rejection of the 12 governments that applied. Turkish prime minister Mesut Yilmaz accused European officials of discriminating against Muslim Turkey. "People who want to change the EU into a Christian Union have won," he said. Turkish immigrants live throughout Europe, where they are subject to widespread discrimination.

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Puerto Rican fighter for independence blasts imperialist war

Continued from front page

Rafael Cancel Miranda, a Puerto Rican Nationalist hero and independence fighter imprisoned for 25 years for his role in a 1954 armed attack on the U.S. Congress, spoke at the meeting. He told participants about the role of U.S. imperialism and the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for their liberation. The Boston event was part of a speaking tour by Cancel Miranda from Puerto Rico that also included Lawrence, Massachusetts, a textile town that includes a large Puerto Rican working-class population, and New York City, where hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans live.

The Puerto Rican leader described how when he was six years old in 1937 U.S. troops opened fire on a demonstration, killing 21 people and wounding some 200. His parents participated in the action and returned home covered with blood. The next day he was expelled from school for refusing to pledge allegiance to the U.S. flag. The U.S. government attempted to draft him into the military when he was an 18-year-old

high school student, and he was imprisoned in Tallahassee, Florida, for two years for refusing to submit to the draft.

The U.S. government "wanted me to go and kill Koreans during the Korean War," Cancel Miranda said. "I had never even seen a Korean before. Why would I go and kill them for the same government that gunned down my people?" He asked the audience, "Why would you want to go to Iraq and Bosnia to kill, simply to make them richer and more powerful?" referring to the wealthy rulers of the United States. "What is a Puerto Rican doing there when they are expected to kill for those who are exploiting and oppressing our people at the same time?"

Following the meeting Cancel Miranda encouraged working people and youth in the United States to join activities on the 100th anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico. "It is the U.S. government that committed the invasion of our country. The persecution, oppression, and exploitation of Puerto Rico is done in the name of the people



Militant photos: Alexis Irizarry (above), Dan Dickeson (inset)
Above, pro-independence rally of 30,000 in Lares, Puerto Rico, on September 23, 1979, welcomes four Nationalists released from U.S. prisons. Inset, Rafael Cancel Miranda waves to crowd of 7,000 greeting him at San Juan airport on Sept. 12, 1979.

of the United States. They should find out about this and how it is affecting them too," he said. "The invasion of Panama, of Puerto Rico, of Haiti, and elsewhere is done in their name. We are not an isolated island," he added, "whatever affects us affects working people in the United States as well.

"The capitalist class is the only one that benefits from this oppression," he said. "The working class often has to pay with their lives and blood in wars around the world. The ones who go to war are the children of the poor and workers, not the rich who are the ones who benefit from the wars."

Farmers' rally in Britain pushes protectionism

BY ANNE HOWIE

MANCHESTER, England — Reactionary protests, mostly by family beef farmers, erupted here in early December. Hundreds of farmers at Holyhead port on Anglesey, Wales, threw 40 tons of beefburgers imported from Ireland into the sea at 1:00 a.m. on December 1.

Over the next few days, the pickets spread to ports throughout Scotland, England, and Wales attempting to block imports of beef from Ireland, and on the southern coast of England, against imports from France. At Stranraer in Scotland, for example, farmers stopped around 20 lorries from Ireland from entering the country.

While the protests appeared to take the heads of farmers' organizations by surprise, their political thrust was in line with the protectionist perspective of the National Farmers Union (NFU) and its counterparts in Scotland and Wales, which are dominated by big capitalist farmers.

Jim Walker, a beef and sheep farmer from Dumfriesshire who was taking part in blockades of the port of Stranraer, said, "It is disgraceful that the government is allowing imports on such a large scale into this country when British farmers are facing bankruptcy. Nobody else had to endure the strict controls we do to make British beef the safest and best." One poster produced for a protest in Abergavenny, Wales, read, "I thought we won the war."

By the following week the NFU was well in control, launching a nationwide £150,000 (US\$1=£1.60) advertising campaign to urge consumers to "Buy British" and promoting a petition calling on the government to "give Britain's farmers and growers a fair deal and a level playing field in Europe."

The farmers' actions are rooted in the deepest farming crisis in living memory. Newly released government statistics show that total income from farming has dropped by 37 per cent in the last year, but the true picture is worse. According to the NFU, the more widely used gauge of average farm income for a farmer and spouse has dropped 47 percent in the last year. As a result, many family farmers have either already lost their farms or face the prospect of doing so this winter. Jason Brooks, who owns a small farm on the island of Anglesey, off the Welsh

coast, told *Militant* reporters he works a minimum of 60 hours a week as an agricultural laborer in order to maintain his own farm. He said nearly all family farmers in the area are in the same position.

One factor that has precipitated the immediate beef crisis is the BSE fiasco. Since March 1996, when a link between Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE, or "mad cow disease") and a new strain in humans, Creutzfeld-Jakob Disease (CJD), was admitted, cattle older than 30 months cannot be sold for beef but must be incinerated.

The farmer receives compensation of only around £340 — and next year will receive nothing. In addition, cattle that have given birth cannot be sold for beef, and all dairy animals are incinerated. Each beef animal has a "passport" stating its parentage, as well as its vaccination and ownership history.

The government announced a ban on the sale of all cuts of beef on the bone December 3 in the wake of evidence showing that the agent that causes BSE and CJD could be transmitted through the spinal column and bone marrow of cattle.

All beef exports from Britain have been banned by the European Union (EU) since March 1996. For farmers here, one of the consequences of this situation has been the increased ability of supermarkets to push down the price the farmers get for their cattle. For this reason, farmers also organized pickets of supermarkets, highlighting the difference in price paid to farmers and the price workers must pay for beef.

These protests, however, have taken on a protectionist character, with farmers opposing the sale of imported beef.

Since the outbreak of the protests, the

British government has pointed to the European Union ban as the source of the problem. On December 15, Minister of Agriculture John Cunningham announced a unilateral ban on any EU meat imports that did not conform to the measures applied in the name of food hygiene in the United Kingdom. The ports pickets were called off in Scotland on December 9, and at other ports over the next few days, in favor of lobbying led by the farmers organizations.

The capitalist crisis facing small farmers, continues, however. The *Independent* reported that Cunningham, speaking on the future of the beef industry in the United Kingdom, "warned farmers that they should plan on the basis that major changes were coming. There would be fewer farmers, but consumers, the beef industry and the environment would all benefit in the long term."

South Korea slides deeper toward default

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

South Korea's economy continued to wobble on the edge of a financial collapse when the country's long-term debt rating was downgraded to junk bond status December 22. The country's currency, the won, plummeted 15 percent to a record low of nearly 2,000 to the U.S. dollar.

Asia's economic turmoil has deepened since the Thai government released its currency's peg to the U.S. dollar July 2, triggering a wave of currency devaluations throughout southeast Asia. One year ago it took 841 won to buy a dollar.

The move by Moody's Investors Services, one of the world's two largest international credit rating agencies, also included reducing the investment ratings of Thailand and Indonesia to the same status. Malaysia's debt rating was also downgraded, though not to junk bond status. Junk bonds are corporate bonds with low-grade investment ratings — meaning a greater-than-average likelihood that the issuer will fail to repay the debt.

"A lot of people were anticipating downgrades, but it's unprecedented to have four in one day, in one region," said Joyce Chang, a debt strategist with the investment firm Merrill Lynch.

Moody's also reduced the ratings for 20 banks in south Korea and some of the country's largest firms, including Pohang Iron & Steel, Hyundai Motor Co., and Samsung Electronics Co. The agency lowered the ratings of 11 Thai banks and financial institutions, and 5 Indonesian banks.

Standard and Poor's Corporation, the other large credit rating agency, lowered south Korea's status on December 23 to the level of countries such as the Dominican Republic and Pakistan. The credit firm said Seoul was "among the worst of rated sover-

eigns." The foreign debts of the nation's banks are estimated at twice their foreign assets.

The lowered credit rating will force the government to raise interest rates, which makes borrowing more expensive. This could trigger a wave of defaults and bankruptcies.

Fearing a default on the country's international debt, government officials negotiated a \$57 billion "bailout" package of loans with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which has not quelled the financial typhoon ravaging the economy.

'Korea could still hit the wall'

Default is a "real risk given the foreign-exchange position of the government at the moment," warned Koyo Ozeki, director of the bank rating agency Fitch-IBCA Ltd. Japan.

"Foreign banks must decide to roll over short-term debt before going on the Christmas holidays," stated a banker in Seoul. "Korea could still hit the wall."

Lim Chang-yuel, the finance minister, requested early disbursement of Washington's contribution of \$5 billion to the IMF loan arrangement at a December 22 meeting with U.S. treasury undersecretary David Lipton.

Foreign investors are reportedly owed some \$150 billion. Private bankers demand that \$20 billion in short-term loans be repaid by the end of December, London's *Financial Times* reported. The regime claims \$14 — 15 billion is due since some of the debt has been rolled over. An official at the country's central bank said the regime's useable foreign reserves had diminished to \$7 billion.

According to the December 29 issue of

BusinessWeek, 49 of the largest conglomerates in south Korea reaped only \$32 million in profits on combined sales of \$274 billion — a return of barely 0.01 percent. At least 10 more of the 50 largest conglomerates are expected to go bankrupt. In 1997, 11 enterprises collapsed.

Meanwhile, Washington is pressing the south Korean government to sell off chunks of the nation's patrimony — \$14 billion worth — including banks, steel mills, real estate, and factories.

To ensure Seoul implements these IMF demands and the imperialist institutions' austerity measures, U.S. treasury undersecretary Lipton held a meeting with Kim Dae Jung, who was elected president December 18. The president-elect agreed in his meeting with Lipton to impose the IMF proposals for laying off workers as "part of industrial restructuring to make the economy competitive," according to the *Financial Times*.

Kim, touted in the big-business press as a "champion of the common worker," said at his acceptance speech, "I reiterate my intention to fully support the agreement made with the IMF."

The imperialists' demands "will sorely test Mr. Kim," declared the *Wall Street Journal*. "He will probably face street protests, strikes and pressure ... to defy the IMF program. Yet he must win over foreign bankers and investors."

As a further move to curry favor with his imperialist sponsors abroad and the ruling class at home, Kim immediately amnestied two jailed capitalist politicians, former military butcher Chun Doo Hwan and his successor, Gen. Roh Tae Woo, both of whom had been convicted two years ago on corruption charges.

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'A Man of Che's guerrilla' reviewed

The following review of *Pombo: A Man of Che's 'guerrilla'* appeared in the October 1997 issue of *Noticias Latin America*, a monthly Spanish-language newspaper published in London, under the headline "Diary of a guerrilla."

BY PAU DIMAS

English-speaking readers can now get to know one of the legendary chapters of the history of Latin America. The release in July by Pathfinder Press of *Pombo: A Man of Che's 'guerrilla'*, the English-language edition of the previously unpublished diary of Harry Villegas, shines a spotlight on the efforts of a handful of men to organize the struggle to liberate the nations of Latin America.

Harry Villegas worked alongside Che [Guevara] for ten years as a member of his personal escort. He commanded the group of rebels that, after the capture and murder of the famous guerrilla leader, survived numerous battles with and encirclement by the CIA and Bolivian army. And he was the only one who kept a written record of the clandestine and guerrilla actions carried out between 1966 and 1968.

Pombo is, without a shred of doubt, an essential work for understanding the revolutionary spirit of the 1960s. It recounts the difficulties and obstacles confronted day after day by those who took up arms and went into the mountains, prepared to give their lives for their ideals.

Throughout the pages of the diary one can perceive the human qualities of these men who, in a situation of extraordinary tension, attacked and fought a well-armed and much larger army. The writings of Pombo do justice to those who, after Che's death, vowed courageously and organized decisively to continue the struggle to the final consequences.

As the author says in the introduction, these pages of the history of Bolivia were written in the international context of "one of the most horrendous crimes humanity has ever witnessed: the aggression against the people of Vietnam ... by the strongest imperialist power on earth."

Precisely in this period, guerrilla movements arose in several countries to fight for independence and against imperialism. The communist conception of the taking power

through armed struggle was interpreted in different ways, and the diary recounts the difficulties in creating a continental leadership that could unite the workers, peasants, and youth to make the social revolution.

After reading *Pombo*, the reader will understand the communist idea that in a social revolution, you either take power or you lose "the gains won with so much sacrifice and so much blood." The objective was not to create a sectarian struggle but to extend the revolutionary movement to those who were prepared to fight for an ideal of social justice throughout the continent. The diary explains how and where contacts among progressive leaders from the continent took place, but above all it tells how the *guerrilla* functioned under Che's command.

The greatness, the harshness, and the reality of essential episodes of Bolivian history are captured here: the difficulties of survival and isolation in the rural and mountainous zones; the armed struggle, the prisoners, the gradual wearing down of the *guerrilla*, the ambushes, the *guerrilla* psychology, the betrayals and desertions, and the loss of comrades, combatants, and friends.

The respect and affection of all of the men of the *guerrilla*, and especially of Pombo, toward Che is reflected in each and every



Above, courtesy Richard Dindo; inset, Militant/Luis Madrid
Ernesto Che Guevara and Harry Villegas (Pombo) in Bolivia, late 1966 or early 1967. The two photos appeared with a review of Pombo's Bolivian diary in *Noticias Latin America*.

one of the actions narrated in the diary.

The human values of Che, who never ordered a single prisoner shot (he freed them after explaining to them the importance and goals of the guerrilla struggle), his teachings, his confidence in victory, his faith in man, and his unshakable sense of loyalty explain the irreplaceable character of his legacy.

Pombo's firsthand account of the guer-

rilla actions in Bolivia and the relationship among the Latin American revolutionaries, Che's final hours, and the escape of the survivors of the battle at Yuro Ravine (October 8, 1967) make this diary a work that is essential for gaining a real understanding — down to the first and last names of those who fought and died at the side of Che — the men of the Latin American revolutionary guerrilla.

Seattle disclosure fight wins support from trade unionists and students

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

SEATTLE — Supporters of the fight to defend free speech have stepped up their efforts to reach out to the labor movement and other fighters for support. The Seattle Committee to Defend Free Speech was recently formed to counter the attempts by the city of Seattle to force the Socialist Workers campaign to disclose their contributors. An appeal has been filed against the Seattle Ethics and Election Commission's fine of \$6,040 against the campaign for noncompliance with disclosure laws.

The appeal requests a waiving of the fines and a reversal of the commission's denial of exemption. A hearing on this appeal has been

scheduled for February 4.

Richard Berley, an American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)-cooperating attorney, is representing the Socialist Workers in the legal efforts leading up to the February hearing. So far, there are about 50 endorsers of the defense committee's campaign. Supporters are asking for endorsement of the committee, financial contributions, and for protest letters to be sent to the commission.

Nine endorsers of the Free Speech Committee are members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) District 751, which organizes Boeing workers. Four of them have also made financial contributions to the defense effort. These expressions of support are important because the Socialist Workers 1997 Campaign ran Scott Breen, a Boeing assembler and member of IAM 751, for mayor of Seattle.

The Boeing Company is the largest manufacturer of commercial aircraft in the world and, after its merger with McDonnell Douglas, now a gigantic military producer. Breen's campaign was active in supporting the resistance of workers to increasing company attacks. His campaign took advantage of the space open today to present communist ideas in the workers' movement. Two days after the primary elections, Boeing subjected Breen to an interview about his comments during a radio talk show in which he defended the interests of workers at Boeing.

