

THE MILITANT

INSIDE
Irish freedom fighters stand up
to imperialist pressure

— PAGE 7

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Defend democratic rights! U.S. hands off Afghanistan, Iraq!

Socialist candidate in NY opposes war drive, attacks on workers' rights

BY JACK WILLEY

NEW YORK—"My campaign demands that Washington keep its hands off Afghanistan and that it immediately withdraw all its warships, planes, and troops from the Mideast and South Asia," said Martin Koppel, Socialist Workers candidate for New York mayor, when interviewed here September 19 by a reporter for Panama's national television.

Koppel noted that the U.S. government now has arrested at least 115 immigrants around the country who, under new rules announced by the Bush administration, can be detained indefinitely without charges if the U.S. authorities declare a "national emergency."

The Socialist Workers candidate pointed to a statement he had issued September 11 that called on working people "to speak out against the U.S. rulers' demagogic efforts, in the name of preempting 'terrorism,' to rationalize restrictions on political rights" and to oppose "the campaign by the U.S.

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Workers and youth snap up 'Militant,' attend forums

BY RÓGER CALERO
AND MAURICE WILLIAMS

"As soon as the *Militant* came off the press September 13 with the headline, 'Oppose U.S. military assaults and curbs on democratic rights,' we hit the streets of the Garment District in New York," said socialist worker Dan Fein. "In five days, more than 110 people bought copies of the *Militant*, 11 people purchased subscriptions, and two more bought subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*. We were determined to get out the truth about Washington's war drive. One person who bought a *Militant* subscription said she needed the *Militant* every week as the war pressures were going to be around for a while," he added.

Fein's remarks reflect the activities around the world where members of the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialists, members of the YS and Communist Leagues in other countries, and supporters of the communist movement worldwide are organizing a working-class campaign against imperialism and war. They are reaching out to co-workers on the job and other unionists, setting up literature tables in working-class districts, selling at plant gates and mine portals, more deeply involving themselves in the struggles of workers and farmers, and getting out to college campuses to engage in political discussions with students. Socialist workers and YS members are also responding to the imperialist war drive by deepening their own education and

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Washington takes steps to militarize U.S., prepares 'long war' abroad

BY GREG MCCARTAN

Over the past week Washington has taken the sharpest moves in decades in militarizing the United States, accelerated the assault on democratic rights—especially targeting immigrant workers—and put the U.S. military on a war footing in preparation for a brutal assault on the people of Afghanistan and other countries such as Iraq.

As part of the war drive it has unleashed since the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the U.S. government already has 115 immigrants in preventive detention. Under new regulations enacted by the Justice Department, immigrants can be held indefinitely without charges if U.S. officials declare a "national emergency."

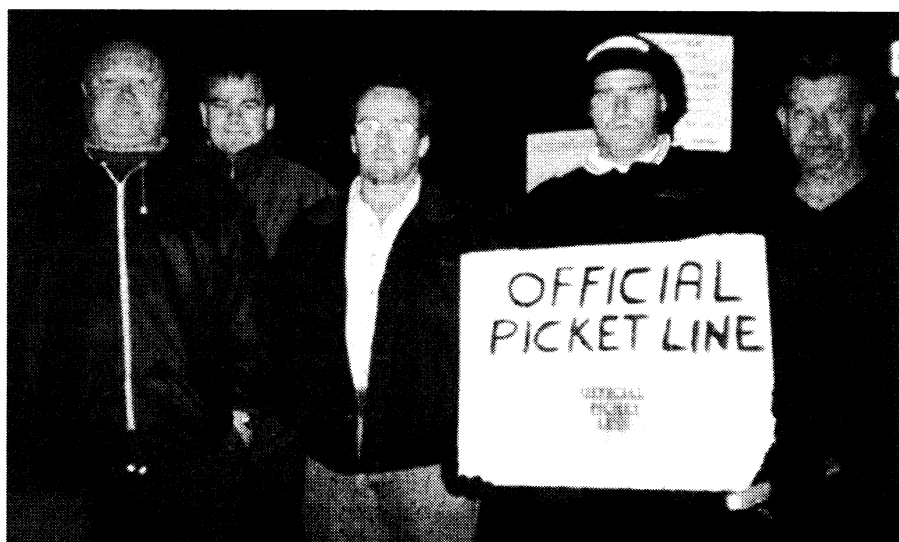
With bipartisan support, Congress is authorizing extended government powers to wiretap phone and computer communications and other attacks on constitutionally guaranteed rights. The U.S. government's chauvinist warmongering abroad and harassment of immigrants at home has given a green light for the recent wave of violent attacks on individuals from the Mideast and South Asia. This includes the killing of an Indian man in Mesa, Arizona; a Pakistani immigrant in Dallas, Texas; and an Egyptian man in San Gabriel, California (see articles on pp.10-11).

John Goheen, a spokesman for the National Guard Association, told the *New York Times* that the government response to the September 11 attacks "is a new kind of homeland defense."

The Clinton administration established for the first time a North American command for the Pentagon, authorizing all branches of the military to prepare for do-

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Coal miners strike wins support in United Kingdom



Militant/Pete Clifford

Pickets at Rossington colliery. Miners explain that they are striking for parity with other workers at UK Coal, in work hours, bonuses, and other issues.

BY PETE CLIFFORD

ROSSINGTON, England—Miners at Rossington colliery in Yorkshire, now in their fifth week on strike, are preparing to stand up to a lockout by UK Coal. A few hundred coal miners gathered at the Miners Welfare Hall August 17 to hear National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) leader Arthur Scargill extend the support of the national union to the fight. Strike leader John Gibson reported in an interview that the 260 NUM striking miners remain 100 percent solid.

Miners discussed out plans to advance the fight and also to build up a solidarity fund that the union has launched. In an interview after the meeting striking miner Chris Skidmore said, "If we go back now we will be going back for nothing. I don't want to do that." He explained miners decided to hold a second ballot to demon-

strate the continuing support for the strike should the coal bosses attempt to lock the miners out. Skidmore said he was confident the union would get another vote for strike action.

Skidmore said the NUM in the Yorkshire area had appealed for financial support from miners at other pits. The bosses at the mines had taken down union leaflets encouraging contributions to the Rossington support fund. "This will not stop us from winning support," he said, "because I'm confident about the feeling of others out there." Donations have arrived from branches of the Fire Brigades Union, the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union in Bristol, and the public sector union UNISON. "The messages of support that come with these donations are as important as the

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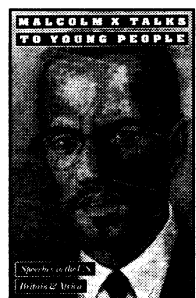
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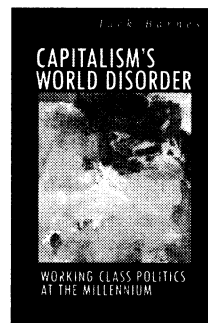
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From Pathfinder

South African workers rally against privatizations — page 2

South African strike opposes Pretoria's plans to privatize

BY T.J. FIGUEROA

An August 29-30 national strike against plans to privatize some state-run industries in South Africa saw sharpening public differences emerge between the 2-million-member Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the governing African National Congress (ANC).

The results of the strike were themselves a subject of dispute, with COSATU officials stating that about 65 percent of the workforce—about 5 million workers—stayed away from work, and that there had also been a good turnout in rural areas. The South African Chamber of Business, which speaks for many major industrial employers, estimated that only 37 percent struck. The government put the number at about 30 percent. However, the government's figures include those classified as civil servants, including cops and soldiers. Government officials were quoted saying the strike had not enjoyed overwhelming support.

No industrial breakdown of the walkout was provided, but news reports indicated that central Johannesburg was deserted, and marches of varying size took place in cities nationwide. News reports said 8,000 marched in gale-force winds in Cape Town, while in Pretoria, the capital, about 5,000 workers took to the streets. A rally in Johannesburg was estimated at about 10,000.

Signs carried by marchers urged "Hands-off our national assets," and "The economy of the country should create jobs not poverty."

In Pretoria, marchers presented a memorandum listing their demands to Public Service and Administration Minister Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, who has been one of the ANC leaders at the forefront of the privatization drive. When she tried to address the demonstrators, she was met with shouts of "Hamba, hamba," ("Go away, go away," in Zulu) and whisked away by her bodyguards. In Cape Town, public enterprises parliamentary services director Lucky Montana was booed and shouted down by

unionists. He later told reporters that the reception he received was "rather vicious."

The strike was supported by the South African Communist Party (SACP), South African National Civics Organization, National Council of Trade Unions, and student and other organizations.

The privatization debate

The government plans to sell off enterprises worth about \$13 billion over the next five to seven years, saying it needs to raise money, and that in private hands these entities will stimulate economic growth by boosting competitiveness. Those scheduled for full or partial privatization include Telkom, the state phone company; Transnet, which runs the railroads, ports, and South African Airways; Eskom, the state electrical utility; and Denel, an arms manufacturer. Some municipalities have begun privatizing water service.

Many workers and the unions point out that the sell-offs not only threaten the jobs of tens of thousands, but will have a disproportionate impact on working people in town and country because of expected price hikes and cuts in service of vital resources, such as electricity, phones, and public transport.

The revolutionary democratic movement to end apartheid, which drew tens of thousands of workers, peasants, and youth into action against the racist state of the white minority, was led by the ANC. In the 1980s struggles of black workers forged trade unions in major industries such as steel, mining, and transport. The national labor federation formed as a result of those struggles, COSATU, backed the ANC.

Under white-minority rule the state-owned enterprises were used to buttress the apartheid regime and an economy that benefited an elite minority. After the fall of apartheid the country faced massive unemployment, vast areas of underdevelopment where the majority of the population lives, and the sharpening impact of the world capitalist economic crisis, which has hit Africa, Latin America, and Asia the hardest.

Koreans march against U.S. war plans



Riot police arrest participant in protest near U.S. embassy in Seoul, south Korea, September 17. The march, which was sponsored by 21 labor and other groups, opposed Washington's plans for military strikes. Organizers reported that U.S. authorities barred South Korean servicemen from entering U.S. bases recently placed on alert. "Koreans are considered as a possible terrorist group and this is a significant insult to Koreans," stated a number of protesters with indignation. The U.S. military has 37,000 troops stationed in south Korea. The AFP news service described the action as a "rare public show of opposition to U.S. force."

Over the past several years, as job losses have mounted not only among government employees but also in privately held industry, criticism of aspects of the ANC's economic policy has been particularly pointed from COSATU officials. Leaders of the union federation have instead lobbied for what they call a "developmental state."

"We elected the ANC to defend us and protect our interests," Gwede Mantashe, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), told demonstrators in Johannesburg on August 29. He said the NUM is opposed to the government's macro-economic framework, known as the Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy, "which has conservative plans that do not protect the interest of workers. Privatization will not improve the lives of the poor citizens," he said. "We cannot be told jobs will be created while we see government destroying jobs." He said by striking, workers were highlighting their differences with the government. "But the question is, are these differences reconcilable or not? If they are reconcilable, the interests of the workers should be protected. We will continue to support the ANC as a movement, but the ANC should not take our support for granted."

COSATU officials say that privatization moves have already eliminated 200,000 jobs, and threaten tens of thousands more, in an economy where unemployment is estimated at 35 percent, according to the government's own statistics bureau. They charge that the economic policy adhered to by the ANC government, which is characterized by targeting "fiscal stability" and encouraging foreign and domestic capitalist investment, is hurting the working class.

According to COSATU, the demands of the two-day walkout included "a moratorium on privatization until a new policy framework that will incorporate the demands of the Freedom Charter and the Reconstruction and Development Program is

agreed on; that government stop privatizing basic services such as water and electricity; that any restructuring be negotiated with communities and labor and be approved by parliament; and that any restructuring aim at improving communities, especially the poor."

During a post-strike press conference, COSATU general secretary Zwelinzima Vavi said: "Over the last few months we have been deeply disappointed that government made no genuine attempts to address our concerns. They have said they are willing to discuss the details but not a change of program. This is the type of arrogance we are facing."

In the week prior to the strike, South African president Thabo Mbeki wrote in a newspaper column that the government has not betrayed policies agreed to by the broad democratic movement with regard to the issue of the restructuring of state assets. He said COSATU argues that "we have abandoned the pursuit of the objective of a better life for all," but said the government's policy had been discussed and put forward in various ANC documents since the early 1990s.

"The question that arises," he continued, "is why lies are being told and false claims made of the possibility of easy victories over the colonial and apartheid legacy. Whose interests do they serve, who abandon the morality of revolutionaries, so that they can use workers as cannon fodder to launch an offensive aimed at defeating their own liberation movement! The time has come that the organized workers and the rest of our progressive movement should ask these questions and demand answers. Those who have, apparently from 'the left,' joined hands with the right wing, that has always sought to defeat our movement, need to know this."

COSATU officials urged a meeting with the ANC following publication of these remarks, but said their campaign against privatization would continue.

