

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

INSIDE

Pathfinder: publishing house for working-class fighters

— *International Socialist Review*, PAGES 7-10

VOL. 62 NO. 6 FEBRUARY 16, 1998

Clinic bombing sparks protests

BY SUSAN LAMONT

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — More than 100 angry and determined abortion rights supporters, many of them young, gathered in Brother Bryan Park here January 31 to protest the fatal bombing two days earlier at one of this city's abortion clinics. Activists from Birmingham were joined by supporters of women's rights from Huntsville, Tuscaloosa, and Muscle Shoals, Alabama, as well as Atlanta, New York, Los Angeles, and other cities.

The same day more than 25 people rallied in Cleveland to protest the bombing. Protests also took place in Los Angeles, New York, and elsewhere in the following days.

The lethal bomb exploded at the entrance to the New Woman, All Women Health Care Clinic around 7:30 a.m. January 29. The blast, which used nails as shrapnel, killed clinic security guard Robert Sanderson. Emily Lyons, the head nurse and a counselor at the clinic, was critically injured.

Sanderson's death was the first fatality caused by a clinic bombing. However, five abortion doctors and clinic staff members were killed in shootings at clinics in several U.S. cities in 1993-94. In January 1997 two bombs went off at Northside Family Planning Services, a women's clinic in Atlanta, only 150 miles east of here.

The New Woman clinic, along with the two other abortion clinics in Birmingham, has been a regular site of antiabortion protests for years. In 1994 Birmingham was targeted by Operation Rescue as part of a

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Conference on social and political publishing is held in Cuba

BY JOSHUA CARROLL AND FRANCISCO PICADO

HAVANA — "We must publish the record — the history — of our socialism," said Omar González, director of the Cuban Book Institute, who gave opening remarks at the "International Event on Socio-Political literature in the '90s" here February 2-3. González took issue with the many recent biographies of Argentine-Cuban revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara, published in various countries. "For the most part," he explained, "these intend to sabotage Che's life's work."

The conference, hosted by Casa Editora Abril, the publishing house of the Union of Young Communists of Cuba (UJC), was tied to the Havana Book Fair, which will take place here February 4-10. The conference was held at the Palacio de Computación, an institution led by the UJC that offers free training programs in the use of computers and other technological fields to thousands

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'Hands off Iraq! End the sanctions now!'

BY DANNY BOOHER

CHICAGO — Carrying picket signs and chanting "U.S. Hands Off Iraq!" and "Self-Determination, Iraq is a Sovereign Nation!" some 25 people protested U.S. war moves against Iraq at the Federal Building here February 2. The picket, organized by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists, was the second of its kind at that site.

Mary Johnson, a Chicago-area activist involved in protests against the death penalty and police brutality, came to voice her opposition to Clinton's war plans. "I came here to

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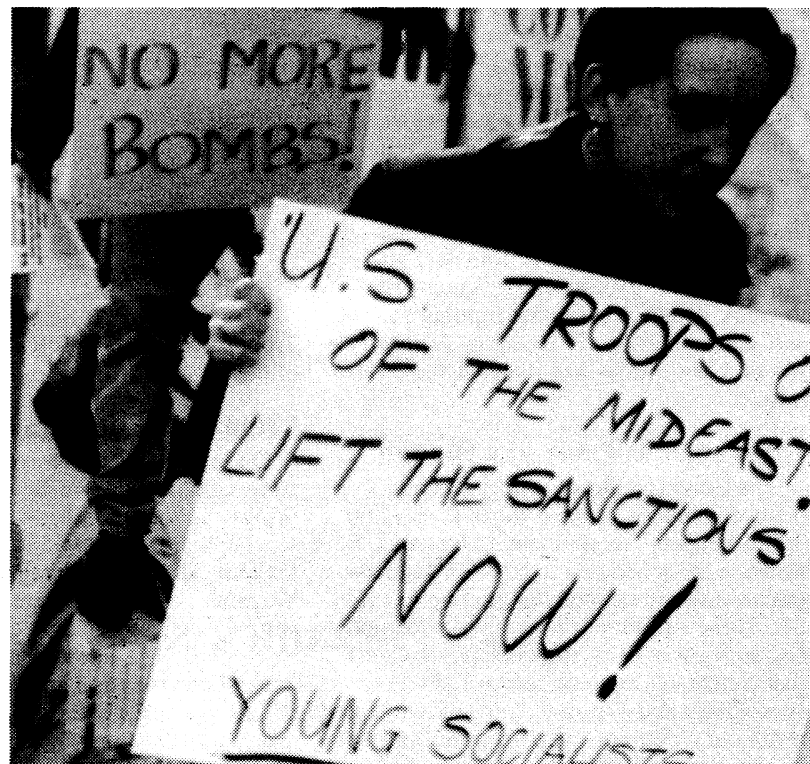
Washington presses war moves in Gulf

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Washington is plowing full steam ahead toward launching a military assault against Iraq, on a scale similar to its 1991 onslaught against that Arab country. "It's not days and it's not months, so that leaves weeks" before an assault, U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright said in Jerusalem February 1.

The U.S. rulers have made clear they are prepared to go to war with only the backing of London if need be. "While we always prefer to [act] multilaterally ... we are prepared

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Young Socialist Meg Novak protesting U.S. war threats in Birmingham, Alabama. Photo ran on front page of February 5-12 *Birmingham Weekly*.

2,500 Teamsters strike at Honeywell

BY JEFF JONES

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — About 2,500 members of International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 1145 went on strike at 12:01 a.m. February 2, shutting down production at three Honeywell plants in the area. Hours before, union members rejected a proposed four-year contract, by a vote of 1,138 to 825. It's the workers' first strike

since 1967. Officials of the Minneapolis-based company, which manufactures aerospace controls, said they were "very surprised" by the vote. A majority of the 41-member union negotiating committee had recommended approval.

The proposed contract included 4 percent wage raises each of the first two years and 3 percent for each of the following two years.

The main reason for rejecting the contract, workers on the picket line said, was the proposed two-tier wages and benefits. A majority of the Teamsters currently make \$12-\$15 an hour. The wage for new hires would start at \$8.50 an hour, with increments over four years to the standard wage.

Additionally, new workers would have to

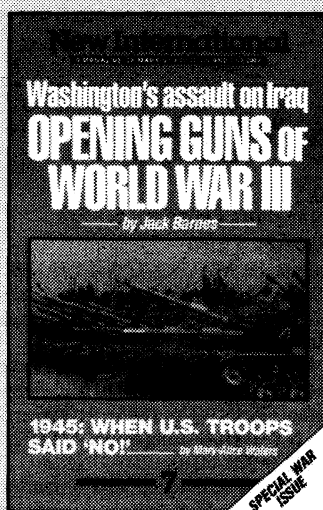
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Books for a working-class campaign against imperialism and war

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Jack Barnes

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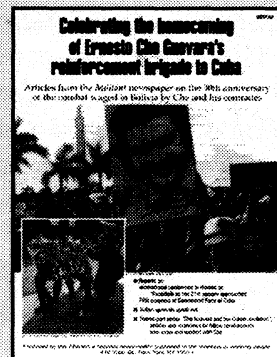
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Jack Barnes

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Palestinians, Israeli troops clash

Israeli troops fired rubber-coated bullets at hundreds of Palestinians following a funeral in Bethlehem, West Bank, January 30, wounding two. About 1,000 people had turned out for the funeral of 18-year-old Nadel Abu Sarour, who died in Israeli custody. The police claim he tried to hang himself after being arrested on suspicion of car theft. "This is a crime. We don't believe the Israeli version," said Issa Karaka, head of the Palestinian Prisoners Club. "We demand an international investigation."

The next day dozens of Palestinian youth again clashed with Zionist forces in Bethlehem, throwing rocks, bottles, and firebombs. The Israeli soldiers responded with rubber bullets and tear gas, injuring seven. Meanwhile, the Israeli government of Benjamin Netanyahu repeated its refusal to agree to further withdrawals of its troops from the West Bank without major concessions from the Palestinian Authority, especially agreement to crack down on militants fighting for self-determination. Palestinian Authority leader Yasir Arafat has rejected these demands.

UN troops will stay in Lebanon

The United Nations Security Council announced January 30 that it would keep 4,500 "peacekeepers" in southern Lebanon. UN forces were scheduled to leave in January, but now have extended the mission to July 31. These military troops have occupied Lebanon since 1978, after Tel Aviv invaded that country. In addition, some 1,500 Zionist soldiers and a pro-Israeli government militia of 2,500 have remained in southern Lebanon since 1985, supposedly to protect bordering cities in Israel from attack.

India troops fire on protesters

Indian government troops opened fire on angry Navapachi villagers in Kashmir January 31. Soldiers had nabbed three villagers they claimed were suspected Muslim separatist rebels.

Some Navapachians protested this act and about 60 residents stoned the soldiers when they refused to release the "suspects."



Workers and peasants protest in La Paz, Bolivia, January 20 against worsening economic conditions.

Troops fired on the protesters, killing nine of them.

Cuba: more doctors to S. Africa

On January 28 a contingent of 69 doctors from Cuba arrived in South Africa. This brings the total number of Cuban doctors serving there since 1995 to 341. According to South African health ministry spokesman Vincent Hlongwane, there is a "desperate shortage" of physicians, especially in the rural areas. The latest group, who will be deployed in the rural and semi-urban areas of Eastern Cape, Gauteng, and the Free State and North-West provinces, are among 125 doctors that socialist Cuba is sending early this year. The 76 others are set to arrive during March and April, Hlongwane said.

Meanwhile, 42 South African students departed January 29 for Cuba to study medicine on a six-year agreement with Havana. They were selected from rural areas, to which they will return to practice medicine for at least six years.

Russian toilers: 'back pay now!'

Thousands of miners, defense industry

workers, and others in Russia blocked that country's main railroad January 27 and held protests from Siberia to the Pacific coast demanding back pay. Workers, who have not been paid in seven months, paralyzed Trans-Siberian railway for two hours in some areas. They threatened to block it again in a month if their demands are not met. In Polusayevo, Siberia, more than 50 miners seized the executive offices of the mining bosses and held 20 of them captive. Miners there have not been paid in two years. No one has been allowed in or out of the offices, according to a January 28 article in the *Financial Times*.

Church weakens abortion access in Germany on Pope's urging

The Roman Catholic Church in Germany, following a five-page letter sent by Pope John Paul II, said January 27 that it would cease to issue certificates to women confirming they received mandated counseling prior to an abortion. In Germany abortion is technically not legal, but can be carried out without prosecution within the first 12 weeks after obtaining a certificate earned by attending official counseling sessions. Abortion was virtually banned in West Germany, but following reunification with East Germany — where abortions were legal through the first three months — the current law was negotiated. The Catholic Church there runs 264 of the 1,685 "pregnancy counseling" centers.

Bolivians: 'No more austerity'

Thousands of workers and peasants took to the streets in major cities across Bolivia January 20 to demand more pay and an end to government austerity measures. The march in La Paz brought the capital to a standstill for several hours, as businesses and banks shut down. Peasants in Santa Cruz or-

ganized a "March for Life" that demanded government assistance in solving the crisis facing small agricultural producers. The peasants have also said they will block highways to press their demands. On the day of the protest, many of them decided to join with miners and other workers and vendors. Protest actions also took place in the cities of Cochabamba and Oruro. The Bolivian government says it is "studying" the demand for higher wages, but only in the context of "not putting economic stability at risk."

Brazil gov't okays pay cut

The Brazilian Senate in a 51-to-23 vote passed a bill that allows employers to cut the wages of "short-term" workers employed 18 months or less by 36 percent. The government argues the more "flexible" wage is needed to combat unemployment. The legislation,

which was already passed in the lower house of Congress, now awaits approval from President Fernando Henrique Cardoso. A Reuters article notes, "For the next year economists see slower growth and increased unemployment for the Brazilian economy, Latin America's largest."

Haitian hospital workers strike

On January 5 hundreds of janitors, cleaners, stretcher bearers, and other hospital workers in Haiti began walking off the job demanding a 300 percent wage increase and health coverage. The next day emergency room workers joined the strike, and nurses walked out January 7. "We can't live on starvation wages," said Felix Levy, a plaster cast maker at the hospital. The big-business press flooded the coverage of this strike with photos and articles about children and the elderly who supposedly died due to the walk-out. The strike ended January 13 when union officials agreed to a plan under which the Haitian health ministry will pay for health-care benefits and hospital employees' transport to and from work. There was not a raise in wages.

N.Y. mayor wants cuts in CUNY

New York mayor Rudolph Giuliani on January 29 threatened to cut government funding of so-called remedial classes in reading, writing, and mathematics at the community colleges of the City University of New York (CUNY). CUNY offers open admissions to all students with a high school diploma or equivalent, and has 65,000 students enrolled in its six community colleges. Among them are many immigrants who make use of the "remedial" classes to study English. The mayor proposed that colleges should solicit private companies to fund for the programs.

— BRIAN TAYLOR

THE MILITANT

The Asian economic crisis deepens

As the Asian economic crisis deepens workers will be thrown into the streets and imperialist powers will buy up the patrimony of underdeveloped nations. The 'Militant' explains why working people should call for canceling the Third World debt and opposing the austerity measures on fellow workers there. Don't miss a single issue!



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The Militant

Vol. 62/No. 6

Closing news date: February 5, 1998

Editor: NAOMI CRAINE

Business Manager: MAURICE WILLIAMS

Editorial Staff: Megan Arney, Joshua Carroll, Hilda Cuzco, Martin Koppel, Argiris Malapanis, Brian Taylor, and Maurice Williams.

Published weekly except for one week in December and biweekly from mid-June to mid-August by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Fax (212) 924-6040.

The Militant can be reached via CompuServe at: 73311.2720 or via Peacenet at: themilitant

Internet: 73311.2720@compuserve.com or: themilitant@igc.apc.org

The Militant can be accessed on the internet at: gopher://gopher.igc.apc.org:11/pubs/militant

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

Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Subscriptions: **United States:** for one-year subscription send \$45 to above address.

Latin America, Caribbean: for one-year sub-

scription send \$65, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$80. **Asia:** send \$80 drawn on a U.S. bank to 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

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French gov't rejects demand for higher jobless benefits

BY FLORENCE DUVAL
AND JACQUES SALTATI

PARIS — After several weeks of protests by unemployed workers, French prime minister Lionel Jospin announced January 21 that he rejected the demonstrators' main demand — a raise in "social minimums," which include funds for those no longer receiving jobless benefits, of 1,500F (\$250) per month.

Under pressure from the protests, the government had previously given some minor concessions, including \$163 million in emergency aid for jobless workers, and agreed to begin negotiations with the unemployed organizations.

To justify his refusal to raise the social minimums, Jospin tried pit unemployed workers against those holding a job by stating that this demand would cost \$12 billion and that it would be necessary to increase taxes by the same amount in order to not increase the budget deficit. Unemployment in France is officially 12.2 percent.

Saying he was not "indifferent" to the actions of the jobless, however, Jospin pledged to link social minimums to inflation and to increase the Specific Solidarity Benefit (ASS), a stipend of \$380 per month for unemployed workers whose jobless benefits have run out. By raising the stipend 10 percent, this would supposedly compensate for the loss of buying power of this benefit since 1994.

Following the prime minister's remarks, Ernest-Antoine Seillière, head of the National Council of French Business (CNPB), declared that he had been impressed by Jospin's words. "His comments on a society of work and not one of assistance" reflect "genuine courage and vision. As businessmen, we appreciate these comments," said the leader of the bosses' association.

In the same televised interview Jospin warned the French Communist Party (CP) and the Green Party, "There cannot be two orientations in one government." Both parties have some officials who have participated in the actions of the unemployed, although they are part of the government.

Alain Bocquet, president of the CP group in the National Assembly, said afterwards

he "would have liked several hundred francs more" for the ASS, but "appreciated the general orientation laid out by the prime minister."

As a whole, the unemployed organizations declared they were not satisfied, and all of them called for participating in a day of action organized for January 27 by the General Confederation of Labor (CGT). This protest centered mostly on the demand for a 35-hour workweek, instead of the earlier call for raising the social minimums.

On January 27 there were three separate demonstrations in Paris, as well as others throughout France. One organized by the CGT and the unemployed organizations — the Association for Employment, Information and Solidarity (APEIS), Act Against Unemployment (AC!), the National Movement of Unemployed and Occasional Workers (MNCP), and the unemployed committees of the CGT. Estimates of the demonstration ranged from 4,500 according to police to 10,000 according to the CGT. The lead banner read, "All together, women and men, for an increase of the social minimums, of buying power, and for the 35-hour workweek."

Elisabeth Forster, 40, explained why she came. "My husband spent four years unemployed. A year ago he got a job at the post office by passing an exam that gave 50 jobs to the 1,300 applicants. I work in the Social Security administration, but who knows if I'll always have a job. There have to be a lot of us at these demonstrations because this French situation is going to spread throughout Europe." Forster is part of a 20-member AC! committee in Sarcelles, a working-class suburb of Paris.

Another action in the French capital, called by the CGT together with the Workers Force (FO) and French Democratic Labor Confederation (CFDT) federations of government employees, drew 6,000 workers behind the banner, "Enough job cuts, start hiring." The third protest, organized by the CGT federation of rail workers, demonstrated in favor of the 35-hour workweek and against the budget of the national state-owned rail network, the SNCF. Despite the similarity of the demands on employment, the different demonstrations did not unite.

The CGT made up the largest contingent of the demonstration that included the four main organizations of the unemployed. A contingent of Chinese and African immi-



Militant photos by Nat London

Thousands marched in Paris for unemployment benefits and a 35-hour workweek. Above, an unemployment committee; right, a contingent of *sans papier* (undocumented workers) at January 27 demonstration.



grant workers, who are undocumented workers or *sans papiers*, was very visible, shouting "French, Immigrants, Solidarity" and "Jospin: documents!"

Chen Hui, 29, who came to demonstrate with the committee of Chinese *sans papiers* of the CGT, told the *Militant*, "We need solidarity between unemployed and the *sans papiers*. We don't want to take the jobs of those who are employed now. We just want to stop working off the books and be able to do something other than always work in garment shops or restaurants."

Some unemployed declared they were confused by the way the demands had changed since the January 17 action. Laurent Zalambani, 34, an unemployed printer for the last two and a half years and an AC! activist, said, "I thought it was still a demonstration to increase the social minimums and for a radical reduction of the workweek. But this morning, I hear in the media that we're going to support the government against the bosses. Yet I don't think there's much difference between them."

Florence Duval is a member of the Young Socialists in Paris. Jacques Saltati is a member of the CGT at the Peugeot factory in Poissy.

Thousands rally for immigrant rights in France

BY DEREK JEFFERS

PARIS — Several thousand people demonstrated here January 31 demanding legal status for immigrants without documents —

the *sans papiers* — who have been fighting for their rights for nearly two years. The overwhelming majority of participants were immigrants, primarily from Africa and China.

For the first time, three of the committees of *sans papiers* present were linked to a trade union, the CGT. One of the demonstrators from the CGT committee of *sans papiers* in Seine Saint Denis, 15-year-old Zhuxing-Ting Zhu, told the *Militant* that the prefecture of that department had refused to give papers to virtually all of the hundreds of Chinese who had requested them. "The Chinese here believe that laws in France are not fair," she said. "[The laws] are not for equality."