There is a long history of attempts by the bosses and their government to drive communist workers out of the defense industry. Forced disclosure of contributors to the socialist campaigns would give the industry another weapon to use to close down the political space available to workers in the factories to talk about world politics and to organize resistance to company speedup.

Tom Herriman and Gretchen Donart sent a letter of protest to the SEEC. Herriman, a member of Teamsters Local 174, is the Seattle organizer of Teamsters United for Change, an organization that builds support for apple packers fighting for union recognition in eastern Washington.

Their letter states: "... we are shocked and appalled that you want to repeal the exemption for the Socialist Workers Party from rules requiring disclosure of financial supporters. In our society there are innumerable opportunities for abuse of civil liberties by employers, financial institutions, the government and the press. Boeing's blatant effort to retaliate against Scott Breen for something he said on the radio is a perfect example of this."

Anne Atkeson, a leader of the Seattle United Farm Workers Support Committee, also sent in a protest letter to the SEEC say-

ing, "Your denial comes even after the state PDC [Public Disclosure Commission] and the Federal government have provided an exemption.... If the evidence was sufficient to these jurisdictions that these contributors are facing harassment, what more evidence does this commission need?"

Chris Rayson, a member of the United Transportation Union Local 1845 said he and other socialists on the railroad are campaigning among their co-workers for support.

"We're getting out packets of information that include a letter to trade unionists put out by the committee," said Rayson.

"Co-workers are discussing the case with us seriously. Many compare the government's interference with the campaign to its interference in the Teamsters union elections, which they don't like. So far we have one endorser who also gave \$20 to the committee. Another worker is reading the material and also bought a copy of the Marxist magazine *New International* no. 6 so she could read the article 'The 50-year domestic contra operation.'"

Three members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) endorsed at the their convention held in Seattle November 6-9. Other labor endorsers include Norma Kelsey, President of the OPEIU (Office and Professional Employees International Union, Local 8; Mike Miller member of Teamsters Local 174 at United Postal Service; members of the American Federation of Teachers, the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), and the SEIU (Service Employees International Union), and six members of the IAM Local 2202 who work at Alaska Airlines.

The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists chapter in Seattle, after hearing a presentation about the fight with the City of Seattle, voted to send out a mailing to all of its members about the fight. Three members of the chapter endorsed at the meeting itself.

Caroline Canafax, co-chair of the Seattle chapter of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, as well as the entire chapter itself, has endorsed the defense campaign.

Others who have signed the endorser card include Nick Licata, who was recently elected to the Seattle City Council, and Jason Wellington, a student at Shorecrest High School who is a leader of Students for Democracy there. The Student Labor Action Coalition at the University of Washington also voted to endorse the fight and plans to send a protest letter to the SEEC signed by their members.

The Seattle Committee to Defend Free Speech plans to have a public meeting in the weeks preceding the February appeal hearing that reflects the growing support.

YS Fund goes over \$5,000

BY VERÓNICA POSES

CHICAGO — "A local victory!" read a note sent by New York chapter organizer Ryan Lewis, after YS members in that city raised almost \$50 more than their goal of \$800. Nationally, the Young Socialists surpassed its fund drive goal by \$832 with contributions coming in from 12 cities.

For the past six weeks, YS members around the country have organized dinners, collections at Militant Labor Forums, raffles,

video showings, discussions with youth interested in the Young Socialists, and a number of other fund-raising events to meet and exceed the \$4,400 that the organization nationally aimed for.

Lewis explained how the fund-raising was combined with events that would maximize recruitment to the YS. "The highlight of the drive was the weekly social events on Saturday evenings. These served as opportunities for us to better get to know the young people interested in the YS, invite them to upcoming forums, classes, and actions going on in the city," said Lewis. "The key to the chapter's momentum was that we were able to organize to generate funds and send in money every week." The chapter raised their goal twice, from \$500 at the beginning of the drive to \$800 at the end.

During the last week of the drive, YS members in Pittsburgh organized a forum titled "The Struggle for Black Liberation" with a dinner before. After the presentation and discussion period, many of the 15 people there made donations and pledges toward the drive. Altogether, including the dinner, raffle, donations, and pledges, the chapter collected \$281.34 that night.

As part of its ongoing fund-raising efforts, the YS took advantage of the regional socialist educational conference that took place in Birmingham, Alabama, December 20-22. At the conference, YS members sold almost \$400 in raffle tickets. Prizes included T-shirts from unions on strike that YS members had visited, buttons and T-shirts featuring revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara, and a wallet made by Irish political prisoners. A student from Evansville, Indiana, who attended the conference, went back home with a set of the *Collected Works of V.I. Lenin* that he won as part of the raffle.

Young Socialist Fund Drive November 7- December 19			
CITY	GOALS	PAID	%
Des Moines	250	349	140%
Pittsburgh	450	532	118%
New York*	800	846	106%
Seattle	500	523	105%
Chicago*	1,000	1034	103%
Los Angeles	350	356	102%
Philadelphia*	250	253	101%
Twin Cities, MN	300	300	100%
Miami	200	200	100%
Houston	300	252	84%
Atlanta*	450	255	57%
Newark*	650	332	51%
Washington, D.C.	150	0	0%
Other	50	0	0%
TOTAL	5,700	5,232	119%
Should be	4,400	4,400	100%
* raised goal			

Judge calls mistrial in case of cops who killed Gammage

BY EDWIN FRUIT

PITTSBURGH — As protesters chanted "No Justice, No Peace" outside the Allegheny County Courthouse in downtown Pittsburgh December 13, Judge James Rowley declared a mistrial in the case of two police officers being charged in the death of Jonny Gammage. Gammage was a Black man who was killed by five suburban Pittsburgh cops in October 1995 after a routine traffic stop.

In November of that year, a coroner's jury recommended that criminal homicide charges be filed against all five cops involved. Immediately the local authorities began weakening the potential prosecution of the cops.

Only three of the cops were charged, and with the misdemeanor charge of involuntary manslaughter.

In May 1996 Judge David Cashman ruled that juries for the two trials, one for John Vojtas and the other for Milton Mulholland and Michael Albert, would be picked from outside of Allegheny County, where Pittsburgh is located and 11.9 percent of the population is Black. Both juries ended up being all white, chosen from areas with much smaller Black populations.

Meanwhile, activists began to organize demanding justice. Picket lines and demonstrations were held and in February 1996 nearly 300 people attended an all-day conference here on police brutality highlighting the Gammage case and others. In June the NAACP and other organizations sponsored a march of close to 500 people. The next week the cops mobilized over 1,000 police officers and their supporters in downtown Pittsburgh.

Just two days into the October 1996 trial of Albert and Mulholland, Judge Cashman ruled a mistrial. The next month an all-white jury acquitted Vojtas.

More than 2,000 demonstrators protested this verdict, and the following Friday more than 1,000 high school students walked out of class and marched to downtown Pittsburgh. The protests continued this year.

Cashman decided against retrying Albert and Mulholland last April, and the next month the third cop, Vojtas, was promoted to sergeant in the Brentwood police department. In June some 700 people demonstrated protesting both of these actions. Finally, in October the Pennsylvania Supreme Court overturned Cashman's decision and ordered a new trial of Albert and Mulholland with a new trial judge.

Some 75 people demonstrated outside the courthouse on the first day of the trial December 1. To those who attended any part of the trials it was apparent that the District Attorney's office was not going to prosecute the cops in a manner that could convince a jury to convict them.

The fact that only two cops were on trial made the case harder to prove. Dr. Abdulrezak Shakir, who conducted the autopsy on Gammage, testified at the trial. When asked by the defense attorney whether he could separate any action by Milton Mulholland that would be the direct cause of death, he answered, "In my opinion, it's the collective action by the officers in-

involved."

The Assistant District Attorney, who was the prosecutor, appeared inept and disorganized. Several high school students who attended the trial questioned the prosecution's competency in countering defense attorney arguments.

Even though the jury in the most recent trial was picked from Allegheny County, those selected consisted of 11 whites and one Black juror.

In less than 24 hours the jury reported that it was deadlocked and that after six different votes there was not going to be any changing of views. As it turned out the 11 white jurors voted to acquit while the Black juror voted for conviction. At that point, Judge Rowley declared a mistrial and dismissed the jury.

According to the *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review*, "weeping jurors who wanted to acquit the police... pitied retired Brentwood Borough Lt. Milton Mulholland so much that they passed the hat ... to defray his legal woes."

The jury forewoman told reporters, "The whole experience was frustrating. We had a person who wouldn't listen to reason."

Another juror stated, "He [the Black juror] came with an agenda. He said he had organizations he belonged to and a community to go back to."

Walter Moorefield defended his actions in holding out with a "guilty" vote. "A man is driving down the street — don't even say a Black man but a man — and he gets stopped for a traffic violation and somewhere between 17 and 23 minutes later he dies. There's something wrong with this picture." Moorefield added, "When you come from where I come from, it happens all the time. I'm tired of the police killing people out there and then getting a pat on the hand. Any time somebody dies, there's negligence on somebody's part."

BY BILL SHERMAN

MINNEAPOLIS — Some 150 people participated in a December 18 speakout against police brutality at Zion Baptist Church in the Black community here, sponsored by People for Justice for Lawrence Miles and Andre Madison.

Lawrence Miles Jr., a 15-year-old, was shot in the back by police last August. He is now being charged with two counts of "terroristic threats." The boy was unarmed and running through a parking lot when he was shot. Lawrence Miles Sr. described how he went to the aid of his son. "The police lied. They said 'calm down, we only shot him in the leg.' Then they tried to get me to go with them to the police station to make a statement while my son lay bleeding in the street," he said.

At first the police claimed that they shot



Militant/Phil Norris

Activists in 1996 Pittsburgh rally protest the police killing of Jonny Gammage

Pro-police forces have gone on the offensive to defend the actions of these cops and to urge closing the Gammage case. The December 14 edition of the *Post-Gazette* featured two prominent articles written by a cop, Chuck Bosetti, under the heading, "Pittsburgh Police: Betrayed and Abused."

Marshall Hynes, president of the Pittsburgh Fraternal Order of Police, said, "This was nothing more than a terrible, tragic accident.... If you fight the police, you can expect to get hurt."

In a December 16 editorial entitled "No verdict, no peace," the *Post-Gazette* commented, "If you consider the Vojtas case together with this latest one, you come up with the fact that 23 of 24 jurors who have heard testimony on the events of that night did not finally agree with the prosecution's theory."

Polarization was also noticeable among workers at USAirways, where this reporter works. After the verdict several workers said they thought it was wrong that none of the cops were going to serve any time. Another argued that Gammage had a history of resisting the police and that aggressive encounters he had had with cops in Syracuse, New York, were not allowed as evidence in the current trial.

Activists involved in the fight were out-

raged at the outcome. Pearl Story-Nelson, who has spent numerous days picketing the courthouse, said, "It wasn't an accident. This man was brutally strangled. Anyone who saw the pictures of him laying in the morgue could see that. African-Americans simply cannot get any justice in the state of Pennsylvania."

Dorothy Urquhart, of the United Concerned Christians at Work and the Campus Coalition for Peace and Justice, has been at every demonstration as well as at the courthouse during the three trials. "I think this whole trial was a farce," she declared. "They never intended to have any of the police do any time. We need the federal government to come in and prosecute all five of the cops."

Activists who have been part of keeping the Gammage case in the public light for over two years are discussing the next stage of the fight. Ideas being considered include a newsletter, a teach-in, and working with other forces in the Black community to have the annual Martin Luther King Jr. holiday march focus on justice for Jonny Gammage.

Edwin Fruit is a member of International Association of Machinists Local Lodge 1976.

Protesters: 'cop brutality is not just Minnesota problem but U.S. problem'

BY BILL SHERMAN

MINNEAPOLIS — Some 150 people participated in a December 18 speakout against police brutality at Zion Baptist Church in the Black community here, sponsored by People for Justice for Lawrence Miles and Andre Madison.

Lawrence Miles Jr., a 15-year-old, was shot in the back by police last August. He is now being charged with two counts of "terroristic threats." The boy was unarmed and running through a parking lot when he was shot. Lawrence Miles Sr. described how he went to the aid of his son. "The police lied. They said 'calm down, we only shot him in the leg.' Then they tried to get me to go with them to the police station to make a statement while my son lay bleeding in the street," he said.

At first the police claimed that they shot

Miles in self-defense as he pointed a pellet gun at them. This lie was exposed when medical authorities confirmed that he was shot in the back. The youth's father described how witnesses are being intimidated by police. One witness who tried to come forward was arrested for disorderly conduct. The cops have offered Miles a deal if he pleads guilty and attends a gun program. At a December 15 hearing Miles pleaded not guilty.

"We will accept no deals," Miles Sr. told the *Militant*. A trial has been set for February 11.

Earlier in the day on December 18, supporters packed a courtroom where Madison was sentenced to three years in prison for second-degree assault and three other charges. These actions were part of a series of protests against police injustice that have included a broadly sponsored downtown rally and mobilizations at court hearings.

"Your presence in the courtroom made a difference," said Carlotta Madison. "My brother said that without your support he would have probably been sentenced to six years [which the prosecution was seeking]," she said. Speaking to the *Militant* later she added, "I was very angered and discouraged by the verdict and sentence, but we have to keep fighting." Andre Madison is planning an appeal.

Madison was the victim of a police drug raid. On Nov. 6, 1996, the police battered down his doors and began shooting wildly, pumping more than 500 rounds into the apartment. Madison was shot in the neck and arm. One cop was shot by police fire. No drugs were in the apartment. Joe Margulies, Madison's attorney, told the community meeting that an original police report said that Madison's gun was found in the kitchen. The cops later changed their story — saying it was in the back room with Madison —

in order to fit the frame-up assertion that he pointed it at the cops and justify their massive use of firepower. Carlotta Madison told the community speakout that one of the police who helped convict her brother was a Black cop whom her brother thought he could trust.

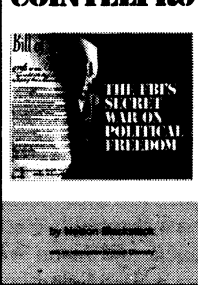
Spike Moss, a Black community leader, testified at the sentencing hearing about police terror in conducting more than 5,000 drug raids, damaging homes without any apology or repair. Often no drugs are found, he said. The judge, Andrew Danielson, cut off Moss before he completed his testimony.

Other victims of police abuse spoke at the community meeting. One man described how he spent six and a half years in jail on a frame-up charge. "They beat me and made me sign a confession," he told the crowd.

Greetings were read from Pete Shell of the Campus Coalition for Peace and Justice, which has been organizing around the Gammage fight in Pittsburgh. The speakout participants sent greetings back to Pittsburgh that read in part, "[We] salute the dedication and perseverance of activists who have been fighting for over two years to win justice for Jonny Gammage. We know from your fight and others that police brutality is not just a problem in Minneapolis, but is a problem throughout the United States. We pledge to join the fight against police brutality by organizing to build a movement demanding that the charges against Lawrence Miles be dropped and the police who shot him be prosecuted."