THE MILITANT

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Struggle for free land, equality in W. Sahara

Printed below is an interview with Mariem Salec, Minister of Culture and Sports of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, founded in 1976 by the Polisario Front, the liberation organization leading the fight for the independence of Western Sahara. Salec is also on the national secretariat of the Sahrawi National Women's Union. She was interviewed by Young Socialists members Yonatan Moldanado, Bobbi Negrón, and Ölöf Andra Proppé during the 15th World Festival of Youth and Students in Algiers, Algeria.

Young Socialists: Can you explain the history and aims of the Polisario Front and the Sahrawi National Women's Union?

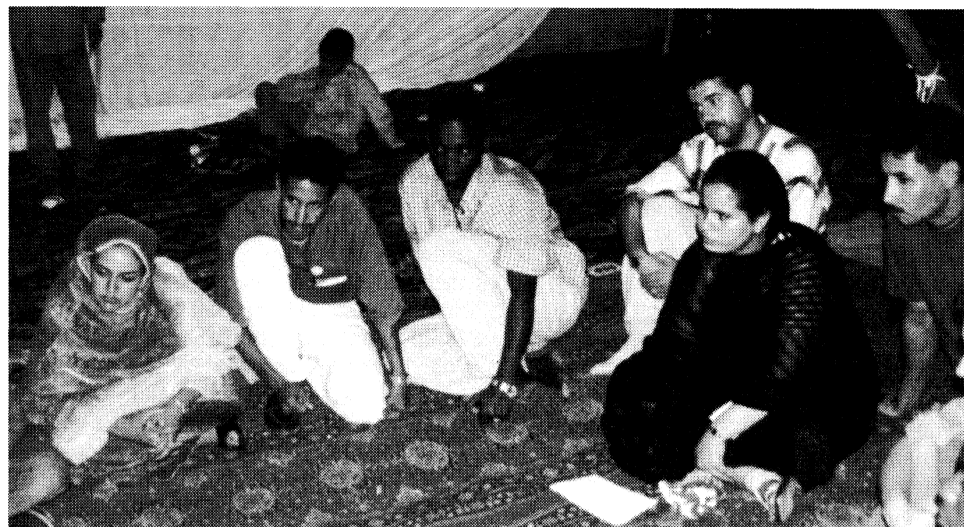
Salec: The history of our organizations begins in 1973 with the struggle for the decolonization of Western Sahara. Ours is a struggle for a free land. Of course this struggle began against Spanish colonization. On Feb. 27, 1976, Spain withdrew its last troops after a three-party agreement with Morocco and Mauritania to divide our country. The agreement was a flagrant violation of the right of self-determination of the Sahrawi people.

With the division of our country we declared our republic and started fighting

against the invasion by the governments of Mauritania and Morocco. The Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic is a full member of the Organization of African Unity. A lot of countries have recognized our country and government. We defeated Mauritania and have liberated part of Western Sahara from Moroccan occupation and still continue to fight to liberate the rest of our country. Very briefly, these are the main objectives of the Polisario Front.

The Sahrawi National Women's Union was created during Spanish colonization, and called for women's rights and decolonization. After the withdrawal of Spain, it became an instrument for women to support the just struggle of our people against the invasion of Morocco. We are fighting not only to free our land but also for justice and equality. No one can speak about the Sahrawi struggle and Sahrawi liberation without speaking about the proud role that women play in our society.

Our women are fighting on two fronts. The first is to have a free and independent state. Without a state we can do nothing. Secondly, we are the motor force in the struggle to change the view that men have of women, and to get women to play their full role in our society. With one gender you cannot have any future. We need men and



Militant/Jack Willey

Meeting between world youth festival participants from Western Sahara and the United States in one of the Western Sahara tents at the festival. "We are fighting not only to free our land but also for justice and equality," says Mariem Salec.

women to make our future.

Young Socialists: What is happening today in Western Sahara?

Salec: We are seeing a great violation of the right to self-determination because our country has been forcibly divided by the Moroccan invasion. One part of our people

lives in exile under hard conditions, the other part lives under foreign occupation. There is repression and no respect for human rights in the occupied territories.

Young Socialists: What is your opinion of the world youth festival?

Salec: I can say that it's a successful festival because of the large number of participants, the large number of activities, and the high value of the discussion. We sent a big delegation to meet with others in different parts of the world to exchange views and experiences. We might not agree but we should converse. It's very important also to reinforce the solidarity between youth. We want a future without oppression.

Young Socialists: After the independence vote, what next?

Salec: We can read from the experience of liberation movements in the past that women can take, and did take, a great role in the struggle, only to be marginalized after independence. Our women are very concerned with this situation and we are making our own plan and our own strategy to guarantee our presence and to play a big role in the running of our state. We are Arab and we are Muslim women. Religion is very important for any woman and for any man but it should not be a reason or excuse to marginalize women.

Festival participants speak in Twin Cities

BY BECKY ELLIS

ST. PAUL, Minnesota.—"Coming out of this summer's conferences, we are politically strengthened and determined to build a communist youth organization that is part of a worldwide movement to fight imperialism," said Arrin Hawkins, a leader of the Young Socialists and a meat packer from Chicago. She was part of a panel of five young people at a Militant Labor Forum here September 9 who reported on the 2nd Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange in Havana, and the 15th World Festival of Youth and Students held August 8-16 in Algiers, Algeria.

The world youth festival was attended by some 6,500 young workers and students from 160 countries. Forums, speakouts, and informal get-togethers were held during the nine-day event.

Hawkins said that the conference in Algiers helped young people to see the need to begin with an international working-class perspective. The participation in the festival by thousands of youth, mainly from countries oppressed by the imperialist powers, helped bring home this point. They described the battle for national liberation and the struggles of workers, peasants, and students in their countries.

Jack Willey, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party who attended both conferences, said the world youth festival registered that while still in its infancy, "the anti-imperialist youth movement is the beginning of putting together a worldwide anti-imperialist movement—for all toilers, not just youth."

Organizers of the Algiers festival invited a wide range of groups which supported the anti-imperialist aims of the gathering to attend. This encouraged discussion and debate by participants with a wide range of views on a host of central political questions facing working people today.

Members of the Cuban delegation, about 750 in number, described in a number of forums how the Cuban Revolution triumphed in 1959, and why the country's independence, sovereignty, and social accomplishments would be impossible without having made a socialist revolution. Delegation members raised the point of view that the way forward for humanity was to not only overthrow pro-imperialist governments but for workers and peasants to take power in order to end capitalism and build a different kind of society.

Bobbi Negrón, Young Socialists member from St. Paul and a meat packer, reported that delegates from around the world in Algiers were surprised to learn that there are socialists in the United States and that there are workers and youth who study Marxism here. "Others said that we have a democracy in the United States and wondered why we would be opposed to the government. This would lead to discussions about the resistance of workers and farmers to the assaults by the employers and their government in the United States and the fact

that it is the tiny minority of superwealthy rulers that run the country," Negrón said.

A month earlier, 158 young people from the United States traveled to Havana, to participate in the Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange. Holly Santiago, a student from St. Cloud University, and Lawrence Mikes, a meat packer and member of the Young Socialists, were both part of the Minnesota delegation and spoke on the panel at the forum.

Mikes spoke about how the "battle for ideas" in Cuba today -- political initiatives by the communist leadership -- aimed at young people who were not part of the generations who carried out the revolutionary war, nor of internationalist missions in Africa, Latin America, and elsewhere through the 1980s.

Santiago said she went to Cuba with an

open mind. She explained how, just months earlier, she had thought Cuba was an undemocratic and repressive country. "Like with many misconceptions we're taught, I questioned this and decided to go to Cuba to see for myself," she told the forum. At St. Cloud University she has been part of a fight against anti-Semitic and racist acts by the administration toward instructors.

Santiago said, like many students, she works long hours to support herself while attending school. She pointed to the solidarity among the Cuban people, especially the attention to education of the youth and care for the old. "I want to bring all of this information to the fights that we are involved in here," Santiago told the meeting.

Becky Ellis is a sewing machine operator.

Cuba-U.S. exchange part of 'battle of ideas'



Militant/Rosa Green

Among the speakers at the meeting on the Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange were (from left to right): Jack Willey, Jason Corley, Claudia de la Cruz, and Elizabeth Olsen.

BY CANDACE ROBBINS

NEW YORK—Being part of the Second Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange this past summer, said Seth Dellinger to a September 8 meeting of nearly 50 people here, was an opportunity "to understand that a revolution is possible. It was clear just how vicious are the lies we hear in the United States about Cuba. If you go to Cuba and see the truth, the lies become an insult that you take personally."

Dellinger explained that the Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange was part of the "battle of ideas" being waged by mass organizations in Cuba today, from the Cuban Communist Party and Union of Young Communists (UJC), to trade unions and student groups. He said the battle poses and answers the question: What is the better social system—capitalism or socialism?

The July 22-30 exchange was initiated by youth organizations in Cuba, including the Federation of Cuban Students and the

UJC, who invited students, young workers, and other youth from the United States to learn about the Cuban Revolution. Nearly 160 people from across the United States responded to the invitation.

At the reportback meeting held in Washington Heights, seven young people from New York who attended the exchange spoke about what they learned in Cuba. The event was sponsored by the Dominican Friends of Cuba, the Dominican Left Bloc, San Romero of the Americas Church, Socialist Workers Party, and the Young Socialists.

One of the places the delegation visited in Cuba, Dellinger said, was the country's psychiatric hospital. "Unlike in the United States," he said, the hospital "wasn't like a prison. For example, each patient had been given work they were capable of doing." Patients organized a concert performance for the youth from the United States and during breaks in the music patients ex-

plained their views on the five Cubans framed-up by the U.S. government on espionage charges in Miami.

Another participant said he learned about the priorities of the Cuban Revolution, such as sending doctors around the world to give medical attention to working people in poor countries and providing sports facilities for youth. A native of the Ivory Coast told the gathering that he went to Cuba with a skeptical view because of what he had heard about the revolution in the major media. "Once I returned to the United States I had some time to think about the trip," he said. "I realized that with very little the Cubans do a lot."

Jack Willey spoke about his participation in the 15th World Festival of Youth and Students held in Algiers, Algeria, in August as well as the Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange. What was clear at both of these events was the proletarian internationalism of working people and youth in Cuba. A leader of the Cuban delegation in Algiers told participants in that conference that they were there "for one reason. The battle of ideas is not a Cuban question. We want to bring that campaign to everyone."

Through resistance to the offensive by the capitalists and their governments around the world, and the struggle by peoples in the semicolonial countries against imperialism, working people and youth are "beginning to rebuild a revolutionary movement. The Cuban Revolution is an aid to doing this," Willey explained. "Coming back here, I'm more determined to build such a movement to do in the United States what workers and peasants did in Cuba—make a revolution."

Youth Exchange participant Claudia de la Cruz said that once she was in Cuba she didn't want to return to the United States. But in discussions with other participants, they explained to her that Cuba had already made a revolution. "My job is to make the revolution here," she said.

Conference addresses deepening social crisis in Latin America

BY JANE LYONS
AND LUIS MADRID

WASHINGTON—The Latin American Studies Association held its 23rd international congress here September 6–8, with some 4,000 university professors, graduate students, researchers, writers, and others from both the United States and countries throughout Latin America in attendance. Participants also included people from the U.S. State Department and other government institutions, as well as government officials from various countries.

More than 700 panels, workshops, and meetings were organized, with up to 50 events going on at any one time in the course of this three-day gathering. Major areas of discussion included, “Agrarian and Rural Life,” “Arts and the Media,” “Culture and Power,” “Labor Studies and Class Relations,” “Social Justice and Social Movements,” and more.

The deepening economic and social crisis across Latin America provided the backdrop of the conference. The region’s workers and peasants are feeling the brunt of capitalism’s world economic crisis particularly hard, and are responding to its effects. In recent weeks, for example, toilers in Argentina have been organizing protests to reject attempts by the government of Fernando de la Rúa to slash wages and other social conquests. Similarly, on the eve of LASA’s congress, 12,500 auto workers in Puebla, Mexico, scored an important victory against Volkswagen. Through an 18-day strike, they wrested a 10.2 percent wage increase, and other benefits, such as school supplies for their children.

Aspects of these and other developments were addressed in the discussions and 1,600 papers presented at the conference. There were, for instance, panels on “Plan Colombia,” where, under the guise of the “war on drugs,” Washington is increasing its military intervention in South America; the crisis in Ecuador; the land ownership structure in Central America; moves by a number of governments to adopt the U.S. dollar as their country’s currency; and more. Although the majority of presentations were in English, many panels, reflecting the composition of the conference, were held entirely in Spanish or in Portuguese.

Highlighting the place of the Cuban Revolution in the hemisphere’s politics, more than 80 scholars and academicians from Cuba

participated in the event. Panels dealing specifically with politics and culture in Cuba included: “Cuba: The Special Period Generation and the Theme of Exile,” “Poetic and Philosophical Discourse in the Writings of José Lezama Lima and Alejo Carpentier,” “Cuba’s Foreign Relations,” and “Cuba: The Challenges of Development in the Epoch of Globalization,” among others.