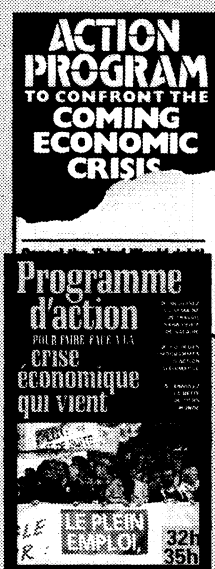
In a demonstration three days earlier in front of the prefecture of the Seine Saint Denis, two Chinese immigrants were savagely beaten by police and sent to the hospital with head and throat injuries. Chinese demonstrators at the January 31 action held pictures of the beaten *sans papiers* and posters reading, "Police = Killers."

The action was organized by the National Coordination of the *Sans Papiers*, and supported by a number of unions and political organizations.

From Pathfinder

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EDITED BY DOUG JENNESS

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Castro: 'Cuba does not know fear; it steadfastly defends its principles'

Below we reprint the speech given by Cuban president Fidel Castro at the January 25 ceremony concluding the visit of Pope John Paul II to Cuba. Translation is by the *Militant*.

BY FIDEL CASTRO

Your Holiness, I believe we have given the world an excellent example: you, by visiting what some people call the last bastion of communism; we, by receiving the religious leaders said to have been responsible for the destruction of socialism in Europe. Some forecast apocalyptic events, others dreamed of them.

It was cruelly unjust that some associated your pastoral visit with the mean-spirited hope of destroying the noble aims and independence of a small country that has been subjected to blockade and full-scale economic war for nearly 40 years.

Your holiness, Cuba is like a new but 1,000 times smaller David, armed with the same sling as in biblical times. We are fighting for survival against a giant nuclear-age Goliath who is trying to prevent our development and bring us to our knees through hunger and illness. If this story had not been written then, it would have to be written now. This monstrous

crime cannot be excused or overlooked.

Your Holiness, every time I hear or read the slanders contrived against my country and my people by those who love no other God than money, I always recall — as I mentioned the day you arrived — the Christians of ancient Rome, who were so atrociously slandered themselves. Throughout history, slander has often been used as the great justification for crimes against peoples. I also remember the Jews who were exterminated by the Nazis, and the four million Vietnamese who died as the result of napalm, chemical weapons, and bombs. The fact they were Christians, Jews, or communists did not give anyone the right to exterminate them.

Thousands of journalists have broadcast every detail of your visit, every word spoken, to millions of people around the world. Countless Cubans and visitors from abroad were interviewed throughout the country. Our national television stations broadcast live to our people every mass, homily, and speech. Perhaps never before has so much news and opinion about such a small nation been heard in such a short space of time and by so many people on our planet.

Cuba does not know fear; it despises lies, it listens with respect, it believes in its ideas,

it steadfastly defends its principles, and has nothing to hide from the world.

I am moved by your holiness's efforts on behalf of a more just world. States will disappear, peoples will come to constitute one single human family. If that solidarity you proclaim is extended throughout the earth, and the abundance of wealth that humans are capable of producing with their skills and labor are equitably shared among all human beings currently inhabiting the planet, a world without hunger or poverty could really be created; a world without oppression or exploitation, without humiliation or contempt, without injustice or inequalities, where humanity could live with full moral and material dignity, in genuine liberty.

That would be the most just world! Your views on the gospel, on worldwide cooperation among people of faith, would not be in contradiction with such a world.

For the honor of your visit, for all your expressions of affection for Cubans, for all your words, even those with which I might disagree, in the name of all the people of Cuba, your holiness, I thank you.

Protesters demand: 'U.S. hands off Iraq'

Continued from front page
oppose any attempts of war by Washington. Like in 1991, the U.S. government is using whatever pretext it can to carry out a war with Iraq," said Johnson.

As part of building the protest, the Young Socialists set up a literature table at Harold Washington University in downtown Chicago. One student from that campus decided to join the picket after getting a leaflet.

There was a heavier police presence than at the earlier picket. Four squad cars, a canine patrol wagon, and a number of police on foot were stationed near the demonstration. Frank Forrestal, a rail worker and an organizer of the protest, told the *Militant*, "This picket was different than the one we held January 20. This time more people showed their opposition to what we were doing. One guy, before he ran into the nearby subway stop, yelled over and over 'Bomb them now! Bomb them now!'" Others showed their opposition by signaling thumbs down. Forrestal explained, "We can expect more polarization as the Clinton administration gets closer to actually dropping the bombs."

At the same time, others came by to find out more about the protest. Two former GIs, one of whom served in the Gulf War, approached the pickets to find out what the protest was about. They did not join in, but stayed to talk and exchange views. "These discussions were calm and civil," Forrestal said. Dozens of leaflets were handed out to passersby on their way home from work.

Wrapping up the picket, Forrestal told the marchers, "These protests are important. Although this protest was small it makes clear to the Clinton government that there is opposition to U.S. war moves. We need to have more pickets, teach-ins, and public forums to tell the truth about Washington's war moves in the Middle East and to demand U.S. Hands Off Iraq!"

BY PAUL FREEMAN
PORTLAND, Oregon — More than 100

people marched in front of the Federal Building here February 3, protesting the latest U.S. war moves against Iraq. The protest was sponsored by Peace and Justice Works and individual activists.

Pickets chanted, "One, two, three, four, end the sanctions, don't start war"; "Hey, hey, ho, ho, UN inspectors got to go"; and "Don't kill children or their moms, end the sanctions, don't drop bombs."

BY ANN FIANDER

MANCHESTER, England — Protesters carrying placards and speaking through a loud hailer held a lively protest in the center of Manchester for the second week running January 31. Workers and youth joined the picket, carrying placards saying "Stop The UK Warship," "Hands Off Iraq," "End The Sanctions," and "Oppose The UN Inspection Teams."

Activists from various organizations in Manchester were joined by passersby, for a total of 16 pickets. They took turns to explain why they opposed war moves and sanctions against Iraq through a loud hailer. College student Matthew Conner said, "I walked past, then I heard the loud hailer. I know 600,000 kids died due to sanctions. I'm against war so I joined the protest." Conner handed out leaflets, and encouraged other youth to join the protest.

Many people stopped to talk. Some supported the protest, but others expressed strongly that the British government should take military action against Baghdad. Several people from Iraq or elsewhere in the Middle East stopped to say they supported the protest and offered to phone other people they knew. The participants agreed to organize a weekly picket, and meet in the same spot on the day a military assault against Iraq starts.

BY JOHN SARGE

DETROIT — The chant "No bombs, no troops, no sanctions" greeted people leav-

Steelworker runs for mayor of Newark



Militant/Megan Arney

About 20 people picketed the federal building in downtown Newark January 30 demanding "U.S. Hands off Iraq!" Brock Satter, above, a member of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), spoke in his first protest as Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Newark in the May election. "The government that dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki has no right or moral authority to bomb a country supposedly in opposition to weapons of mass destruction," he declared. The protest was covered by Garden News Network, a state-wide cable channel, as well as another TV station and at least two newspapers, some of whom interviewed Satter.

ing the office buildings surrounding the U.S. Federal Building. Fifty people rallied during rush hour here on February 2, demanding "U.S. Hands Off Iraq!," "End the Sanctions Now!" "and Inspectors Out of Iraq!"

Holly Harkness, spokesperson for the Socialist Workers Party, told the protesters, "This should be only the first protest here in Detroit. The U.S. government plans to use its military might against the Iraqi people and working people in the United States should actively oppose all war moves."

Other speakers included a representative from the Workers World Party as well as a member of Pax Christi, a Catholic pacifist organization. Activists from Irish Northern

Aid, Justice for Cuba Coalition, Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, and others joined the picket line.

Militant correspondents from Atlanta, Birmingham, Miami, Newark, New York, Pittsburgh, and Washington, D.C., in the United States; Vancouver, Canada; and London, England, also sent reports about picket lines demanding "Hands off Iraq" over the last week. Many of the actions received coverage in the local media. Ongoing protests are planned in these and many other cities. Readers can contact supporters of the *Militant* listed on page 12 for information on events in your area.

Washington presses war moves against Iraq

Continued from front page
to go unilaterally," Albright said during her February tour of Europe and the Middle East in which she pressed for support, or at least acquiescence, for the U.S. war moves.

Russian president Boris Yeltsin said February 4, "By his actions, Clinton might run into a world war.... We are letting Clinton understand that we disagree with such policies. And the UN Security Council would vote against" military action against Iraq. Moscow has pushed for further diplomatic negotiations with Baghdad. White House spokesperson Michael McCurry stated that Yeltsin's remarks were poorly translated, and Russian officials assured the comment was not a threat that Moscow would defend Iraq militarily.

A front page article in the February 4 *New York Times* described the tone as "war fever" during a presentation of the White House's war plans to the Senate Armed Forces Committee the previous day. "If we're going to do this, let's go all the way," Senate majority leader Trent Lott told that meeting. "Let's hit 'em hard, right up front," he added.

Defense Secretary William Cohen told the committee that the military assault "would be far more than what has been experienced in the past, certainly since the Persian Gulf war." Cohen; Gen. Henry Shelton, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; and Samuel Berger, national security adviser, also met with 75 senators to discuss Washington's military options. According to the *Times*, White House officials said February 4 that President William Clinton would approve plans for an attack on Iraq prior to Cohen's scheduled arrival February 8 for a tour of the Persian Gulf region.

Meanwhile, top Republican congressmen Lott and Newton Gingrich called for the impending assault to take on the explicit goal of removing Iraqi president Saddam Hussein from power. So far, the Clinton administration has focused its propaganda for military

action on the pretext of stopping Baghdad from having "weapons of mass destruction."

Many ruling-class figures are now openly arguing for the assault to include using ground troops, in hopes of reaching the aim that Washington failed to achieve in the 1990-91 Gulf War — establishing a regime in Baghdad that would be subservient to the dictates of U.S. imperialism. "Air strikes are not going to solve the problem," said Rep. John Murtha, a Democrat. "You have to put people on the ground if you want to solve the problem."

In a February 2 column headlined "Battle Plan for Gulf War II," William Safire wrote that after "sustained bombing of all suspected weaponry sites, including palaces occupied by civilians used as hostages," Washington "should be prepared to go to Phase IV: invasion." Safire added, "If Saddam turned totally suicidal and tried germ warfare, he would invite a nuclear response."

In an op-ed piece in the January 30 *New York Times*, Robert Kagan, a former Reagan administration official and William Kristol, editor of the *Weekly Standard*, likewise called for "finishing the task left undone in 1991." They declared, "If Mr. Clinton is serious ... he will order ground forces to the gulf. Four heavy divisions and two airborne divisions are available."

A bipartisan consensus for war has shaped up among virtually all big-business politicians and ruling-class figures in the United States. Senate majority leader Lott, and Thomas Daschle, the Democratic minority leader, have drafted a resolution urging Clinton to "take all necessary and appropriate actions" against Baghdad, which is expected to be adopted overwhelmingly in early February.

Continuing his "America First" demagoguery, ultrarightist politician Patrick Buchanan declared, "One day, America is going to have to adopt the only plausible policy: deterrence. Tell Saddam that if he

uses even one of his gas weapons on U.S. troops, we will use our atomic weapons on him. Period. We deterred Stalin and Mao that way." He dismissed the carpet bombing planned by Washington and chided the U.S. rulers to "see just how enthusiastic we really are about playing Globocop, if it comes to the serious shedding of American blood."

Another ultrarightist, Oliver North, called for "the right and the left" to "stop the re-criminations" since the "question about what to do about Saddam Hussein is much more important than who's to blame." He proposed that the U.S. imperialists declare all of Iraq a "no-fly zone," and re-arm, and support the CIA-sponsored "Iraqi National Congress" that can be used to establish a "provisional government" backed by U.S. air power.

Massive U.S. firepower in the Gulf

Washington has assembled a massive armada in the region — the largest military deployment in the region since the Gulf War. There are two U.S. naval combat groups there with a third one on the way. The *USS Nimitz* and the *USS George Washington* aircraft carriers have an estimated 300 warplanes and at least five helicopters. The naval group en route includes the aircraft carrier *Independence*, a cruise ship, an attack submarine, and a destroyer. Washington also has stationed up to 120 combat aircraft in Saudi Arabia with 4,400 Air Force personnel; 30 war planes in Kuwait with 1,500 GIs; 50 aircraft in Turkey; and eight B52 bombers in Diego Garcia, an island in the Indian Ocean. A British aircraft carrier and related battleships are also in the Gulf. The U.S. 5th Fleet maintains its central command in Bahrain, where the U.S. Navy has had a presence for more than 50 years. Some 32 combat planes are deployed there.

The fighter jets can launch as many as 200 strikes a day for three or four days. During the 1991 Gulf War, 1,203 U.S. war

planes were joined by 800 others that dropped 88,500 tons of bombs over 43 days. More than 500,000 GIs were deployed in Operation Desert Storm.

There are some 28,800 U.S. troops and 375 war planes currently in the Gulf region. Gen. Anthony Zinni, the commander of the U.S. military operation, has requested more troops, fighter planes, and bombers be sent there. The request includes around 2,500 soldiers for an armored brigade being sent to Kuwait for a previously planned military exercise.

"U.S. officials noted that the Clinton administration has changed American nuclear-weapons policy to permit targeting Iraq with tactical atomic warheads," the *New York Post* reported February 2. The article said the officials asserted that U.S. president William Clinton signed a "top-secret directive" permitting the U.S. military to drop nuclear bombs on Iraq under the pretext of Baghdad supposedly launching a biological attack on Israel or other countries.

As tensions escalate in the region, the Israeli military installed four batteries of U.S. Patriot missiles in its Negev desert February 2. "Missiles are not beginning to fly toward Tel Aviv," said Israeli president Ezer Weizman, referring to 1991 Gulf War when Baghdad launched Scud missiles at the Zionist regime. "And by the way, a missile does not only work in one direction," he threatened. Tel Aviv began distributing gas masks to civilians at the end of January, whipping up panic.

'Diplomacy' prepares ground for war

U.S. officials are now going through the motions of a "final round of diplomacy," as they announced they would when they launched the latest war drive against Baghdad in mid-January. Iraq's ambassador to the United Nations, Nizar Hamdoun, warned February 3, "The talk of a diplomatic solution is only to prepare the ground, to

Continued on Page 14

Working-class campaign against U.S. attacks on Iraq

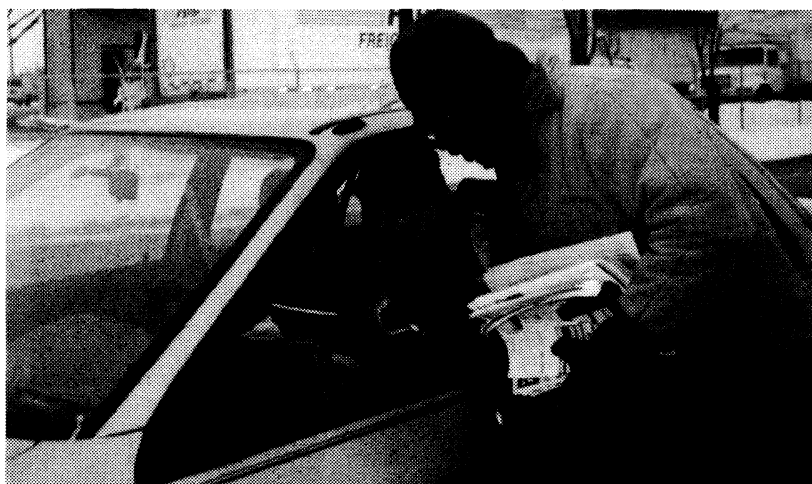
In response to Washington's course toward war against the Iraqi people, supporters of the *Militant* have launched a month-long campaign to increase sales of single issues of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, as well as sell issue no. 7 of the Marxist magazine *New International*, which features "Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq" by Jack Barnes, and the new booklet *Celebrating the Homecoming of Ernesto Che Guevara's Reinforcement Brigade to Cuba*. The goals include sales of the English, French, Spanish, and Swedish-language editions of that issue of *New International*, and the booklet is available in English and Spanish.

As the ad on the front page in this issue: "Books for a working-class campaign against imperialism and war" indicates, *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions* by Jack Barnes and *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations* also take on added importance today.

The chart on this page lists the goals socialist workers and young socialists have taken in various cities and trade unions for selling these publications in the month of February. It will be updated weekly to show the progress toward these goals.

CHICAGO — Supporters of the *Militant* here took a goal of selling 75 single copies of the *Militant* over a five-day period between January 29 and February 2. We went over the top, selling 102 copies. The goal was taken to place the distribution of the socialist press at the center of explaining Washington's war drive against Iraq. Distributors of the socialist press fanned out to area campuses and factory gates along with attending a number of political events. These are some of the sales campaign highlights:

Supporters set up tables in working-class communities and visited striking Teamsters at Empire Galvanizing in Franklin Park, where three strikers bought copies of the *Militant*. Young Socialists (YS) set up a literature table at Harold Washington University in downtown Chicago where they sold three Pathfinder titles and three *Militants* and brought a student with them to the U.S. Hands Off Iraq! picket that was organized for the same day. The YS also set up a literature table at



Airport worker in Chicago checks out U.S. *Hands Off the Mideast!* and the *Militant* during plant gate sale there February 1. Five workers bought the paper that day, and two others gave a donation for a back issue. A weekly team at the employee entrance since mid-October has led to regular sales of between two and nine copies, reports Mary Zins.

University of Illinois-Chicago where 16 *Militants* were sold. Another four copies of the paper were sold at De Paul University the same day.

Members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) who distribute the socialist press sold one subscription each to the *Militant* and its sister publication in Spanish, *Perspectiva Mundial*. An auto worker at the ElectiMotive Division of General Motors bought a copy of *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast*. At plant gates, supporters sold eight copies of the *Militant* to airport workers who are members of the International Association of Machinists and three papers to members of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees at a garment factory.

A sales table in the Hyde Park section of Chicago's Southside netted nine copies of the *Militant* and a copy of *In Defense of Socialism: Four speeches on the 30th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution*. Supporters of the socialist press sold nearly 30 *Militants* and numerous books at political events — a rally to commemorate the Bloody Sunday Massacre that drew 50 people; an event to honor José Martí and Eugenio María de Hostos, which drew 150 people; an event with Angela Davis on the "Prison Industrial Complex"; and a U.S. Hands Off

Iraq! picket.
Danny Booher

NEWARK, New Jersey — Socialists in the UAW have taken a goal of selling 200 copies of the *Militant* on the job in February and campaigning to convince 11 co-workers to renew their subscriptions to the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial* over the same period. Socialist auto workers also plan to use the Marxist magazine *New International*, and titles published by Pathfinder Press, to campaign against imperialism and war.

The goals of selling 10 copies of *New International* no. 7 and 20 copies of *Celebrating the Homecoming of Ernesto Che Guevara's Reinforcement Brigade to Cuba* are part of an overall goal of selling 50 titles in February — more than doubling the January total of 20 books sold on the job.