"We are part of the worldwide resistance to injustice," said Chris Nisan, a leader of the protest actions. He spoke about plans for a march against police injustice scheduled for January 19. Hundreds of leaflets advertising the march were taken to be distributed, and more than \$200 was raised to continue the fight.

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Nelson Blackstock

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Castro speaks on history of Cuban fight against Spanish colonialism, U.S. imperialism

One hundred years ago Cuban patriots were on the verge of winning independence from Spanish colonialism when Washington stepped in to dominate the island, as well as seizing Puerto Rico and the Philippines. The excerpt below describing this history is from a report presented by Fidel Castro for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba to its First Congress in 1975, on December 17. Subheadings and footnotes are by the *Militant*.

BY FIDEL CASTRO

Cuba was Spain's last colony in Latin America, and is now the first socialist country in this hemisphere. In order to accomplish this unique historical mission, our country had to overcome obstacles which at times appeared to be insurmountable.

When the great majority of Spanish-speaking peoples took the path of emancipation from the colonial yoke during the early years of the last century, under the favorable circumstances created by the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, Cuba was a country of tropical plantations worked by slave labor. It was therefore a typical slaveholding society. In defiance of the many international agreements of the time, the number of slaves increased from year to year with the growth of the material wealth and prosperity of the ruling classes. Spaniards dominated both trade and administration; rich Cubans owned the plantations. While this social class had an interest in overcoming the colonial obstacles that hindered the development of the economy and its access to political power, it could not do without the military force of the metropolis in order to keep slaves in submission.

Struggle to end slavery

They feared a repetition in Cuba of Haiti's heroic history,¹ and without hesitation subordinated the question of national independence to their interests as a slave-owning class. In 1841 those who were subjected to this terrible form of exploitation numbered more than 400,000 in a population of just over 1 million. Although our country came to be regarded by the Spanish monarchy as the "ever loyal Island of Cuba," this class interest also generated — within a section of the rich Cubans — the baneful trend toward annexation by the United States because, among other reasons, they feared that Spain itself would give in to international pressures and abolish slavery. This trend was strongly supported by U.S. slave-holding states in the South, in their conflict of interests with the industrial states of the North, and in their hope of having another slave-holding state on the island of Cuba.

The desire to annex Cuba was always, at the same time, strong among the rulers of the United States ever since the very beginning of that Republic and was voiced on many occasions by various rulers and politicians as a logical expression of the principles of the "manifest destiny,"² which the United States believed itself to be chosen to realize in this hemisphere.

This trend continued years after the abolition of slavery in that country and throughout the history of the relations between the United States and Cuba. But the Civil War in the United States and the subsequent abolition of slavery during the Lincoln administration dealt a heavy blow at the annexationist movement of the Cuban slaveholders. It is worthwhile recalling that in the face of these wretched and anti-patriotic aspirations of the exploiters, the exploited — that is, the slaves — gave innumerable examples of social and revolutionary struggle as expressed in the many heroic uprisings which were suppressed, as always happens, in the most brutal and bloody manner.

Once the annexationist trend was eclipsed and the Cuban landowners were themselves convinced that the slave-holding system had to be replaced by other, more modern forms of agricultural and industrial production, there emerged strong demands for a reform of the Spanish colonial system, which had already become an insurmountable obstacle to the country's further development. The brutal denial of these demands imposed upon our people the road of armed struggle.

The first war for independence in 1868 was initiated and led by Cuban patriots from

wealthy families possessing the political culture, the contacts, and the economic resources for such a task....

The war drew in peasants, craftsmen, and slaves, and aroused fervent patriotism among students, professionals, and intellectuals, and the Cuban people in general, whose national feelings became a concrete and irreversible reality in the heat of struggle against Spanish domination.

Although Spanish repression affected all

Antilles and pounce with that added strength on our lands of America. Everything that I have done up to now and will do in the future shall be done for this purpose. It has to be in silence and as though indirectly, because there are things that to be attained have to be concealed and that, if proclaimed for what they are, could raise difficulties too unyielding to



Cuban workers celebrate 1959 revolution against U.S. backed Batista regime. Cuban national hero José Martí (inset) warned of Washington's imperialist designs on island.

Cubans equally, regardless of their social class, the west — where the main wealth of the slavocracy was concentrated — kept aloof from the war and supplied the colonial army with its resources. The main burden in the war fell upon the poorest sections of the people, who in an unequal and incomparably heroic struggle, carried on the fight for 10 years before being defeated due more to divisions and intrigues than to enemy arms. It was then that Antonio Maceo — a man who had emerged from the poorest sections, rejecting the cease-fire and peace without independence — became the symbol of our people's spirit and indomitable will to fight on when he issued his immortal Protest of Baraguá.³

Shortly after, in 1886, slavery was abolished, among other reasons, as an inevitable sequel to the Ten Year War. Thus, we were the last country in the hemisphere where this baneful institution was officially suppressed. Men and women who experienced slavery on their own flesh are still alive in this country. In 1895, the Cubans were again up in arms. This time the struggle had been politically prepared through the course of long years.

Ideas of José Martí and V.I. Lenin

Under the leadership of [José] Martí,⁴ whose political genius went beyond the boundaries of his country and his epoch, a party was organized to lead the revolution. This idea, which [Russian revolution leader V. I.] Lenin simultaneously developed to carry out the socialist revolution in the old empire of the czars, is one of Martí's most admirable contributions to political thought. A single revolutionary party was set up in our country. This party brought together the glorious veterans of the Ten Year War, symbolized by [Máximo] Gómez and Maceo, with new generations of peasants, workers, artisans and intellectuals, in order to carry out the revolution in Cuba.

Martí came to know the monster because he lived in its entrails. He knew of the monster's old urges to take possession of Cuba by means of the expansionist policy of "manifest destiny," now supplemented with the new imperial tendency resulting from capitalist development in the United States. Martí saw that tendency with amazing clarity: "I am already in daily danger of giving my life for my country and as my duty — because I am fully aware of it and am fully determined to do so — of preventing in time, by Cuba's independence, that the United States should expand through the

be surmounted to the end."

This was said by Martí on the eve of his death as he fought alongside the men of the Liberation Army on the fields of Cuba. It is in this thought and in Lenin's definition and interpretation of the Spanish-American war as the first imperialist war that two men from two distinct historical settings and two converging ideas — José Martí and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin — clasp hands. The one is a symbol of national liberation from colonial domination and imperialism; the other, the architect of the first socialist revolution in the weakest link of the imperialist chain: national liberation and socialism, two closely interwoven causes in the modern world. Both with a solid and disciplined party to carry forward revolutionary aims, both founded almost simultaneously at the turn of the century.

Cuba was Vietnam of last century

Without resources, without supplies, without logistics, with a population of barely one and a half million, the people of Cuba fought against 300,000 colonial troops. At the time, Spain was one of the leading military powers of Europe. No other people of America had to carry on the struggle for independence in such hard and difficult conditions: Cuba was the Vietnam of the end of the last century. The Cuban people carried on the struggle with their own forces, without the participation of any other Latin American state, and in the face of the active hostility of the U.S. government to the efforts of the Cuban emigres seeking to sup-

ply arms to their fighting compatriots. Men of other fraternal peoples who came of their own free will to fight for our homeland's freedom did take an active part in the struggle for our independence. A symbol of all of these men was Máximo Gómez, an outstanding representative of the Dominican people, who became commander-in-chief of our army. These men inscribed brilliant pages of international solidarity into our country's history on the fields of Cuba.

Spain was exhausted, without resources or energy to continue the war. The Spanish army controlled only the major strongholds. The revolutionaries dominated the whole countryside and the inland communications. Many famous Spanish generals were routed in the war. It was then, in 1898, that U.S. military intervention took place. But not before preliminary attempts, on the eve of the launching of hostilities, to buy the territory of Cuba from Spain. If the stubbornness of Spain ever did render Cuba a kind of service, it was through the systematic refusals to agree to such a transaction, which the United States had repeatedly proposed to Spain in the past century.

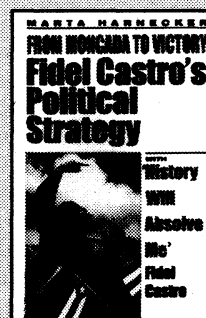
The imperialist war ended with the occupation of Cuba, the Philippines and Puerto Rico. The Cuban struggle aroused broad sympathy throughout the world and in the heart of people in North America itself. Its heroic struggle commanded respect even among the ambitious foreign conquerors, and the island could not immediately be annexed. On May 20, 1902, it was granted formal independence with U.S. naval bases and also with a constitutional amendment, imposed by the United States, which, among other things, gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuba. In that way a Yankee neocolony was established in our country. The Philippines was occupied right up to 1946. Today, it is an independent nation, but with 18 U.S. bases on its territory. Puerto Rico remains occupied, with dozens of bases on its territory. The United States has been shamelessly trying to incorporate it in its territory as yet another one of its states. It was a great, heroic, and fortunate course of history that spared our country and our people of the terrible destiny of being absorbed by the United States. This was due essentially to the firm resolve of its sons and daughters and to the rivers of blood they shed to uphold their national sovereignty.

¹ In 1804 after years of slave revolts by Black guerrilla bands, Haitian rebels led by former slave Toussaint L'Ouverture defeated French troops, and Haiti became the first country in Latin America to win independence.

² "Manifest Destiny" was the term used by the U.S. government in the mid-19th century to justify its aggressive policy of expansion from the East coast of the United States to the Pacific Ocean.

³ Antonio Maceo was a prominent military leader and strategist in the Cuban wars of independence from Spain in the 19th century. In 1878 Maceo issued the Baraguá Protest, condemning the terms that ended Cuba's first independence war and vowing to continue the struggle.

⁴ José Martí was a leader of the 1895 Cuban independence war against Spain. A noted poet, writer, and speaker, he founded the Cuban Revolutionary Party in 1892 to fight for the independence of Cuba and Puerto Rico.

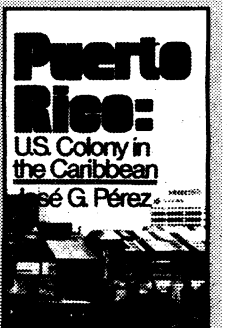


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Socialist conference

Continued from front page

Pittsburgh, and Washington, D.C. Of those who came, 46 were under 27 years old. More than half of the participants were members of industrial trade unions. This included many socialist workers and young socialists who are members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), who held a meeting to discuss their political work, as well as participating in the main conference sessions.

100 years of anti-imperialist struggle

The main themes of the conference were captured in banners hung around the main meeting hall. One of these read, "1998: The year of the 100th anniversary of the anti-imperialist struggle in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. 'A rifle, a grenade, and a land mine for every Cuban.' Sovereignty, socialism, internationalism. *Venceremos!*" Like all of the banners, it was bilingual in English and Spanish.

Conference coordinator Meg Novak, a member of the United Steelworkers of America and the Young Socialists National Committee, chaired the opening session and introduced Mary-Alice Waters, the first speaker.

Waters, editor of the magazine *New Internationalist*, said that Washington rose as an imperialist power 100 years ago with the Spanish-American war, in which U.S. troops invaded Cuba and seized Puerto Rico, Spain, and Guam from its declining Spanish rival. This same imperialist reality, Waters said, and the resistance it breeds, is the starting point for revolutionaries today.

The *Second Declaration of Havana*, the manifesto of the Cuban revolution issued in 1962, gave an eloquent description of the miserable social conditions facing the toilers of Latin America and the struggle against them. Thirty-six years later, every word in this revolutionary document rings true to the capitalist disorder growing in the world today.

Waters pointed to the growing vulnerability of the world capitalist system, from the spreading economic crisis in Asia to Brazil and other countries of Latin America. Washington uses these crises to force open markets to U.S. capital, but in doing so simply ensures that the U.S. imperialist colossus sinks its tentacles more deeply into powder kegs around the world.

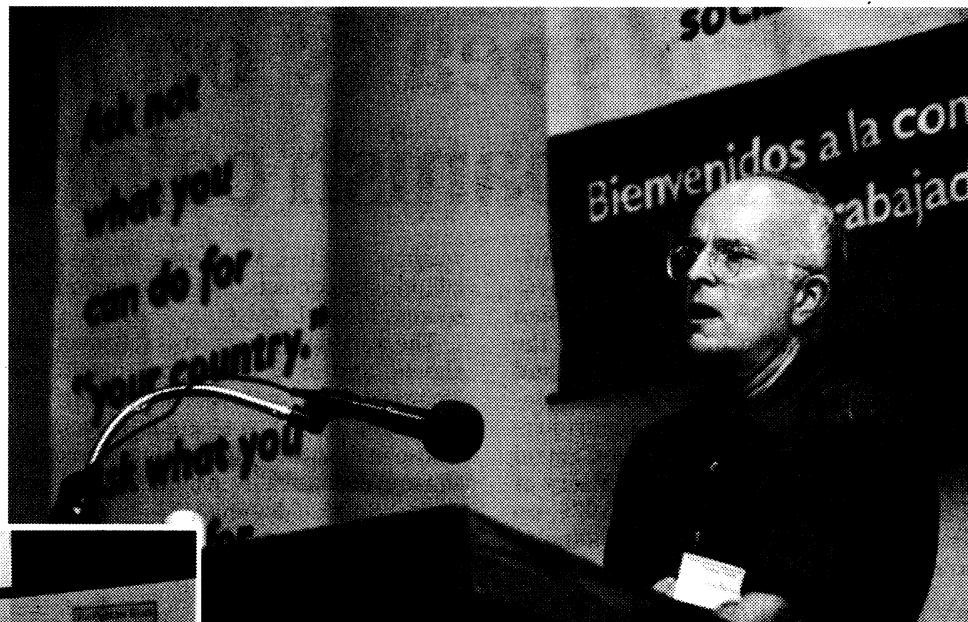
In this world the Cuban revolution takes

on particular weight. It is the one place where the working-class both holds state power and has a communist leadership that reaches out for others who want to carry out revolutionary struggle around the world. Waters spoke about the significance of several recent gatherings in Cuba, including the conference hosted by the Communist Party of Cuba October 21-23 on "Socialism as the 21st Century Approaches." This event, which included representatives of political



parties and organizations from throughout Latin America and many other countries, initiated a discussion on the necessary and sufficient program for a regroupment of revolutionary forces fighting to confront the rulers and imperialist masters. (A comprehensive report on this meeting was published in the Nov. 24, 1997, *Militant*.)

The opening report to that conference, presented by José Ramón Balaguer, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, contained not one note of pessimism, Waters said. Balaguer pointed to the deepening crisis of the capitalist system and stated that socialism is "the only alternative to guarantee the survival of humanity." He spoke of the need for a revolutionary



Militant photos by Eric Simpson

Left: Participants look at displays on Bolshevik revolution and fight for Black rights that highlighted some of the themes of the conference. Above: Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes gave one of the main presentations to gathering.

struggle for state power — a different perspective than that of many in the room. And he stressed the importance of building broad alliances — a

united front — in response to capitalist austerity drives and attacks on working people's living standards, open to all those who agree to struggle on these fronts without compromising their principles to imperialism.

Siren call of economic nationalism

Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, gave the second main talk at the conference, titled "The Siren Call of Economic Nationalism and Washington's March toward Fascism and War." Barnes pointed to the crisis the capitalist rulers are facing that fuels political polarization and the growth of rightist forces, and will eventually push them toward war.