A panel entitled “Social Proposals by Today’s Cuban Cultural Magazines,” featured Norberto Codina, editor of *La Gaceta de Cuba*; Jorge Domínguez, a Harvard University professor and one of the initiators of the U.S.-based magazine *Cuban Studies*; Rafael Hernández, editor of Havana-based *Temas*; and Víctor Rodríguez, a former editor of University of Havana’s *El Caimán Barbudo*.

At one of the main events held in the course of the congress, Mexico’s minister of foreign affairs, Jorge Castañeda, spoke to some 200 conference participants on “Mexico and the Americas: A New Approach to Hemispheric Affairs.” Castañeda raised the point of view that the United Nations Security Council plays “a key role in peacekeeping processes and policies around the world.” The Mexican government, Castañeda added, will seek to play a prominent role in shaping what he described as a fledgling “new international system” where imperialist powers, “unable to be dominant despite their might, end up identifying their own interests in rules [established by] consensus” among various nations.



Militant/Arnold Weissberg
Participants at annual congress of the Latin American Studies Association held in Washington, D.C., purchased hundreds of dollars worth of Pathfinder titles.

On the opening day of the conference the *New York Times* ran an article claiming LASA was “under fire for sponsoring a Communist Party official from Havana instrumental in a recent purge of Cuban intellectuals.” It charged that Dario Machado had led “an intellectual offensive in the 1990’s against scholars who strayed from a strictly orthodox [Cuban Communist Party] line and forged ties” with foreign academics, and others. Machado is director of the Center for Studies on the Americas, an institute for research on politics and economics in the hemisphere. The article went on to report that Juan Antonio Blanco, a former academic who left Cuba and is now director of the Ottawa-based Human Rights Internet, questioned LASA’s sponsorship of Machado’s visit.

Although not part of the official conference program, a meeting was held to launch the book *Intelectuales vs Revolución: El Caso del Centro de Estudios Sobre America* (Intellectuals versus Revolution: The Center for Studies on the Americas Affair). The book is part of imperialism’s anti-Cuba campaign, claiming the Cuban leadership organized a purge of intellectuals in the country. However, neither the *Times* article nor the book launching, which attracted less than a dozen participants, had any perceivable repercussion on the discussions at the congress.

Machado himself participated in a panel entitled “Cultural Politics and Political Culture After the Cuban Revolution,” without any incident.

The next LASA conference will be held in the spring of 2003 in Dallas, Texas.

‘I really appreciate the work of Pathfinder’

BY JANE LYONS

WASHINGTON—Hundreds of participants at the Latin American Studies Association congress stopped by the Pathfinder Press booth featuring a full array of its revolutionary arsenal of books and pamphlets. Displaying attractive blow-ups of covers of several of its new titles, Pathfinder was one of some 100 publishers, distributors, and various university presses from the United States, Mexico, and other Latin American countries that participated in the book exhibit held in tandem with the congress. Ediciones Cubanas, a Cuban publishing house, and *Foreign Affairs en Español*, a journal of political analysis published here

in Spanish, were also among those present.

Many conference-goers were familiar with Pathfinder and expressed their appreciation for the role its books play in getting out the truth about the Cuban Revolution as well as addressing other issues. Others were finding out about Pathfinder for the first time and left their cards, indicating they would be interested in using some titles in their classrooms. Among those who stopped by was a professor from Buenos Aires, Argentina.

A political science professor from Southwestern University in Georgetown, Texas, said he orders Pathfinder titles for his courses and left the names of several other professors to call on. “I really appreciate the work

Pathfinder does,” he told Pathfinder volunteers. He purchased copies of two recent titles, *Fertile Ground: Che Guevara and Bolivia*, an interview with Rodolfo Saldaña, and *Making History: Interviews with Four Generals of Cuba’s Revolutionary Armed Forces*.

More than \$760 worth of books and pamphlets were sold over the two and a half days, including nearly \$90 worth of books snapped up by a Venezuelan researcher who purchased the Spanish-language editions of *Capitalism’s World Disorder*, *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*, *Lenin’s Final Fight*, and a copy of the Marxist magazine *Nueva Internacional* featuring the article “Defending Cuba, Defending Cuba’s Socialist Revolution” by Mary-Alice Waters.

The best-selling title over all was *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning* by Jack Barnes, with eight copies sold in English and Spanish, followed by *Che Guevara Talks to Young People*, with seven copies in both languages. Six copies of *Fertile Ground* in English and Spanish were also purchased. Other titles in both languages included *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*, *Capitalism’s World Disorder*, *Making History*, *Habla Malcolm X*, and issue number 9 of *New International* on “The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution.” Several individuals expressed interest in reviewing Pathfinder books in journals they publish.

In addition, 15 copies of the Cuban cultural magazine *La Gaceta de Cuba* were purchased along with five copies of the Cuban theoretical journal, *Cuba Socialista*. Volunteers at the booth also distributed about 1,000 copies of a special leaflet that featured the new titles by Pathfinder, and several hundred flyers promoting *La Gaceta*.

A Miami distributor that specializes in Cuban cultural items ordered 50 Cuba- and art-related books, totaling more than \$400, for a store they will be opening up in that city.

One worker from the hotel where the gathering took place did a double take upon seeing the large book cover of *Che Guevara habla a la juventud* and emptied his pockets to purchase two titles by the Argentine-born Cuban revolutionary. Other hotel workers also spent some time looking over the books at the Pathfinder booth. They, along with a number of students from the area, were glad to learn of the Pathfinder bookstore that will be opening soon in the Columbia Heights section of Washington.

Pathfinder books snapped up at Paris event

BY NAT LONDON

PARIS—Sales were brisk and debate was nonstop around the Pathfinder stand during the three-day Fête de l’Humanité, which took place as the U.S. government went on a war footing. The imperialist war drive, combined with the growing number of books published by Pathfinder in French, made for brisk sales and political discussions. The Fête de l’Humanité is an annual event organized by the French Communist

Party (PCF).

Almost \$900 worth of literature was sold, including 118 books and pamphlets, 11 copies of the *Militant* and one *Perspectiva Mundial*. Pathfinder supporters from Belgium and Britain joined five from Paris and one from Marseille to help make the booth a big success.

French participants snapped up 25 copies of the two new French language Pathfinder pamphlets of speeches by Thomas Sankara, as well as seven copies of the *New International* issue on the “Opening Guns of World War Three” and six copies of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*. Three copies of *Capitalism’s World Disorder* were also sold. Hundreds of copies of a French translation of the September 11 statement opposing Washington’s war moves and attacks on democratic rights by Martín Koppel, SWP mayoral candidate in New York, were distributed.

Many of those who came to the Pathfinder stand gave examples of the growing threat to democratic rights and free and open debate that has accompanied the imperialist war drive. Rhanya Ait Gougam, who works as an aid at the Lycée D’Alembert in the working class suburban town of Aubervilliers just outside of Paris, stopped by the Pathfinder stand with a group of her young friends. Gougam, who is just a few years out of high school, comes from the Kabyle region of Algeria.

“Many of us—school workers, teachers and students—refused to take part in the three minutes of silence in honor of the

Americans killed in New York,” she said. “It is not fair that we can honor the Americans killed but are refused the right to honor the young Palestinians killed in the intifada or the young Iraqis killed by the bombing and economic blockade of Iraq.” She added, “Many teachers were upset about the circular from the Education Ministry ordering the three minutes of silence. The circular said that all critical remarks made by students should be noted down by their teachers, thus transforming them into informers.”

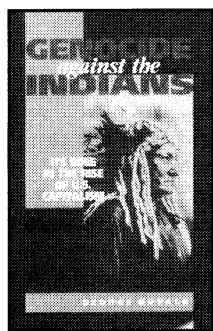
George Trebaol, who works at the Renault auto plant at Choisy-le-roi, also stopped by the Pathfinder stand. He told how a demonstration organized in the town where he lives had been canceled the day before. The demonstration had been organized to protest the rerouting of airline landing patterns at the Orly airport. The new routes would bring planes in just over the heavily residential, working-class area. The government had forbidden the demonstration, invoking the Vigipirate emergency plan, which has been reactivated in the wake of the New York attacks. Vigipirate suspends a number of democratic rights and has put machine-gun-toting soldiers into airports and train stations.

The French Communist Party has been declining in members, votes, and influence in recent years. This is the first time in a number of years that participation in the festival has grown. Agence France Presse estimated that over the three days, some 500,000 people came to the festival, many of them attending the numerous concerts that are part of the schedule of events.

Genocide against the Indians

George Novack

Why did the leaders of the Europeans who settled in North America try to exterminate the peoples already living there? How was the campaign of genocide against the Indians linked to the expansion of capitalism in the United States? Noted Marxist George Novack answers these questions. \$4.00



Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12

Workers and youth snap up the 'Militant'

Continued from front page

that of other workers and youth by distributing, studying, and holding classes on Pathfinder books.

A key component of this campaign will be an eight-week circulation drive starting September 22 to win new readers to the socialist press. The sales effort also includes selling the special campaign titles listed on page one. With a new issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* out on the streets early in response to the U.S. war drive, socialist workers have an effective tool to use in reaching out to workers whose first language is Spanish.

In Chicago, meat packer Joel Britton, the chairperson of the SWP in the city, reported that seven people signed up for more information about the Young Socialists at Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana, where two socialist meat packers and a supporter of the SWP staffed a literature table on campus. They participated in a meeting that night, where Arrin Hawkins, a leader of the Young Socialists and a meat packer in Chicago, spoke on "Youth and the fight against imperialism." An article about the meeting appeared in the *Ball State Daily News* the next day.

"We have been on a campaign since September 11 when we organized a discussion on the events around the World Trade Center," said Britton. "Altogether we ended up selling nine copies of the *Militant*, one subscription and one copy of *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning* that day."

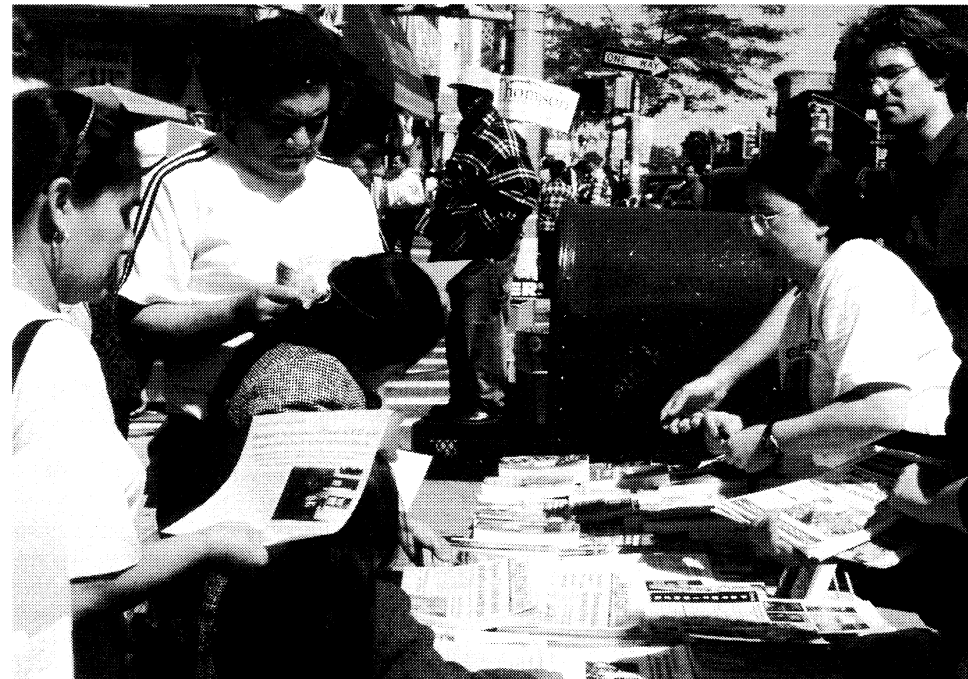
Britton reported that they sold six *Militant* subscriptions at De Paul University during a program featuring Norberto Codina, the editor of the Cuban culture magazine *La Gaceta de Cuba*. Britton also said that earlier in the week a high school student from Indianapolis who visited the Pathfinder Bookstore in Chicago met members of the YS there, and set up a meeting of high school students in a coffeehouse in Indianapolis at which a Chicago YS leader will speak.

Campaigning in factories and mines

Socialist workers who are members of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, United Mineworkers of America, and the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees said they have made substantial progress over the past week in the campaign to win co-workers and other militant workers to renew their subscriptions to the *Militant* and *PM*. They have been getting into wide-ranging political discussions on the job, standing up to patriotic and pro-war pressure from the bosses and some workers, and earning a reputation as principled proletarian fighters. They are helping to show other vanguard workers why they don't carry out a revolutionary class-struggle course in peacetime and a peace course in war time.