In January socialists at the Ford assembly plant in Edison, New Jersey, sold five

Working-class campaign against war

SALES GOALS ♦ February 1 — March 1

	Militant Goal	PM Goal	Che Goal	NI # 7 Goal
AUSTRALIA	120	6	20	5
CANADA				
Montreal	35	16	20	20
Toronto	90	8	40	15
Vancouver	50		20	12
Canada total	175	24	80	47
ICELAND	20		4	2
NEW ZEALAND				
Auckland	100		20	5
Christchurch	45		12	3
N.Z. total	145		32	8
UNITED KINGDOM				
London	180		40	25
Manchester	160		20	10
UK total	340		60	35
UNITED STATES				
Atlanta	240	20	30	20
Birmingham, AL	140	15	12	15
Boston	220		25	25
Chicago	400	40	50	25
Cleveland	160	8	20	8
Des Moines	200	20	17	12
Detroit	140	5	25	10
Houston	140	20	15	15
Los Angeles	300	20	20	25
Miami	200	30	30	25
New York	500	40	100	50
Newark, NJ	320	80	30	40
Philadelphia	200	10	25	10
Pittsburgh	120	3	4	8
San Francisco	240	30	40	20
Seattle	150		25	15
St. Paul, MN	220		30	20
Washington, DC	128	12	20	10
Other				
U.S. total	4018	353	518	353
Unions				
	Goal	Goal	Goal	Goal
UNITED STATES				
IAM	160	20	40	35
OCAW	88		16	14
UAW	200		20	10
UFCW*	44		6	7
UNITE	30	20	16	12
UTU	200		20	40
U.S. Total	722	40	118	118
* combined Militant and PM goal				

copies of the new book *John Coltrane and the Jazz Revolution of the 1960s* and got an order for a hardback edition and a down payment for another. One worker bought the Spanish-language edition of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* last month. Members of UAW Local 980 bought 17 copies of the *Militant* and two of *Perspectiva Mundial* in the plant the last week of January.

UAW members in Chicago and New York bought copies of the *New International* containing "Opening Guns of World War III" last month, and two *Militant* renewals, two introductory subscriptions, and a *Perspectiva Mundial* sub were also sold to UAW members on the job.

Bob Miller

DETROIT — Supporters of the *Militant* here sold 23 copies of *Militant* issue no. 4. That's been about average, but we did it somewhat differently than usual. In response to Washington's war preparations, the Detroit Socialist Workers Party called a protest action.

One special sale to build the demonstration was a door-to-door team in a Chaldean-Iraqi neighborhood. We sold the six papers we took in well under an hour, even though the majority of people we talked to did not speak English as a first language. We also visited the Chaldean Center, a social service center and school attached to a church, where the staff took leaflets and agreed to announce the protest. Two people came to the picket line after hearing about it from the center.

A socialist auto worker brought a co-worker who is Iraqi to the Pathfinder bookstore, where he purchased *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!* and a subscription to the *Militant*. He then came to the picket line.

We plan to return to the Iraqi neighborhood and the other Arab communities in this area, along with our regular sales in the Black community and on campus, as we campaign against the impending war by U.S. imperialism.

John Sarge

—YOUNG SOCIALISTS AROUND THE WORLD— YS speaks out against imperialist war

This column is written and edited by the Young Socialists (YS), an international organization of young workers, students, and other youth fighting for socialism. For more information about the YS write to: Young Socialists, 1573 N. Milwaukee, P.O. Box #478, Chicago, Ill. 60622. Tel: (773) 772-0551. Compuserve: 105162,605

BY MARYANNE RUSSO

DES MOINES, Iowa — Seventeen people came out January 29 for a speak-out demanding "U.S. Hands Off Iraq" at Drake University. The event was sponsored by the Young Socialists.

The YS actively built the meeting with socialist workers in the days leading up to the event. This included having a number of socialist literature tables on the campus, in the Black community, at factory gates, and talking to co-workers on the job. A few other organizations promoted the speak-out and two professors told their students about it.

Tom Alter, a member of the YS National Committee and the United Food and Commercial Workers union, spoke at the event. He explained the importance for workers, farmers, and students to protest Washington's war moves by organizing more speak-outs and public demonstrations. Protests at the federal building in Des Moines are now being held every week. Questions by students ranged from the role of United Nations inspectors in Iraq to what does the Asian market crisis signify for the future of capitalism.

On January 31 Alter spoke at a Militant Labor Forum demanding, "U.S. Hands Off Iraq." Before the forum he was interviewed

by local television Channel 5. It was part of the station's lead news story about Washington's war moves later that night.

The YS and Socialist Workers Party in Des Moines are organizing a class series on *New International* no. 7, with the article "Opening Guns of World War III" by Jack Barnes and *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* by V.I. Lenin starting February 8.

The following report came into the YS office from Meg Novak in Birmingham, Alabama. There is growing interest in the YS by youth protesting the accelerated war moves against Iraq and the recent abortion clinic bombing there.

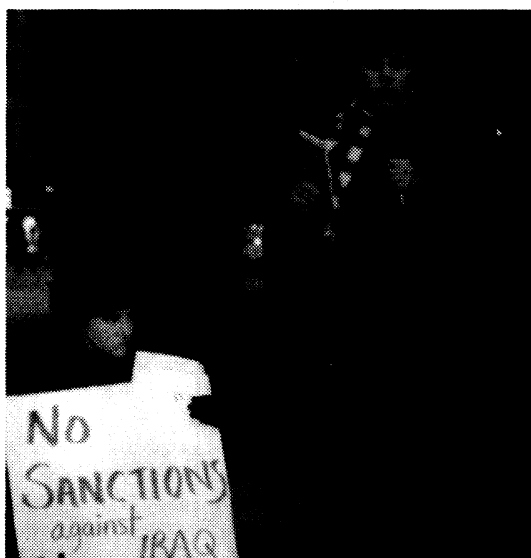
Last Thursday we held our first picket line in opposition to the war drive. Melissa Kaplan, who is interested in the YS, brought another political activist from her college to the picket. A student from Egypt also came to the rally after receiving a leaflet from a table at the University of Alabama, Birmingham. He helped lead the chants at the protest, which he said he learned from reading about other actions in the *Militant*.

At a pro-choice rally January 31, held in response to the clinic bombing, we spoke out against the U.S. war moves against Iraq and received a very good response, especially from students there. Several young women from the Tuscaloosa National Organization for Women chapter want to help organize a speak-out against the U.S. war moves on their campus. We are working with Justin Hovey, a student at the Univer-

sity of Alabama in Tuscaloosa, to talk to other student groups about joining the protest.

A 24-year-old railroad worker stopped by the Pathfinder bookstore recently. He said the clinic bombing finally prompted him to check it out. We talked for a long time about the current conditions on the railroad, the bombing of the clinic, and the war drive against Iraq.

These examples demonstrate the interest in revolutionary politics and the communist movement by youth being radicalized by the unfolding world political situation. With continued work, this should soon yield recruitment to the Young Socialists!



YS leader Jack Willey speaks at Chicago rally protesting Washington's threats against Iraq.

Militant/Danny Booher

Abortion clinic bombing draws protests

Continued from front page

national campaign to close down abortion clinics around the country. Already faltering by the time they got to Birmingham, the Operation Rescue forces were met by well-organized pro-choice activists from throughout the Southeast. Their mobilization kept the clinics in Birmingham open. Small groups of antiabortion protesters still, however, regularly harass women entering the clinics.

Shock and outrage at bombing

Working people throughout the area reacted to the bombing with shock and outrage. At U.S. Steel/Fairfield Works, workers in the slab yard — young and old alike — were swift to condemn the bombing and defend women's right to choose. One worker who was off work called out to the yard to let others there know what had happened. "How can they do this?" said Robbie, a 27-year-old steelworker. "It's up to the woman to decide." Others agreed, even those who don't personally support abortion.

At Meadowcraft, a patio furniture plant also organized by the United Steelworkers, the bombing also prompted a strong response. "These people talk about saving babies," said one worker. "But they're the same ones who bombed the 16th Street Baptist Church," referring to the 1963 bombing of the church that served as a center for the civil rights movement here. In that blast four young Black girls were killed.

The protest at Brother Bryan Park, a few blocks away from the New Woman Clinic, was called at an emergency meeting that took place the night of the bombing. Representatives from the National Organization for Women (NOW), Birmingham Clinic Defense, Southern Students for Choice, National Lawyers Guild, Socialist Workers Party, Episcopalians for Choice, Young Socialists, the Freethought Society, Refuse and Resist, and other groups and individuals were present. They came to rapid agreement on the need for a public, visible protest of that morning's attack, and immediately started work to build the action.

Publicity was hampered by the Birmingham cops' refusal to grant a permit for the protest. The organizers decided to proceed with their plans anyway, and the rally occurred without incident.

Kim Adams, president of Alabama NOW, told the crowd that there had been 1,700 attacks on abortion clinics in the past 20 years. Kathy Spillar, representing the Feminist Majority, flew in from Los Angeles to be part of the pro-choice response to the attack. "One in four clinics has been the target of violence in the last year," she said. "But we won't be deterred. This violence will not work."

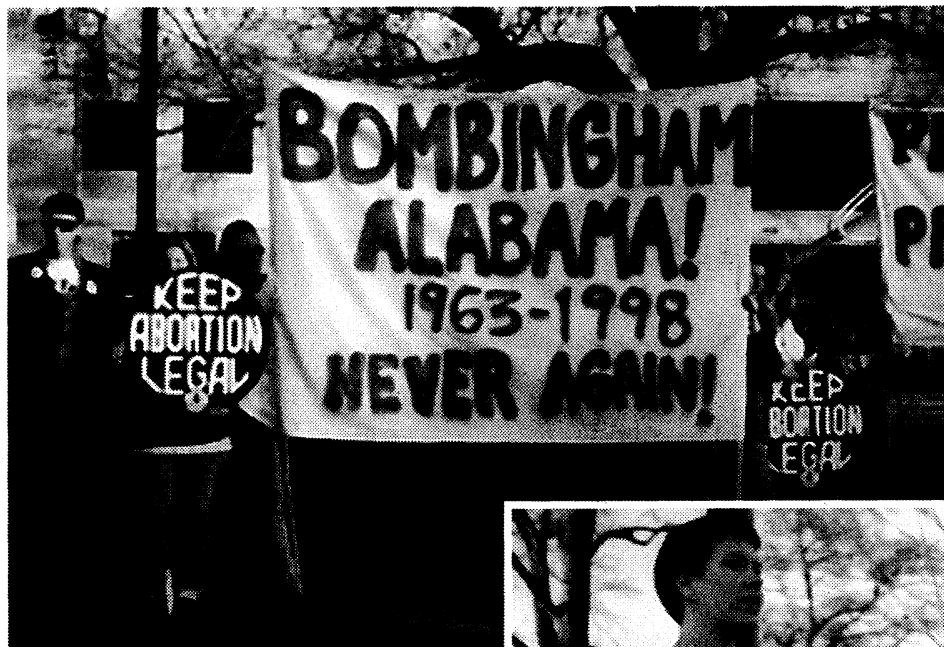
"We should take inspiration from the civil rights movement. [Racist police commissioner] Bull Connor lost in this town, and so will the antiabortion rightists," said Meg Novak of the Young Socialists, to applause. She also condemned the U.S. war drive against Iraq. "While these rightists try to restrict the choices we make about our bodies and lives, the U.S. government is trying to stop the Iraqi people from exercising sovereignty and making their own choices about what kind of government they will have."

David Gespass from the National Lawyers Guild also drew loud applause when he condemned a January 17 anti-immigrant rally in Cullman, Alabama, where a Mexican flag was burned. Many speakers called for further public actions to defend women's right to choose.

'Bombingham — Never Again'

A big banner at the front of the demonstration read, "Bombingham Alabama, 1963 — 1998: Never Again." The reference was to the bombing at the 16th Street Baptist Church. The wave of mass civil rights actions in Birmingham in 1963 marked a turning point in the movement that ended Jim Crow segregation. For years before that, Birmingham had been known as "Bombingham," because of the frequency of bomb attacks against Blacks.

Jeff Waites, a 34-year-old truck driver from Birmingham who attended the rally, said he was shocked but not surprised by the bombing. "This is a pivotal city," he said. "The civil rights movement defeated the right wing here in Birmingham, and they would like to reclaim it. And I include the

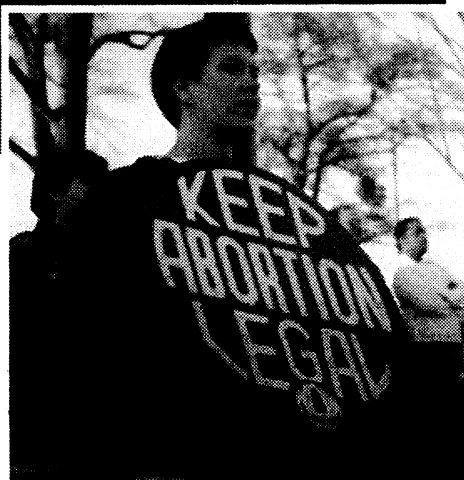


Militant photos by Rich Stuart
Rally in Birmingham two days after clinic bombing. Protest actions also took place in New York, Los Angeles, and elsewhere.

women's movement as part of the civil rights movement."

Sarah Graham, a 19-year-old student from the University of Alabama at Birmingham and a member of Southern Students for Choice, said she attended the rally to "honor and respect the victims and to show we're not scared."

"Active farmers have to come together and stand for everyone's rights," said Willie King of the Rural Members Association, a group of Black farmers in Alabama. He came to the rally from Aliceville. "This bombing just shows that we're going to have



to fight harder."

The protest ended with a candlelight vigil for the victims and their families.

Politicians from President William Clinton to Alabama Gov. Fob James, well known for his antiabortion views, issued

routine condemnations of violence in response to the bomb attack, as did spokespeople for several antiabortion rights groups.

David Gunn, Jr., of Birmingham, whose father, Dr. David Gunn, was murdered in a 1993 clinic attack in Pensacola, Florida, told the *Birmingham News* that antiabortion protesters bear responsibility for such attacks, despite their attempts to distance themselves from violence. "As long as they continue to portray the clinic workers as monsters and murderers, you can't be surprised," he said.

David Trosch, a priest and leader of many antichoice actions, told reporters that he supported killing doctors who perform abortions. "Everyone has the right to protect innocent persons," he told to *Birmingham News*. "When the government fails to do this, it's mandatory for others to do it. In effect, the government has made abortion clinics war zones."

Much of the big-business media coverage of the attack has focused on the fact that the security guard killed in the attack was an off-duty Birmingham cop. His wife, Felicia Sanderson, has told the press that he should not be considered a "martyr for the clinics," but rather a cop who was just doing his job. Lyons remains in critical condition. She lost one eye in the blast and has only a 50-50 chance of keeping the sight in her other eye.

On February 2 the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* and the Atlanta office of Reuters news agency received letters signed by the "Army of God," claiming responsibility for the bombing.

Susan LaMont is a member of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). Meg Novak, also a member of the USWA, contributed to this article.

Canada meatpackers discuss how to advance strike against Maple Leaf

BY MICK McDONALD
AND ROBERT SIMMS

BURLINGTON, Ontario — "Every time we place an ad for the boycott, he can pay for two or three ads to counter us. The only way to stop him is to shut him down," said striker John Sop, referring to Michael McCain, the owner of Maple Leaf Foods. "We need to go talk to other workers, at Shopsey's, at Mr. Grocer, Quality Meats, to tell them they should join us." Sop, a kill floor butcher for 20 years at Maple Leaf and that company's predecessors, was part of a mass meeting here of most of the 900 members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1227 held to discuss recent developments in their strike.

The company wants to cut up to Can\$9 (Can\$1=US\$0.68) from workers' wages and benefits. The bosses also want to eliminate seniority and workers' pensions, and make workers pay for any bathroom breaks over a proposed limit of 20 minutes per week. Nine hundred other workers in Edmonton, Alberta, also struck; the company now says it has permanently closed that plant. Maple Leaf workers at two smaller facilities have been locked out by the company.

Maple Leaf is offering a signing bonus of Can\$10,000 — \$28,000, depending on years of service, if the union accepts these demands. Workers would be free to stay or quit, retaining the money. Many workers view the signing bonus as an insult, and won't accept it as a matter of principle. Others expressed the desire to accept the money and leave, saying they never want to work for McCain again.

Maple Leaf won a court injunction January 23 that limits pickets to 15 per gate, and management has started to move machinery and production out of the plant. Workers at the January 29 meeting were considering they can win their strike in face of these challenges.

On January 23 UFCW officials sent an open letter to the strikers that read, "It has become apparent over the past few months that it is unlikely that Maple Leaf Foods intends to operate its Burlington plant with scab labour.... We must change the focus of this dispute from the picket line to increasing public awareness of the boycott against Maple Leaf products." Following the meet-

ing, there were sharp discussions outside on the effectiveness of the boycott that had been called by the union against all Maple Leaf products, how to stop scabs from moving machinery out of the plant, and the provincial labor law that allows companies to legally hire a new workforce after six months and a day of work stoppage due to strike action. "Maple Leaf is dragging us to six months, then he'll kick us out and hire new people for \$8 per hour," declared one striker outside the meeting.

Workers at Maple Leaf have started to take the story of their strike to other fighters. On January 28 a bus load of 50 strikers traveled 45 minutes from Burlington to Toronto to participate in an action called by the Canadian Federation of Students to protest tuition hikes by the federal government. The strikers joined 2,000 students in downtown Toronto and handed out boycott leaflets and stickers.

One striker told the *Militant* that many students who received the leaflet hadn't heard of the strike. Striker Dan Chapman commented, "We have to show solidarity with the students, and remind the banks and the federal government that we're all in the same boat, students, teachers, strikers and we've got to take a stand."

Boss, union tops push 'Canadian jobs'

The company has recently gone on the offensive with a "jobs for Canadian workers" media campaign. "Canadian hogs are not going south just for the warmer weather," read a full-page advertisement taken out by Maple Leaf Foods in several capitalist dailies over a number of weeks. The ad complains that Canadian labor costs in wages, benefits, and work rules are too high compared to U.S. packing companies, who supposedly as a result can pay more to Canadian farmers for each pig. According to the ad, 3 million hogs from Canada were sold to U.S. processors last year, which the company claims cost up to 3,500 processing jobs in Canada. "We want the pigs to stay in Canada. We want the jobs to stay in Canada too," the caption reads.

Maple Leaf is trying to pit farmers against the workers, claiming to be unable to give farmers a better price for their hogs because of "labor costs." Striker Michele Guastadisegni, a sanitation worker at Maple Leaf for six years, looked at it differently.

"If you're a farmer, you have to look for the best price. McCain doesn't want to pay farmers fairly. I don't blame farmers, I blame the rich people."

Promoting Canadian chauvinism from different angle, many union-produced buttons worn by strikers say, "Shame Michael McCain, this is Canada, not America." The union's boycott flyer says, "We don't think its right that Canadian workers should have their wages and benefits reduced to rock-bottom levels just because that's someone's idea of a 'competitive reality.'" Striker Sop echoed this, arguing that "Canadian pork is better than American pork, it's the product that sells."