The rulers don't march directly toward

war, Barnes said. Wars have to be prepared and sold to the working class. Part of this is breaking down workers' resistance to nationalism, which begins with emotional appeals over economic conflicts. This economic nationalism is promoted by the trade union officialdom and petty-bourgeois left.

As political polarization increases, fascist forces begin to organize, playing on the fears and uncertainties of workers and the middle classes. Rightist politician Patrick Buchanan is once again increasingly referring to Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin and the investment brokerage Goldman Sachs — names that are obviously Jewish — in his demagogic attacks on the "banking elites" he accuses of being corrupt and at the root of social and economic problems. This was especially true in the six weeks leading up to when the White House came a hair's breadth from unleashing a massive bombing campaign against Iraq in mid-November, Barnes noted.

Buchanan also professes more and more

Continued on Page 11

A visit to the Civil Rights Institute

BY PAUL COLTRIN

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — On the morning of December 20, participants in the regional socialist conference here visited the

Birmingham Civil Rights Institute (BCRI). The BCRI's museum depicts conditions under Jim Crow segregation and the intense battles for Black rights that unfolded in the 1950s and '60s, including the Battle of Birmingham in the spring of 1963.

Many visitors also walked through Kelly Ingram Park, across the street from the BCRI, which served as a gathering point for the mass demonstrations for Black rights in the early and mid-1960s.

The park includes sculptures portraying the use of attack dogs and high-pressure water hoses on the demonstrators, many of whom were children and youth. Also next door to the institute stands the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, the site of the racist bombing in 1963 that killed four young Black girls.

The tour of the museum began with a brief film covering Birmingham's first 50 years from its founding in 1871. The film describes how Black labor in the burgeoning coal mines and steel mills built Birmingham into a major industrial center in the South. According to the film, Black workers formed unions to defend their rights, but strikes in 1894 and 1908 were violently crushed by the bosses. The film also describes the establishment of Jim Crow segregation backed up by the racist lynch mobs of the Ku Klux Klan.

The museum then offers displays and photographs depicting Jim Crow segregation and the second-class status legally enforced against Blacks throughout the southern United States. This part of the museum includes portrayals of blatantly inferior public facilities for Blacks, laws such as one prohibiting whites and Blacks playing checkers together, life in company housing, Black culture during the Jim Crow era, and unequal treatment of Blacks at the hands of the police and courts.

The bulk of the museum then documents the civil rights struggles in the South, and particularly in Alabama, from the early 1950s through the 1960s. Among the displays is the charred front end of a firebombed Greyhound bus, which was used

in the Freedom Rides, where Black and white youth traveled through the South in defiance of laws against integrated travel. The bus was firebombed and the activists aboard were assaulted by a racist mob that was given free reign by the local police.

Visitors also watched a video wall showing actual footage of the mass demonstrations in Birmingham that expanded and drew in more of the city's working class in the face of brutal police repression. That display included some of the headlines about the struggle in Birmingham from papers around the world.

Many of the young people and workers from other countries who attended the conference here knew little about the mighty battles that brought down Jim Crow, and were eager to discuss the exhibit with others who had participated in the struggle. "It's unbelievable that this could have happened only 30 years ago," remarked Miguel Rodríguez, who came from Atlanta.

For other visitors, the content of the museum reminded them of their own political experiences. "In 1970 I participated in a voter registration drive in a town in southern Georgia where Blacks were still disenfranchised," said Mary Martin, a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1759 in Washington, D.C. Martin described how the local government tried to block Blacks from registering and how the drive was eventually successful. "It was my first political activity, and it taught me a real lesson on the need for collective action," said Martin.

"I think we need more museums like this one," said Ned Palmer, a high school student from Houston. "This really gives you a feel for the struggle that took place and the courage that it took."

The trip to the museum was particularly helpful for those conference participants who attended the next day's class on the Battle of Birmingham and the lessons it holds for revolutionaries today.

Paul Coltrin is a member of the Young Socialists in Pittsburgh.

Youth at conference: 'Socialism is way to go'

BY EDMUNDO SABALLOS

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — "I think this government needs to be overthrown," said Bobbi Simpson, a 21-year-old Black youth and education assistant at a high school in Minneapolis. "I've always been a rebel at heart."

Simpson joined the Young Socialists some three weeks prior to the December 20-21 Birmingham regional socialist conference. She attended a forum on the Million Women March where she met members of the Young Socialists. Simpson was among the youth at the conference who participated in wide-ranging discussions on the Cuban revolution, the U.S. war drive against Iraq, the fight for Black rights, and other subjects.

"We need a change in the governmental system and I think socialism is the way to go," replied Chloe Schwaber a 20-year-old student at Mills College in San Francisco, when she was asked what she thought was needed to change the present conditions in this country. Schwaber has been active in fights against the death penalty, for affirmative action, against the anti-immigrant rights measure Proposition 209, and against U.S. war moves in the Persian Gulf. After the main presentations she bought a copy of the Pathfinder pamphlet *Socialism and Man In Cuba*, which features speeches by Cuban revolutionary leaders Ernesto Che Guevara and Fidel Castro.

For Madeline Zygarowicz, also a student at Mills College, socialism had been something that has long interested her. In com-

ing to the conference she wanted "to see if this is a movement I would want to join. And so far I agree with everything raised."

Classes attract young fighters

As part of the conference, classes on the role of the working class in the fight for Black liberation, the transformation of the working class in the United States, and the Cuban socialist revolution were given. Michael Harping, a 16-year-old high school student from Kentucky, attended the class on the 1963 Battle of Birmingham and the fight to end Jim Crow segregation. He said he learned "a lot about the struggle of Blacks and about the civil rights movement that I wouldn't have learned from my history class." Harping is active in the group Anti-Racist Action and expressed interest in finding out more about the Young Socialists.

Ronald Coleman, 27, from Philadelphia learned about the conference when he went to a Militant Labor Forum protesting the U.S. war moves against Iraq. Coleman said he was impressed "with the way the socialist movement and leaders like Leon Trotsky viewed the Black struggle in the United States, slavery, and the class struggle in America. I'm interested in learning more about the Cuban revolution and more discussions with Pathfinder. This has been a good experience and I want to keep involved, possibly joining the Socialist Workers Party. I'm open to any suggestions on what I can do to help, whether it's going to demonstrations or joining the organization."

'Militant' coverage on Battle of Birmingham

The following article is reprinted from the May 13, 1963, *Militant*.

BY FRED HALSTEAD

MAY 8 — One of humanity's great battles is taking place in Birmingham, Alabama. Five weeks ago, for the first time in the history of the South's steel city, Negroes there began exercising the right of peaceful protest against segregation by means of picket lines, sit-ins and marches. For five weeks the city officials of Birmingham — utilizing mass arrests, fire hoses and dogs — have shown the world that the elementary civil liberties such as free speech and assembly do not exist for Negroes in Birmingham.

Meanwhile the Kennedy administration persists in the ridiculous claim that the federal government doesn't have the right to intervene in Birmingham because no federal court order is being violated.

The NAACP has pointed out that the federal government can intervene in Birmingham under the United States Code 242, Title 18 which makes it a punishable federal offense for anyone "under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation or custom" to willfully deprive any citizen of any rights protected by the U.S. constitution. This is only one of the many broad powers enabling Kennedy to act, but which he chooses to ignore.

Kennedy's subterfuge is no longer being accepted by even the more conservative Negro leaders. The mass movement in Birmingham, and the picture of Negroes being bitten by police dogs, knocked down by fire hoses and arrested by the thousands for simply attempting to demonstrate peacefully for their rights, has unified the Negro community as never before behind the demand for federal intervention with troops in Birmingham.

The current wave of mass demonstrations began May 2 when some 700 young persons were arrested while walking in groups toward downtown Birmingham. The next day fire hoses and dogs were used against the demonstrators. At the very time this was taking place, Attorney General Robert Kennedy released a statement opposing, not the criminal and brutal acts of the Birmingham police, but the "timing" of the Negroes' demonstrations. In effect he publicly rebuked the demonstrators.

Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, head of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, which began the demonstrations five weeks ago, rejected Kennedy's suggestion and together with Rev. Martin Luther King declared: "We are ready to negotiate, but we intend to negotiate from strength . . . We want promises plus action."

The mass movement then proceeded to develop momentum. By Sunday, May 5, over 1,100 had been arrested. On May 6, large numbers of Negro school children stayed out of school to demonstrate. Some 1,000 were arrested. Comedian Dick Gregory, who led the first wave, was also jailed. On May 7, some three thousand persons, including many teenagers, infiltrated past the police cordon and demonstrated in downtown Birmingham. Police made very few arrests — the jails already being overfull

with some 2,400 demonstrators — but used special high-pressure hoses against the demonstrators.

One special high-pressure stream caught Rev. Shuttlesworth as he led a group of some 300 Negro children outside a church. He was hospitalized.

The intransigence of sections of the Negro leadership and the involvement of ever greater numbers of the Negro population in this heavily-working-class city has brought a mass movement of unprecedented power into existence. And this in the Jim Crow capital of U.S. big cities. So far, the new mass movement has refused to subordinate to Washington's policy. This has assured its success and has put every individual and organization in the country which is concerned with civil rights on the spot.

This has produced "dismay" and "frustration" in Washington, according to newsmen there. It is explained that the administration was counting on no new civil-rights "disturbances" until next fall's school-desegregation cases. Even there, Kennedy hoped to arrange for some token integration

and thus forestall any need for taking action which would embarrass him with his Dixiecrat friends.

The Kennedys, several reports make clear, were counting on cooperation from Rev. King in the Birmingham situation. But they didn't get what they wanted and hence their frustration. Ted Lewis's May 7 Washington column in the *Daily News* says: "The advice of Attorney General Kennedy obviously would have been that King should go slow on demonstrations until the 'moderate' city administration took office . . ." Lewis says that "why King moved in so fast

Continued on Page 14



Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth (left), leader of the demonstrations in Birmingham, was a longtime civil rights fighter.

International socialist conference ♦ January 1-2 ♦ Toronto, Canada

Main Presentations

The Siren Call of Economic Nationalism and Washington's March toward Fascism and War

JACK BARNES, *National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party*

The Seduction of the Entire North American Left by the 'New Leadership' of the AFL-CIO ♦ Liberal Reformers and Petty Bourgeois Radicals Walk Workers and Youth toward Patrick Buchanan's Fascist Trap ♦ Poor Little Tibet: Today's Poor Little Finland ♦ Seattle, Boeing: The Central Political Test of Workers' Space in the War Industries

100 Years of Struggle against Yankee Imperialism: The Weight of the Cuban Revolution in a World of Growing Capitalist Disorder

MARY-ALICE WATERS, *Editor of 'New International' magazine*

The Special Period, Rectification, and the Homecoming of Che Guevara's Reinforcement Brigade ♦ The Scope of the Spreading Economic Crisis in Latin America and Asia ♦ From Brazil to Japan: Washington's Drive to Buy Up the World ♦ The October 1962 'Missile Crisis' and the Example Set by the Cuban People

Schedule

Thursday, January 1

Registration	11 a.m.
Opening presentations and discussion	1 p.m.
Video showing: 1960-1970: The March of Quebecois toward Freedom	9 p.m.
Celebration of 100th Anniversary of Resistance to Imperialism	11 p.m.

Friday, January 2

Classes	9 a.m.
Discussion (continued) and Summary of Conference	1 p.m.
Classes	7 p.m.
Social	9:30 p.m.

Classes

Who will change the world? The Battle of Birmingham and the fight to end racist segregation
Stephen Bloodworth and Derek Bracey

Iraq and the working-class campaign against imperialist war
Diana Newberry and Chris Remple

From the Battle of Bogside to Bloody Sunday: the Irish struggle for freedom

From the defeat of Radical Reconstruction to the Spanish American War: the rise of U.S. imperialism and the struggle against it
Ted Leonard and Andrea Morell

Fifth Constitutional Convention of the Communist League ♦ January 3-4

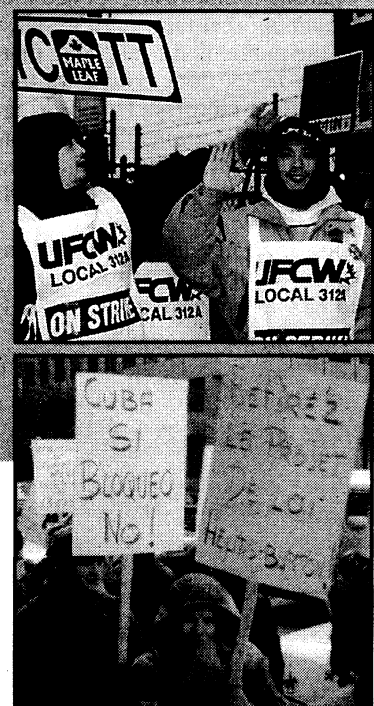
Schedule

Saturday, January 3

Convention opens	9 a.m.
Social and dance	8 p.m.

Sunday, January 4

Summary of Convention and Presentation of Newly Elected National Committee	12 noon
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Top: Maple Leaf strikers in Edmonton, Alberta, December 6. Bottom: Rally in Montreal in defense of the Cuban revolution and denouncing the U.S. embargo.

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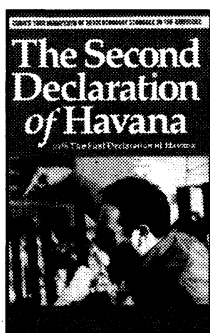
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Montreal: thousands of hospital workers strike against job cuts

BY ANNETTE KOURI

MONTREAL — Thousands of hospital workers walked off the job here December 17 at the three hospitals that were recently merged to form the University of Montreal Health Center (CHUM). Through the one-day work stoppage, as well as demonstrations, workers protested the job cuts and increased work load that they see as a result of this merger.

Several kitchen workers walking the picket line in front of Notre-Dame Hospital told the *Militant* why they were there. Claudine St-Onge said, "I'm here to support my union, to move things along, so that the quality of services improves. The positions that they've posted should be filled. People should get some job security."

The government of Quebec has slashed millions of dollars from the health budget in the last few years and has eliminated thousands of jobs. The establishment of the CHUM took place in that framework. Hospital administrators say they plan to cut an additional \$10 million in costs and 427 jobs.

In response to the protests, administrators said that they would fill 927 positions that have been open since September and keep up to 1,248 beds available for short-term patients, but only if there are enough funds. Striker Catherine Lemire said, "They should reopen the positions they've already cut and

fill those that are empty." Stephane Cote added "We must convince the government not to cut positions. It's the patients that are deprived in the end."

The ruling-class attacks against the hospital workers were swift and almost hysterical. The December 18 issue of the tabloid *Journal de Montreal*, the city's largest daily, had a front-page headline "A Broken Heart at 91 Years Old — Christmas Party Canceled Because of the Strike at CHUM" with a photo of an elderly man covering three-quarters of the page.

The CHUM Board is forcing the union executives to appear in court December 22 on charges of striking illegally and allegations of not maintaining essential services during the strike. Union officials could face heavy fines. The Quebec National Assembly passed a special law assuring that the workers would be subjected to Law 160. This measure says the government can take away one year of seniority for every day of a strike by public workers, as well as impose fines of \$5,000 to \$25,000 per person and \$20,000 to \$100,000 per union.