Socialist workers and YS members have put a premium on selling *Militant* and *PM* subscriptions to co-workers on the job. "One of my co-workers recently renewed his subscription to the *Militant*," said Argiris Malapanis, who works in a meatpacking plant in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. "He was excited about the campaign statement by Martin Koppel," said Malapanis. The statement by Koppel, the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of New York, opposing

Washington's war drive and assault on democratic rights, was featured in the issue that came out September 13. "Then one day he drove to work with a U.S. flag displayed in his car," Malapanis continued. "A number of us had discussions with him about not giving support to Washington's patriotic campaign for war, including one worker who plans to renew his *PM* subscription when it expires in November. After those



Militant/Angel Lariscy

Working people pick up *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and books at table in Brooklyn.

discussions he took the flag down and said he had gotten heavy pressure from his family to be part of the patriotic hoopla."

Lisa Potash, a garment factory worker in Chicago, said one of her co-workers renewed his subscription as part of a discussion on the job about Washington's war drive. "He didn't renew his subscription when it expired. But during our discussion he said he agreed with the *Militant*," she said. "Two weeks ago I had sold him a copy of the Pathfinder pamphlet, *Revolution in the Congo*."

A socialist garment worker in Newark was confronted with a situation on the job last week when the boss decided to have the entire shop go to church during the "national prayer day" encouraged by the U.S. government as part of its war drive. She declined, despite pressure from the boss and a layer of workers, and ended up having some discussions about her views with co-workers, even though the plant is nonunion and she is new on the job.

Sales, forums, election campaigns

Socialist workers organize weekly sales of the *Militant*, *PM*, and Pathfinder books in working-class districts as part of the campaign against imperialist war. Carol Lesnick in Brooklyn reports that supporters of the *Militant* set up tables in the area around the party headquarters and Pathfinder bookstore over the weekend. "We had lively discussions and debate, and sold two *PM* subscriptions and around \$50 worth of literature. A few months ago we met a young Mexican worker at a literature table in the neighborhood. This past weekend he came to an event where we discussed the imperialist war

drive. He read the statement by the party's candidate for mayor of New York and asked to join the Young Socialists."

In New Zealand, campaigners for the *Militant* sold out of their supply of papers at two tables they set up in working-class districts in Auckland. As they passed out leaflets supporting the campaign of Felicity Coggan for mayor of Auckland, one man walked up to one of the tables and handed

over a \$20 donation without comment.

Many working people, youth, and others will be attracted to the weekly *Militant* Labor Forum series as a place to respond to the imperialist war drive. In Atlanta socialist workers quickly organized a public forum on September 14. Ellie Garcia, a textile worker, gave a presentation based on Koppel's campaign statement. A steward in the Graphic Communications Union said he was glad a meeting had been organized for people to come together and discuss the recent events around the World Trade Center. He invited Garcia to speak on his radio program the following week.

Socialists join protests against war drive

YS members and socialist workers have joined protest actions against Washington's

war drive that have been organized in several cities. At the federal building in downtown Minneapolis some 125 people, mostly students from the University of Minnesota and Macalester College, chanted, "Hands off Afghanistan!" and "Hands off the World!" On September 15 students at Columbia University in New York utilized the platform of a campus forum to protest attacks against Arabs and Muslims, reports socialist worker Ruth Harris in Upper Manhattan.

YS members have done consistent work on the campus at the University of Arizona, including having a weekly literature table with banners in support of the struggle of Palestinian people. Willie Cotton, a YS member in Tucson, was invited to speak as part of a panel of university professors and student leaders at a teach-in about U.S. foreign policy.

Organizing classes, reading, recruitment

SWP and YS members are also organizing public classes as part of the campaign against the war drive. In the Garment District, activities began this past Sunday with a roundtable class on the article by Jack Barnes, "Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq," that appears in the Marxist magazine *New International*, and ended with a Militant Labor Forum to discuss the war preparations attended by 31 people.

Socialists across the country have reported that a number of people who support the SWP have called up and offered to help out with sales tables or other activities. Pathfinder Press has also received offers to pitch in with any help that is needed as part of responding to Washington's war drive. "I have been very actively circulating anti-war information via e-mail. I have mailed electronic copies of the SWP statement by Martin Koppel and the news article in last week's *Militant* to 100s of people," wrote Ben Fiering from New York State. "I am beginning to get some feedback, clearly it will be possible to mobilize antiwar sentiment. Keep up the work of providing valuable information."

So far the goals for the subscription drive and book sales campaign received from partisans of the *Militant* around the world are coming in higher than our last effort. Next week the *Militant* will run a chart with all the goals and announce an overall target in the drive.

For further reading

Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism

V.I. LENIN "I trust that this pamphlet will help the reader to understand the fundamental economic question, that of the economic essence of imperialism," Lenin wrote in 1917. "For unless this is studied, it will be impossible to understand and appraise modern war and modern politics." **\$3.95**

Thomas Sankara Speaks

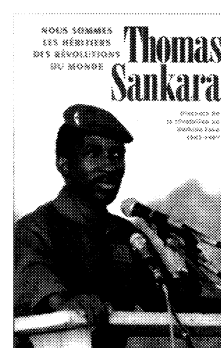
Peasants and workers in the West African country of Burkina Faso established a popular revolutionary government and began to combat the hunger, illiteracy, and economic backwardness imposed by imperialist domination. Thomas Sankara who led that struggle, explains the example set for all of Africa. **In English \$19.95**

NOW IN FRENCH

Nous sommes les héritiers des révolutions du monde

(we are the inheritors of the revolutions of the world)

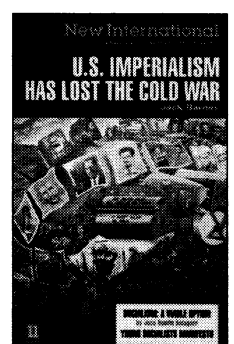
Speeches and writings by Thomas Sankara, 1983-87. **\$7.00**



Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12.

New International no. 11

U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War by Jack Barnes and The Communist Strategy of Party Building Today by Mary-Alice Waters. Two programmatic documents of the Socialist Workers Party. **\$14.00**



New International no. 10

•Imperialism's March Towards Fascism and War by Jack Barnes. •What the 1987 Stock Market Crash Foretold. •Defending Cuba, Defending Cuba's Socialist Revolution by Mary-Alice Waters. •The Curve of Capitalist Development by Leon Trotsky. **\$14.00**

Pathfinder Was Born with the October Revolution

Mary-Alice Waters

Explains the origins of Pathfinder Press as part of the forces that arose on a world scale to defend and emulate the first socialist revolution of our epoch in Russia in October 1917. In English, Spanish, and French. **\$3.00**

The Eastern Airline Strike

Accomplishments of the Rank-and-File Machinists and gains for the Labor Movement

Ernie Mailhot, Judy Stranahan, and Jack Barnes

The story of the 686-day strike in which a rank-and-file resistance by Machinist prevented Eastern's union-busting onslaught from becoming the road to a profitable nonunion airline. **\$9.95**

Washington's rivals in Europe balk at new 'counterterrorism' role imposed on NATO

BY JACK WILLEY

"Fresh concerns have arisen among Nato's European members about their decision last week to allow the U.S. to invoke Article 5," opened a September 19 article in the *Financial Times*, a big-business daily based in London.

After the attacks in New York and Washington the U.S.-dominated NATO alliance invoked Article 5 of its charter for the first time in its 52-year history, which states if one member country is attacked, all the other nations will join in its defense. Article 5 opens the door for European imperialist governments to provide access to air space and runways, troops, equipment, and other backing for U.S. military assaults against Afghanistan or any other country in the Middle East or Near East.

The article, titled "EU doubts grow over 'switch' in Nato role," shows some of the conflict between Washington and its impe-

rialist rivals in Europe. Quoting an unnamed NATO official, the *Times* reports that "what happened last week was that the U.S. got a new role for Nato. It turned Nato into a counter-terrorism organization." According to the paper, Jacques Chirac of France, Joschka Fischer, German foreign minister, and other European Union officials planned to raise the issue with the Bush administration during their visits to the United States.

The U.S. government failed to win inclusion of terrorism, sabotage, and organized crime in Article 5 at a NATO summit meeting in 1999. Washington's rivals in Europe rejected the proposal at the time, but "last Wednesday changed all that," the NATO official said. "We are in a completely new ball game now," a European Union diplomat told the *Times*. "Whether or not the U.S. invokes Article 5, it hardly matters. Last week we gave the U.S. what it wanted: a counter-terrorism role for NATO."

Socialist candidate campaigns at N.Y. labor day parade

BY LAURA GARZA

NEW YORK—Martin Koppel, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor, and a team of his campaign supporters joined thousands of workers who marched in the September 8 Labor Day Parade here. They mingled with union contingents and set up a campaign table along the Fifth Avenue march route, carrying signs with demands such as "Oppose U.S.-backed Israeli war drive" and "Jobs for all: shorten the workweek with no cut in pay."

"I agree with you—the Third World debt should be canceled," Sergio, a union painter, told Koppel after leafing through *Perspectiva Mundial*, the socialist campaign's magazine in Spanish, to which he subscribed. The worker, originally from Brazil and a member of District Council 9 of the painters union, told of his experiences backing the 1995 oil workers strike against the privatization of the oil industry in that country.

Discussing the prospects for working people in the United States, Koppel pointed to the signs of working-class resistance that marked the parade itself. One was the defense campaign for the Charleston Five, which many unionists here first heard about at the march itself.

The five are dockworkers facing frame-up charges arising from a January 2000 cop riot at a picket line against the use of non-union labor on the Charleston, South Carolina, docks. Ken Riley, president of International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Local 1422 in Charleston, was one of the ILA members who took part in the march and promoted solidarity for the fight waged by his local.

Also visible was the fight to demand residence rights for undocumented workers. Members of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees (UNITE) carried signs saying, "Amnesty for all immigrants." Also marching were members of the Laborers Union sporting T-shirts that declared, "One Language—Solidarity." Both unions, with a heavily immigrant membership, have been prominent in the amnesty campaign.

Teachers at the City University of New York marched with signs saying, "We want a contract." Public school teachers, also facing contract negotiations, turned out in large numbers. The city administration is on a big push to deal a blow to the union by imposing "merit pay" and undermining seniority rights, among other attacks.

While many union contingents carried pre-

printed signs for one or another of the Democratic Party candidates for mayor, Koppel's message met with a positive response among many of the workers at the parade.

As Democrat Mark Green rapidly glided through the UNITE contingent, three garment workers stepped closer to hear what Koppel was saying as he spoke about the employers' offensive against working people throughout the country and the world. They told Koppel they were marching because the garment shop where they worked had recently shut down and left them jobless. Koppel said his campaign argued for a working-class alternative to endorsing the "lesser evil" of the two parties of the bosses. "We point to the road to change which is what we, as working people, can do to fight to defend our interests," he said. "And we need our own government—a government of workers and farmers."

He said the bosses are driven by their race for profits to speed up production, lengthen the workweek, slash wages and benefits, and attack union rights. Several workers Koppel spoke with noted from their own experiences that they had seen shops close only to reopen under a different name with no union and lower wages. Koppel noted that coal miners in Pennsylvania and Ohio were setting an example for all labor by mobilizing the ranks to defend their union rights.

José Luis López, a member of Laborers Local 79, which organizes construction workers, mason tenders, and others told so-



Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of New York, Martín Koppel (at left), campaigns during city's Labor Day Parade, September 8.

cialist campaigners with some pride that he was a veteran of many protests at nonunion construction sites where workers showed up with the now-famous giant inflatable rats. He bought a copy of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

López was originally hired by a company paying \$7.50 an hour. "Companies are exploiting workers, paying almost the minimum, and it's important to be united to fight this," he said. A few years ago he joined with about 300 other workers to fight for union contracts, refusing to work until the bosses agreed. Now he makes union-scale wages, about \$25 an hour.

Many workers and a number of young people stopped by the socialist campaign

table with a display of revolutionary literature and the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Two workers subscribed to the Spanish-language magazine, and 19 bought copies of the *Militant*. Several signed up for more information on activities sponsored by the socialist campaigners.

Later that afternoon Koppel joined a discussion by 40 people at a meeting in Washington Heights that heard a panel of seven youths report on their fact-finding trip to Cuba as part of the Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange. Koppel also took part in that visit as a *Militant* reporter. The meeting was sponsored by several political organizations in the Dominican community there.

Socialist candidates in Cleveland well received

BY EVA BRAIMAN

CLEVELAND—Two socialist workers are running for public office here in the November elections: Eva Braiman, a meat packer, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, and garment worker Anthony Prince is on the ballot for Cleveland City Council in Ward 18. Prince is a member of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees.

During a petitioning drive to place Prince on the ballot, supporters talked with hundreds of working people in the neighborhood around the campaign headquarters. "We received an excellent response from working people in Ward 18," Prince said, "who liked seeing a worker running for office. Many wished us luck, and others asked to be put on our mailing list or bought copies of the *Militant*. Some were already familiar with the paper and the Pathfinder

bookstore from previous work we had done in the neighborhood."