The record of the last 15 years in the pork industry in Canada shows there is nothing "un-Canadian" about the kind of assault being carried out against workers by Maple Leaf Foods. In 1984 Gainers cut wages at its packinghouse in Edmonton, Alberta — the same plant is now owned by Maple Leaf — from \$11.99 to \$6.99, and gutted vision and dental benefits. While a collective agreement was still in place, Canada Packers eliminated 500 union jobs in Toronto and opened up two new nonunion plants in Kitchener and Burlington. In the same year, Burns made similar cuts and won a decision from the labor relations board to break from national bargaining and eliminate 500 unionized jobs.

Nevertheless, Canadian pork bosses were unable to match the blows to wages and working conditions of their U.S. competitors in the mid-1980s. Maple Leaf Foods is Canada's largest pork processor. It is trying to retain that position, as well as carve out new space in Asian and South American markets, by forcing through the concessions needed to compete with its rivals to the south.

Many workers stress that other companies are watching closely to see if Maple Leaf is successful in its drive against the union. They warn other workers who visit the picket line that they could be next to face this kind of attack, and explain the need for support and solidarity for this strike. Explained Guastadisegni, "If he [McCain] wins, all the big shots are going to follow him."

Mick McDonald is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 5338. Vicky Mercier contributed to this article.

Pathfinder Press was born with the October revolution

A publishing house for working-class fighters that lets revolutionary leaders speak in their own words

A conference on Political and Social Publishing in the 1990s took place in Havana, Cuba, February 2-3, sponsored by the publishing house Casa Editora Abril. An article on the gathering appears on the front page. Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press, was among the speakers who addressed the meeting. We reprint below her presentation. It is copyright © Pathfinder Press 1998 and is reprinted by permission.

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

First of all a thank you to Casa Editora Abril for taking the initiative to organize this conference as part of the events surrounding the Eighth International Book Fair that opens here in Havana tomorrow. It gives us all a rare opportunity to share experiences and discuss how to do a more effective job in meeting those goals we hold in common.

* * *

Pathfinder Press was born with the October Revolution. As a publishing house, our direct line of continuity goes back to the earliest publication of speeches and writings by Lenin in the United States on the eve of 1917. That is when magazines like the *International Socialist Review*, produced by left-wing militants in the Socialist Party, began publishing articles by the Bolshevik leader.

Origins in 1919

Following the victorious insurrection of the workers, peasants, and soldiers of the tsarist empire, revolutionary-minded working people the world over sought to emulate the example of the first worker-bolsheviks. By 1919 a regroupment of left-wing socialists, members of the Industrial Workers of the World, and others had come together to found something truly new — the communist movement in the United States, whose explicit goal was to emulate the Bolsheviks. Through many and varied channels they began to publish the periodicals, pamphlets, and books that for the first time in the 20th century brought to the working class in our hemisphere a communist perspective that drew on the toilers' initial experience of taking power, defending it, and using it worldwide.

I start with this because it is the clearest way I can explain what guides the editorial policy of Pathfinder to this day. For more than 80 years, Pathfinder and its various predecessors (from Merit and Pioneer, all the way back to the Literature Department of the Workers Party of America) have had one and only one objective: to publish and distribute as widely as possible the books, pamphlets, and magazines that are necessary to advance the construction of a communist party in the United States — an objective that is inseparable from the building of a communist movement internationally.

From 1917 to today, we have sought to defend a course true to Lenin's leadership of the Russian Revolution and the early years of the Communist International, as opposed to the course that later became identified with the Stalinized Communist Party of the Soviet Union — the results of which are being reconfirmed in the colossal events of recent years that continue to unfold. And we have prioritized printing works created by revolutionists who exemplified Lenin's internationalist and proletarian course in deeds as well as words.

We always started with the ongoing facts before us in the world, with the most important challenges of the world class struggle, thinking about how to strengthen the fighting vanguard of the working class so it is better armed to understand the world in which we live; to understand the history of the modern working-class movement; to become more conscious of its strength and historic responsibilities; and to chart a line of march toward taking power in order to open the road to the construction of socialism.

Communism: a movement, not a doctrine

We have always subscribed to Engels's famous response to Herr Heinzen, written at about the same time as the Communist Manifesto, that "communism is not a doctrine, but a movement; it proceeds not from principles but from facts.... Insofar as it is a theory, [it] is the theoretical expression of the position of the proletariat" in its struggle with the bourgeoisie and the "theoretical summation of the conditions for the liberation of the proletariat" and its allies from exploitation and oppression.

To bring this home for us today, I want to use the example of one of the most important books that Pathfinder has published in the last eight years. It is entitled *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*. It was published in English and Spanish in October 1990 as Washington was driving toward the horrendous, massive assault on Iraq that began in January 1991. Cuba's then-ambassador to the United Nations, Ricardo



Militant/ Rich Stuart (inset)

Continuity of Pathfinder Press goes back to October 1917. Above: Red Guards at Putilov steel works in front of armored car in Petrograd, 1917. In 1919 revolutionary-minded socialists and industrial unionists in the United States formed the communist movement and began publishing newspapers, books, and pamphlets that — from that day to this — have brought the perspective of emulating the Bolsheviks to working people in the United States and around the world. Inset: Selling revolutionary literature to coal miners at Consol Loveridge portal in West Virginia, 1997.

Alarcón, speaking from the seat Cuba fortuitously held on the Security Council, was the only voice speaking out clearly and consistently, utilizing the arena of international diplomacy, against the imperialist war being mounted under the auspices of the United Nations flag.

Pathfinder, in a matter of days (literally) brought out a small booklet containing each and every one of Alarcón's speeches to the world, along with the main speech by Fidel condemning Washington's aggression. When that sold out in a few weeks, we printed a second, expanded edition, so that communists and anti-imperialist fighters around the world could use it to campaign against the war that the magazine *New Internationalist* rightly calls "the opening guns of World War III."

In the short space of six months, Pathfinder sold some 10,000 copies of that title in English, and 1,500 in Spanish.

Today, as Washington is again accelerating toward a new murderous — and cowardly — assault on the people of Iraq, and one that will if anything be even more brutal than the last, that Pathfinder title takes on renewed importance. The fact that — as is our policy — we have not allowed the book to go out of print means that our weapons are ready, and, as we meet here, it is again being used by opponents of Washington's course around the world.

In a similar way, 30 years ago Pathfinder published another book — *Che Guevara Speaks*. In December 1967, only weeks after the death in combat of Ernesto Che Guevara, while news of that event and its implications still resounded like a drumbeat around the world, Pathfinder published the first edition of that collection of speeches and writings. We have not allowed it to go out of print from that day to this.

* * *

I want to make a number of quick points about the facts and policies that guide our publishing efforts. I hope they will provoke some discussion and comment.

1. Pathfinder is not formally or legally the publishing house of a party (it has its own corporate structure and lines of decision-making). At the same time, from the beginning the writers, editors, directors and production personnel have all been active communist cadres in the United States (communists with a small 'c'), experienced in the working-class movement. Pathfinder is the publishing house that has always kept in print the major documents, resolutions and speeches by leaders of the Socialist Workers Party. In the historical perspective, this is one of its most important and irreplaceable accomplishments. Without this the documents that both reflect and guide the practical work of communist workers, students and their allies in the United States would be nowhere available.

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions by SWP national secretary Jack Barnes — which has been published by Pathfinder in three languages (English, Spanish, and French) — is the most recent important example of this central core of our publishing.

Produced in heat of political battles

2. As has been true throughout the history of the workers movement, the best materials we publish are almost without exception those produced by revolutionists in the heat of political battle — not abstract analyses or distanced studies, but pamphlets and books written by those who have been responding to the needs of the day.

One of the best examples of this is a book written in the

anti-Nazi underground during World War II by a young Belgian, who was a Jew. *The Jewish Question*, by Abram Leon, perhaps the finest historical materialist study of this question ever to be written, was put down on paper while Leon was active in the underground. He finished it only a short time before he was captured and died at the hands of the Gestapo. Sailors, merchant marine men who were members of the SWP and often acted as couriers internationally, were able to salvage a copy of the manuscript in the closing days of the war. Pathfinder translated it, published it, and has kept it in print for decades.

Since 1928 when the *Militant* first began publishing — and 1931 when Pioneer Publishers produced its first title — there has always been a close working collaboration between the newspaper and what is today Pathfinder. Many of the materials that eventually find their way into Pathfinder publications first appear in the pages of the *Militant*. It couldn't be otherwise with a publishing house that is always in the thick of struggles and seeking to promote a clear class perspective.

From the beginning of the Cuban revolution, for example, the *Militant* has been the main periodical in the United States that published important documents and speeches by leaders of the Cuban revolution. These were often then rapidly reprinted by Pioneer Publishers as pamphlets and used widely by the active defenders of the Cuban Revolution both in the United States and Canada, many of whom organized themselves during the revolution's opening years as the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

In the days before photo-offset printing, it was especially important to be able to reuse the hot-lead type set for the newspaper, which was by far the costliest element in the printing process.

Pamphlets such as the first edition of *The Second Declaration of Havana* were published this way, for example — another title that Pathfinder has kept continuously in print, in this case since 1962. Tomorrow, in fact — February 4 — we will be marking the 35th anniversary of that call to action to the toilers of the Americas. Today we still use it widely as one of the best and most basic publications we have to explain the character of U.S. imperialist domination of Latin America and the place of the Cuban Revolution in the uncompromising struggle against it.

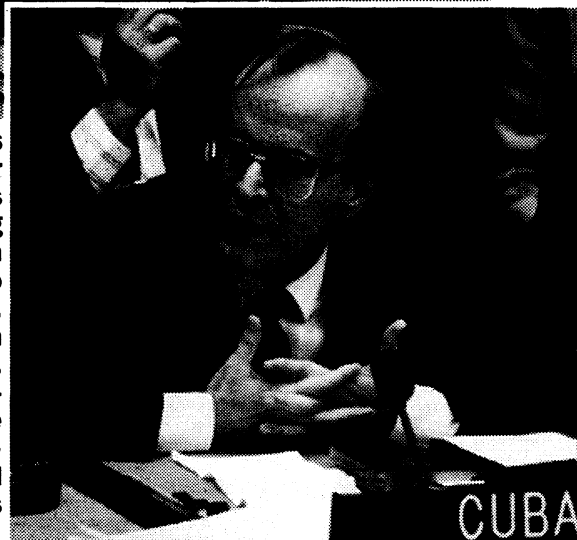
Just in the last days, the most recent example of this kind of collaboration came off the press, in English and Spanish. *Celebrating the Homecoming of Ernesto Che Guevara's Reinforcement Brigade to Cuba*. It is a collection of articles published in the *Militant* last year, including a series of articles, interviews, and speeches about Che by those who knew and worked with him as a leader of the Cuban revolution, a number of them reprinted from various publications here in Cuba. It also includes an excellent piece by Algerian revolutionary leader Ahmed Ben Bella, reprinted from *Le Monde Diplomatique*.

This is a *Militant* publication, but it will be distributed by Pathfinder and used broadly by young socialists and *Militant* supporters everywhere. Over the years, a number of publications like this have eventually evolved into Pathfinder books. But this kind of format allows for rapid, and relatively less expensive, publication of materials that



Right: E. Debebe/UN Photo 176296

Pathfinder lets revolutionary leaders speak for themselves. At right, Ricardo Alarcón, Cuba's representative to the United Nations during Washington's murderous assault on Iraq in 1991, condemns U.S. war buildup in speech to UN Security Council a few months earlier. Above, devastation in downtown Baghdad from U.S.-led bombing assault in early 1991. Speeches by Alarcón and Cuban president Fidel Castro are published in U.S. *Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*, "one of most important books published by Pathfinder in the last eight years," Waters said in her presentation.



might not otherwise be quickly available and easily accessible.

What is needed, not what is profitable

3. Pathfinder's starting point has always been what is needed by those fighting to change the world, not what will sell in the capitalist market. In other words, what guides us is the opposite of what guides any bourgeois publishing house. Moreover, with limited resources, we have always had to choose carefully, and often had to make painful decisions, on what, and what not, to publish. We do well to publish 4 or 5 new titles in a year's time, although in 1997 we were able to bring out 12 new titles, including 5 in Spanish and 4 in French. That's exceptional.

Our guideline, and this is especially true of books, is to publish materials that have a lasting value, that deal — in something more than a conjunctural way — with questions that are and will remain central to the workers movement for years.

For us — and again this is the opposite of the way bourgeois publishers function — the important list is our backlist, keeping in print the titles that contain the crystallized work of decades. Upgrading and improving them when possible, but keeping them in print in any case. That in-print backlist is one of the greatest leverages we have, allowing a relatively small cadre of communists to have substantially greater weight than would otherwise be possible.

In the last year alone we have reprinted 83 of our titles as we strive to approach capitalist norms of efficiency and stock control with small runs and just-in-time delivery.

That is an enormous challenge that we don't always meet.

Some books, like *Lenin's Final Fight*, published last year in Spanish for the first time ever, are actually titles Pathfinder has had in print for 70 years or more, in one or another edition or collection.

All told, Pathfinder has more than 330 titles in print today. Some 280 are in English, 31 in Spanish, 16 in French, and a number in Russian. Together with Pathfinder supporters in other countries, several Pathfinder titles are also published in Swedish, Farsi, Greek, and Icelandic.

4. Most of the books we print, of course, are works that no one else is interested in publishing, because there is no other English-language publisher that shares Pathfinder's objectives.

Books like *Fighting Racism in World War II*, for example, that tells the story of the fight against segregation and discrimination inside and outside the U.S. armed forces, even as the Second World War was unfolding. Or the magnificent series of books Pathfinder has published on the documents of the early years of the Communist International. These were things we had no competition for.

The same can be said for some of the books that are today among our best-sellers — speeches by Malcolm X, one of the most outstanding leaders of the working class in the United States in the 20th century, a man who was killed by his enemies precisely because of his uncompromising revolutionary and internationalist trajectory. At the time Pathfinder began publishing

Malcolm — while he was still alive — many on the left in the United States were denouncing him as a racist, and even a fascist. Fidel and Che, who were warmly welcomed to Harlem by Malcolm, understood his magnificent leadership qualities the same way we did.

In the words of revolutionists

Pathfinder always tries to publish books by revolutionary leaders, letting them speak for themselves in their own words. I would say we give precedence to such books over works by others about the great revolutionary leaders and events of our epoch. Workers, revolutionary-minded young people, don't primarily need interpreters, explainers, intermediaries. They can do the work of reading for themselves and over time understand more and more, especially if they discuss with fellow fighters. They gain self-confidence by knowing that they can read Marx, or Lenin, or Malcolm, or Che and work together to understand what such kindred spirits are talking about.

Pathfinder's "Speaks" series is one that captures this well: *Rosa Luxemburg Speaks*, *Leon Trotsky Speaks*, *Malcolm X Speaks*, *Che Guevara Speaks*, *Sandinistas Speak*, *Nelson Mandela Speaks*, *Thomas Sankara Speaks*, *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, *W.E.B. DuBois Speaks*, *Eugene V. Debs Speaks*.

That is why we publish books of speeches and writings by leaders of the Cuban revolution — by Che and by Fidel especially. To let the Cuban revolution speak for itself, through its most capable representatives. That's also why we are so happy that *Secretos de generales* [Secrets of generals] has been published here in Cuba, and a further set of revolutionary voices are able to be heard, read, and studied by new generations around the world.

And today, with the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin — previously readily available from the publishing houses of the Soviet Union — becoming more and more difficult to obtain, we anticipate that Pathfinder will soon of necessity begin to fill that gap as well.

Bearers of culture

5. At the point where politics and broader questions of culture intersect, the working-class movement constantly wages battle against both bourgeois dominance and mind-deadening escapism. From Marx and Engels to Che and Fidel, the great working-class leaders of our epoch have always fought to make the highest cultural conquests within class society the property of working people. They have done so knowing that it is working people who will be not only the bearers of the best of bourgeois culture into the new society, but will be among the great majority who more and more become the confident creators of culture.

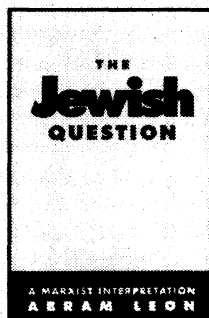
Pathfinder considers the publications of works such as *Art and Revolution* by Leon Trotsky (with its trenchant polemic against the Stalin bureaucracy's politics of socialist realism), *What is Surrealism?* by André Breton, and our newest title, *John Coltrane and the Jazz Revolution of the 1960s* by Frank Kofsky, to be a necessary part of our publishing program. As Malcolm X insisted, broadening your scope makes working people better, and more

The Jewish Question

A Marxist Interpretation

Abram Leon

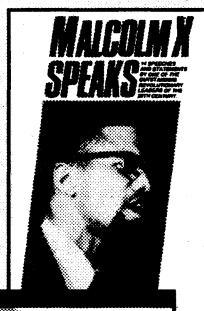
Traces the historical rationalizations of anti-Semitism to the fact that Jews—in the centuries preceding the domination of industrial capitalism—were forced to become a "people-class" of merchants and moneylenders. Leon explains how in times of social crisis renewed Jew-hatred is incited by the capitalists to mobilize reactionary forces against the labor movement and disorient the middle classes and layers of working people about the true source of their impoverishment. \$17.95



Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 for first book and \$0.50 for each additional title to cover shipping and handling.

Malcolm X Speaks

Speeches from the last year of Malcolm X's life tracing the evolution of his views on racism, capitalism, socialism, political action, and more. Also available in Spanish. \$17.95



La última lucha de Lenin

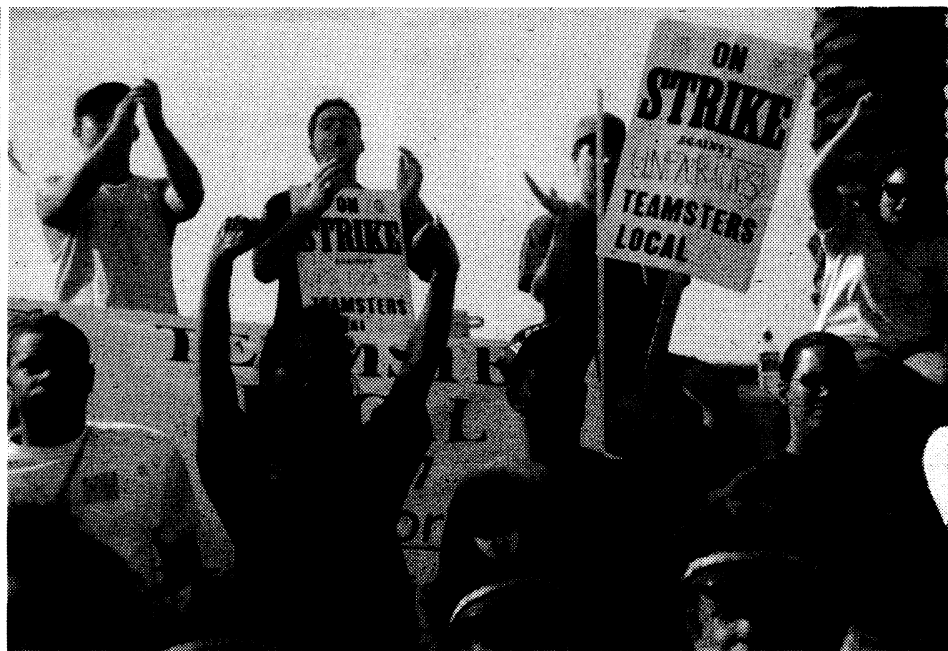
(Lenin's Final Fight)

Speeches and Writings, 1922–23

V.I. Lenin

In the early 1920s Lenin waged a political battle in the leadership of the Communist Party of the USSR to maintain the course that had enabled the workers and peasants to overthrow the old tsarist empire, carry out the first successful socialist revolution, and begin building a world communist movement. The issues posed in his political fight remain at the heart of world politics today. Also available in English. \$19.95





Militant/Carole Lesnick (above)

Many Pathfinder titles come from articles written by revolutionists in the heat of political battles. *Fighting Racism in World War II* is a week-to-week account of the struggle against racist discrimination inside and outside the U.S. armed forces while the war was unfolding, as reported in the pages of the *Militant* from 1939 through 1945. Left: Protest in New York City for Black rights called by the March on Washington movement, 1942. Odell Waller, a Virginia sharecropper, was a victim of a frame-up and legal lynching that year. Above: Rally by striking Teamsters and their supporters against United Parcel Service in Ontario, California, August 1997.

finder has been the source of a growing arsenal of books and pamphlets in Spanish.