Gerald Larose, the president of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), one of the major unions involved, described the government's actions as "shameful. I find it completely out of proportion that the government lets loose a terrifying arsenal



Militant/Jack Willey

Some 350 hospital workers held a two-hour walkout and march against Michael Reese Hospital bosses in Chicago December 16, to pressure the company to negotiate an expired contract. Demands included higher wages and better working conditions. Union officials say 90 percent of Service Employees International Union members came out, leaving only a skeleton crew for critical patient care.

like Law 160 so that a union gives up trying to have an agreement respected that it's signed with an employer." Larose was referring to an agreement signed by the CHUM board on the number of jobs and beds it would keep.

Following the walkout, Jocelyne Fortier, the president of the CSN local at Notre-Dame Hospital, stated, "Absolutely nothing has been settled" and warned that the work climate at Notre-Dame would be at its worst. Fortier spoke to the press after a December 18 union meeting where a sizable minority

of 309 out of 675 union members present voted to continue the strike in spite of Law 160 and the other attacks. Local members did decide to stay out until the end of the day even though all the other workers had already gone back.

Local member Line Lafond told the press, "I would like the government to stop whacking us over the head. It's gotten very difficult to work in a hospital."

Annette Kouri is a member of the United Steelworkers of America in Montreal.

Hearing on TWA 800 continues crash cover-up

BY JANICE LYNN AND NANCY ROSENSTOCK

BALTIMORE, Maryland — A year and a half after the crash of TWA Flight 800, the airlines, government agencies, and airplane manufacturer Boeing refuse to take steps to prevent similar disasters in the future. After conducting the largest investigation into any transportation accident in U.S. history, the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB) held public hearings the week of December 8 on the crash of the Trans World Airlines (TWA) plane that exploded over the Atlantic Ocean July 17, 1996, killing all 230 people aboard.

NTSB Chairman James Hall opened the hearings explaining that their purpose was "to reassure the public that everything that can be done is being done to ensure the safety of the airline industry. This hearing is not being held to determine the rights or liability of private parties, and any matters dealing with such rights and liability will be excluded."

The airline industry has finally been forced to acknowledge that a spark somehow caused an explosion in the center fuel

tank of the Boeing 747, after whipping up more than a year-long scare campaign around a supposed bomb and skirting the real questions of airline safety and maintenance. But after testimony from scores of scientific and technical "experts" — complete with computer animation, color slides, and close-ups of the crash — the hearings came to no conclusive decision about what exactly caused the tank to explode. In fact, the NTSB will not even issue its final report on the week-long hearings until sometime in 1998.

The testimony did bring many mechanical problems to light for the first time. Immediately after the crash last July, a few reports mentioned the fact that the pilot had recorded an erratic fuel-flow gauge right before the plane crashed. This fact rapidly disappeared, however, until now. The NTSB released a written report of the cockpit voice recorder, which notes the pilot exclaiming, "Look at that crazy fuel flow indicator there on number four," referring to a gauge in the cockpit that measures fuel flow on the right outboard engine.

The 4,000 pages of reports that the NTSB

released on the eve of the hearings also indicate that shortly before the crash, the pilot reported difficulty getting the plane to climb at a steady angle, as well as problems with the aircraft's altitude.

The reports also reveal that the Boeing 747 had wiring problems. The plane's wiring known as Poly-X "was found with numerous cracks in the insulation and examination found that the cracks penetrated to the core conductors," according to investigators. A frayed wire from a center tank fuel gauge was also displayed at the hearings. Testimony indicated that problems with fuel tank wiring could have been part of a series of failures that led to the explosion.

Safety measures are rejected

In its first public report after the July 1996 crash, the NTSB recommended to the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) in December of that year that the procedure known as "inerting" — pumping inert gas into the fuel tank so that built up fuel vapors will not explode — be implemented. This procedure, known for 24 years, is commonly used in military aircraft, but commercial operators have resisted using it due to the cost. For a 747, that would be \$1-2 million plus additional costs for maintenance, design, and engineering.

When questioned at the hearings, Boeing officials acknowledged the problem with the buildup of flammable fumes. Jerry Hulm, the manager of electrical systems at Boeing, said, "The biggest problem is the tendency for air to flush too much fuel vapor overboard." However, Boeing officials refused to commit themselves to what needed to be done, only saying that they were researching possible ways of reducing the accumulation of vapors in fuel tanks.

Another measure that was discussed, but with no recommendation for immediate action, was the possibility of switching the kind of fuel that is used. Thomas McSweeney, the FAA's chief of aircraft certification, testified that fuel used by the military, called JP-5, would cut the risk of explosion to one-twentieth the current level in a center fuel tank, and eliminate the danger in wing tanks. JP-5 stays liquid at temperatures 40 degrees higher than the type used by commercial airlines. Since the fuel costs two cents more per gallon, it is anticipated that airline carriers will resist this measure as well.

The military takes other measures that are not used on commercial airlines. Sponge-like foam is inserted into tanks, causing the fuel to remain in a liquid form and not turn to vapor that can burn or explode. Airline

carriers have objected to this as well, arguing that the foam takes up space needed for fuel, adds weight, and would require more costly maintenance.

30,000 miles more than intended

The Boeing 747 that crashed had been in service for 25 years, five more than the plane's design called for. It had logged 90,000 hours, 30,000 hours over what had been anticipated to be the life of the plane. Many airlines have held back from purchasing new planes and equipment as part of their drive to cut costs. Nothing conclusive came out of the week long hearings and no steps have been taken to immediately enhance aviation safety. William Crow, a senior FAA maintenance "expert" stated near the end of the hearings, "We should not take action until such time as we are absolutely sure of probable cause. We really have no probable cause. We have ideas."

The International Association of Machinists (IAM), the union that represents the mechanics and other workers at TWA, had an official delegation at the hearings.

During the week of the hearings a study by the National Civil Aviation Review Commission was released, warning that the number of major crashes in the United States will nearly double by the year 2010 unless accident rates are reduced.

Many of the families of those who died in the crash attended the NTSB hearings. The families of TWA Flight 800 Association held a press conference December 7, where they denounced the FAA for not moving faster on the previous recommendations made by the NTSB on the question of the fuel tanks. The Victims of Flight 800 Groups, also held a press conference calling for the grounding of all Boeing 747-100's — the model of TWA Flight 800.

Charlie Bellamy, a city worker from New York whose wife was a flight attendant who died in the crash, told the *Militant* when asked what he thought of the hearings, "I feel they're talking through a smoke screen. I don't think they're telling it all. Frankly I think I'm down here for nothing. If they were really focusing on what happened, we would get better answers. If nothing is done to correct the problems, there is just another accident waiting to happen."

"Am I getting any answers? Not really," stated John Crandell from Maryland, whose oldest daughter was on TWA Flight 800.

Janice Lynn and Nancy Rosenstock are airline workers and members of the International Association of Machinists.

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Thousands protest attacks on unions in New Zealand

BY JOAN SHIELDS

CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand — Up to 3,000 workers took part in a protest action here December 17. The union march and rally was organized to oppose proposals being considered by the National Party-New Zealand First coalition government to amend the Holidays Act and Employment Contracts Act.

Many workers carried hand-painted signs declaring "Hands Off Our Holidays!" and, in a message to Prime Minister Jennifer Shipley, "SHIPley Out!" Union banners on the protest included the Meat Workers Union; Rail, Maritime and Transport Union; Hotel and Hospital Workers; National Distribution Union; Nurses Organisation; Finsec, the bank workers' union; and several teachers unions.

Some community groups participated, including students, parents, and teachers from Aranui High School. They circulated a petition opposing a Ministry of Education plan to remove 10 relocatable classrooms from the school. Several flags representing *tino rangatiratanga* (Maori sovereignty) fluttered in the air.

The Holidays Act guarantees workers 11 paid public holidays a year and three weeks' annual leave. The changes being considered by the government would allow employers to replace some or all of these holidays with cash payments. Part-time workers would be classified as casual employees with no holiday entitlements.

Other changes being considered include abolishing or reducing the powers of the Employment Court, and amending the Employment Contracts Act to weaken personal grievance rights. About 4,000 personal grievance cases are brought before the Employment Court each year.

Explaining why he was at the rally, Graham Beswick, a lamb boner and member of the Meat Workers Union, said, "If this act

goes through it will affect everyone in New Zealand, not just workers. This government in power now just wants to bulldoze things through, whatever the people think."

At a number of worksites unions organized buses to bring workers to the rally. Eight busloads of Meat Workers Union members came from three local meat-packing plants and a tannery.

Feltex textile workers, Ansett airport engineers (machinists), and workers from Gough, Gough and Hamer, who manufacture earth-moving equipment, also came on union buses.

A young meat worker on one of the buses, Jason Driscoll, exclaimed: "They're stealing our holidays! I'd like to see [Minister of Labour] Max Bradford down here explaining to us how it's going to benefit us!"

His friend Grant Ross agreed. "The worst affected will be workers who don't have any union protection," he said. "It's all about maximizing profits."

A rally of about 160 people also took place the same day in the nearby township of Kaiapoi. Many of those taking part came from local engineering firm Patience and Nicholson. A series of similar protests have taken place throughout the South Island, including in smaller provincial centers. Four hundred people marched December 16 in Timaru city, 500 in Blenheim December 18, close to 300 in Nelson December 13, and 200 in Richmond the previous week.

On the west coast about 100 people rallied in Greymouth December 18 and 200 in Westport. On December 19 meat workers from the Fairton and Canterbury Meat Packers plants joined a 1000-strong march on Shipley's electorate office in Ashburton in south Canterbury. A resolution protesting the attacks on the Holidays Act and other industrial legislation was posted through the door of Prime Minister Shipley's office.

In the capital city of Wellington more than

Labor solidarity in East Peoria



Militant/Cappy Kidd

Members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 974 at Caterpillar Corp. in East Peoria, Illinois, December 19, with presents they collected for children of UAW Local 844 members, who are on strike nearby at Mahoney Brass.

2,000 workers converged on Parliament December 10. Seafarers, auto workers, government workers, and many others streamed off buses into parliament grounds for the lunchtime protest. In Auckland there was no central action organized to protest the proposed changes to the Holidays Act. A number of smaller rallies were held in different suburbs, with some actions limited to union officials and other activists distributing information leaflets.

At a few worksites, unions arranged buses and time off work to enable workers to attend the rallies, while at other plants workers had to organize themselves individually if they wished to participate.

Five hundred workers turned out on their lunch break to attend a lively rally in the industrial suburb of Avondale December 9 and a rally in the Penrose industrial area December 12 attracted 40 workers.

Several hundred workers took part in a lunchtime march and rally in south Auckland December 18. Most came on buses from Kiwi Packaging and the Nissan auto plant, with a contingent of orderlies

from Middlemore Hospital also present. Unions represented were Engineers, National Distribution, and Service and Food Workers.

Three young workers from Masport said they had seen the notices about the rally at work and had arranged time off work so they could attend.

Bernadine Tito, one of the Nissan workers present, explained that the company held a meeting at the plant that morning to announce it would be closing. Workers would be given six months' notice once a closure date was set. She stressed the importance of defending the right to holidays, "or we'll be overworked and stressed out. All centers around New Zealand should do what we're doing here, and it will have an effect on the government."

Joan Shields is a member of the Meat Workers Union at Alliance Sockburn. Janet Roth, a member of the Service and Food Workers Union, and Engineers Union members Felicity Coggan and Malcolm McAllister also contributed to this article.

Socialist conference in Birmingham, Alabama

Continued from Page 8

agreement with the AFL-CIO officialdom's chauvinist, America First arguments in opposing "fast track" trade policies and the North American Free Trade Agreement. Following the Clinton administration's fail-

ure to win fast track trade authority in Congress, Buchanan heralded the president's defeat as the "first triumph of a blazing new nationalism."

Building a party of worker-bolsheviks

"80 years of the Russian Revolution: Worker-Bolsheviks enter history. The first triumph of a blazing new internationalism" read another of the conference banners.

The October 1917 Russian Revolution brought something new into world, a new social type, Barnes said, the worker-bolshevik. It was the first time the working class succeeded in taking state power and holding it. The greatest scandal of the October revolution was that for the first time in history it was led by a party whose membership and leadership were composed overwhelmingly of workers. The Bolsheviks were convinced that workers would be the bearers of culture and human solidarity, and acted accordingly.

The Bolsheviks were considered by the "left" to be extremely conservative for concentrating on propaganda work among individual workers, in the factories, and their insistence on giving revolutionary answers to every question.

Today, the most crucial place for communists to be is still among workers, developing habits of doing politics with workers like the original worker-bolsheviks. Systematic weekly propaganda work on the job, along with selling socialist literature at plant gates and in the Black community and other working-class neighborhoods, is what prepares communists for when the imperialists go to war and to take advantage of any revolu-

tionary openings to lead working people to take state power.

If they don't do this, Barnes said, socialist workers will be dragged into capitulation to the imperialist rulers through adapting to the campaigns of the petty-bourgeois left and the trade union bureaucracy. Without a weekly rhythm of work rooted in the working class, socialists can find themselves drawn into activities like rallies and conferences opposing NAFTA and other trade deals, or the trade union officialdom's protectionist campaign against "sweatshops" in other countries.

There was an initial round of discussion after each of the main presentations. The second morning of the conference there was a meeting of Young Socialists members and other youth, followed by classes. At same time, members of the International Association of Machinists met to discuss these questions as they are reflected in their work in the union.

'Who will change the world?'

The most popular class at the conference was "Who will change the world? The Battle of Birmingham and the fight to end racist segregation." This was presented by Stephen Bloodworth and Derek Bracey, both work-

ers in Birmingham.

Bloodworth reviewed the defeat of the slavocracy through the U.S. Civil War and the period of Radical Reconstruction, when Blacks in the South led the fight for land and political power. The defeat of Radical Reconstruction in the 1870s led to the establishment of Jim Crow racist segregation and allowed Washington to emerge as an imperialist power. He also described the unceasing resistance by Blacks to brutal racist repression throughout the period of legal segregation.

Bracey described the civil rights movement from 1955-1966 that succeeded in smashing Jim Crow, focusing especially on the Battle of Birmingham. It is fighters like the youth and workers who led that fight who will be in the vanguard of the coming American revolution, he said.

Michel Prairie, a leader of the Communist League in Canada, noted that the civil rights struggle of Blacks in the United States had a profound impact in the development of the Quebecois struggle for independence in Canada.

Tom Leonard, a longtime socialist who worked as a commercial seaman in the 1940s and 50s, gave a class on "War, immigrant

Continued on Page 14



Militant/Megan Arney

Participants in southern regional conference bought more than 80 Pathfinder titles from an extensive book table. One of the top sellers was the newly reissued pamphlet *Europe and America: Two Speeches on Imperialism* by Leon Trotsky. Titles on fascism, the history of the Black struggle in the United States, and Marxist economics were also popular.

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10,000 demonstrate for rights in Kosovo

Continued from front page

by strikes of construction, mine and other workers. Around 90 percent of the 2 million people in Kosovo are ethnic Albanians.

Belgrade nervous about social turmoil

The Stalinist regime of that rules Serbia is jittery over protest actions. One year ago, the government was shaken by a nine-week wave of daily mass demonstrations in the capital Belgrade, as well as 30 other cities. Those protests forced the Serbian government to concede municipal elections to the opposition electoral coalition in 14 of the republic's 19 largest cities.