Braiman and Prince got a favorable response as well from their co-workers on the job. Several workers at the Hugo Boss garment factory where Prince works signed petitions to put him on the ballot, and one donated \$50 to the campaign. At Country Custom Meats, where Braiman works, the campaign is a lively topic of discussion, and several co-workers have bought books relating to ideas put forward by the candidates, such as the *Communist Manifesto*, *Revolution in the Congo*, and *Cosmetics, Fashions and the Exploitation of Women*. Some fellow workers also discussed the answers Braiman drew up in response to endorsement questionnaires she and Prince have received from civic and labor organizations.

In the weeks since launching the campaign, supporters of the socialist candidates

have been involved in various struggles that advance the unity and self-confidence of the working class. "A number of working people and youth we have spoken with are inspired by the idea that workers and farmers are the producers of wealth and that we can and should run society instead of the bosses and their parties," noted Braiman.

The Cleveland candidates joined with the supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign of Osborne Hart for mayor of Detroit in participating in protests against police brutality that followed the cop murder of a youth in Cincinnati. They followed up with several visits to that city to sell the *Militant* and distribute a statement from the socialist candidates titled "Jail the Killer Cops," which states in part: "It is not a matter of 'a few bad apples' or a need to adjust the composition or training of the police. When they terrorize working people, they are carrying out their role in capitalist society: to keep working people down, divided and afraid. The police cannot and will not be reformed."

Braiman and Prince attended a meeting of local unionists to discuss solidarity with the struggle of longshoremen in Charleston, South Carolina, five of whom have been framed up on false charges stemming from a police riot in that city. In addition, the mayoral candidate participated in a hearing in which Ohio workers and their families suffering the health effects from working in the nuclear weapons industry confronted government officials.

The socialist candidates have also responded to the layoffs and concession demands related to the bankruptcy of LTV Steel, which is a major employer in Cleveland. The socialists widely distributed a statement at entrances to the LTV mill, at special union meetings called to discuss the crisis, and door-to-door in Ward 18.

Central to the campaign has been the candidates' outspoken stance against Israel's drive towards war in the Middle East and in support of a democratic, secular Palestine. "Campaign supporters were invited to set up literature tables in front of several busy grocery stores owned by Arab people down the street from our headquarters, and we were able to engage in many discussions and sales of campaign literature, on questions of world politics, the Palestinian struggle, and the Jewish question," Braiman said. "We will continue campaigning against the brutal assaults on the Palestinian people and against U.S. imperialism, both on the job and in the neighborhood."

Martín Koppel, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of New York

Martin Koppel is the editor of the socialist newsweekly *The Militant* and of the Spanish-language monthly magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*. He is a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

Koppel, 44, a native of Argentina who grew up in the United States, has been involved over the years in building solidarity with struggles of workers and farmers both in the United States and internationally. He has been active in defense of the Cuban Revolution, in the campaign to force the U.S. Navy out of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques, and in other protests against imperialist assaults on working people around the world.

In July he participated as a *Militant* reporter in the Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange, a week-long fact-finding trip to Cuba by more than 150 young people from the United States. Together with other participants in that trip he is joining in public reportback events to tell the truth about the Cuban Revolution and oppose Washington's four-decade-long aggression against the Cuban people.

Koppel has frequently reported firsthand on developments in Cuba for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, including a March conference in Havana marking the 40th anniversary of Cuba's defeat of U.S.-backed mercenaries at the Bay of Pigs. He has helped organize and spoken at several events in New York in defense of the Cuban Revolution.

A longtime supporter of the Puerto Rican independence struggle, Koppel has spoken several times on behalf of the SWP National Committee at the annual United Nations decolonization hearings, joining with the broad range of pro-independence forces testifying there. In August 1999 he visited the protest camps set up on the U.S. Navy's bombing range in Vieques, and has taken part in numerous actions here in support of that struggle as well as the campaign to free the Puerto Rican political prisoners.

Koppel has also traveled extensively in Latin America and the Caribbean to take part in political conferences and meet workers and peasants engaged in struggle, from the Movement of Rural Landless Workers in Brazil to working-class protests in Argentina, as well as in Mexico, the Dominican

Republic, Nicaragua, and Grenada.

Before joining the *Militant* staff in 1991, he was a steelworker in Chicago and member of the United Steelworkers of America union. There he was active in opposing the U.S.-led war against Iraq in 1990-91.

Koppel first became involved in political activity while an exchange student in Marseille, France. The next year, in 1977, he joined the Socialist Workers Party in Baltimore. There, as a unionist working at the giant Bethlehem Steel plant, he took part in numerous actions from the defense of affirmative action to support for workers at the Newport News shipyard in Virginia fighting for a union.

Koppel is the editor of *Nueva Internacional*, a Marxist magazine in Spanish. He is also the editor of *Puerto Rico: Independence is a Necessity* by Rafael Cancel Miranda, the author of *Peru's Shining Path: Evolution of a Stalinist Sect*, and one of the three interviewers for *Making History: Interviews with Four Generals of Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces*; all three are published by Pathfinder.

UK rulers step up pressure on Irish fighters

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Fighters for Irish freedom in Northern Ireland are coming under immense pressure from London and Washington, as well as attack by rightist, pro-British forces. They are seeking to force Irish republicans, who call for the withdrawal of occupying British troops and for a united, independent Ireland, to accept terms dictated by Westminster for resolving the ongoing conflict.

Unionist organizations, the mainstay of the decades-long British occupation of the six counties and the oppression of the Catholic population, have carried out a bombing campaign against the homes of republican leaders. A rightist paramilitary group exploded a pipe bomb and hand grenade in Upper Ardoyne Avenue in Belfast September 5 in an attempt to force Catholic families not to use the road to take their children to school.

For 30 years Catholic school children have walked on that street in their uniforms with no trouble. But last June unionists began organizing attacks that effectively shut down Holy Cross school early for summer vacation.

"We've always been able to go up there," Louise Murray, one of the parents escorting their children to school, told a *New York Times* reporter. "And now I'm taking my daughter." Linda Bowes, another parent, added, "If these children can't use this road,

then the generations to come won't be able to use this road."

Responsibility for terrorizing the school children has been claimed by the Red Hand Defenders, an alias used by the Ulster Defense Association (UDA), one of the largest unionist paramilitary groups that organizes violence against Catholics. It has received arms and intelligence information from the British government. The group took responsibility for a primed car bomb that was discovered August 28 in Ballycastle where thousands of people gathered to celebrate a festival. "The bomb could have created a huge fireball in a crowded area," the *Financial Times* reported.

Over the past few months pro-British ultrarightists have organized a paramilitary campaign of bomb attacks against nationalist homes. In the Shankill Road area one mural bears the names of Irish nationalists marked for assassination. According to the August 29 weekly *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, "Nationalists across the Six Counties in recent months have been driven from their homes and have had their communities placed under loyalist siege, while the UDA, responsible for the murder of hundreds of nationalist civilians both directly and in collusion with British state forces, parades thousands of men openly and in paramilitary uniform on Belfast's Shankill Road."

Washington, London, and the bourgeois press have whipped up a propaganda campaign over the August 11 arrests of three Irish men in Colombia who are accused of being Irish Republican Army (IRA) members and providing explosives training to guerrillas of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). Without presenting any evidence, the *New York Times* reported that "tests done on their clothing turned up traces of various kinds of explosives, officials said, as well as cocaine, which some government officials accuse the rebels of trafficking."

'Republicans must come clean'

David Trimble, leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, the main pro-British party in Northern Ireland, declared August 31 that the Irish "peace process" would remain stalled "unless the republicans come clean" and Sinn Fein, the leading republican organization, gives some "satisfactory answers" about the Colombia arrests. Speaking on BBC Radio Ulster, he said the detention of the three men "calls into question the whole basis upon which we have been proceeding in the last few years."

For years the capitalist press has portrayed Sinn Fein as a front for the IRA, attempting to link the two organizations as one entity. For example, the August 23 *Financial Times* declared that charges against the men "has significantly undermined trust between Washington and Sinn Fein, the IRA's political wing." The IRA has fought an armed campaign to end British military occupation of Northern Ireland and supports the struggle for a united, democratic Ireland. It has adhered to a cease-fire since July 1997 and is independent of Sinn Fein.

U.S. State Department official Richard Haass said Sinn Fein needs to explain the alleged IRA collaboration with the Colombia rebels. "The United States as you all know, has important interests in Colombia," he said. Haass arrived in Dublin September 11 on a trip to meet with Irish government officials, the leaders of Sinn Fein, and the Ulster Unionists. According to the Associated Press, one Ulster Unionist official in the Northern Ireland Assembly said he would appeal to Haass to recommend that Washington ban fund-raising for Sinn Fein in the United States.

Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams responded to the allegations around the detentions in Colombia with a statement saying, "Efforts to make Sinn Fein accountable for these three Irish men are totally unjustified and serve no good purpose. My own view is that they should be released, and the Irish government should be doing its best to secure their freedom as soon as possible." Adams stated that the men were not in Colombia "representing Sinn Fein. I would have had to authorize such a project and I did not do so."

Despite advances made by republicans in

Northern Ireland, the capitalist rulers in Britain oppose a unified, independent Ireland. Washington, London, and the government in Dublin are pressing Sinn Fein to accept Westminster's plans for policing Northern Ireland and demands on the IRA to completely disarm. But, as has been historically the problem for the imperialists, working people in Ireland who oppose British rule refuse to get on their knees.

The 1998 Good Friday agreement, which established a 108-person Northern Ireland Assembly, an elected body with limited self-government, reflected the weakening of British imperialism and the fact it could not subdue the Catholic population. London sought to "devolve" some powers to parliaments in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland as a means to hold together an increasingly disunited realm.

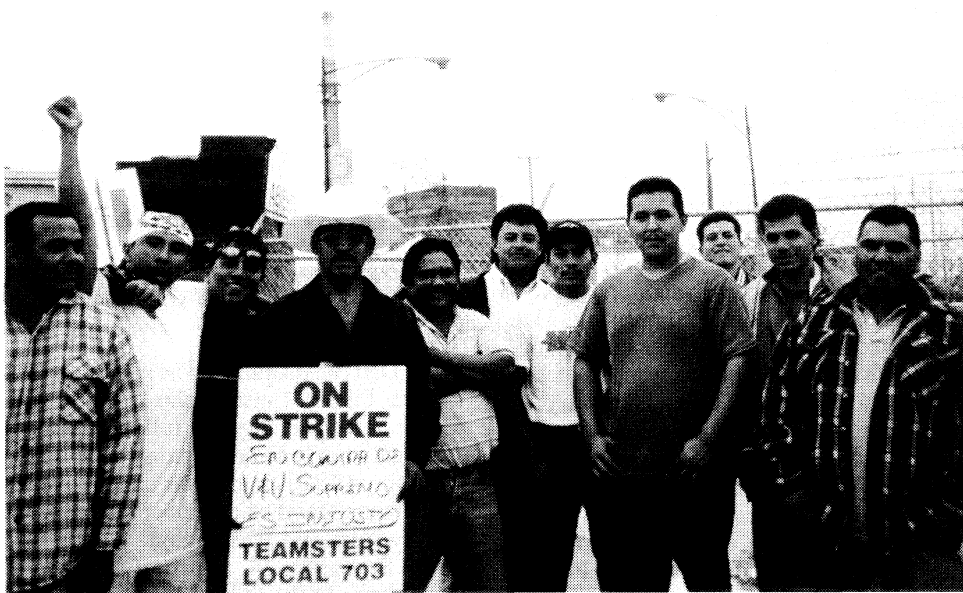
In July, Ulster Unionist Party leader Trimble carried out a threat to resign from his post as first minister of the assembly, demanding that the IRA immediately begin to surrender its weapons. Trimble insisted he will not return to the post until the IRA begins "decommissioning." When the IRA offered August 1 to put its arms "completely and verifiably beyond use," the proposal was rejected by Trimble even though he "acknowledged the IRA move as a significant step forward," the *Wall Street Journal* reported.

London has also issued an ultimatum on the IRA decommissioning, threatening to trash the Good Friday agreement. "Take it or leave it—that is the stark message that [London and Dublin] have scrawled on the peace package they are presenting," wrote Anthony Blinken for the *International Herald Tribune*. On August 1 the two governments presented proposals for reforms, which include changes to the police force.

Sinn Fein rejected London's "Implementation Plan" to "reform" Northern Ireland's police force—a stipulation of the Good Friday Agreement that calls for "proposals for future policing structures and arrangements." Irish nationalists called the proposals a "repackaged RUC" (Royal Ulster Constabulary), noting that nearly 90 percent of the people killed by the RUC police in the conflict in Northern Ireland have been Catholics. Sinn Fein has also maintained that IRA disarming is linked to steps that London has failed to take—withdrawal of some British troops from the area, taking down watchtowers, and creating an acceptable police force.