The first book in Spanish was published in 1981. That was *Wall Street enjuicia al socialismo* — the court record of the trial and conviction on subversion charges of the entire central leadership of the SWP and leaders of the Midwest Teamsters union on the very eve of U.S. entry into World War II (in fact they were sentenced to prison the day after Pearl Harbor). Published in English as *Socialism on Trial*, it centers on the actual court testimony of James P. Cannon, a founding leader of the communist movement in the United States and of the Socialist Workers Party. This is a book we have used in English and Spanish for decades as a very basic piece of communist education and propaganda. It is similar in this regard to Fidel's 1953 courtroom speech, "History Will Absolve Me," though, needless to say, not with the scope of the historical impact of that document. That day will come!

effective, political people. It also enables them to fight with more joy.

For the same reason we are proud to help distribute internationally *La Gaceta de Cuba*, published by the Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba, as we do *Granma* and *Cuba Socialista*, published by the Communist Party of Cuba.

Depend on volunteer labor

6. Pathfinder is only able to maintain this kind of publishing program because of the generous support of communist-minded workers around the world, above all. They subsidize our publishing program because they agree with it, and they make real sacrifices to keep these revolutionary weapons in print. Pathfinder loses money on every book it publishes. It has never had a year, or even a quarter, when it broke even.

Because Pathfinder books are expensive for working people even in the United States (they are in the upper-middle range of going market prices), several years ago we set up the Pathfinder Reader's Club to make them more accessible to regular readers. For \$10 per year anyone can join the club, and receive all Pathfinder titles at 15 percent off the cover price at any Pathfinder bookstore, or by ordering directly. And throughout the year we offer even higher discounts on selected titles.

We also rely heavily on volunteer labor to translate, proofread, scan and format, set type, do artistic work for our covers — some of which are truly beautiful — and all the other time-consuming work that is necessary to produce and distribute printed materials.

Right now, we are in the midst of a major project, involving volunteer labor from countries around the world, to put every single title currently in print by Pathfinder in digital form. Only by doing this will we be able to continue to take advantage of advances in printing technology that allow us to frequently print small quantities and continuously upgrade new editions as our resources permit.

Volunteers are also now finishing the work to produce a series of three CD-ROMs that will contain the entire collection of almost 65 years of the journal of Marxist theory and politics *New International*. With only a few copies of many of the early years of the magazine in existence, we were in danger of losing this irreplaceable resource entirely. Now it will once again be readily available to new generations communists in the U.S. and around the world.

7. The sale and distribution of Pathfinder titles also depends on the volunteer efforts of supporters. First and foremost, Pathfinder sales are "street sales" — sales by communist youth and workers off what we often call "guerrilla tables." Folding card tables set up regularly on street corners in popular shopping areas, at plant gates, on university campuses, near high schools. They sometimes get harassed by cops who don't like what we are selling and try to establish that the tables are illegally placed on private property. So the guerrilla tables sometimes have to stand their ground, sometimes retreat in order to retake the position later, or find a more defensible location.

An international network of Pathfinder bookstores in seven countries is another important source of sales. These also are organized completely by volunteers, by workers, who keep the stores open as many hours a week as possible.

The same volunteers also act as sales representatives, visiting regular commercial bookstores, libraries, and professors in dozens and dozens of cities, discussing the books with buyers and teachers. They obtain orders that are placed either directly with Pathfinder or through wholesale distribution businesses that buy from Pathfinder as well as other publishers.

Through these kinds of volunteer efforts — which in-

clude taking Pathfinder booths to numerous international book fairs around the world, from Moscow, to Frankfurt, to Tehran, to Guadalajara, to Sydney, to Havana — the reach of our publication effort is truly surprising.

8. A special word about our publishing in Spanish. Our Spanish-language publishing began, in a modest way, in the 1930s as the communist movement in the United States increased its collaboration with revolutionary fighters in Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic. A not insignificant part of this, again, was due to the efforts of communists who were part of the merchant marine, who frequently sailed to the major ports of the Caribbean.

Chicano fight propels Spanish titles

But the modern period of publishing in Spanish owes its impetus to the new rise of the Chicano movement in the United States at the end of the 1960s — part of the revolutionary upsurge throughout Latin America in the wake of the 1959 victory in Cuba and the defeat of U.S. imperialism at the Bay of Pigs. The upsurge of the Chicano movement was also the product of the mass opposition within the United States to Washington's aggression against the people of Vietnam, and the determination of young Chicanos to do everything possible to end that war — a war in which they were being conscripted to fight and die, waged against a people for whom they had nothing but growing respect. The powerful example of the struggle for Black liberation, followed by the rising wave of struggles by women against their oppression, were a mighty impetus, as well.

That is when the Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant* was born — *Perspectiva Mundial*. As with the *Militant* earlier, collaboration between *PM* and Path-

finder has been the source of a growing arsenal of books and pamphlets in Spanish. The first book in Spanish was published in 1981. That was *Wall Street enjuicia al socialismo* — the court record of the trial and conviction on subversion charges of the entire central leadership of the SWP and leaders of the Midwest Teamsters union on the very eve of U.S. entry into World War II (in fact they were sentenced to prison the day after Pearl Harbor). Published in English as *Socialism on Trial*, it centers on the actual court testimony of James P. Cannon, a founding leader of the communist movement in the United States and of the Socialist Workers Party. This is a book we have used in English and Spanish for decades as a very basic piece of communist education and propaganda. It is similar in this regard to Fidel's 1953 courtroom speech, "History Will Absolve Me," though, needless to say, not with the scope of the historical impact of that document. That day will come!

With the major increase in immigration to the United States from throughout Latin America in the last decades — a wave of immigration that is similar in size and historic weight to the immigration from Europe at the end of the last century — the need for a growing arsenal of weapons in Spanish has increased even more. It is not only Los Angeles, Houston, and Miami that are today major Spanish-speaking metropolitan centers. The composition of the working class within the U.S. has changed dramatically from coast to coast, even in the smallest cities and in every basic industry. The working class has been strengthened by this influx of working people from throughout Our America, who are every day more and more confident about their ability to be active vanguard fighters in class-struggle battles within the United States. A communist party in the United States today is inconceivable without a strong component of Spanish-speaking members within its leading cadres, a cadre that reflects the working class as it is, and as it is becoming. Nor is it conceivable without a strong publishing program in Spanish.

(Even though I won't take time to expand on the point here, it is important to note that our French-language publishing program, a product of collaboration between Pathfinder and communists in Canada, is born out of similar necessities dictated by the class struggle in North America, and the powerful new rise of the independence movement in Quebec, beginning in the 1960s.)

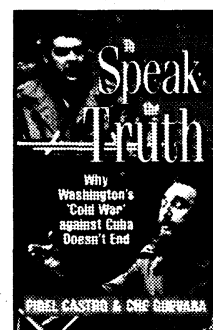
In addition to the 31 titles in print in Spanish, Pathfinder distributes dozens more of the classics of Marxism as well as many titles imported from publishers in Cuba. This year, for the first time ever, we received substantial volunteer help from a team of comrades in Cuba, at the University of Matanzas, whose efforts made possible the publication of *La ultima lucha de Lenin* [Lenin's final

To Speak the Truth

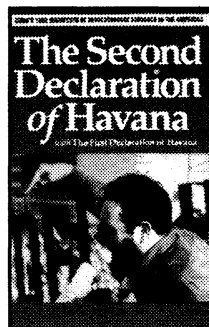
Why Washington's 'Cold War' against Cuba Doesn't End

FIDEL CASTRO AND CHE GUEVARA

In historic speeches before the United Nations and UN bodies, Guevara and Castro address the workers of the world, explaining why the U.S. government so hates the example set by the socialist revolution in Cuba and why Washington's effort to destroy it will fail. \$16.95



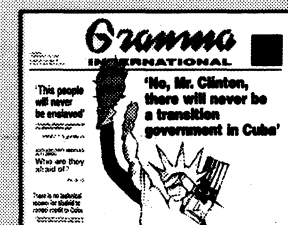
The Second Declaration of Havana



In 1962, as the example of Cuba's socialist revolution spread throughout the Americas, the workers and farmers of Cuba issued their uncompromising call for a continent-wide revolutionary struggle. Also available in Spanish, French, and Greek. \$4.50

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La Gaceta de Cuba

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Militant/Linda Joyce (above)
Sales of Pathfinder books depend on volunteer efforts of supporters. Above: 'Guerrilla table' at University of Puerto Rico, San Juan, Puerto Rico, October 1997. Right: Booth with Militant and books by Pioneer Publishers, one of Pathfinder's predecessors, at United Auto Workers convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, March 1946. Through such street tables, Pathfinder bookstores, and sales to other retail stores, revolutionary literature has broad reach.

fight], in an edition that includes corrected and improved Spanish translations of Lenin's final writings, all of which were checked against the Russian original by comrades who had studied for years in the Soviet Union.

9. Several times I have mentioned the magazine *New Internationalist*. Like many publishing houses associated with the communist movement, Pathfinder helps to promote and distribute a political and theoretical magazine that has its own imprint. Editora Política, for example, the publishing house of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, helps to produce and distribute *Cuba Socialista*. *New Internationalist*, as the magazine we distribute is now known (like Pathfinder it has had several different names over the decades since it first began publishing in 1934), is published in English and translated into three other languages — Spanish, French, and Swedish. It plays an indispensable role in our overall arsenal, focusing as it does on the most important questions of world politics and presenting a communist line in practice on today's burning issues.

Exacting and demanding standards

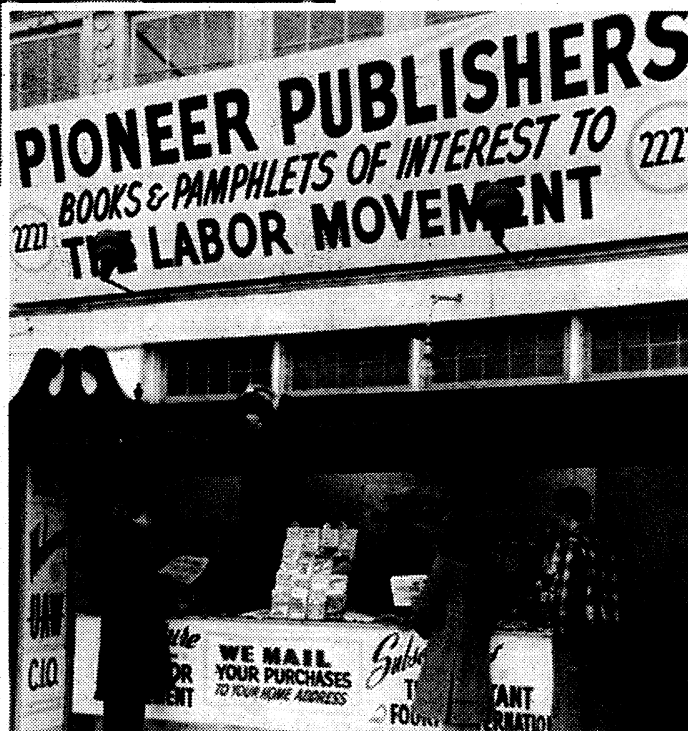
10. Before closing with a few words about our work publishing titles that spread the truth about the Cuban revolution, I want to address one other point.

For us, the care with which we edit and prepare every single book or pamphlet we produce is the most important test of our publishing efforts. We consider this to be a class question. If it is to prepare itself to be the ruling class, the working class must have access to truth, to culture, to clearly presented, accurate information. Their own history and continuity must be made accessible to new generations of fighters as they enter the struggle. These are things that Che understood and fought for so well. The working class must learn to be exacting in the standards of quality it demands in all things. That is part of our self-respect and self-confidence. Those who belong to the class that produces everything know better than anyone when work is done with quality and when it is shoddy and unworthy of their efforts.

A publishing house that strives above all to provide revolutionary fighters with access to the world class

struggle that they must know about and understand in order to be effective in transforming themselves and that world — a publishing house with such a goal must maintain the highest possible standards of accuracy.

A misspelled name; an incorrect date; an erroneous or confusing or even uncomfortable translation; an inaccurate footnote or caption (or none at all where one is needed for the new



young reader or the worker or farmer for whom reading is still a challenge); lack of care in presenting pictures, maps, or other aids to the reader; covers that are ugly or lack inspiration and work; printing that is too light and unreadable; a book that is carelessly bound or cut — all these are lapses that pain us when they occur. And they should. They are not worthy of the working class and its historic tasks.

None of these flow from problems created by the limits on material resources from which we all suffer one way or another. They are questions of political training and discipline and respect for our class. They are an example of the question of questions — proletarian habits, which are the well-spring of discipline.

At root, this is the same question that was at the center of the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba last October — why the revolution has to prove it can be more efficient, and produce with greater quality than the capitalists. And it can.

Seventy titles on Cuban revolution

11. Out of the 351 books and pamphlets and *New Internationalists* that Pathfinder is responsible for keeping in print, 70 are directly related to the Cuban revolution. Four full pages of the 1998 Pathfinder catalog are devoted to titles on "The Cuban revolution in world politics." Everything from six volumes of speeches by Fidel, to *Socialism and Man in Cuba*, to *Women and the Cuban Revolution*, to *How Far We Slaves Have Come*, to *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution* by the late SWP leader Joseph Hansen — in addition to the three titles singled out yesterday by Iraida Aguirrechu of Editora Política that have been published in the last few years, working together with that publisher. The *Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che*

Guevara, Che's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, and *Pombo: A Man of Che's 'guerrilla'* by Harry Villegas, are books that would not have been possible in their current form or with the quality they attained without the aid of Editora Política. For us, such collaboration is indispensable.

The significant number of titles published by Pathfinder that aim to present the truth about the Cuban revolution is, I believe, a vivid concretization of the importance of the Cuban revolution in today's world, its actual weight in the world class struggle. Because Pathfinder has never set out to be a publisher of books about Cuba. To the contrary, we have always tried to bring the Cuban revolution into sharp focus as part of the world, and part of history.

Publishing books and pamphlets about the Cuban revolution is not a matter of solidarity nor, to say the least, a profitable commercial venture. As with everything else we publish, our purpose is to produce the works that revolutionary-minded fighters within the United States need in order to be more effective. And the Cuban revolution is today the only example in the world of a communist leadership that has taken and holds state power and uses that most important of all levers to advance the world struggle for socialism, both inside Cuba and internationally. A leadership that fights to lead the working class along its line of march, not to stifle or oppose it.

Pathfinder's publishing of pamphlets and books about the Cuban revolution began within the first months of the revolutionary victory in 1959. Among the earliest pamphlets were the speech on the first agrarian reform and "The revolution must be a school of unfettered thought," both by Fidel, as well as pamphlets like the one prepared by *Militant* reporter Harry Ring in 1961, based on his visits to Cuba, entitled *How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination*. The latter is a wonderful pamphlet, reprinted from the pages of the *Militant*, of course. I remember what a powerful impact it had on me when I first came around the communist movement about that time — just as the mass street battles to bring down the Jim Crow system of segregation in the United States were gaining such momentum. It helped recruit me.

One of the most effective titles we have published in recent years is a collection entitled *To Speak the Truth*. It includes the four speeches given over the years by Fidel and by Che before the United Nations General Assembly — in 1960, 1964, and 1979 — plus the speech by Che in 1964 to the Geneva conference on trade sponsored by the United Nations. We subtitled that collection, "Why Washington's Cold War Against Cuba Doesn't End," because more than any other book we have, Fidel's and Che's speeches before the United Nations explain the origins of the U.S. rulers' war against the Cuban revolution and why they will never forgive the working people of Cuba for charting their own independent course. All these are books that have been sold in the hundreds and thousands of copies across the U.S. from "guerrilla tables" as well as in big commercial bookstores. They have been used in classes and study circles in dozens of cities and towns. They have been carried into factories, mills, and mines in lunch buckets to be shown to interested co-workers.

'Communist Manifesto' is top seller

I think that perhaps the best way to capture many things about the class struggle in the United States today, and the opportunities that exist for communists is tell you what the best-selling titles produced by Pathfinder are. Our number one best-seller year after year is the *Communist Manifesto*. Second are books by Malcolm X. And third are books by Che Guevara.

That hit parade says a lot!

I could add that last year — 1997 — our two best-sellers were the *Communist Manifesto* and *Pombo: A Man of Che's 'guerrilla'*. And among our top 15 titles, 6 were related to the Cuban revolution — including the *Bolivian Diary*, *Che Guevara Speaks*, *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, and the pamphlet of interviews with Gen. Harry Villegas *At the Side of Che Guevara*. Six others were collections of speeches by Malcolm X or other titles related to the Black struggle in the U.S. Two were basic texts of the modern communist movement — the *Communist Manifesto* and *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. And the remaining title in the top 15 was *The Truth about Yugoslavia: Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention*, explaining the roots of the current war in that country and imperialism's interests there.

* * *

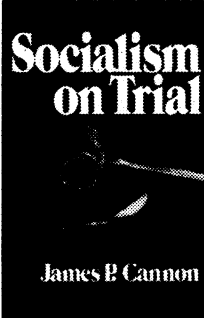
As a new war crisis confronts us in the Mideast, that line-up will shift somewhat in 1998. I dare to predict that *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!* will once again move toward the ranks of the best-sellers, and the example of the Cuban revolution will come into sharp relief from a slightly different direction.

Once again, it will be the opportunity for men and women within the United States who unflinchingly oppose the war drive of Washington and its allies to help produce and expand and sell in increasing numbers the arsenal of political weapons that working people the world over need — publications that tell the truth about imperialism and war, and why the interests of working people the world over are irreconcilable with those of the exploiting classes.

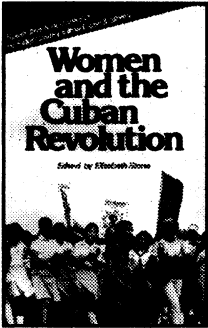
Of one thing we can be sure. The demand for such books will grow.