The recent demonstrations in Kosovo also follow an armed rebellion in the neighboring Albanian workers state, against the U.S.-backed regime of former president Sali Berisha. Tens of thousands of working people and other rebels took control over several cities in the southern half of the country in early 1997.

Berisha's Democratic Party was soundly defeated in elections held June 29 and July 6 under the boot of an Italian-led military occupation force. Most of the Italian and other foreign troops that occupied Albania in April left the country by mid-August.

Washington had organized its naval forces off the Adriatic coast of the Balkans in response to the revolt by the workers and peasants in Albania. Clinton's recent announcement to extend the U.S. military occupation in Yugoslavia past 1998 is linked to the U.S. rulers' goal of reestablishing capitalist property relations there, as well as in other workers states in Europe, including Albania.

For more than two months Clinton administration officials prepared the groundwork for extending the imperialist military mission indefinitely. Clinton did not elaborate on the size of Washington's military operation, but has said it may be slightly smaller than the 8,500 GIs who are part of the nearly 35,000 NATO troops in Bosnia.

Clinton has broken two deadlines for withdrawing his military occupation force, while the U.S. big-business media justifies extending the imperialist intervention by claiming it prevents working people in Yugoslavia from slaughtering each other. "By extending the stay of American troops in Bosnia, President Clinton may help preserve an unsteady peace," opined the editors of the *New York Times* on December 19. But the GIs "could do no more than provide a temporary respite from ethnic violence," they added.

Meanwhile, Washington has renewed threats to capture alleged "war criminals" in particular, chauvinist Serb leaders Radovan Karadzic and former army chief Gen. Ratko Mladic. "You have pledged to isolate and arrest indicted war criminals. Now you must follow through on your commitments," Clinton chided residents in

Sarajevo during his one-day visit to Bosnia December 22. Giving a glimpse of Washington's priorities in the region, he declared, "You are working to restore Bosnia's economy. Now you must build up the laws to attract assistance and investment."

As part of his "Christmas visit," Clinton also addressed troops at the U.S. military

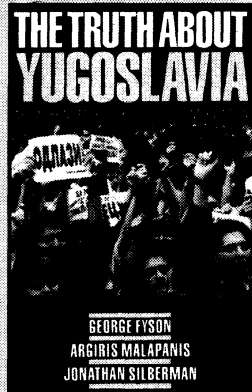
base in Tuzla, Bosnia.

Three days before Clinton's trip to Bosnia, Dutch paratroopers and marines from other NATO units seized two Croatian men, Vatro Kupreskic in the Bosnian village of Santici and Anto Furundzija in Vitez. Kupreskic was wounded by three bullets in the assault and later flown to the imperialist

tribunal in The Hague, Netherlands, where he will stand trial along with Furundzija.

The arrests sparked demonstrations by Croats in Vitez, who were blocked by NATO troops from marching to the house of Furundzija. Two days later, two Dutch soldiers were injured when a hand grenade was thrown into their military camp.

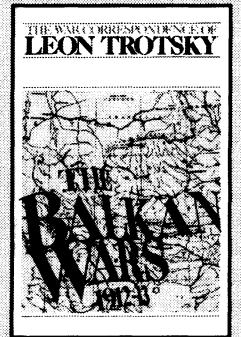
Books to understand conflicts in Balkans from Pathfinder



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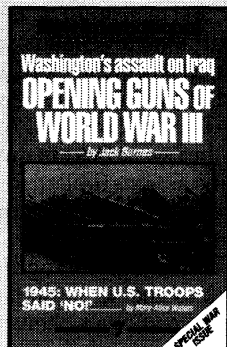
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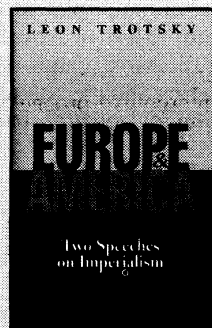
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The U.S. government's murderous assault on Iraq heralded increasingly sharp conflicts among imperialist powers, the rise of rightist and fascist forces, growing instability of international capitalism, and more wars. In *New International* no. 7. Available in English, French, Spanish, and Swedish. **\$12.00**

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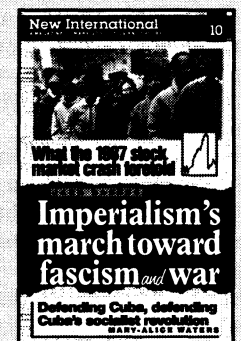


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Why a travel ban? — “Talk to a Cuban for five minutes and you are struck by his or her cultural and political awareness. The children of the revolution are poor but edu-



Harry Ring

cated. They have all their teeth. They quote poetry and beam a soldierly pride in having adhered to principle.” — A *New York* magazine reporter in Havana.

Pay and Pray — A survey finds

that 90 percent of HMO execs believe prayer and meditation aid in medical treatment and expedite healing. The survey also found that 90 percent of HMOs don't cover prayer and meditation therapy. But three-quarters of the execs did favor such coverage — if it can be shown to save money and improve patient satisfaction.

Probably so — Dubbed “Robocop” for his so-called zero tolerance law enforcement, British detective superintendent Raymond Mallon has won plaudits from Labour and Tory politicians alike. (Labour Prime Minister Anthony Blair: “Clearly ... you're getting results.”) Currently, Mallon is suspended for wrong-doing, including activity

“which could be construed as criminal conduct.” Declared Robocop: “I have nothing to worry about.”

Ain't that wonderful? — “Foreign companies that produce and sell toothpaste and hygiene products are seriously interested in the Russian market.... Four or five years ago, there wasn't a single toothpaste ad on television. Now you see them on every channel.” — A Russian advertising hustler.

A fair day's work for a fair day's pay — Starting with his recent \$565 million bonus, adding on previous bonuses and his \$750,000 annual pay, the *Times* of London estimates that Disney mogul Michael Eisner has made

a billion during his nine years on the job. The paper calculates that breaks down to a daily wage of about \$160,000.

Including us — A survey of England's consumers found many are duped by misleading food labels. Like, 75 percent think “Haddock fillets” are single fish fillets, not pieces sliced from compressed blocks of fish.

Catching up with the times — The venerable makers of top-selling Drambuie liqueur have launched the company's first new product in 250 years. Black Ribbon is a variation on the recipe and, naturally, will cost more. (Our neighborhood dispensary still has

the old stuff, \$25.99 a fifth.)

What a deal — Sure, it's mainly publicity hype, but if we had the time.... A weekend deal for three couples at the Ritz-Carlton, a California hotel overlooking the Pacific. Deluxe rooms, great food, \$225-a-shot cognac, \$40 Cohiba cigars, and vintage wine. And, when you check out, each couple gets a \$130,000 Mercedes-Benz, free. The package, \$500,000.

Happy revolutionary New Year! — And please check that your list of revolutionary resolves includes contributing clippings for this column. Send to: Great Society c/o Pathfinder Bookstore, 2546 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, CA. 90006. Fax: (213) 380-1268.

The family as ‘natural’ unit is a widespread myth

The section below is excerpted from “How women lost control of their destiny and how they can regain it” in *Problems of Women's Liberation* by Evelyn Reed. It is copyright © 1969, 1970 by Pathfinder Press and reprinted by permission.

BY EVELYN REED

The problems of sex, marriage, and the family, which so profoundly affect the destiny of women, are of particular concern to women in the liberation movement. Are these purely private matters or public issues? This question may come as a surprise to many people who regard such intimate relations as their own personal affairs, which

BOOK OF THE WEEK

should be kept strictly private. They might even be dismayed at the notion that such matters, often involving painful personal experiences, stress, or distress, should even be thought of as public issues. But what is the real situation under present conditions of life in capitalist society?

In his book, *The Sociological Imagination*, C. Wright Mills clarifies this point. Speaking of the distinction between “personal troubles” and “public issues” he says, “A trouble is a private matter involving only the individual and his small circle or milieu.” But “issues have to do with matters that transcend these local environments of the individual” and involve the whole social structure. He gives several illustrations to show the distinction between the two.

Take the question of unemployment. If in a city of 100,000, says Mills, only one man is unemployed, “that is his personal trouble.” It may even be explained as due to the peculiar characteristics of the man, his lack of skills or immediate opportunities. “But when in a nation of 50 million employees, 15 million men are unemployed,” the matter takes on a quite different dimension. At the least, it represents a partial collapse of the social structure and thereby becomes an issue of public concern and of political life.

The second illustration he cites shows that the same transformation of quantity into quality holds true even in the most intimate relations between men and women:

Consider marriage. Inside a marriage a man and a woman may experience personal troubles, but when the divorce rate during the first four years of marriage is 250 out of every 1,000 attempts, this is an indication of a structural issue having to do with the institutions of marriage and the family and other institutions that bear upon them. (*The Sociological Imagination*)

In the ten years since the Columbia sociologist wrote his book, the breakdown of marriages has steadily increased. Today the rate of dissolution is one out of three, while in the state of California the ratio has gone even higher. There, one out of every two marriages ends in divorce. These figures alone testify that the disturbance of the closest personal relations of men and women has today passed beyond private affairs and represents a public issue of massive proportions. As Mills himself concluded, “The problem of a satisfactory marriage remains incapable of purely private solution.”

There is another side to this problem. Since marriage is interlocked with the family into a single institution, what happens to the one vitally affects the other. Therefore the large-scale breakup of marriages implies a corresponding shake-up of the family. This upheaval runs counter to the age-old propaganda of church and state that the family is a stable, unbreakable unit constituting the very foundation of society, without which human life is unthinkable. Indeed, the corrosion of the family has awakened keen interest and theoretical inquiry into the history and role of the family by many women in the liberation movement. It has led them to question virtually all the old assumptions made about this institution....

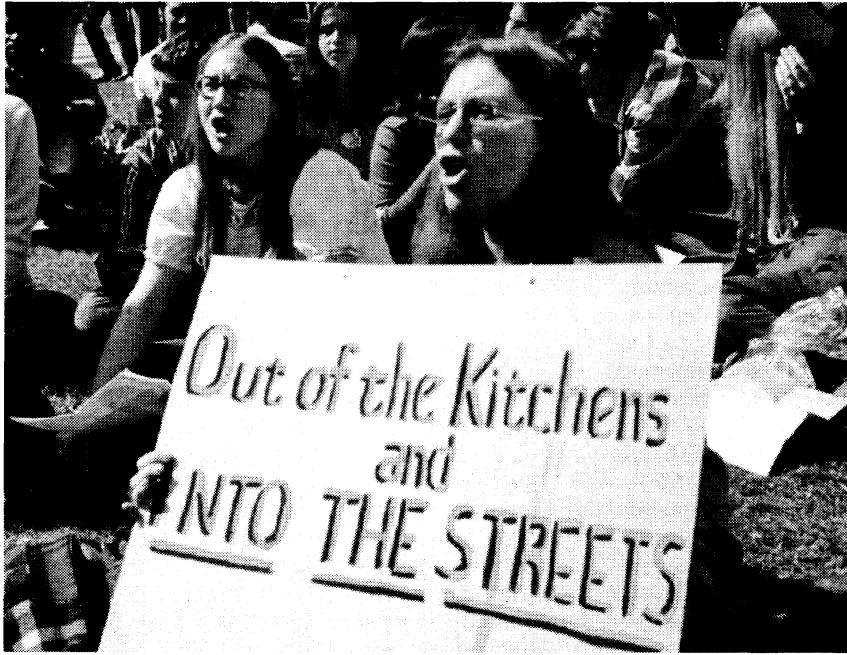
The partisans of the women's liberation movement are seeking more scientific and relevant answers to replace old prejudices and propaganda on the problems of marriage and the family which have become such burning public issues.

How should such an inquiry begin? In my view it is first of all necessary to refute the widespread but false assumption that the family is a “natural” unit which has always existed and must persist to eternity because it is rooted in the basic biological needs of humans for sex and procreation. As the story goes, a male and a female are attracted to each other through their compelling natural need for sex and so they get married. This leads to procreation when the woman gives birth. The father goes out to work to provide for his dependents while the mother stays home to take care of the family.

This simplistic presentation asserts or implies that there is no other way to satisfy natural needs and functions than through marriage and the father-family. It is even claimed that since animals, like humans, mate and procreate, the roots of marriage and the family go back to the animal world. Thus, these relations are not only a permanent and irremovable fixture in all human life, but as time-tested relations they also represent the best and most desirable way of satisfying natural needs.

These assumptions, however, do not stand up under closer investigation. How, then, did they gain such currency? The central mistake consists in identifying the natural needs of sex and procreation, which humans share with the animals, with the social institution of marriage and the family, which is exclusive to mankind. The biological and social phenomena are far from identical. The biological is “nature-made,” the social is “man-made.”

Since only humans are capable of placing restrictions and enforcing controls upon natural needs, they alone can create an institution growing out of natural needs, but which governs and controls them. Sexual intercourse in society is governed by marriage laws and procreation by family laws. These human-made



Militant/John Gray

Demonstration for women's rights in Los Angeles, March 8, 1971.

laws have no counterpart in the animal world where sexual intercourse proceeds without marriage and animal procreation does not result in the father-family unit.

While marriage and the family represent a fusion of natural needs with social factors, it is the social factors which are decisive in defining and determining its characteristics. Under the laws of monogamous marriage, for example, the husband is legally entitled to exclusive sexual rights over his wife and to her domestic services. Under the laws governing the family, the father is legally required to provide for his wife and children. As the principal provider in this system of family economics, the man occupies the central place in the family, endows it with his name, and determines

its conditions of life according to his given occupation, class, and status.

Thus the family, like all other social institutions, is the product of human history and not of biology; it is made by man and not by nature. While it incorporates the biological needs of sex and procreation, these are shaped, dominated, restricted, and controlled by legal, economic, and cultural factors.

Secondly, it is not true that this institution has always existed even as the human or social means of governing natural needs. Marriage and the family did not exist in preclass or matriarchal society, which was organized not on the basis of the family unit but upon the basis of the maternal clan unit. Far from being primordial and imperishable, this institution has had a comparatively short life in the

history of mankind—and it is already being shaken to its foundations.

Finally, it is not true that the institution of marriage and the family has produced the best of all possible ways for humans to satisfy their needs. As the statistics show, our present institutionalized sexual and family relations are dissolving and collapsing before our very eyes. It is absurd, therefore, to maintain that these relations have been ordained by nature or human nature, by God or by government, as the most satisfactory for all time. The sweep and scope of their breakdown demonstrate just the opposite—that this institution can no longer serve human needs. However necessary it may have been up to now, today it has clearly outlived its usefulness.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



January 12, 1973

LOS ANGELES — Renewed efforts to obtain a new trial for Los Tres del Barrio are under way here. Rodolfo “Rudy” Sánchez, Alberto “Beto” Ortiz, and Juan Fernández were convicted in November 1971 of shooting and robbing a federal agent posing as a heroin dealer.

The three Chicano activists were sentenced to 40, 25, and 10 years. They are now doing time in federal penitentiaries: Sánchez in Atlanta, Ortiz in Lompoc, California, and Fernández in Leavenworth, Kansas.

Los Tres went into federal court here Oct. 19, 1971, on charges of robbery, assault, and battery of a lawful custodian of federal monies, and conspiracy to commit assault and battery on a federal officer.