In a document released August 24 by Sinn Fein's national chairman, Mitchel McLaughlin, the party said it would not nominate individuals to the policing board. The UK plan allows for continued use of plastic bullets, and the Special Branch, which is authorized to suppress evidence and impede criminal prosecutions. The British secretary of state will also retain power to halt inquiries ordered by the policing board.

'We will not give in,' say food workers on strike in Chicago



Militant/Pattie Thompson

Workers on strike against V&V Supremo Foods are demanding the company recognize their union and sign a contract. "They consider us criminals," said one striker.

BY PATTIE THOMPSON

CHICAGO—"We will not give in. Our demands are just and we've gotten support from many organizations," Maximino Rodea, a member of Teamsters Local 703 on strike at V & V Supremo Foods told some 75 supporters at a vigil September 17.

The 105 union members have been on strike against the Mexican cheese distribution center since May 29, when they walked out to protest the company's refusal to recognize the union and sign a contract. For the first time since April, the company has now responded in negotiations with a proposal.

The company representative offered a 25-cents per hour raise for only the most senior truck drivers, a move that would create for the first time a second tier of workers who would actually receive a pay cut. The union's local president, Chuck Murdoch, called the proposal "an insult." The workers have not had a raise for three years, and average wages are currently \$6-8 an hour. No worker interviewed said they were willing to accept the company's offer.

In his remarks to the vigil, Marcelina de la Rosa emphasized that one of the main reasons they decided to fight was to be treated fairly and with respect by the company. "They stood over us timing how many cheeses per minute we made and how much time we spent in the bathroom," he said. "Overtime should be voluntary. We asked them to have at least some hours in the evening to go learn English but they said we didn't need it for our jobs. You have to work 10, 12, or 14 hours, or as long as they want, or you are fired."

This sentiment was also expressed on the

picket line by Carlos, a worker who was fired by the company some years before but regularly visits the picket line to offer his support.

Rodea said that some workers "are afraid, knowing that any time they could fall into the hands of immigration. The bosses use this. We are organizing also to defend ourselves and to put an end to this injustice."

The unionists said that this week the company's stance toward the strikers shifted for the worse in one way. "Before, whatever crime may happen in the neighborhood, the company always pointed the finger at us," said Javier Nava. The private security guards on the roof and at the gates videotape strikers daily, and trucks are followed out by security escort cars. "Since we are on strike, they consider us criminals," he added.

But on September 14 the owners, Gilberto and Felipe Villaseñor, went a step further. Union president Murdoch said the company called the Chicago Police Department Labor Detail, "which takes charge in questions of labor disputes. Officer Michael Hughes came out and told the union to move all parked cars and garbage cans from in front of the building because the company was concerned about bombs." The unionists complied with the request.

"They use every kind of intimidation and discrimination against us," Rodea said. "But we are not that easily defeated."

Pattie Thompson is a meat packer. Arrin Hawkins, a meat packer and member of UFCW Local 100A, contributed to this article.

MILITANT AND PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL TAX REFUND

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Washington militarizes U.S., drives to war

Continued from front page

mestic deployment of troops, aircraft, warships, and secret police of the U.S. armed forces. The current moves by the Bush administration are the first massive use of that command.

The Pentagon has begun activating tens of thousands of reservists and National Guard troops to fly air patrols between Washington and New York, serve as police at military bases and airfields, and supplement regular forces in intelligence gathering, engineering, computers, and foreign languages. U.S. president George Bush gave the Defense Department authority to call up some 35,000 reservists for deployment at home and abroad.

Gun-toting Guardsmen, along with state troopers and other cops, have been conducting widespread identification checks on New York streets. In the city's harbors the Coast Guard has deployed ships mounted with heavy-caliber machine guns. Troops are boarding commercial vehicles and blocking access to recreational boats.

Coast Guard personnel have boarded and searched more than 300 vessels this past week in San Diego Harbor, and shut down the Boston harbor on September 16. "We have never done these kinds of security measures, to this extent, any time in our history," said a Coast Guard spokesperson this week in New York.

All nuclear power plants and most hydroelectric dams have been put under military guard. National Guard troops were deployed to Hoover Dam, replacing Interior Department guards. Nine germ warfare Guard units, in their first deployment ever, have been sent to undisclosed locations.

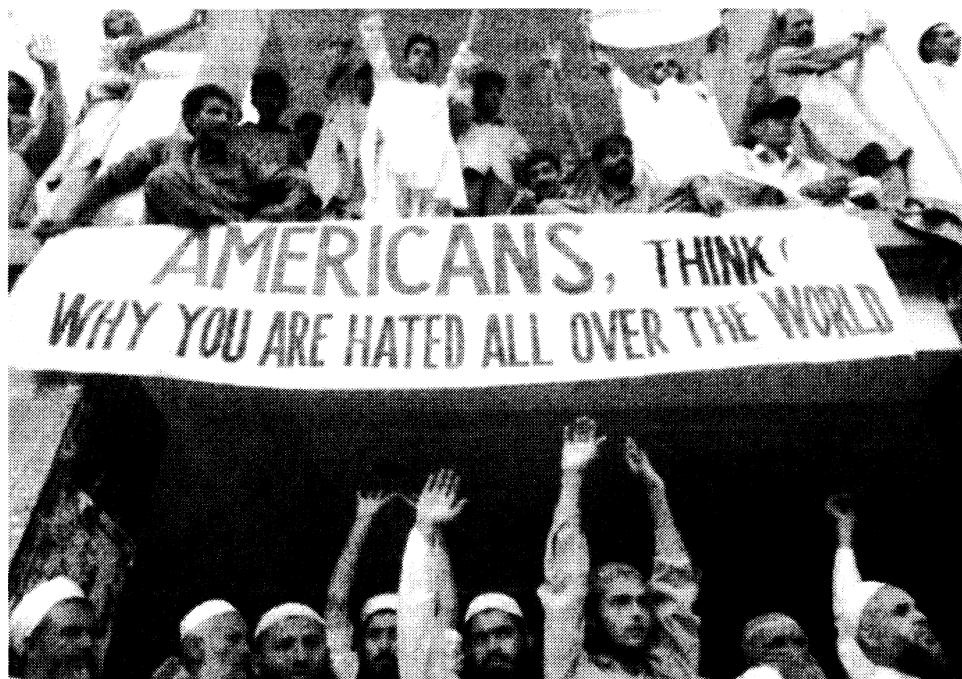
Washington is considering moves to militarize the airlines by federalizing security checks at airports and placing armed air marshals on all commercial flights.

"The bottom line," a Chicago cop told reporters, "is people need to understand you can no longer come and go as you please."

Disabusing any idea that the deployments are localize or temporary, U.S. senator Charles Hagel called the moves "exactly right," adding, "Not only do we have a short-term issue, but this is a long-term fight against organized terrorism worldwide."

Targeting Afghanistan

As dozens of heavy bombers and other U.S. warplanes were dispatched to bases near Afghanistan September 19, Washington sent a battlegroup led by the aircraft carrier USS *Theodore Roosevelt* to bolster forces in the region. The United States Central Command,



Demonstrators in Pakistan's capital, Islamabad, opposed Washington's threats against Afghanistan. Washington is mobilizing massive forces in preparation for a military strike.

the military headquarters for U.S. imperialism from the Horn of Africa to Pakistan, has 20,000 troops, 175 warplanes, and 14 ships at its disposal already. The Bataan Amphibious Ready Group, which includes a Marine force of 2,100 equipped with helicopters, amphibious assault vehicles, and artillery, is due to leave Camp Lejeune in North Carolina September 20.

Washington is targeting Afghanistan, justifying its planned military assault in the name of pursuing Osama bin Laden, whom U.S. officials and the big-business media say is the "prime suspect" in the September 11 attacks. Democratic and Republican politicians and Pentagon officials are busy trying to gain broader support for the deployment of ground troops, beginning with special forces.

"The planning and the language used by administration officials," a *New York Times* article reported, "is preparing the way for a military force that could ultimately be used to occupy Kabul, the Afghan capital, and overthrow the ruling Taliban party."

Bolstering the case that combat troops will need to be used and preparing the U.S. population for casualties, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld said, "Several countries have exhausted themselves pounding [Afghanistan]. There are not great things of value that are easy to deal with. And what we'll have to do is exactly what I said: use the full spectrum of our capabilities."

Referring to U.S. casualties, Bush said September 18, "There will be costs" to the war, but the military is "ready to defend freedom at any cost."

Many commentators have noted that an invasion of mountainous Afghanistan will not be a cakewalk for Washington, which has no bases in neighboring countries. "The U.S. armed forces do not have a single soldier or officer who speaks Pushtu," the principal language in Afghanistan, a senior military official told the British daily *Telegraph*. The paper noted that "according to authoritative reports, before the current crisis the CIA had no agents on the ground inside Afghanistan and the State Department has no high-level contacts with the anti-Taliban forces in northern Afghanistan."

To compensate, U.S. officials met with senior Pakistani officials and "demanded that Pakistan agree if necessary to allow American ground troops and special forces units to operate from this country," according to press reports. In face of this U.S. pressure, Maj. Gen. Faiz Gilani, a top officer in the Pakistani military's secret police, was dispatched to Kabul to tell Taliban officials to turn over Bin Laden or face a U.S. invasion.

Due to deep opposition to this collaboration with Washington among the Pakistani people, Washington is closely watching the developments in the country. Referring to the Pakistani president, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, who came to power in a military coup, one top U.S. official said, "A lot of us are worried that he may not survive politically."

The government of the former Soviet republic of Uzbekistan, which shares a border with Afghanistan, told Washington it "was ready to discuss any form of cooperation in the struggle against international terrorism in or region, including the deployment of U.S. forces." Uzbekistan was a corridor for troops and supplies from the Soviet Union in Moscow's ill-fated occupation of Afghanistan in the 1980s.

Washington has already imposed a de facto embargo on Afghanistan, a nation oppressed and exploited by imperialism. The governments of Pakistan and Iran have sealed their borders with Afghanistan to try to stop an already massive flow of people seeking to get out of the country prior to the U.S. assault.

Some in the Bush administration are also pushing for Washington to openly declare Iraq a target of the current war drive. Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz and I. Lewis Libby, chief of staff to Vice President Richard Cheney, are both pressing for U.S. military attacks on Iraq—with the aim of overthrowing the government of Saddam Hussein—and on Lebanon's Bekaa region. Wolfowitz has been more "concerned about bombing Iraq than bombing Afghanistan," one senior administration official told the press.

A number of capitalist politicians delivered a letter to Bush September 19 urging him to "make a determined effort to remove Saddam Hussein from power," even if there is no link established between Iraq and the attacks in Washington and New York.

Congress passed a resolution September 14 granting the president sweeping powers

to "use all necessary and appropriate force" against targets abroad, and appropriated an initial \$40 billion to the domestic militarization drive and war effort abroad.

There is now overwhelming bipartisan agreement to end any pretense of a "lock-box" of Social Security funds. Bush had previously said the "Social Security surplus" would only be used in time of recession, war, or other emergencies. "We've had all three, it seems to me," he told reporters September 19.

British support, caution elsewhere

Washington's war drive is winning military backing for its war drive from imperialist governments in English-speaking countries including Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom.

British prime minister Anthony Blair strongly backed Bush, declaring, "Whatever the technical or legal issues about a declaration of war, the fact is that we are at war with terrorism." (Also see articles on pp. 8 and 16.)

But the war moves are drawing more caution for other imperialist rivals of the U.S. rulers such as Paris and Berlin, who fear Washington will use the military assault to strengthen its position in the world to their detriment. According to the *Financial Times* of London, French government officials "urged President George W. Bush not to make the world yet more dangerous with ill-planned retaliation."

Many governments in the Mideast, aside from the Israeli regime, are urging Washington not to pursue a unilateral course to war, as are Moscow and Beijing. Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak urged Washington to carry out its response under the formal auspices of the United Nations and called for an "international conference on terrorism." An official of the Gulf Coopera-

Continued on Page 10

Rulers of Australia prepare for war

BY RON POULSEN

SYDNEY, Australia—The government of Liberal Prime Minister John Howard, with Labor Party backing, has fully and unconditionally backed Washington's accelerated push for militarism and war under cover of "retaliation" for the September 11 air attacks in New York and Washington.

On September 14, as part of a motion of condolence in the federal Parliament to the U.S. government, Howard gained support from Labor to invoke the ANZUS military pact formally for the first time ever. ANZUS was drawn up between the imperialist powers of Australia, New Zealand, and the United States in the midst of their brutal war drive against the Korean people 50 years ago.

In keeping with Australia's history as a militarily aggressive, junior imperialist power, Howard went further than any other government, immediately pledging military involvement "to the limit of our capability," and citing Clause 4 of the ANZUS treaty on acting "to meet the common danger."