FROM PATHFINDER

Socialism on Trial
JAMES P. CANNON
The basic ideas of socialism, explained in testimony during the frame-up trial of 18 leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters union and the Socialist Workers Party charged with sedition during World War II. \$15.95



Women and the Cuban Revolution
Speeches and Documents by Fidel Castro, Vilma Espín, and others
EDITED BY ELIZABETH STONE
The transformation of women's economic and social status in Cuba since the 1959 revolution. \$13.95



Hot off the press

John Coltrane and the Jazz Revolution of the 1960s

FRANK KOFKY

Coltrane's role in spearheading the last major innovative development in jazz, and how the 1960s jazz revolution reflected an intense cultural, political, and ideological ferment — marked especially by the rise of resistance to racial discrimination. Also contains the best-known interview with John Coltrane — recorded in 1966, a year before his death. Formerly published as *Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music*. \$23.95, paper.

Special offer: \$18 for Pathfinder Readers Club members. Available in cloth, \$65.



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

Conference in Cuba on political publishing

Continued from front page
of Cubans each year.

Among the 40 participants, a number of whom made presentations, were representatives of various Cuban and some international publishing houses. Cuban participants included Editora Abril, Editora Política, Editorial Ciencias Sociales, Editorial Capitán San Luis, and the *Caimán Barbudo* cultural magazine. Others represented at the meeting were Oficina del Autor from Brazil, Ocean Press from Australia, and Pathfinder Press from the United States. Also present at the opening of the conference was Jorge Risquet, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, who was introduced to participants by the chair.

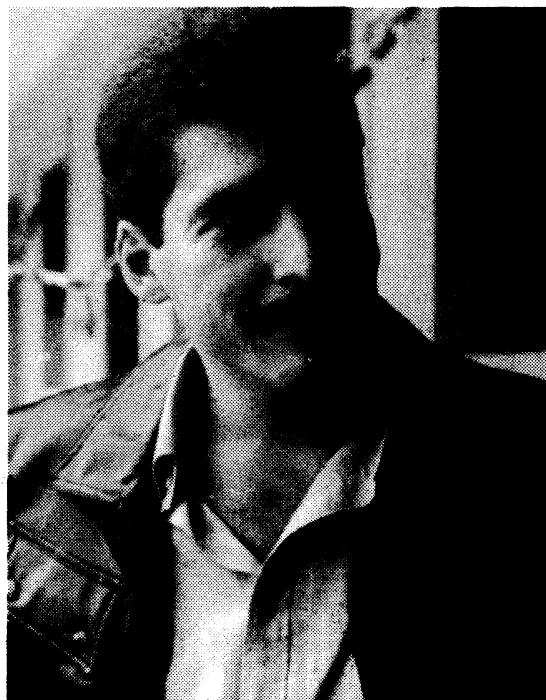
Speaking for Editora Política, the publishing house of the Communist Party of Cuba, Iraida Aguirrechu outlined their more than 30-year history of publishing the speeches and writings of leaders of the Cuban revolution. Aguirrechu told the audience that new editions of the works of Cuban president Fidel Castro, and of Che Guevara, need to be annotated and placed in their historical context by providing chronologies, along with other materials, to aid young Cuban readers today.

Aguirrechu discussed many of the difficulties created by the lack of resources during "the Special Period" — the term Cubans

use to describe the economic hardships that followed the loss of trade on favorable terms with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe at the beginning of the decade, compounded by the tightening of the U.S. economic embargo.

"Today," she said, "we do runs of only 5,000 copies. We cannot project at this point runs like that of the previous edition of the *Bolivian Diary of Che Guevara*, when we printed 225,000 copies." Aguirrechu also pointed to several collaborative efforts with publishing houses in other countries, including Pathfinder Press, that have led to the publishing of valuable new editions of the speeches and writings of Cuban revolutionary leaders.

Many of the participants spoke to the ways they have confronted the difficulties of the Special Period. "Just because we are forced to print with only two colors doesn't mean we can't do beautiful cover designs," said Iroel Sánchez Espinosa, director of Editora Abril. "Some of the books that have been published have unattractive covers — as if books would sell on their own intrinsic value. But we must use our talents to make these books attractive with the resources we have avail-



Iroel Sánchez Espinosa, director of Editora Abril, which sponsored conference on social and political publishing in Havana, February 2-3.

able," he continued.

Sánchez explained that the challenges Editora Abril has faced have in fact made the publishing house stronger. When there were more resources available, a lot more books were published, he said. But "with the Special Period we have been forced to be selective and more focused in what we publish, make sales projections for each publication, and implement rigorous cost controls." Sánchez announced to participants that Abril had published 21 books last year. Abril also increased the run size of the five magazines it publishes to more than a million total copies per year. And due to increased efficiency, Sánchez added, Abril will be able to print two additional issues of *Caimán Barbudo* and *Alma Mater*, the magazine of the Federation of University Students, this year.

Luis Ricardo Leitao spoke representing Oficina del Autor of Brazil, a small publishing house launched three years ago. His presentation began by describing the deepening economic crisis affecting Brazil, including high unemployment, more peasants driven off the land, and increasingly fre-

quent social explosions. After the Berlin Wall came down, he remarked, many left-wing publishers disappeared with it. It is in this context, he continued, that Oficina del Autor has been struggling to offer an alternative to the big-business publishers.

Mary-Alice Waters of Pathfinder Press was the final speaker at the event. She explained that Pathfinder publishes books that are intended "to help the fighting vanguard of the working class understand the world in which we live... and chart a line of march toward taking power in order to open the road to the construction of socialism." She pointed to U.S. *Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*, which she described as "one of the most important books Pathfinder has published in the last eight years."

"Today, as Washington is accelerating toward a new murderous — and cowardly — assault on the people of Iraq, and one that will be if anything even more brutal than the last, [this] Pathfinder title takes on renewed importance," she said.

Some of the most lively discussion took place following Waters' presentation. One participant wanted to know if it was hard to sell books condemning the U.S. war against Iraq in a country where, according to opinion polls, a majority supported that war. Francisco Picado, a Pathfinder supporter from the United States, spoke to this question. He said, "There is plenty of political space in the working class to discuss anti-imperialist and communist politics, especially as the polarization that results from war deepens."

Waters was interviewed for Cuban television following her presentation, and her remarks were heard over Radio Rebelde. (The full text of Waters' presentation appears in the *International Socialist Review* elsewhere in this issue.)

The conference closed with a *peña*, a cultural program, celebrating *Caimán Barbudo*. Fernando Rojas, the national president of the Saiz Brothers Association, the organization of young artists in Cuba, chaired the gathering. It included music, comedy, and literary performances. All of the publishing houses that participated in the conference will also set up book stalls and displays at the Havana Book Fair over the next week. In total, more than 120 publishers from 25 countries, and three international organizations will participate in the fair.

Coming in next week's issue

Revolutionizing production of Pathfinder books



Militant/ Ruth Nebbia

Militant editor Naomi Craine (right), at the regional conference in Seattle, January 24-25, describes to a participant how paper's staff significantly reduced labor time to produce paper through desktop publishing and how lessons from that success can be applied to production of Pathfinder books.

Next week's *Militant* will feature an article on plans to revolutionize production of Pathfinder books. Coming out of the regional socialist conference held in Seattle, Washington, January 24-26, plans are under way to involve supporters of the communist movement around the world in the effort to prepare formatted, ready-for-the press electronic files of Pathfinder manuscripts. These can then go directly to printing plates in the shop that produces these books and pamphlets.

Accomplishing this goal is essential to implementing Pathfinder's publishing perspectives outlined in the talk by Mary-Alice Waters to the conference on social and political publishing held in Havana, February 2-3 (see *International Socialist Review*, pages 7-10).

Next week's article will feature:

- How volunteers worldwide who have been scanning and proofreading Pathfinder texts will now take on a major piece of the production process by using desktop publishing to get manuscripts into final form, ready for printing plates
- What lessons have been learned

from the *Militant's* utilization of desktop publishing, and the Socialist Workers Party leadership's decision to send all communications by E-mail, that can be applied to the next steps forward in producing Pathfinder books

- What steps Pathfinder and the print shop will take to bypass current production processes—film, strip-up, and other steps—by going directly from digitized manuscripts to printing plates
- How these steps will make it possible to keep Pathfinder books in print, while producing them in short runs with less labor

What steps will be taken by volunteers worldwide to further reduce labor time in production of the *Militant* by organizing to get most photos sent into the paper in digital form, and turning stocks of photos on the world class struggle in the paper's archives into electronic files

- Why meeting the challenge to produce Pathfinder books more rapidly, efficiently, and at lower cost, saving labor time in the process, will make it possible to continue to meet the demand of workers and youth for revolutionary books and to prepare for the increased demand that the future holds

Letter from a lifelong communist

The *Militant* received the following letter from Robin Maisel, a longtime comrade who suggested collecting the *Militant* articles just published in the new booklet *Celebrating the Homecoming of Ernesto Che Guevara's Reinforcement Brigade to Cuba* (see ad on front page). More important than the idea (raised by other readers as well), he volunteered his time and organizing experience to collaborate with socialist workers, Young Socialists, and other *Militant* supporters in California to raise the funds necessary to make it a reality.

January 29, 1998

Dear Comrades,

I have received two copies of the new booklet. You have done a magnificent job, far beyond what I expected was possible in a short period of time. Now I have to get busy raising more money as we are still far short of our goal.

I have not been in the best of health recently. So my activities have been somewhat curtailed for the last year or so and I have come to depend on the *Militant* in a very special way.

It is a political guide and organizer, of course, but it is something more. I have been rereading *Letters from Prison* by James P. Cannon. On the one hand, Cannon, Dobbs, and the other comrades felt isolated behind bars, jailed for opposing Washington's slaughter in World War II. On the other hand, the *Militant* not only broke down the prison walls (metaphorically of course) with news of the class struggle. Its progress in getting out into a wider and wider circle (audience is not the right word because its readers, and

writers, were not onlookers but active workers) reassured the comrades that when they did get "sprung" their party and their paper would be ready for an upswing in the class struggle. I think Cannon could almost feel the first ripples of the coming upswing even in prison. So he paid special attention to things like the subscription drive, the production of popular pamphlets and books, raising money, expansion in general.

We have been in a kind of "special period" too. But just as the Cuban leadership now sees some opportunities to once again call together rebels around the world to fight, I think we also have more opportunities to reach out beyond the cadre and call rebels to fight along with us. The gathering together of those articles and the widest possible distribution of them will call rebels to us. This magnificent booklet that you have produced will inspire them.

And that is why I love the *Militant*. It gathers together the experience (including the mistakes) of ACTIVE workers from around the globe and reaches out, not to academics but to fighters. I can almost be there in those fights with you through the paper.

I think it is time for the circles of supporters to once again join the battle, even if not on the front lines, with you. I can see it will take some time and effort and especially direction by the party. The reinforcement brigade can inspire workers (especially young workers) far from their base camp in Cuba. If we can get weapons like the *Militant* into their hands they will be ready.

Comradely,
Robin

Execution in Texas sparks debate

BY LEA SHERMAN

HUNTSVILLE, Texas — Karla Faye Tucker was executed by lethal injection here February 3. Her case received national and international publicity.

Tucker admitted to killing of a Houston couple in June 1983, but asked for clemency on the basis that she became rehabilitated as a result of a religious conversion in prison.

In the months and weeks leading up to the execution a growing number of people spoke out against it. Polls run in the *Houston Chronicle* indicated for the first time that less than a majority supported her execution. Some of this reflected heightened sentiment against the breakneck pace of executions — 37 in this state last year alone. But among the voices raised on Tucker's behalf

were some who support the death penalty. This included Pat Robertson, a rightist politician and founder of the Christian Coalition. "I believe in the death penalty," he said on television. "I believe it's just and fair, but there are times that mercy overwhelms justice," arguing for an exception in Tucker's case.

Texas governor George W. Bush attempted to portray himself as someone committed to an equal application of the law for men and women. Some feminists echoed that line. In a featured column in the *Houston Chronicle* Robyn Blumner, former director of Florida's American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), wrote in favor of Tucker's execution. "Even in the chamber of death, it seems sexism is quite alive.... As much as I am opposed to the death penalty, it



Militant

Youth protest previous execution in Huntsville, Texas, June 1997.

should show no gender bias. Equality in life presumes equality in death."

The Texas Board of Pardons and Paroles voted unanimously February 2 to deny Tucker's petition for clemency. She was executed the next day as hundreds of both

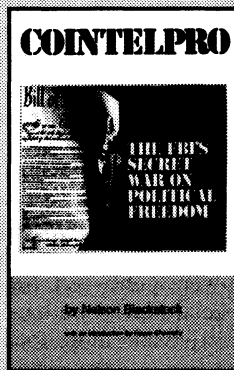
supporters and opponents of the death penalty demonstrated outside the prison

Lea Sherman is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 15 in Houston, Texas.

From Pathfinder

Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom by Nelson Blackstock

The FBI's spying and disruption against socialists and activists in the Black and antiwar movements. \$15.95



Available from bookstores, including those listed below, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

CALENDAR

COLORADO

Denver

Candlelight March and Vigil to Stop The Bombing of Iraq Before It Starts. Thurs., Feb. 12, 5:30 p.m. Meet at 16th and Broadway for a march to the Capitol. Bring signs and candles. For more information, call: (303) 296-6390 or (303) 320-5994.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

A Northeast Young Feminist Summit. Feb. 27-March 1. Sponsored by the Northeast Region of the National Organization for Women (NOW). Royal Sonesta Hotel. For more information, call: (202) 331-0066.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

100 Years of Struggle against U.S. Imperialism. Speakers: Rafael Cancel Miranda, Puerto Rican nationalist and former political prisoner; Felix Wilson, deputy ambassador, Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C.; Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press, editor of the *Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che Guevara*; Rose Mary Mealy, Network of Black Organizers. Thurs., Feb. 19, 6-8 p.m. Reception and video showing, 5-6 p.m. Forum at NAC Ballroom, video at NAC 6/201, City College of New York, 138th St. and Convent Ave. Sponsored by Areito, Casa de las Americas, CCNY Coalition, GSC, Ombudsperson's Office, PODER, ROOTS, SLAM, Young Socialists. For more information, call: (212) 650-5319.

NORTH CAROLINA

Tillery

Second National Black Land Loss Summit. February 19-22. For more information, contact Gary R. Grant or Tim Burke at (919) 816-3017, Fax (919) 826-3244 or E-mail tillery@aol.com On Website: <http://members.aol.com/tillery>

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Women in Cuba: A Revolution within a Revolution. Hear: Johana Tablada, Cuban Interest Section in Washington D.C. and member of the Federation of Cuban Women; Elizabeth Stone, editor, *Women and the Cuban Revolution* (Pathfinder Press). Thurs., Feb. 12, 7 p.m. University of Pennsylvania, Houston Hall, Franklin Room, Spruce St., between 34th and 36th Sts. For more information, call: (215) 462-4288 or (215) 336-7897.

Pittsburgh

Why is Travel To Cuba a U.S. Crime? Speak-

ers: Jules Lobel, Professor of Law, University of Pittsburgh Law School; Jim Ferlo, Pittsburgh City Councilman; Arleen G. Kelly, LSW., board member, Pittsburgh Sister City Associated; Dan Kovalik, labor activist. Wed., Feb. 11, 7 p.m. University of Pittsburgh, Forbes Quad, Room 1P56. For more information, call Emily (412)-441-3360, Ginny (412) 241-6087.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

Protest: United States Hands Off Iraq! Fri., Feb. 13, 4:30 p.m. Corner Queen St. and Shortland St. (Near U.S. Consulate). For more information, call (9): 379-3075.

—IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

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

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA: Birmingham: 111 21st St. South Zip 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079. Compuserve: 73712,3561

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Compuserve: 74642,326 **San Francisco:** 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255, 285-5323. Compuserve: 75604,556

FLORIDA: Miami: 137 N.E. 54th St. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. Compuserve: 103171,1674

GEORGIA: Atlanta: 803 Peachtree St. NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 724-9759. Compuserve: 104226,1245

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 1223 N. Milwaukee Ave. Zip: 60622. Tel: (773) 342-1780. Compuserve: 104077,511

IOWA: Des Moines: 2724 Douglas Ave. Zip: 50310. Tel: (515) 277-4600. Compuserve: 104107,1412

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 780 Tremont St. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772. Compuserve: 103426,3430

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 7414 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Compuserve: 104127,3505 Tel: (313) 875-0100.

MINNESOTA: St. Paul: 2490 University Ave. W., St. Paul. Zip: 55114. Tel: (612) 644-6325. Compuserve: 103014,3261

NEW JERSEY: Newark: 87A Halsey.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Say No to U.S. bombing of Iraq. Craig Honts, 1997 mayoral candidate, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Transportation Union; Hassan, Cal State Long Beach student, in Iraq during Gulf War. Fri., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

IOWA

Des Moines

The Cuban Revolution Today. Panel discussion: Dr. Jon Torgerson, representative, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. Dinner: 6:30 p.m. 2724 Douglas Ave. Donation: \$4. Dinner: \$4. Tel: (515) 277-4600.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

The Panama Deception Video Showing. An exposé of brutal U.S. military invasion in 1989. Speaker: Verónica Poses, Chicago Young Socialists. Fri., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 1223 N. Milwaukee Ave. (at Division on CTA Blue Line). Donation: \$4. Tel: (773) 342-1780.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Mailing address: 909 Broad St., Suite 320. Zip: 07102. Tel: (973) 643-3341. Compuserve: 104216,2703

NEW YORK: New York City: 59 4th Avenue (corner of Bergen) Brooklyn, NY Zip: 11217. Tel: (718) 399-7257. Compuserve: 102064,2642 ; 167 Charles St., Manhattan, NY. Zip: 10014. Tel: (212) 366-1973.

OHIO: Cincinnati: P.O. Box 19484. Zip: 45219. Tel: (513) 662-1931. **Cleveland:** 1832 Euclid. Zip: 44115. Tel: (216) 861-6150. Compuserve: 103253,1111

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: 1906 South St. Zip: 19146. Tel: (215) 546-8218. Compuserve: 104502,1757 **Pittsburgh:** 1103 E. Carson St. Zip 15203. Tel: (412) 381-9785. Compuserve: 103122,720

TEXAS: Houston: 6969 Gulf Freeway, Suite 380. Zip: 77087. Tel: (713) 847-0704. Compuserve: 102527,2271

WASHINGTON, D.C.: 1930 18th St. N.W. Suite #3 (Entrance on Florida Ave.) Zip: 20009. Tel: (202) 387-2185. Compuserve: 75407,3345.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: 1405 E. Madison. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 323-1755. Compuserve: 74461,2544.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 19 Terry St., Surry Hills 2010. Mailing address: P.O. Box K879, Haymarket Post Office, NSW 1240. Tel: 02-9281-3297. Compuserve: 106450,2216

BRITAIN

London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 0171-928-7993. Compuserve:

U.S. Hands Off Iraq! Speaker: Naomi Craine, editor of the *Militant*. Fri., February 13, 7:30 p.m. 59 Fourth Ave. (at Bergen). Donation: \$4. Tel: (718) 399-7257.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

The Fight to Desegregate Boston Schools: It's Lessons for Today. Fri., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

OHIO

Cleveland

From Iraq to Central Asia — The Weakening of The Clinton Administration and The Shortening War Fuse. Speaker: Ma'mud Shirvani, who has traveled extensively in region. Sat., Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. Reception 6:30 p.m. 1832 Euclid Ave. Donation: \$5. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

From Iraq to The Caspian Sea Region: The Crisis of Imperialism in The Middle East. Speaker: Ma'mud Shirvani, who has traveled extensively in region. Fri., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 1103 E. Carson St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (412) 381-9785.