In the course of the trial, two ex-dealers testified that Los Tres had sought to educate them as to the evils of dope and had offered them drug counseling. Canales himself testified that he had posed as a dealer and that that was what they thought he was. And Los Tres testified concerning their anti-drug-dealer activities, saying that the police, far from stopping drug traffic in the barrios, are deeply involved in it.

Throughout the trial the prosecutor made a series of wild, totally unsubstantiated accusations (which he did not even try to prove) designed to prejudice the jury against Los Tres.



January 12, 1948

The Truman Administration has dragged this country to the verge of undeclared war against the Greek people. U. S. Float marines are being dispatched to the Mediterranean area to reinforce American armed forces already in Greek waters and threatening direct intervention in the Greek civil war.

The latest and most ominous move in U.S. imperialism's so-called “cold war” against communism was announced by the Navy Department on Jan. 2. It revealed that the aircraft carrier Midway and three light cruisers are within quick striking distance of Greece as well as ten destroyers.

Direct U.S. military intervention in Greece was heralded last September, when the U.S. Commander in Greece set up a military branch of 78 U.S. military men to advise the Greek army. This now numbers 66 officers and 101 enlisted men whose duty it is “to go to the front with the Greek troops and advise them on tactics.”

U.S. troops out of Haiti!

Washington's decision to extend its military presence in Haiti is a classic example of the U.S. wealthy class asserting its imperial prerogative to police the Caribbean and Latin America, as is the decision to keep troops in Panama under the guise of "fighting drugs."

"Haiti is our backyard," boasted Madeleine Albright, today the U.S. secretary of state, when President Clinton prepared the 1994 invasion of more than 20,000 U.S. troops in Haiti. At the time, Albright was the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.

After decades of backing brutal dictatorships in Haiti, as well as a 19-year occupation earlier in the century, Washington is still trying to present itself as the protector of the downtrodden and bearer of democracy to the Caribbean nation. The U.S. rulers, in fact, use their military might with the aim of setting up a reliable client regime that could maintain stability, while the U.S. rulers siphon the wealth of the country's national patrimony.

Washington's sham "humanitarian mission" has worn thinner as the political crisis and economic decay in Haiti deepened. The deterioration of roads, transportation, tele-

phone, electricity, and water system continues; and living conditions for working people has steadily worsened since the U.S. invasion. Capitalism has nothing to offer humanity but more misery, more hopelessness, and more despair.

At the same time imperialism has grown weaker, reflected in the failure of the military occupation force to stifle the struggles of the workers and peasants against International Monetary Fund (IMF) austerity measures and the sell off of state-owned enterprises into the hands of U.S. investors.

The Haitian masses have a rich history of resistance to colonial and U.S. domination. It was the first country in Latin America to win independence after decades of slave revolts. A peasant uprising in the first half of this century against U.S. occupation led to the establishment of a provisional government that was later crushed.

With 1998 marking the 100th anniversary of the struggles against Yankee imperialism, working people around the world should open New Year's Day demanding U.S. troops out of Haiti. The great mass of humanity should say "Enough!"

Stop the deportations

The recent actions by immigration authorities seizing hundreds of workers at factories in Georgia for deportations deserve condemnation. These arrests are aimed at dividing working people and intimidating undocumented workers who try to resist the bosses attacks on their rights and working conditions.

The big-business media made a big fuss about the break up of an "alien-smuggling hiring ring" that brought Mexican workers to garment shops in Georgia and Alabama. The chief of the border patrol in El Paso, Texas, piously denounced the "sophistication of smugglers" who are "eager to supply American companies with low-wage workers," the *New York Times* reported. "They [smugglers] are involved in the business of exploitation," the border chief proclaimed.

That describes all industry under capitalism and free enterprise. The denial of rights to a layer of the working class dubbed "illegal" helps the bosses to superexploit those workers in particular and hold down wages for all.

Working people should demand equal rights for all immigrants, the release of those detained, and no deportations. The labor movement should fight for solidarity with those from other countries, not scapegoating immigrants.

Protectionist campaigns like the recent rallies organized by officials of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and

Textile Employees against sweatshops in other countries hurt working-class solidarity, as does blaming the North American Free Trade Agreement for "illegal immigration."

These America First campaigns, increasingly championed by the labor skates, escort workers right into the fascist trap of ultrarightists like Patrick Buchanan, who nods his agreement with AFL-CIO president John Sweeney "on the issue of protecting the wages of our workers and keeping manufacturing at home." This propaganda is similar to the "Buy American" campaigns promoted by the union officials in the 1930s as the U.S. government prepared for entry into World War II.

As the competition between Washington and its imperialist rivals grow sharper, the clamor to protect U.S. business interests will ring louder and rightist scapegoating of immigrants, oppressed nationalities, and women will intensify.

Workers around the world will need to struggle against this course, which breaks down resistance to reactionary nationalism. Building international working-class solidarity is the watchword. The only road forward out of the crisis of this dog-eat-dog system is for fighters to join the fight for workers and farmers governments around the world and become a part of the revolutionary socialist movement.

The Battle of Birmingham

Continued from Page 9

with his direct action campaign is the vital question ... King, it's believed here, felt that if he had waited, some other Negro leader would move in and get the demonstration rolling."

Actually, the demonstrations were already set when King got to Birmingham early in April. They were sparked by Rev. Shuttlesworth, who has been fighting for years in Birmingham, and by students at Miles college who have cooperated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Shuttlesworth's organization is affiliated with King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Due partly to a new mood among the Negro masses and partly to the nature of Birmingham itself — a large industrial city — the new mass movement has a logic of development which could transform the whole struggle for equal rights for Negroes in this country.

Already certain symptoms have begun to appear. A case in point is the incident which occurred on Saturday, May 4, after police worked over an area filled with demonstrators with hoses for about an hour. The demonstrators retreated to the front of a church they had used as a headquarters and then hoses were set up across the street ready to spray the church.

The Rev. James Bevel, an official of the SCLC, borrowed a loudspeaker from police and urged the crowd to disperse. According to reporters on the scene, this met argument "from a group, that wanted to meet force with force."

"Go home," the group told Rev. Bevel, "They don't even want us standing at our church. How far do you want us to back down?" Rev. Bevel replied: "As far as 'Bull' Connor (Birmingham police commissioner) says until the Federals get here." The crowd finally dispersed following Rev. Bevel's pleadings. But it is clear that the question of self-defense is already an issue in the new mass movement in Birmingham, and that the new movement will develop the flexibility of tactics appropriate to an independent and working-class-based movement whose demands are bound to go deeper than surface integration.

All major civil-rights groups — including the NAACP, SNCC, CORE and even the Anti-Defamation League — have joined in the demand for federal action in Alabama. The NAACP has called for mass demonstrations in all major Northern cities in support of this demand. A picket line called by the NAACP at New York's City Hall May 7 demanded action from Kennedy. Slogans carried included: "Bobby Kennedy, No More Cool Off, Federal Troops to Alabama," "Action Sí, Compromise No," and "Call Off the Dogs, We Demand Federal Protection."

Meanwhile, ten Freedom Walkers arrested May 3 upon crossing into Alabama on the William Moore Memorial Trek are remaining in jail. The trek was sponsored by CORE and SNCC in memory of the integrationist shot down while walking alone on Highway 11 in Alabama last month.

Socialist conference

Continued from Page 11

workers, and the transformation of the working class in the United States — lessons from World War II, Korea, and the Maritime unions." In his presentation and answering questions, Leonard described some of the political work he and other socialists carried out during and after World War II in the maritime unions. He explained the positive effect of the coming together of workers with different nationalities and experiences coming into unions, and described the impact of Jim Crow segregation and racist attitudes promoted by U.S. military and bosses.

Diana Newberry, a member of the Young Socialists National Committee, and Chris Remple from Pittsburgh presented the third class, on "Cuba, Iraq, and the working-class campaign against imperialist war." This discussion took up the question of how worker-bolsheviks prepare for war by what they do every day. This idea was captured in part by one of the banners adorning the conference hall that read, "Confront Washington's march toward fascism and war! Build the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists!"

In the discussion at that class, one participant reported favorably a comment by one of her co-workers that, "It's not Saddam Hussein who suffers from sanctions but Iraqi people." Another participant in the class pointed out that

this accepts notion that there's something "we" Americans should do to "deal with" the Iraqi regime. It's something that must be answered by communists with the unequivocal position of "U.S. hands off Iraq."

Since some of the main political points were barely touched on in the discussion on the presentations the first day, conference organizers decided to take another round in the final session, followed by a conference summary by Jack Barnes.

In his conclusion, Barnes noted that Cuban revolutionaries insist on combining communist traditions and politics with the fighting traditions of the country they're in. It's those experiences and traditions that point to who will be in the forefront of those who will come into the fight to change the world. For socialist workers in United States, he said, the most important of the conference banners in marking the 100th anniversary of anti-imperialist struggle was the one reading, "Celebrate the vanguard role of the Black struggle in the 20th century. Organize to eliminate racism and national oppression in the 21st."

The discussion on these themes will continue at the international socialist conference and convention of the Communist League in Canada, which will take place January 1 – 4 in Toronto, as well as at a west coast regional conference that will be held in Seattle Jan. 24 – 25.

Correction

During the recent regional socialist conference in Birmingham one of the participants drew my attention to a couple of sentences in the article I wrote, "Ask what you can do for your class, not for 'your country,'" that appeared in the December 29 *Militant*. In it I wrote, "But we are no more anti-APEC or anti-NAFTA, than pro-APEC or pro-NAFTA" and "We don't 'campaign' for or against the ways the ruling families choose to organize their trade."

Both statements are dead wrong and contradict the rest of the article. Communist workers are opposed to the economic and military pacts, conferences, or organizations that the capitalist ruling families use to extend their domination over exploited workers and oppressed nations, including NAFTA, APEC, the European Union, and NATO. We aren't "pro" these pacts in any way, shape, or form. At the same time, we aren't more "anti" NAFTA than we are "anti" all of the alternative ways of organizing bourgeois trade put forward by its opponents, from liberal Congressman Richard Gephardt to the AFL-CIO officialdom.

Doug Jenness
St. Paul, Minnesota

Farm workers speak in Seattle on union drive

BY CHRIS RAYSON

SEATTLE, Washington — Workers leading the farm and packinghouse organizing drives of the United Farm Workers (UFW) and Teamsters in eastern Washington visited Seattle in early December to win support. Anna Guzman, a leader of organizing efforts by packinghouse workers at Washington Fruit in Yakima, spoke to Seattle supporters involved in the apple workers campaign of Teamsters United For Change on December 2. She said that the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) has scheduled elections at the union's request at Washington Fruit and at Stemilt in Wenatchee, Washington, for Jan. 8, 1998, to vote on joining the Teamsters.

Guzman has worked in the apple industry for over 20 years; the last 3 years as a packer. On November 12 Washington Fruit fired her as it stepped up efforts to intimidate workers and defeat the organizing drive. Guzman told supporters that her firing was "well-planned. I was a danger to them. 'I was pressured all the time, getting write-ups for no reason. I wasn't fired for bad work, but because I was fighting for justice.'"

She asked for support to regain her job and to win the January 8 vote. The vote is being watched, Guzman said, by 15,000 other packers in eastern Washington. A victory will open the door wider for similar organizing efforts. She pointed to the organizing effort started this fall at Independent Foods Cannery in Sunnyside, Washington. This packinghouse is owned by the Platts, the same owners of Washington Fruit.

On the last day of work in December 1996, Guzman said, Latino workers at Independent Foods were asked to come to the lunchroom for a "surprise, while the anglo workers were sent home." In the lunchroom, the workers were met by Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS agents). About 40 people were arrested and transported to

Seattle by bus — ankles and hands cuffed — for deportation to Mexico.

Wages in the packinghouses, Guzman said, are below the poverty line, \$7.82 an hour, or less than \$12,000 a year. But, she added, "our struggle is not just about better wages but to win respect and dignity."

Pastor Mejia, a UFW member on union leave from his job at Chateau Ste. Michel, told 40 participants at the Militant Labor Forum December 6 that the UFW is "working in solidarity" with the Teamsters packinghouse campaign. "If they can win contracts, it will be a big advantage for us," Mejia said. He pointed out that, like Washington Fruit, many packinghouses own apple orchards.

The Militant Labor Forum was part of a week-long tour of Seattle by farm workers after the apple harvest ended in eastern Washington. The tour included talks at the University of Washington and other campuses, churches, and union meetings, including a meeting of the International Association of Machinists Local 751-A at Boeing. Five farm workers spoke at the forum, detailing the conditions that drive the organizing effort and assessing gains made during the recently concluded apple harvest.

Angel Ortiz has lived in Mattawa, Washington, for eight years. He has a license to spray, as well as drive and fix tractors and other farm machinery. He is paid \$6 an hour and makes between \$10,000 and \$12,000 a year. "I could get work in better-paying jobs in the city," Ortiz said, "but I have children in schools in Mattawa."

Ortiz rents a trailer in a mobile home lot for \$350 per month. Mattawa has two mo-

bile home lots where farm workers rent. Each lot has 35 spaces. Owners of the lots are dividing trailers in half, renting each half for \$350 per month. Ortiz adds, "there is no laundry, no washers and dryers in the lots. We're trying to organize to improve these conditions."

Maria Vallejo has lived in Mattawa for five years. She pointed to the discrimination women face in the fields. They work only six to eight months a year and work under the pressure of foremen "who harass us sexually."

Pastor Mejia spoke last at the forum, contrasting the union wages and working conditions at Chateau Ste. Michel to conditions at the nonunion orchards and farms. Workers at Chateau Ste. Michel, the only UFW-organized site in eastern Washington, are now working under their second contract.

"One hundred ninety workers now have a medical, dental, and pension plan, nine paid holidays, and job security where the owner can't fire us," Mejia stated. "Now we have a measure of respect." Mejia has worked for the winery for 10 years. For the past year he has been full-time for the United Farm Workers.