Canberra has said it is prepared to contribute a warship to a "multi-flag armada" and to send a battalion of ground troops under U.S. command. Since 1991 Australian warships have been deployed in the Arab-Persian Gulf to jointly police the imperialist embargo on Iraq begun during the Gulf War. At Washington's request, Canberra announced September 16 that *HMAS Anzac's* tour of duty in the Gulf would be extended.

Anti-Arab and anti-Muslim sentiments have been fanned by prowar hysteria in the media, especially talkback radio. Incidents of racist abuse, threats, and physical assaults have erupted. In Brisbane a school bus carrying Muslim children was pelted with rocks and bottles on September 12. The next night two Molotov cocktails were thrown at a mosque. An Islamic school in Adelaide has had to close because of threats. In a case of mistaken identity, an Orthodox church in Sydney frequented by Lebanese Christians has been defaced with swastikas and racist threats to "avenge America."

Ron Poulsen is a member of the Maritime Union of Australia.

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against imperialism and its war drive today

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Working-class resistance to war and attacks on rights

Reprinted below is an excerpt from "Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq," the feature article in *New Internationalist* no. 7. The article is based on talks presented by SWP national secretary Jack Barnes in March 1991 and the latter part of 1990. Copyright © 1991 by 408 Printing and Publishing Corp., reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY JACK BARNES

For most working people in the United States, the war in the Gulf was the first they have experienced in a world of deepening economic crisis and breakdowns in the capitalist system, similar to that of the worldwide Great Depression of the 1930s. Both the U.S. war in Korea and the war in Vietnam took place during the long post-World War II international capitalist economic expansion. The U.S. war against Iraq, to the contrary, took place not only during a recession, but more fundamentally in a segment of the curve of capitalist development with sharply different dynamics from the previous one.

The segment we are living in today is marked above all by world capitalism's evolution, signaled by the 1987 stock market crash and growing strains on the imperialist banking system, toward a depression and social crisis....

Working people and youth have been attracted to discussions about the war at meetings of the Militant Labor Forum. The number of cities around the country where these forums now take place almost every week-end has grown in the process.

Large slates of Socialist Workers candidates for state and local office have been able to explain more broadly how working people can organize to resist the capitalists' attacks on our rights and living standards at home by fighting against the imperialist system responsible for war, exploitation, racism, the subjugation of women, and other forms of oppression.

In carrying out this campaign, we have consciously avoided the political trap of functioning as communist workers in peacetime, and then sliding toward acting as radical pacifists in wartime. We act as the communist component of the vanguard of the working class, at all times and under all conditions. We have been confident that a working-class campaign carried out in this way will be politically attractive to and will draw in fighters—whatever their social background, especially among the youth—who oppose imperialist war, who want to understand the roots of such wars, and who seek ways to act on their convictions.

From that standpoint, we joined with others in building united action to organize local, regional, and national demonstrations and protest meetings during Washington's seven-month-long war. We understood how important public protests are in defending the space for political organization and action—both in opposition to the war, and around other labor and social issues. We recognized that these events are arenas where communists can meet and have political discussions with large numbers of young people who can be won to a working-class political perspective, to the fighting traditions of the communist workers' movement.

From the outset, as I pointed out earlier, the fractions of party members in ten North American industrial unions have been providing a special impulse and energy to getting the party on a campaign footing. These worker-bolsheviks are members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; International Association of Machinists; International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; International Union of Electronic Workers; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; United Auto Workers; United Food and Commercial Workers; United Mine Workers; United Steelworkers; and the United Transportation Union.

These communist workers went to the heat looking for every opportunity on the job and in the unions to explain and discuss the character of, and help organize opposi-

tion to, imperialism and its drive toward war. We joined with co-workers and unionists at antiwar protests and continue to bring them to political meetings to discuss the war, its ongoing consequences, and other political questions....

'We' versus 'they'

The big-business media, capitalist politicians, and the labor officialdom have consciously sought to confuse working people about who "we" are and who "they" are as we think about—and discuss what to do about—the U.S. war and its consequences for the people of that region and the world. Working to clearly explain and counter this confusion, in the many forms it keeps cropping up, has been central to an effective campaign by worker-bolsheviks against imperialism and war.

For example, the enormous disparity between the handful of U.S. combat deaths in the Gulf and the slaughter and maiming of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis underlines the political disorientation and chauvinism reinforced by those in antiwar organizations and coalitions who centered their opposition to the war drive on the prospect of large numbers of U.S. body bags returning from the Gulf.

This is exactly what the bipartisan war makers in Washington had counted on! For unconditional opponents of the U.S. war drive, the starting point had to be what the imperialist assault was going to mean for all the working people in the Gulf—in uniform and out, whatever country they came from. We refuse to make any distinction between the life of an Iraqi soldier or civilian and that of a U.S. soldier or civilian—or a Yemeni, Filipino, Palestinian, Egyptian, Pakistani, or Syrian toiler caught in the wrong place at the wrong time.

We are part of an international class—the workers of the world—along with our allies among the oppressed and exploited of all countries. Imperialism is a world system. Its victims, and its gravediggers, are toilers who have been brought together in a single world by the expansion of capitalism over the past century. For most of the history of humanity, the world's toilers were almost entirely isolated from each other, but we and our fortunes have been tied together by the world imperialist system....

Bending to the rulers' patriotic drive has taken a wide variety of forms since last August. We have had to debate and clarify each one as we resisted efforts by bourgeois liberals and petty-bourgeois radicals to politically divert the struggle against the war.

Government of the employers

• We explained to our co-workers and others why the U.S. government is not "our" government, but the government of the employers, of the capitalists, of the imperialist exploiters and oppressors of working people the world over—"their" government. Thus, nothing that "their" government and "their" army did would help our class brothers and sisters, fellow working people in the Gulf, throw off the tyranny of landlord-capitalist regimes in the region—whether Saddam Hussein in Iraq, other Bonapartist capitalist regimes such as those in Egypt and Syria, or the varied monarchies in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Jordan.

• We opposed those who argued that "our government" has the right to blockade Iraq and Kuwait—or to intervene in the affairs of any peoples, anywhere in the world. We pointed out the devastating consequences of this act of war for the lives of our fellow working people in the Gulf. We explain that the embargo was part of Washington's war preparations that inevitably culminated in the U.S.-organized bombardment and invasion of Iraq. We call for an end to the blockade, and the immediate exemption of food and medicines. We explained how the effects of the embargo come down on the common people of Iraq—not the privileged or their government.

• We explained why any variant of slogans such as, "Support our boys, bring them



U.S. troops in Saudi desert prepare for 1991 military assault against Iraq

home!" is a disorienting concession to the rulers' patriotic prowar propaganda. The GIs, in their great majority, are from our class and its allies; they are workers and farmers in uniform. But the U.S. armed forces are "their troops"—the troops of the U.S. imperialist government and the handful of wealthy capitalist families it represents. (We should also note that, in comparison to the Vietnam War, a substantially larger percentage of the "boys" in the Gulf were actually women—6 percent. At the time of the Vietnam War 1.5 percent of the U.S. armed forces were women, where today the figure has jumped to 11 percent.)

• We insisted that yellow ribbons—no matter who was wearing them, or for what individual reasons—play the same role as an American flag in bolstering patriotic support for the war. It doesn't matter whether the person wearing the yellow ribbon (or a flag) is a worker, a lawyer, or a capitalist; white, Black, Puerto Rican, or Chinese. It doesn't matter if he or she was persuaded to wear it by a neighbor, or is understandably concerned about a son or daughter stationed in the Gulf. We opposed liberals and radicals in the trade union officialdom or various coalitions who suggested attaching yellow ribbons to antiwar buttons, or wearing a different-colored ribbon. This is an objective political question. The ribbon's practical meaning and impact in politics is nothing more than a capitulation to patriotic, prowar pressure in a sentimental guise. The worker can change his or her mind, but the ribbon can't change its function.

• Communists explained that there is also no "we" on the international level that papers over the class division between the capitalist exploiters and exploited workers and farmers, or between oppressed and oppressor nations. There can be no solution to wars in the Middle East or elsewhere enforced by a classless "international community" or "international organization." That is true

whether the agency involved is the United Nations or some "Arab peacekeeping force"—the true role of which, in both cases, has been further exposed by the U.S. war in the Gulf.

During the buildup to the U.S. war and during the bombing and invasion itself, these patriotic pressures bore down with increasing weight on the radical currents that politically dominated the leaderships of various antiwar action coalitions on a local and national level. Especially following the large January 26 demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and the San Francisco Bay Area, these forces increasingly retreated from a perspective of mobilizing united actions against the war. It was among young people that the greatest opposition to Washington's war was manifested. Youth- and student-led committees were at the fore of efforts to organize ongoing public protests, such as the February 21 meetings and rallies on campuses and in cities and towns across the country....

In the face of the rulers' tightening wartime pressures on democratic rights, the greatest protection for communists and other vanguard fighters in the working class is to go deeper into our class and its organizations and to press to the furthest limits possible the space for political organization and activity—from the factory floor through all the institutions of capitalist society. We need to encourage debate and discussion. We need to encourage co-workers and other unionists to join with us—and with other opponents of the war—in protests, public meetings, and demonstrations....

At such times, it is more important than ever for revolutionary-minded workers to reaffirm the truth explained in the founding program of our movement, *The Communist Manifesto*, that communists "disdain to conceal their views and aims." We explain and advocate the same things to our co-workers and to the broader working-class public as we do our to our members and supporters.

for further reading

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party

James P. Cannon

In this companion to Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism*, Cannon and other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party defend the centrality of proletarianization within the political and organizational principles of Marxism in a polemic against a petty-bourgeois current in the party. The debate unfolded as Washington prepared to drag U.S. working people into the slaughter of World War II. \$21.95

In Defense of Marxism

The Social and Political Contradictions of the Soviet Union

Leon Trotsky

Writing in 1939-40, Trotsky replies to those in the revolutionary workers movement who were beating a retreat from defense of the Soviet Union in face of looming imperialist assault. \$24.95

Revolutionary Continuity: Marxist Leadership in the United States

Farrell Dobbs How successive generations of fighters took part in the struggles of the U.S. labor movement, seeking to build a leadership that could advance the class interests of workers and farmers. vol 1 \$16.95, vol 2 \$18.95

The Communist Manifesto

Karl Marx, Frederick Engels \$3.95

Fighting Racism in World War II

C.L. R. James, George Breitman, Edgar Keemer, and others A week-by-week account of the struggle against racism in the United States from 1939 to 1945. \$20.95



Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12.

U.S. government steps up assault on democratic rights

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Since September 11 the U.S. government has sharply accelerated its assault on working people in the United States, targeting democratic rights. The Bush administration is building on the range of attacks on such rights carried out under the Clinton administration, seeking to polish the image of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, or *la migra*, the most hated and largest U.S. police force. The moves also seek to strengthen the executive power of the imperialist state, another strategic goal that ranks high with the U.S. rulers.

Government officials and commentators in the big-business press pose this issue as "fighting terrorism" and the need to choose between "security" against liberty. They seek to convince working people that their hard-fought struggles for rights over decades, including those incorporated in the Bill of Rights to the U.S. constitution, must now be significantly altered in order to give greater powers to various police agencies.

For example, a September 15 poll on the home page of the Internet provider Compuserve posed the question like this: "Which freedoms would you be willing to compromise to wipe out terrorism?" The choices were, "Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Travel, Right of Privacy, All of the Above, [and] None of the Above."

"Everything is under review," stated Secretary of State Colin Powell. This includes "how the CIA does its work, how the FBI and Justice Department does its work, are there laws that need to be changed and new laws brought into effect."

This campaign to roll back democratic rights is being conducted with bipartisan support in the halls of Congress. "We're in a new world where we have to rebalance freedom and security," stated House Democratic Leader Richard Gephardt. "We're not going to have all the openness and freedom we have had." Senate Minority Leader, Republican Trent Lott, sounded a similar theme. "When you're in this type of conflict, when you're at war, civil liberties are treated differently," he stated. "We've been having an academic discussion and holding our breath in this area for several years. We can't do that anymore."

Among the new restrictions are:

*The Bush administration announced September 18 a major expansion of its power to detain immigrants, saying that legal immigrants can be held indefinitely during a "national emergency." In addition, a bill being rushed through Congress would give the Justice Department the ability to waive a new 48-hour deadline—up from the

previous 24 hours—to decide whether or not to release a jailed immigrant "in the event of emergency or other extraordinary circumstance." The Justice Department could hold the person for "an additional reasonable period of time" without charges. Armed with these new powers, the Justice Department said it will not release 75 immigrants currently being held, allegedly in connection with the September 11 attacks.

In addition, a draft bill has been introduced in Congress that would give the Justice Department new authority to arrest immigrants suspected of "terrorism," accelerate the process of deporting them, and curtail court appeals. The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, which has been on the books since 1996, already authorizes the deportation of non-citizens without judicial review or appeal.