101515,2702

Manchester: Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Postal code: M4 4AA. Tel: 0161-839-1766. Compuserve: 106462,327

CANADA

Montreal: 4581 Saint-Denis. Postal code: H2J 2L4. Tel: (514) 284-7369. Compuserve: 104614,2606

Toronto: 851 Bloor St. West. Postal code: M6G 1M3. Tel: (416) 533-4324. Compuserve: 103474,13

Vancouver: 3967 Main St. Postal code: V5V 3P3. Tel: (604) 872-8343. Compuserve: 103430,1552

FRANCE

Paris: MBE 201, 208 rue de la Convention. Postal code: 75015. Tel: (1) 47-26-58-21. Compuserve: 73504,442

ICELAND

Reykjavik: Klappartíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Tel: 552 5502. INTERNET: gphssg@treknet.is

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Postal address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 379-3075. Compuserve: 100035,3205

Christchurch: 199 High St. Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 365-6055. Compuserve: 100250,1511

SWEDEN

Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33. Compuserve: 100416,2362

Think you're crazy? — The lead headline in the January 29 *Los Angeles Times*: "U.S. Prepared to Strike Iraq on Its Own, [U.S. secretary of state] Albright says." And,



Harry Ring

on an inside page: "Clinton Is Nominated for [Nobel] Peace Prize."

Timely — About 100 British Gulf War veterans in Britain — in-

cluding some from Northern Ireland — were slated to march on the Ministry of Defense and hand back medals they were awarded. They're part of a group of 1,300 suffering Gulf War Syndrome illnesses. Another 28 have died.

Tanned skinheads — "ZINNOWITZ, Germany — Skinheads who harassed a group of foreigners in northeast Germany got a lesson in picking the wrong target — top boxers in training. In two incidents within the past week, when skinheads insulted or threatened Cuban boxers, the athletes returned fire with their fists and punched the skinheads in the nose, police said." — Associated Press.

Risky business — A defibrillator is available on the floor of the New York Stock Exchange. The machine provides electroshocks to revive heart attack victims. An official of a nearby hospital says: "It's become legendary that this zip code is the heart attack capital of New York."

Science in service of civilization — Turks and Iraqis seeking to enter Germany on the basis of having relatives there are the target of a trial run in requiring applicants — and their relatives in Germany — to submit to genetic tests to confirm identity. Applicants and relatives, must pay \$55 each to cover test costs.

What's dirty? A value judgment — An outfit is peddling a software program including a list of porn web sites that employees are assuredly visiting. The boss can then block them.

An ad features a suggestive picture on a monitor screen and declares: "The most obscene thing? He's doing it on company time."

We're shocked — Host of a crime-watch cable TV show, Police Capt. Richard Pimental of Taunton, Massachusetts, is known as "Capt. Good."

Last month he was indicted on charges of stealing a gun, soliciting a bribe, and interfering with a witness against his nephew.

Barristers trust fund — The lawyers handling the Diana, Princess of Wales Memorial Fund denied they were overcharging in submitting an initial bill of £500,000 (\$800,000). Fund trustees agreed, saying fees were on the low side.

The 'family-values' society — "s Angeles County has paid \$24 million to settle 49 claims of mothers and children who died or were injured when county doctors forced poor women to attempt to deliver babies vaginally — even in high risk cases.... The settlements mark the grim cost of the county's leadership in a nationwide movement to reduce the number of costly cesarean sections..." — News item.

1877: first mass labor upsurge in United States

We continue this week to highlight the factors that gave rise to U.S. imperialism at the end of the 19th century. The excerpts below are from the first volume of *Revolutionary Continuity: Marxist Leadership in the U.S.* by Farrell Dobbs. This selection describes the rapid expansion of industrial capital following the defeat of the slaveocracy in the Civil War, the accompanying growth of the working-class, and the first generalized confrontation between labor and capital in the United States in 1877. The book is copyright © 1980 by the Anchor Foundation and reprinted by permission. Subheadings and footnotes are by the *Militant*.

BOOK OF THE WEEK

BY FARRELL DOBBS

Crushing the slavocracy in 1865 brought the capitalist class definitive control over the nation. A general recasting of governmental policies and social institutions followed, so as to bring them into full conformity with bourgeois needs. That cleared the way for qualitative leaps in machine production, railroad construction, etc., already accelerated by the Civil War. Huge concentrations of capital were amassed to finance large-scale enterprises. Big corporations came into existence. Giant trusts were formed by industrial and banking combines in moves to establish monopolies. This trend soon produced a bumper crop of multimillionaires who fattened on harsh exploitation of wage-labor and wanton depredation of national resources. These plutocrats became the real power behind the bourgeois-democratic governmental facade, and they dealt brutally with all who resisted their ruthless methods of coining superprofits.

Expansion of the factory system also led to transformation of the working class. Unskilled laborers serving as appendages of machines became an increasingly larger section of the class and the weight of the skilled workers declined proportionately. As these contrasting trends revealed, wage-labor was becoming substantially proletarianized. This signified that — in terms of objective developments — the country was entering a new phase. Capitalism, which had just triumphed over the planter aristocracy and which was making fewer and fewer compromises with the independent producers, was already beginning to create "its own gravediggers."

This period also saw the definitive end to

a progressive role for any wing of the bourgeoisie or its political parties.

By 1877 radical Reconstruction had gone down to bloody defeat, and not only Afro-Americans but the entire working class had suffered the worst setback in its history. The defeat was engineered by the dominant sectors of the industrial ruling class, who were incapable of carrying through a radical land reform in the old Confederacy and rightly feared the rise of a united working class in which Black and white artisans and industrial workers would come together as a powerful oppositional force, allied with free working farmers.

The rural poor and working class were forcibly divided along color lines. The value of labor power was driven down and class solidarity crippled. Jim Crow, the system of extensive segregation, was legalized. Racism was spread at an accelerated pace throughout the entire United States. The ideological basis for imperialist expansion was laid. All the conditions were created for the forging of the new Afro-American oppressed nationality.

At the same time, the Marxists had been weakened in the aftermath of the Civil War. Isolation from the civilian work force, casualties in the war, and the death after the war of Joseph Weydemeyer — Marx and Engels's principal collaborator in the U.S. — virtually decimated the organized Marxist current in the United States....

By the spring of 1877 the cumulative hardships stemming from prolonged economic depression had generated widespread discontent among the exploited masses. So great was the social unrest, in fact, that the first substantial upsurge of class struggle precipitated a general confrontation between labor and capital.

The conflict opened when new wage cuts were imposed by railroad companies. This was one blow too many for the workers involved, who launched spontaneous walkouts on one railway line after another. A few among them belonged to weak craft unions. But in the main they were unorganized and without ready-made means of conducting a strike. Under those circumstances organizational improvisations, including formation of an ad hoc leadership, had to be devised in the heat of battle.

As the walkout gained momentum some of the Lassalleans¹ momentarily put aside their opposition to trade union activity and joined with the Marxists in calling for all-out support of the railroad workers. Cadres of the Workingmen's Party extended help to the strikers in solving their organizational problems. In a couple of cities this led to formal

inclusion of socialists, who were not necessarily railroad workers, in strike committees. A substantial contribution was thereby made to what rapidly developed into an effective shutdown of virtually the entire railway system.

Capitalist efforts to crush the walkout became increasingly brutal as it grew in scope. This counterattack took place behind a smokescreen of antilabor propaganda laid down by newspaper editors, church dignitaries, and other "civic leaders." It began with the hiring of strikebreakers at premium pay to run trains. The private railway police assigned to protect the scabs were beefed up and steps were initiated to form antilabor vigilante gangs.

At the same time, all levels of government went into action against the workers. City police and state militias were used to break up picket lines. Strikers were clubbed and jailed. Both official and extralegal armed bodies fired upon workers' gatherings, killing some and wounding many.

Those vicious assaults provoked a widening of the struggle. Large numbers of workers came to the direct aid of the embattled railroad strikers and the walkout was extended to other industries. The high point of the movement was reached in St. Louis, Missouri, where labor solidarity became manifested through a general strike in which socialists functioned as key leaders.

By then the national government had entered the conflict on the side of the bosses. Federal troops used extensively as the main repressive force tipped the scales against labor. The railroad strikers were finally driven back to their jobs in defeat.

Despite the setback received in the immediate struggle, the labor movement had gained new potential. Many workers had become more aware of their common interests as a class. They had also become more perceptive of the solidarity among the employers as a class in opposing them, as

well as the antilabor character of the capitalist government. These advances in consciousness gave rise, in the aftermath of the strike defeat, to the initiation of working-class political action. Labor parties arose spontaneously in many cities to run candidates for government office in the 1877 elections.

For those parties to act effectively, the workers' demands as a class had to be generalized in political form. Safeguards were required to maintain rank-and-file control over electoral policy. Care had to be taken, as well, to assure that — in seeking political allies — labor continued to function at all times as an independent class force.

To achieve such objectives the workers needed help from the revolutionary vanguard. But the Workingmen's Party had lost the leadership capacity shown during the brief span when the ranks were somewhat more united than usual in support of the railroad strike. Entirely different courses of action were put forward by the rival formations within the organization, and both failed to meet their obligations to the working class.

¹ Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-64) was a founder of the General Association of German Workers, which later became part of the Social Democratic Party in Germany. Political supporters of Lassalle and of Karl Marx were the main competing tendencies in the Workingmen's Party in the United States, a loose federation of socialist forces formed in 1876. Elsewhere in *Revolutionary Continuity* Dobbs writes that the Lassalleans "thought socialism could be achieved by outflanking the capitalists. To do so, they advocated that the workers form producers' cooperatives as a means of freeing themselves from the wage-labor system. Top priority should be given to electoral action based upon full use of universal male suffrage to increase their political strength, and force through government financing of such projects. Trade union activity had to be subordinated to 'socialist' objectives of that kind."

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



February 16, 1973

HOUSTON — With pickets already up at all three Shell refineries on the West Coast, members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union Local 4367 voted Jan. 26 to strike Shell oil here.

The action closed all of Shell's southwestern facilities as workers stuck to their demands for health and safety committees and for pension improvements. In the past month, the Oil Workers union has struck major oil firms throughout the country over health and wage issues. Some 1,000 refinery workers and 850 chemical workers here walked off their jobs Jan. 26 in response to the strike call. Union President A.F. Grosperon described the strike as "95 percent solid."

The OCAW has agreed to accept and industry-wide compromise that raises hourly pay 6 percent now and another 27 cents Jan. 1, 1974. But the union refused to drop the demand for a new safety committee.

Eleven national environmental and ecology groups have come out in favor of the oil worker's strike.



February 16, 1948

Awakening from their thousand-year slumber, the people of Iraq, by means of mass demonstrations in Baghdad and other cities, have forced their Parliament to repudiate the newly signed 20-year treaty of military alliance with England. Premier Sayod Saloh Jabr had to flee the country twelve days after he signed the treaty in Portsmouth, England. For two weeks the country was convulsed by mass demonstrations and riots in which many were killed and hundreds injured and buildings burned and wrecked. This uprising culminated in the fall of the government that was betraying the will of the people. The pact was denounced by the demonstrators as "written in ink and repudiated in blood."

The discovery of vast oil resources in the Near East, together with the beginnings of industrialization during the Second World War, have augmented the wealth of these desert lands and strengthened the nationalist sentiment among their peoples. The weakening of the British Empire has further served to encourage the independence movement.

Revolutionary Continuity



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Farrell Dobbs

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FROM PATHFINDER

Say 'No' to U.S. war moves

Events of the past week clearly show the Clinton's administration's course toward war against the Iraqi people, with full support from both Democratic and Republican parties. Despite Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's and other White House officials' charades about seeking a "diplomatic solution," the U.S. rulers are determined to press ahead. Their ultimate aim remains to overthrow the government of Saddam Hussein and replace it with one subservient to the interests of American imperialism.

Over the next few weeks, the Clinton administration plans to carry through its "final round of diplomacy" before launching what will be a horrendous bombing. During its military buildup in the Mideast in 1990-91, Washington paused several times to "give diplomacy a chance," painting itself up as the "peacemaker" to justify the impending slaughter.

As we go to press, a debate is opening between wings of the ruling class over the exact aims and methods in the current war drive. Just as in the months leading up to the Gulf War, working people need to be mindful of the trap of denial that the rulers are truly marching toward war. That bloody onslaught against Iraq was devastating, and the subsequent sanctions imposed on the country have exacted an enormous toll on the population — resulting in the deaths of more than 1 million people over the past seven years.

The big-business politicians are now debating using ground troops to launch an invasion and discussing how to "prepare Americans" for massive casualties. Washington broke its teeth on its last assault against Iraq, which set the stage for the current crisis. U.S. imperialism is acting from a position that reflects the growing instability and vulnerability of world capitalism. Another U.S. war against the Iraqi people will generate worldwide revolution. Massive opposition can erupt throughout the Arab world, other parts of the Mideast and among oppressed people everywhere.

Reaching out to fellow workers, unionists on strike, defenders of abortion rights, and others to mobilize opposition against Washington's drive toward war should be the goal of all those concerned about the future of humanity. Organizing protests, speak-outs, picket lines, and other public activities now against the impending imperialist carnage is paramount. Working people, youth, and GIs are a central aspect of any campaign to oppose the U.S. war moves. As White House officials pretend to seek a "diplomatic solution," we should not relent in building protest actions against their imperialist war. Class-conscious fighters should join with others to say:

No to Washington's war!
U.S. hands off Iraq!
End the embargo!
Imperialists troops and inspectors out the Mideast!

No more 'Bomblings'

Now is the time to call protest actions, speak-outs, forums, and clinic defense lines to answer the recent bombing of an abortion clinic in Birmingham, Alabama, and other attacks on women's rights.

Working people in Birmingham know what the real story is. After decades of racist intimidation through the bombing of Black homes and neighborhoods, Birmingham came to be known as "Bombingham." These terrorist attacks were aimed at instilling fear in the Black community to accept the second-class status of Jim Crow segregation. The mass battles of the civil rights movement — waged overwhelmingly by working-class Blacks in Birmingham and many other cities — changed this, winning a huge victory for all working people. Those who fought these battles, and the younger generations who know this is their victory as well, are determined to say "Never again."

Right-wing terrorists like those responsible for the latest bombing gain nourishment from the bipartisan moves to curtail abortion rights that began almost before the ink was dry on the Supreme Court ruling codifying women's right to choose 25 years ago. These attacks have accelerated in recent years — 19 states have mandatory waiting periods for women seeking abortions and 30 require parental consent for minors seeking abortion, to name just a

couple examples. The blows to abortion rights are aimed against the working class as a whole. They are among the attempts by the bosses to reverse the gains of the civil rights and women's movements, along with attacks on affirmative action, school desegregation, and others. They are part of the ruling class's attempt to drive down the pay, working conditions, and expectations of women. This is why the labor movement should champion the fight to defend these rights.

In 1991-92, in Birmingham and elsewhere, antichoice groups tried to use large mobilizations to shut down clinics, but were pushed back by mass clinic defense. There rightists received a political blow, which registered the widespread support for a woman's right to choose among the working class and others. In turn the antichoice groups resorted to terror.

U.S. president William Clinton, along with many other Democrats and Republicans who have agreed to backing a slightly modified ban on a type of late-term abortion, gives wind to the sails of these groups. Supporters of women's rights, and all democratic rights, must respond through visible, public protests. The upcoming Northeast Young Feminists Summit in Boston will also be a good place for supporters of women's right to meet and discuss the continued struggle for women's rights.

Abolish the death penalty!

The execution of Karla Faye Tucker in Huntsville, Texas, February 3 marked another stage in the U.S. rulers' battle to justify lining up more and more people in the corridors of the death chamber.

Her case drew a seemingly incongruous picture of death penalty supporters speaking out in her defense like rightist Pat Robertson, while liberals who describe themselves as opponents of the death penalty and supporters of equal rights for women called for her execution.

But the real issue for working people is that the capitalist state has no right to put anyone to death. The rulers' drive to execute encourages and appeals to resentment and vengeance to cover their intent to use more brutal methods against the working class, and place greater limits on our democratic rights. This also gives encouragement to rightist forces, like the crowd that cheered on the execution, standing across from death penalty opponents in front of the prison in Huntsville on the day of the state-sanctioned murder.

It's worth noting the thinly veiled racism of the death penalty proponents who supported Tucker's plea for clemency by repeatedly referring to her as a "beautiful, saved woman." Currently Texas has 437 men and 6 women on

death row, 40 percent of whom are Black. Over one-third of those executed in 1997 were Black. Tucker was white.

The death penalty is used as an instrument of terror by a government that represents the wealthy class of employers, landlords, and bankers. While the rulers' courts are quick to condemn more and more working people as criminals, their cops are allowed to brutalize and kill with impunity. In a state with a mounting series of industrial disasters — from environmental pollution by oil companies, to deaths of rail workers overworked by companies loathe to hire enough people — no bosses will be found awaiting trial for these crimes. But when workers try to stand up against speedup, cutbacks, and deteriorating safety conditions they often meet the obstacle of cops and courts, issuing injunctions and declaring job actions illegal.

It is especially important to stand against the use of terror methods by the government at a time when Washington is preparing to rain down bombs on the Iraqi population. This will be accompanied with the attempt to silence critics of the war. Part of defending the right to speak out against this war policy must include the fight to defend democratic rights and against the growing use of murder as a weapon of the state.

Honeywell workers strike in Minnesota

Continued from front page

pay 20 percent of their medical costs, above the premiums. Currently the company pays 100 percent after premiums paid by the workers. The inferior benefits plan would be permanent for new workers.

A production worker with 20 years in the plant said, "This is a union-busting contract because of the two-tier. This will weaken and split the union by taking away benefits for the new hires and then later for us."

Strikers on the picket line say that between 500-700 workers are due to retire over the next four years, and they anticipate hiring by the company after many years of layoffs. Honeywell produces building controls, flight controls, and gyroscopes for airliners, test equipment and instrument displays for military aircraft, and other control components. The company reported \$8 billion in sales last year.

Honeywell secured a District Court restraining order on February 3, restricting the number of pickets at each gate to six and forbidding interference with people or vehicles entering or leaving their plants.

Ernie Moryn, production worker with 23 years seniority, stated the outlook of many strikers. "I am pretty confident we will get most of what we want," he said. "We want everybody to get the same benefits."

Jeff Jones is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1833.

Washington presses moves against Iraq

Continued from Page 4

strengthen their arguments and finish up military preparations."

After wrapping up her trip of Europe and the Persian Gulf Albright crowed the same day, "I believe we'll have all the cooperation we need across the board." She boasted that none of the Arab leaders said, "Go home and tell the president not to use force."