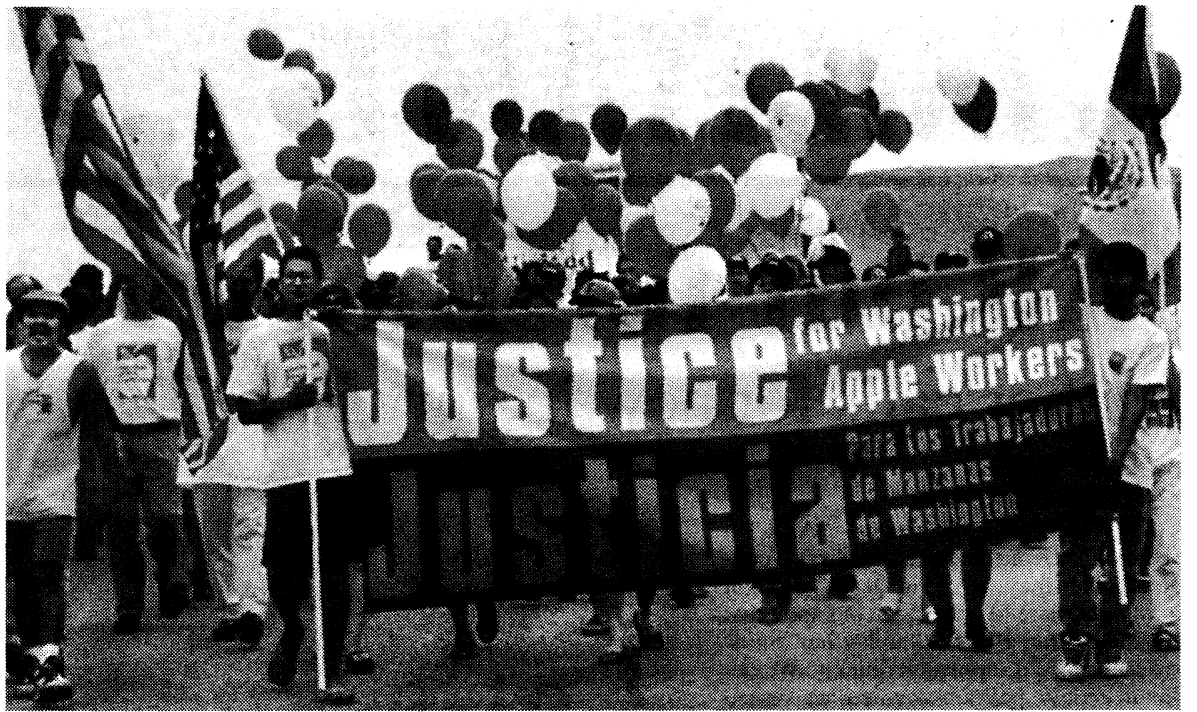
Mejia reviewed the success of eastern

Washington farm workers during the apple harvest to win their first wage raises "in many years." Four strikes occurred in the Mattawa area. Each strike "won a \$1 an hour raise," he reported, also pointing out that 1,200 farm workers and their supporters marched in Mattawa August 10 demanding a wage raise.

Mejia said that following the demonstration the ranchers launched a campaign to intimidate farm workers. "They tried to blacklist participants in the march. Workers were brought in from California, paid \$15 an hour, and told to campaign against the union. INS raids and threats of raids were used to intimidate workers without proper paperwork."

Despite the growers' pressure, Mejia felt the UFW organizing drive had achieved real gains during the apple harvest. "We're not organizing a boycott," Mejia said. "We're now trying to organize farm workers. We're preparing for a big campaign by building a strong base. And we're gathering strength from Watsonville, California, to Mattawa, Washington."

Chris Rayson is a member of the United Transportation Union in Seattle.



Some 100 fruit packers, many of them women, from Stemilt Packing Company protest for union recognition in August in Wenatchee, Washington.

— LETTERS —

Clarifying a footnote

The December 15 Militant published an interview with Leonardo Tamayo, who fought under the name "Urbano" in the revolutionary struggle led by Che Guevara in Bolivia, as part of a series "Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution." The interview was reprinted from Tricontinental, the magazine of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

I had a question regarding one of your footnotes to the Urbano article you reprinted from Tricontinental. Our research indicates that Malinovsky was a Czarist police infiltrator into the ranks of the Bolshevik party who gained considerable stature before he was eventually discovered and executed. The Malinovsky you refer to could just as easily have been the one Che meant, but how would anyone know? What made you pick him? Karen Wald Havana, Cuba

[Wald works with Tricontinental organizing translation from Spanish to English.]

The Militant replies:

Thanks for your note asking about the source for the Militant's footnote to the interview with Urbano.

The text quotes Urbano saying: "[Mario] Monje [general secretary of the Communist Party of Bolivia] made a dismissive gesture and said, 'Che, I would not hand over command even if it were Lenin.' Che then asked him in a sarcastic voice: 'And if it were Malinovsky?'" The Militant footnote identified this individual as Gen. Rodion

Malinovsky, Soviet defense minister at the time (1966–67) and commander of its land forces.

The draft translation we received from Tricontinental identifies this person as Roman Malinovsky, saying "Malinovsky was a Czarist police agent provocateur who managed to infiltrate the workers and Bolshevik movements in Moscow from 1906–1914 and rise to the level of Central Committee member before being detected and eventually executed in 1918."

The source used by the Militant was Inti Peredo's book, *Mi campaña con el Che*. Pathfinder published an English translation, *My Campaign with Che*, as an appendix to Guevara's *Bolivian Diary*. It is clearer in Inti's account which Malinovsky is being referred to (see pages 339–40). In the exchange Che is obviously counterposing Monje's attitude to two "foreign" military leaders: on the one hand Che himself, and on the other, Malinovsky, head of the Soviet army at the time.

Here is the passage from Inti's book, in which he is paraphrasing the debate between Che and Monje:

Che: "That is a narrow and absurd view of proletarian internationalism. The type of struggle we are calling for goes beyond the national framework. Even if we were operating within your narrow schema, do you believe it is a Marxist position to demand leadership as a right based on nationality? You are mistaken. That is not proletarian internationalism."

"I will give you the following ex-



ample: If Fidel were to go to Argentina to initiate a war, I would place myself under his command owing to the historic position he holds, and because, as you are well aware, I consider him my teacher. Because of my affection and respect for Fidel, I would gladly accept his command. Or do you believe this would be a question of nationality?

"The same relationship exists between you and me. The historic circumstances have placed me in a certain position. I have military experience that you lack. You have never participated in a military struggle."

"Now I ask you: Would you hold the same view if, instead of me being in Nancahuazú, it was Malinovsky?"

Monje: "Even if it were Lenin, my position would be the same."

Che replied, ironically, "If Malinovsky were here, you would be speaking differently."

I think you'll agree that in this context it becomes clear that Che is referring to Rodion Malinovsky, the Soviet general in the 1960s, not Roman Malinovsky, the tsarist agent in the years before World War I.

Once again, thanks for your note. If there is any further information you have on this that we should consider, please let us know.

Mike Taber

Thank you so much for the clarification. I wish we would have had access to that information while doing the translation for Tricontinental. My fault, in part: I do have the Pathfinder book but hadn't gotten around to reading the Inti section. His version is different enough from Urbano's that it really does indicate it must be the more recent Malinovsky. Karen Wald

Note from the editor

The letters section of the December 22 Militant included a letter from Stephanie Coontz of Olympia, Washington, that stated an article in the October 20 issue quoted a column she wrote on the Promise Keepers out of context. This, she said, led one reader to write a letter describing her as "formerly pro-feminist." Signed articles from our contributors do not necessarily represent the views of the Militant, which are expressed in editorials. Nevertheless, the editors do not believe that the article in question quoted Coontz out of context. Neither does the Militant put forward the view that she is a "formerly pro-feminist" writer, which was the individual opinion of one reader.

Naomi Craine Editor

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

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'All out for Bloody Sunday march'

Author calls for new inquiry in 1972 massacre of 14 Irish nationalists

BY PAUL DAVIES
AND DEBRA JACOBS

MANCHESTER, England — "As a 10-year-old, I offered the British soldiers Wood-bines, when they arrived in Derry. I thought they were there to protect us, but soon that changed. After Bloody Sunday our political innocence disappeared quickly. We began to acquire political acumen, we started to learn who we were up against," explained Don Mullan at a public meeting in Liverpool. As a 15-year-old, Mullan took part in the civil rights march on Jan. 30, 1972, in Derry, Northern Ireland, that became known as Bloody Sunday, after the British army shot dead 13 of the demonstrators. Another died in the hospital from bullet wounds. In 1997 he published *Eyewitness Bloody Sunday — The Truth*, a collection of testimonies of people who were in Derry on the day of the demonstration. In a December tour initiated by the Irish Campaigns Network, Mullan spoke to 130 people in Liverpool, as well as at public meetings in London and Manchester.

The campaign for an independent public inquiry, led by relatives of those that were killed, has picked up following the publication of Mullan's book. In November, a delegation including two of the relatives and the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) mayor of Derry, Martin Bradley, went to Westminster to lobby members of Parliament (MPs). SDLP leader John Hume won the support of 60 MPs for a motion demanding the truth about Bloody Sunday in the British parliament. The head of the Irish government, Bertie Ahern, recently warned the British government that he would publish documents supporting the calls for an inquiry into recently uncovered evidence concerning the killings.

Following the meeting in Liverpool, Mullan said that he was approached by two soldiers, who told him that many soldiers now thought that the paratroopers who carried out the killings had "gone too far."

"Bloody Sunday was intended to kill the civil rights movement and crush opposition," Mullan explained, in response to a question at the meeting in Liverpool. The demonstrators who were killed were taking part in the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association march against the use of internment without trial by the Stormont government in Northern Ireland and against the ban on civil rights demonstrations. At that time there was mounting resistance to internment, including a rent and rates strike by nationalists that involved 26,000 households.

Mullan described the resistance to British rule in the city of Derry. He recalled the 1969 "Battle of the Bogside" when the Derry Citizen's Defence Association barricaded the largely Catholic Bogside area of Derry to prevent a sectarian Apprentice Boys march from entering their community. The Stormont government had previously banned several civil rights marches, but gave backing to the pro-British Apprentice Boys march, angering local Catholics who did not want the triumphalist march passing outside their homes. For 48 hours local residents fought running battles to keep the Royal Ulster Constabulary [RUC] out of the Bogside. Then British authorities decided to pull the RUC back and send troops into the area. This was the beginning of the cur-



The events of Bloody Sunday began after British troops were sent to Derry, Northern Ireland (inset), to attack civil rights activists. It was preceded by marches defying the British government's ban on actions demanding civil rights for Catholics, like the one above from Belfast to Derry in January 1969.

rent military occupation of Northern Ireland. In the months that followed the killings on Bloody Sunday, the British launched Operation Motorman, a military assault on those areas of Derry and west Belfast that were "no-go" areas, using 21,000 troops, tanks, and helicopters to dismantle the barricades that had kept these areas free of direct state control.

At the Manchester meeting Mullan explained how nationalists were outraged when Elizabeth Windsor, the British monarch, decorated the commander of the paratroopers on Bloody Sunday, Lieut. Col. Derek Wilford was awarded an Order of the British Empire (OBE) medal later in 1972 for his services to the British state.

Following the killings the British govern-

ment moved swiftly to an inquiry into the killings that has become known as the Widgery report. Within days of the killings 500 eyewitness testimonies were recorded to be presented to the Widgery tribunal by the National Council for Civil Liberties. Only 15 of these were considered by inquiry. Mullan's book publishes more than 100 of the testimonies for the first time.

Widgery concluded that "the army fired only at identified targets — at attacking gunmen and bombers. At all times the soldiers obeyed their standing instructions to fire only in self defense...."

In November 1996 Mullan received copies of recently disclosed statements from four soldiers positioned on the Derry city walls. Soldier number 156 said, "An army

sniper was situated on my left about 15 yards away in the attic of a derelict house, outside the city walls returned three shots ... there was no return of fire."

Mullan also described the impact of the British government cover up that followed Bloody Sunday on many nationalists in Derry. He quoted Mickey Devine, who later died in 1981 on hunger strike in prison. Devine was 17 in 1972. He described the funeral that followed the killings on Bloody Sunday. "I will never forget standing in the chapel," he wrote. "That sight more than any other convinced me that there will never be peace in Ireland while Britain remains. When I looked at those coffins I developed a commitment to the republican cause that I have never lost."

"After Bloody Sunday, my generation stopped being afraid of Stormont and the British regime," Mullan said. "Unlike our parents we became highly politicized and developed a sense of Irish identity."

"The relatives of those that were killed have never asked the British government for an apology. We don't need another 'review' either," Mullan said. "We want an independent inquiry that will establish who planned Bloody Sunday, who carried it out, and who covered it up. If the government does not establish an inquiry, we need to get 60-80,000 people out on the streets of Derry on Jan. 30, 1998."

A march and rally is also being planned in London on January 24, to commemorate the 26th anniversary of Bloody Sunday. The rally will be addressed by Joe McKinney, a relative of one of those who were killed, British MP John McDonnell, and Sinn Féin representative Dóia McGuinness.

Paul Davies is a member of the AEEU.
Debra Jacobs is a member of the RMT.

Maori win extension of land rights

BY TERRY CARSON

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — On December 4 the New Zealand parliament passed the Maori Reserved Land Amendment Act. This gives Maori greater control over land that they formally own, but leased out in perpetuity by the government since last century at minuscule rents. The act became an issue of widespread debate when up to 50 lessee farmers from Taranaki formed a tractor convoy for a three-day protest journey to parliament.

The new law registers an advance in the continuing struggle by Maori, the indigenous people of the country, for their national rights. Peter Moeahu, a representative of Maori landowners in the Taranaki region, told the *Sunday Star-Times* that tears came to his eyes as he stood on the steps of parliament during the passage of the act. "In my mind was a picture of my forebears," he said, "standing here all those years ago, trying to do the same thing, without success. That drive to see justice done has been handed down from generation to generation."

Of the 65,000 acres affected by the law,

55,000 is farmland in Taranaki. Nearly all of Taranaki was confiscated from Maori by the colonial-settler state through the land-grabbing wars of the 1860s. Continued resistance by Maori in the following years, notably that led by Te Whiti-O-Rongomai at Parihaka, resulted in 202,500 acres being reserved for Maori. But in 1892 capitalist banks, merchants, and agricultural processing companies who were keen to profit from the world market in agricultural produce that was opening up at the time, particularly in dairy for which Taranaki was suited, succeeded in bringing the reserved land into the perpetual leases system.

Much of the land was subsequently pried out of Maori hands altogether. By 1976, 63 percent of the Maori reserves had been sold by the government officials administering them. Today there are 271 leasehold farms on the remaining 55,000 acres. Many of the lessees are small dairy or beef farmers. In some cases the properties have been family farms for several generations; in more recent years other working farmers have bought leasehold titles because they were cheaper than freehold.

Under the new law, current lessees retain the right of perpetual renewal of their 21-year leases for their lifetimes, and to transfer the lease to their spouses or children. But for transfers outside the immediate family of the existing lessee, the Maori landowner will have first refusal on the lease at the current market price of the land.

The lessees are also required to pay "market rentals," reviewed every seven years. Until now they paid a rental calculated on the unimproved value of the land, reviewed every 21 years, which resulted in a rate substantially lower than that prevailing on the open market. The government will pay the lessees compensation for a transitional pe-

riod to cover the increased costs; the Maori landowners will also be partially compensated for the losses incurred through only receiving a pittance in the past.

Opposition to the measure was led by ACT, a pro-business political party, and Federated Farmers, a farmers' organization dominated by large capitalist farmers. They complained that the measure violated the "private property rights" of lessees, with claims that perpetual leasehold land was the same as freehold.

This was the theme of the Taranaki farmers' tractorcade to parliament. Their main demand was for more compensation than provided for in the legislation, both for the increased rentals, and for the loss of value of their leasehold titles that the farmers say they have suffered.

The sentiment in support of Maori land rights is strong enough that the organizers of the protest stressed that they were not opposed to the settlement of Maori land grievances but that their argument was with the government.

This was not the dominant sentiment expressed, however, when the tractorcade reached its destination and was led onto parliament by ACT. Heated exchanges broke out between the protesting farmers, government MPs (Members of Parliament), and Maori rights supporters who had gathered to oppose the tractor convoy, with the settlement of Maori land rights being presented as a threat to the livelihoods of farmers.

Tau Henare, a cabinet minister who is Maori and a member of New Zealand First, a rightist political party that is part of the ruling coalition, demagogically fanned the division. Henare railed that "the people on their tractors, on their little dinky toy, Thomas the Tank Engine traction engines" would not delay the passage of the new law.

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