The next day, however, a news report in the Associated Press contradicted her fable. "Egypt's president again came out against the use of military force," the article stated. "Kuwait remained alone in signaling its willingness to make its territory available for an attack." Even the generally pliant regime in Saudi Arabia withheld permission for Washington to use its air bases for offensive military operations, the *Wall Street Journal* reported February 3. Twice in recent years opponents of Washington's military presence have attacked U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia, including the June 1996 bombing of the Khobar Towers that killed 19 U.S. soldiers and wounded hundreds of others.

"It's difficult for me to believe that an Arab country would accept a military strike on Iraq," said Esmat Abdel-Meguid, the Arab League secretary-general who traveled to Baghdad February 4.

Paris backed down somewhat from its stated opposition to an imperialist military assault. "I must say that all options are open," French foreign minister Hubert Vedrine told reporters at a January 29 joint news conference with Albright in Paris. "Let's adopt a strong resolution in the Security Council," said a French government official. "If it fails, maybe we have no other choice than to bomb."

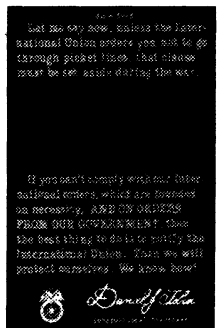
British prime minister Anthony Blair arrived in Washington February 4 for meetings with Clinton and to begin a campaign to publicize the alleged dangers of the Iraqi government's arsenal.

from Pathfinder

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FARRELL DOBBS

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New Zealand gov't tries to limit Maori fishing rights

BY JANET ROTH

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — On December 23 last year, fisherman John Hikuwai landed 7.7 tons of snapper, claiming this was legal under Maori customary fishing rights.

A storm of controversy raged nationally in the weeks following. Spokespeople for the government parties, National and New Zealand First, as well as the right-wing party ACT, the opposition Labour Party, and representatives of commercial fishing interests, led the charge in calling for the government to limit customary fishing by Maori.

Hikuwai is the skipper of a hired boat, the *James O'Brien*, one of six vessels registered with the Confederation of Chiefs of the United Tribes of New Zealand. His catch was distributed to *marae* (tribal meeting places) in Auckland and Northland in exchange for a donation, usually cash. Legally, fish caught for customary purposes cannot be sold.

He and the confederation have stood firm in defending their actions. "As Maori we have a right to survive off the sea, especially coastal tribes. There is no way people can stop us making a living from the sea," Hikuwai said. "It's about our birthright to use and protect what is ours, our assets. *Tino rangitiratanga* [Maori sovereignty] over our *whenua* [land], our peoples, our *kaimoana* [seafood]... everything."

The confederation announced that the *James O'Brien* was continuing fishing and that further large quantities of fish would be available for distribution to *marae*.

On January 19 the Ministry of Fisheries seized the *James O'Brien*. The next day the government announced new interim rules to crack down on Maori exercising their customary fishing rights.

Hikuwai argued that the vessel was operating within the law and accused the ministry of "piracy and high treason in seizing the boat."

All commercial fishing is governed by a quota system, which determines how much fish and what species each company or independent operator is entitled to catch. Introduced in 1986, quotas were allocated according to previous catch records. This favored the biggest companies and left many small fishers with quotas too small to live on. Thousands were driven out of the industry. Those left mostly buy or lease quotas from the big companies in return for selling their fish exclusively to that company.

In 1992 the government brought in new legislation following what is known as the Sealords deal, in which Maori tribal authorities gave up all claims to ownership of commercial fisheries. In exchange, in a one-off settlement, they were given fishing quota,

major shares in fishing companies, and cash. This deal has been an ongoing source of debate, over how the settlement is allocated and the character of the settlement itself.

Under this agreement, regulations governing noncommercial customary fishing by Maori were to be implemented also, following further negotiations. The government has now formulated regulations, which it is pushing to have introduced by the end of April.

These regulations will require anyone who wants to collect fish or seafood under customary rights to apply in writing in advance for permission from an especially appointed guardian. Any permit granted would state exactly what could be collected, where, and by whom, and the catch could not be sold. The Ministry of Fisheries say they will enforce the regulations and prosecute those who breach these rules.

A number of tribal authorities have signed up to the regulations, while others are calling for further negotiations because they claim that Maori, not the government's fisheries ministry, have the right to manage and enforce customary fishing. They also want the right to control all fishing — not just customary — in areas set aside as special Maori reserves. Negotiations broke down at the end of 1997.

The Ministry of Fisheries tried to prosecute Hikuwai and another confederation fisherman last year, but failed because of the lack of rules on customary fishing.

The quota system and limits on customary fishing are portrayed as necessary to conserve fish stocks. In reality, as fishing has become a major capitalist export industry over the past decade, the needs of the major companies are put ahead of preservation of the resource.

Last year representatives of the fishing industry succeeded in preventing the government from cutting the snapper quota by 40 percent, despite a dramatic drop in the number left of this species. Fishing boats regularly dump species they catch for which they do not hold a quota.

Calling for regulations to limit Maori customary fishing, the chairman of the Auckland Inshore Commercial Fishermen's Association, Maurice Ashby, claimed, "If this situation is allowed to continue, with Maori taking as much fish as they want when they want, then the quota management system no longer has any integrity."

The *New Zealand Herald* editors fumed, "The country now pays for the government's lack of intestinal fortitude in resolving the controversial issue of Maori customary fishing rights."

Hikuwai explained, however, "What we have been taking is nowhere near what those with quotas and the black marketeers have. A few tons might sound like a lot, but once you divide it up among the [confederation] members in the North Island, it does not really go that far at all."

Hikuwai has called for the whole quota system to be scrapped because it is unfair to Maori.

In another challenge, supporters of customary fishing rights set up a refrigerated



Militant/Janet Roth

March and rally for Maori rights in Waitangi, New Zealand, in February of last year.

trailer in the Northland town of Kaeo from which residents could give a cash donation in exchange for fish. The Ministry of Fisheries immediately confiscated the trailer and arrested a confederation fisherman, John Ututaonga, for obstruction.

"We are not going to stop," explained Ututaonga. "It is survival time. Everything in the sea is being killed. It is the commercial sector that is raping and killing. We only take for our needs. We want to feed our own people."

Confederation supporters have pointed to the importance of fish being made available to Maori on a donation basis because of the high unemployment in Northland, where the confederation is based.

Northland, with a large Maori population, has the second-highest unemployment rate for any region in the country. Nationally, the unemployment rate for Maori is 18.2 percent compared to 4.5 percent for white New

Zealanders.

A January 22 meeting of Northland tribal representatives, which was called to discuss the confederation's activities, appointed a negotiator to restart talks with the government on customary fishing regulations. The confederation rejected this and said it would continue fishing as it had been.

Meanwhile, Maori on the East Coast are occupying land at Lake Waikaremoana and at Waimana, outside the Urewera National Park, in protest against the Department of Conservation's administration of the areas. This includes its lack of protection of native birds and use of a pesticide called 1080 poison.

Six of the Waimana protesters were arrested on January 20 on charges they were blocking a bridge.

Janet Roth is a member of the Service and Food Workers Union.

Tamil activist fights deportation in Toronto

BY GUY TREMBLAY

TORONTO — Hundreds of Tamils rallied the week of January 12 outside Toronto's Don Jail here to protest the Canadian government's efforts to deport Manickavasagam Suresh to Sri Lanka. The actions succeeded in delaying the deportation, which was scheduled for January 19.

Suresh was arrested on Oct. 18, 1995, on the basis of a national security certificate issued against him under the Immigration Act. At the time he was the coordinator of the World Tamil Movement, a group that supports the Tamil struggle for independence from Sri Lanka and provides assistance to Tamil immigrants and refugees in Canada. The Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) claims there are grounds to believe that Suresh is a member of an organization engaging in "terrorism," the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).

Despite the fact that there are no allegations against Suresh of criminal activity, in Canada or Sri Lanka, Suresh has been detained ever since. He contracted tuberculosis in jail, in part due to being handcuffed naked in his cell. Suresh's support for Tamil people of Sri Lanka to self-determination and support to the LTTE through lawful ac-

tivities like fund-raising and publicity are the only evidence the government is using.

After Immigration Minister Lucienne Robillard gave her approval for his deportation to Sri Lanka, Barbara Jackman, Suresh's lawyer explained, "The human rights record in Sri Lanka for persons suspected of being members of the LTTE is that people get killed. Sending him back is going to put his life at risk." The government is threatening deportation despite the fact that Suresh, who has lived in Canada since 1990, was recognized as a United Nations Convention refugee by the Refugee Division of the Immigration and Refugee Board in April 1991.

There are about 200,000 Tamils in Canada, of whom 150,000 are in the Toronto area. Some have been active in the Suresh Defense Campaign, including a rally of 5,000 people took place on Oct. 18, 1997 in front of Don Jail.

An action has been scheduled for February 1 to protest human rights violations in Sri Lanka including the denial of the Tamil people to self-determination. For more information contact: Federation of Associations of Canadian Tamils, call: (416) 463-7647 or (416) 461-5991.

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— LETTERS —

A few corrections

Two articles in the 'In Brief' column in the January 19 *Militant* caught my eye as not in the best tradition of the paper.

1) "Fewer Czechs Support NATO" — the first sentence states as fact that the percentage of Czechs who support joining NATO has dropped from 50 percent to 43 percent. No source is indicated for this "fact" although I assume it's from a poll.

As a rule conscious workers and farmers should not give much credibility to bourgeois public polls. On occasion, using such polls in order to reinforce an argument, such as the continued majority support among working people for abortion rights,

may be useful.

But on the issue of Czechs and NATO, even if this poll did accurately present the percentages of public opinion, it does not explain why 50 percent of Czechs opposed joining NATO. Was it for nationalist reasons, anti-imperialist sentiment, or what? In general these polls do not aid workers in understanding politics.

The article also has an important factual error. It states that "Vaclav Havel was forced to resign as prime minister November 30." In fact it was Vaclav Klaus, the Premier, who was forced to resign. Vaclav Havel remains the President of the Czech Republic.

2) "Italian gov't: 'We don't want

Kurdish refugees from Turkey.'" The opening sentence quotes the Italian government's response to "claims" that Kurds are fleeing Turkey to escape repression.

In this case, with or without polls of the refugees, the *Militant* should report as a fact that thousands of Kurds are fleeing the repression in Turkey, not as a 'claim.'

Mike Italie
Atlanta, Georgia

Note from the editor:
The *Militant* agrees with these points.

Below we are printing notes sent to the *Militant* by subscribers with their renewal forms.

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With over 35 years of education by the *Militant*, there is no way I could do without this valuable paper for the rest of my life.

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British gov't is forced to open new inquiry in Bloody Sunday massacre

Tens of thousands march in Derry to advance Irish struggle

BY PAUL DAVIES
AND PETE CLIFFORD

DERRY, Northern Ireland — Tens of thousands marched through the streets of Derry February 1 to press forward the fight to uncover the truth about the massacre of 14 civil rights protesters by British troops on Bloody Sunday, Jan. 30, 1972. There was a mood of achievement and continued determination throughout the march. Three days before British prime minister Anthony Blair had announced a new judicial inquiry into the killings.

Addressing the rally at the end of the demonstration, Sinn Féin chairman Mitchel McLaughlin said, "The British were forced to acknowledge that the cover-up could not hold. They were forced to admit that British justice, as reported by the Widgery Tribunal, had been a total fraud and the world had come to realize it."

On January 30-31 more than 700 people took part in a series of meetings and workshops to assess the new British government proposals, as well as other aspects of the struggle for Irish self-determination. Speaking at one of these, Gerry Duddy, a relative of one of those killed on Bloody Sunday, reviewed how the British had used the Widgery Tribunal in 1972, immediately after the killings, to cover up the role of the government and the army. With the announcement of a new inquiry "we've finally laid Widgery to rest," Duddy said. "But let's be cautious. We have not won yet, the hard work is only just beginning."

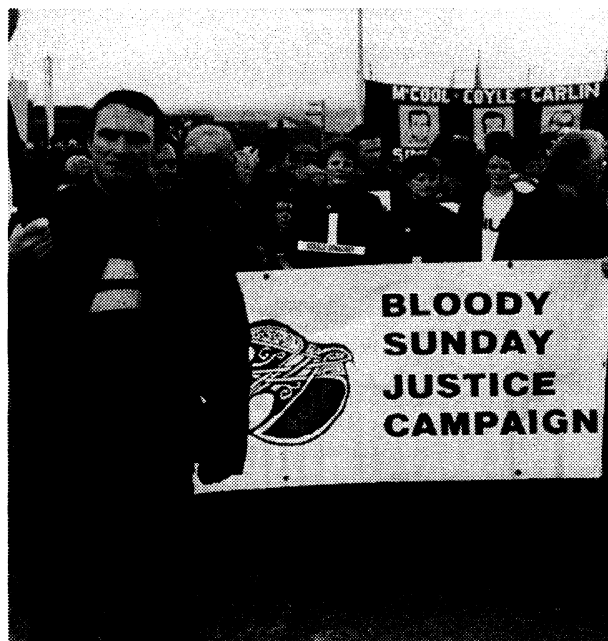
The *Irish News* reported that more than 30,000 people joined the march, which retraced the route of the 1972 civil rights march. Other reports placed the size as high as 40,000. Many marchers were not old enough to remember the original massacre. The action began at the working-class estate of Creggan and wound its way down to the Bogside neighborhood, where the killing of the 14 unarmed protesters had taken place. Hundreds came out of their homes to join the action, led by marchers carrying the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign banner. This was followed by 14 relatives of those slain carrying crosses, and others with pictures of each victim. Numerous contingents representing different aspects of the nationalist struggle participated. Most marched behind ensigns of Sinn Féin *cumanns* (branches) from throughout Ireland.

Many banners also focused on the campaign to release Irish political prisoners. Street lamp posts along the route carried posters calling for the release of four prisoners in English jails since 1977, known as the Balcombe Street Four. The day before London had decided they could be transferred to prisons in Ireland, but would not be considered for parole until they had served at least 25 years, termed "whole life."

Several other banners called for an end to the killing of Catholics by Unionist (pro-British) terror groups. Two days before, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions had held rallies attended by a few thousand people in Northern Ireland under the banner of "Stop all killings." When nationalists, including Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams, turned up at the Belfast rally with a banner reading "Stop Unionist Death Squads," they were excluded from speaking.

The February 1 march ended at Free Derry corner, where youths had hung a banner from the top of nearby flats that read "Ireland for the Irish, British murderers go home."

On other roof tops, 12-foot-high banners depicted those who were killed by British soldiers in 1972. Behind these you could see the Derry city walls, where demonstrators had hung giant wooden figures representing British army snipers who had fired from



Militant/Julie Crawford

Some 30,000 - 40,000 turned out for march in Derry

there. The Widgery Tribunal maintained that there was no sniper fire and that the soldiers had only fired in self-defense.

Speaking at one of the meetings the day before the demonstration Don Mullan, editor of *Eyewitness Bloody Sunday*, explained what had forced the British government to concede another inquiry. He reviewed the events of the last 14 months, including last year's Bloody Sunday demonstration, which for the first time was bigger than the civil rights march in 1972. An international campaign mushroomed over the next year, including through a U.S. speaking tour of 14 of the relatives. As this fight deepened, the cover-up of the massacre began to crack. This included the publication of a statement by a British soldier that demonstrators had been shot with their hands in the air, and that his own statement to the Widgery Tribunal had been torn up. Added to that, an amateur radio enthusiast revealed tapes he had, which Widgery refused to hear, confirming that army snipers had fired from the walls.

In response to this fight, the Dublin government compiled an assessment of Bloody Sunday for the first time in June 1997. Dublin published this 178-page report, "Bloody Sunday and the Report of the Widgery Tribunal," a few hours before Blair announced the new judicial inquiry. The government's assessment describes the Widgery report as "inherently flawed," "inaccurate and partisan," and "informed by ulterior political motivation from its inception."

The new inquiry is to be headed by British judge Lord Saville. It will include two other judges, who Blair said "are likely to be from the Commonwealth" countries of the former British Empire. Its proceedings, he said, would be "in public unless there are special countervailing circumstances."

Liam Wray, one of the relatives, responded to Blair's announcement by saying, "We will not be caught out twice. We simply will not allow them to do another Widgery."

The new inquiry was endorsed by opposition Conservative Party leader William Hague. Hours after Blair's announcement British defense secretary George Robertson was in Belfast visiting troops. He told them he would seek to "make sure that today's decision is seen in the context of events that took place 26 years ago and that today's army has the total confidence of the government." The *London Times* comment was typical of many big-business papers in its response. A January 30 editorial argued the inquiry needed to be seen as "an attempt to

find the truth, not root out scapegoats." Ulster Unionist Party leader David Trimble warned, "Opening old wounds like this is likely to do more harm than good" to those who support continued British rule in Ireland.

Speaking at a wreath laying ceremony prior to the demonstration Margaret Wray, one of the relatives, said that "if the new inquiry is to discover the truth, it must investigate the activities of the Westminster government, the civil service at Whitehall, and the Northern Ireland government at Stormont in the weeks prior to Bloody Sunday."

Blair announced that the tribunal itself would decide whether those it called would have immunity from prosecution. In response, Sinn Féin leader Martin McGuinness said

that any members of the "military establishment" found guilty through the Saville inquiry should face prosecution. McLaughlin also argued that the two judges still to be appointed should reflect an international panel. "Nothing less than a full and international inquiry" is required, he stated.

While Blair spoke of the "dignity" of the relatives of the Bloody Sunday massacre, one of them, Michael McKinney, was held for questioning just four days before. He was stopped by police under the Prevention of Terrorism Act on his way to and from Glasgow, Scotland, where he spoke at an 800-strong Bloody Sunday demonstration.

Also speaking at the Derry demonstration was Diane Hammill, sister of Robert Hammill, a Catholic who was beaten to death by a loyalist mob last year in Portadown. She demanded, "Why did the crowd who killed my brother feel safe to murder a Catholic within yards of a police station?" She explained that officers of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) had stood by while Hammill was kicked to death. She added that Northern Ireland Secretary Marjorie Mowlam and RUC police chief Ronald Flanagan had not given answers to her questions.

Mowlam held talks with representatives of the RUC Police Federation in the last week to convince them that the British government would not be making any changes to the RUC. Speaking to the Bloody Sunday demonstration for the first time this year was Mark Durkan, a leading representative of the reformist Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP). Former Irish premier Albert Reynolds sent a message of support to the rally. This breadth of support for the Bloody Sunday inquiry fight was also reflected by participation from leaders of the SDLP and Fianna Fail, the governing party in Ireland, in the previous few days meetings in Derry.

Summing up the mood of the marchers, John Kelly, chair of the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign declared, "With Widgery gone we have passed one big hurdle, but the campaign for truth goes on."

Paul Davies is a member of the Amalgamated Engineers Union in Manchester. Pete Clifford is a member of the Rail, Maritime and Transport Union in London. Julie Crawford contributed to this article.

Farmers, workers in Greece protest austerity



Working farmers organize tractorcade in Thessaly, central Greece, February 2 (above), and threaten to shut country's main highway. Their demands include debt relief and lower costs of production. The same day, tens of thousands of workers rallied outside parliament in Athens to protest government austerity measures (inset). Public workers waged a series of strikes in January.