According to a *Daily News* report, the Justice Department has given U.S. Attorney Mary Jo White, the leading federal prosecutor for the Southern District of New York based in Manhattan, "extraordinary powers to proceed in secrecy against anyone implicated" in the attack. Search warrants and records will be sealed and federal authorities "no longer will disclose when arrests are made or when material witnesses are taken into custody," the *Daily News* reports a Justice Department spokesperson saying.

*Two days after the attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the Senate hastily added an amendment to a spending bill making it easier for cop agencies to track individuals' communications on the Internet, without having to obtain multiple search warrants. The FBI is also pursuing its plan to pressure internet providers to allow them to hook up the Carnivore system, which monitors all electronic communications on their networks.

Expansion of wiretapping

*Attorney General John Ashcroft said that the Justice Department is seeking to broaden its authority under a 1978 law to allow the department to seek authority to eavesdrop on any phone used by a person targeted for surveillance, rather than getting wiretap orders for each individual telephone number. The current law on the books established a secret federal court that hears government requests to wiretap specific lines.

For the FBI to more effectively "randomly monitor telephone communications within the United States," noted the *Times*, it will need to call on the services of the National Security Agency, which "is limited by law and executive order in monitoring communications within the United States." These rules were established in 1978 by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act. "There are now bound to be efforts to rewrite that law to give the NSA greater latitude," stated the newspaper.

*The State Senate in New York passed a



National Guardsmen check identification of people heading into New York's financial district. Some 5,000 Guardsmen are deployed in the city as part of Washington's stepped-up militarization of the country.

new law September 17 significantly expanding the use of wiretapping surveillance by state cop agencies. For the first time, the law establishes a felony offense of "terrorism." Funding a group named terrorist will also be a felony. It allows the death penalty for anyone who commits murder while carrying out an act deemed terrorist. The 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act defines terrorism as "any violent act or acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States," giving the government wide latitude in going after union members on a picket line or against demonstrations the cops allege to have blocked public access.

*Federal authorities have also made crossing the border into the United States an onerous affair. By requiring intrusive inspections of practically every vehicle and checking every bag they deem suspicious, they have created a gridlock of cars and trucks seeking to cross along the 2,000-mile U.S. Mexico border.

*The U.S. government has expanded security checks at federal buildings and national monuments. They have also closed more than 50 embassies around the world.

The Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) has imposed tough new regulations at commercial airports, resulting in hours of delays for many seeking to catch a flight. The FAA has agreed to put armed marshals on many flights. The first group would be drawn from federal police agencies, with more to be eventually hired.

*Some 5,000 members of the New York National Guard have been patrolling the streets of Manhattan together with tens of thousands of New York police. As workers returned to their jobs in Lower Manhattan around the Wall Street area September 17, they were required to produce identification to enter the area and had their packages and bags searched.

*In the days following the attack on the World Trade Center, police in New York set up checkpoints on the bridges into Manhattan. A *New York Times* column titled "Last Week, Profiling was Wrong," pointed out,

"Some drivers said that officers seemed to single out drivers who appeared to Arabs and Muslims." At Kennedy International Airport on September 13, the article quotes one passenger as saying, "Anyone with dark skin or who spoke with an accent was taken aside and searched. And then they went to any male with too much facial hair."

*Federal and local police have conducted a growing number of raids of homes and offices, as well as stopping individuals riding in cars or vans. The *New Jersey Star-Ledger*, for example, lists 12 such raids conducted in 11 different cities in that state from September 11–16. Reporting on one such raid in East Rutherford September 11, under the title "FBI agents search an urban Moving System van," the paper stated, "Police stopped the van, containing five men, after receiving a report they had been videotaping and celebrating the disaster on the Hudson County waterfront. The men, who identified themselves as Israeli citizens, have since been released, according to a law enforcement source."

In San Diego harbor, officials have boarded and searched more than 300 vessels in the week since September 11.

Press censorship

*According to a CNN report, "America's 'new war' against terrorism will be fought with unprecedented secrecy, including heavy press restrictions not seen for years." The U.S. Defense Department has stopped posting on the Internet the general location of U.S. warships. In addition, "The Pentagon currently has no plans to allow reporters to deploy with troops, or report from warships, practices routinely carried out in the 1991 Persian Gulf War," noted CNN.

*Among the regulations the administration is seeking to revise, Secretary of State Powell said, is a 1976 executive order issued by President Gerald Ford that bans U.S. personnel from engaging in assassinations. The order was issued in the wake of hearings before the U.S. Congress that exposed the numerous assassination plots undertaken by the CIA over the years.

U.S. drives to war

Continued from Page 8

tion Council told the London-based *Al Hayat* that the "Americans are intent on a military operation and we can only hope that this will not have repercussions on the region."

In Japan, lawmakers began to debate new legislation that would allow logistical support for any U.S. military action. Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, who has been pressing for a revision to the country's constitution to allow deployment of the military for "self-defense" of an ally, said the government "should consider what Japan can do and what Japan should do."

Washington has put Tel Aviv under heavy manners, scotching hopes of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to use the crisis to accelerate its own war drive against the Palestinian people. The *Financial Times* reported September 19 that "Israel responded to intense U.S. and European pressure yesterday by agreeing to stop offensive military actions against the Palestinians, removing a potential obstacle to the creation of a U.S.-led international coalition against terrorism."

Washington hunts former ally bin Laden

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

"The focus right now is on Osama bin Laden, no question about it," said U.S. President George Bush during a September 17 visit to the Pentagon. Asked by a reporter if he wanted bin Laden dead, Bush referred to "an old poster out West...that said 'Wanted: Dead or Alive.'"

Amidst his war talk, Bush has made no mention of bin Laden's former role as an ally of Washington during the 1980s war in Afghanistan. The U.S. government cultivated such figures as tools of its opposition to the Soviet backing of the government in Kabul. Moscow sent tens of thousands of troops into Afghanistan in December, 1979, to back up an increasingly unpopular regime.

In the 1970s growing social unrest challenged the traditional rulers of Afghanistan, where Afghan peasants, representing some 80 percent of the workforce, labored under semifeudal conditions. The government initially charted a course of social reforms, including the redistribution of land, which

won popular backing. The Kabul government squandered that support by attempting to impose its reforms, first by decree, and then—confronted with the landlord-backed resistance—by indiscriminate bombings of villages, and other brutal acts.

Following Moscow's invasion, U.S. president James Carter signed a secret directive authorizing the supply of covert aid to help organize an army to topple the government in Kabul. These forces received encouragement from Afghan landlords, who opposed the threat to the power and land. The nationalism of the self-styled freedom fighters was generally marked by reactionary and brutal policies towards workers, peasants, and women.

"What began as a trickle would soon turn into a flood of arms and money," wrote Tom Hundley in the September 17 *Chicago Tribune*. "The CIA took responsibility for acquisition and shipment of weapons. Much of the hardware was purchased on the black market from Soviet bloc countries, although one of the most effective weapons in the

mujahadeen's arsenal would turn out to be U.S.-made Stinger missiles. They used the missiles to shoot down hundreds of Russian helicopters."

Pakistan's secret service, "working closely with the CIA, was in charge of recruiting and training the guerrillas," reported Hundley, while "money for the undertaking poured in from the anti-communist Saudis."

During the war, bin Laden, a businessman and inheritor of a family fortune, commanded the Maktab al-Khidmat, "which recruited fighters from around the world and imported equipment to aid the Afghan resistance against the Soviet army," according to a September 14 BBC report. Bin Laden was "trained by the U.S. war experts to fight the Russians" reported a January 4 United Press International dispatch. "According to the Central Intelligence Agency, which helped arm the anti-Soviet Mujahadeen, bin Laden had between 12,000 and 20,000 supporters trained in arms, explosives and the use of U.S. Stinger missiles."

THE MILITANT

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Racist attacks on rise as war drive heats up

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

People of Middle Eastern heritage and those of Muslim faith have reported a spreading rash of racist violence and abuse against them as Washington increases "internal security" and gears up for its "war on terrorism." Three people have been killed, while verbal and physical assaults have grown markedly.

Washington and its police agencies set the stage for the attacks by targeting Arabs and Muslims in the days following the September 11 events. In highly publicized arrests at New York's Kennedy and La Guardia airports, the FBI arrested 11 people claiming they were connected to the hijacked airliners. Mike Glass of Seattle told reporters the federal agents took aside and searched "anyone with dark skin or who spoke with an accent." Ten of them were later quietly released without any charges being filed. Police stopped an Amtrak train in Rhode Island September 12 and arrested a Sikh man who was wearing a green turban. Other raids by federal agents in Florida and elsewhere helped foment an anti-Arab and anti-Muslim air.

Students at New York's Columbia University protested incidents of abuse at a September 13 forum organized by the Columbia North Africa and Middle Eastern Club, known as Turath. One student had been on the receiving end of obscenities because she "wears a head covering," Henna Hussain of the Muslim Students Association, told the meeting. "We just want all Muslims and any South Asian-looking people to just be careful because there are people out there who don't differentiate," she said.

"Arab people sympathize with [the victims]," said one participant. Many objected to the media coverage of reaction to the attacks in the Middle East. "I was watching CNN on Tuesday and I kept hearing three words: Islam, Jihad, and Terrorism," said Hafsa Ali.

A range of organizations have added their voices to the widespread outrage at such attacks. The representatives of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, the American Muslim Alliance, and six other groups met September 12 and issued a statement urging "our fellow Americans, the government and media to...not assign any form of collective guilt against communities for the crimes of individuals."

The Arab American Action Network (AAAN) reported that on September 12 a number of church, civil liberties, and community groups organized a press conference in Chicago "in solidarity with Arab Americans and Muslims."

Staff and proprietors of retail outlets, and



Hassan Awdah stands behind bulletproof glass of gas station he owns in Gary, Indiana, showing marks of September 12 attempt on his life. A man wearing a ski mask fired assault rifle more than 21 times. Awdah was born in Yemen, and is a U.S. citizen.

others who work by themselves, like taxi drivers, are particularly vulnerable to attacks. Balbir Singh Sodhi, the Sikh proprietor of a gas station, was shot and killed on September 15. Twenty minutes later, the gunman shot at, and missed, a clerk of Lebanese descent

at another gas station. He then fired into the home of an Afghan family. As he was arrested and handcuffed, he said, "I'm a patriot. I'm a damn American all the way."

Sikh representatives have pointed out that their religion is neither Muslim nor from the

Middle East. "Our turbans have turned us into targets," said Mandeep Singh Dhillon in California.

Accounts have come in from at least six states of attacks on Muslim mosques. AAAN, which monitors incidents of harassment, reported on September 12 that "approximately 350 people, some waving American flags...attempted to march" on a mosque in Bridgeview, a Chicago suburb that is home to many Arab-Americans. The police say they prevented the march from reaching its target. In Cleveland, a man drove his car through the doors of an Islamic center, causing up to \$100,000 in damage.

Alongside such serious assaults have been numerous incidents of verbal and physical abuse, including the forcible removal of the scarves often worn by Muslim women. Reporting incidents of "harassment or threats on kids in junior high school or high school," Salam al-Marayati, director of the Muslim Public Affairs Council in Los Angeles, noted, "There's been a backlash after every major international crisis involving the Middle East."

Faced with the two killings and reports of widespread assaults, President George Bush stated, "Our nation should be mindful that there are thousands of Arab Americans who live in New York City, who love their flag as much as [we] do, and we must be mindful that we seek to win the war, that we treat Arab Americans and Muslims with the respect they deserve."

Charleston 5 representative speaks in Ohio

BY NATALIE CORVINGTON AND EVA BRAIMAN

CLEVELAND—In response to union-busting attacks against longshoremen in Charleston, South Carolina, unionists and others met here August 22 to hear Ken Riley, president of International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Local 1422 in Charleston speak about the ongoing struggle on the docks in South Carolina.

Riley addressed a crowd of nearly 200 at a union hall, explaining the background and context of the felony charges being leveled by the state against five union members. The frame-up charges of "inciting to riot" against the ILA members came in the wake of an assault on union picket lines by 600 cops in riot gear in January 2000. The pickets faced military helicopters, gunboats, police scuba divers, night-vision snipers, and canine, motorcycle, and horseback units.

During the attack, workers say state police in riot gear spewed racial epithets at

them and badly wounded many, including union president Ken Riley. For 18 months, five of the workers have been under house arrest, unable to leave their homes from 7:00 p.m. to 7:00 a.m. unless they are working. The response of the union has been to build worldwide support for the framed-up unionists, now known as the Charleston 5.

Riley was welcomed to Cleveland by Pam Rosado, political director of Service Employees International Union Local 47, which hosted the event. She explained that "an injury to one is an injury to all, and we are here to support our brothers in South Carolina." John Ryan, executive secretary of the Cleveland AFL-CIO, was present on the stage, and Warren Davis, director of region 2 of the United Auto Workers, noted to applause that "their fight is our fight and we're with them to the end."

Riley said that leading up to the cop attack, the union was engaged in a fight with the Danish shipping company, Nordana

Line, which had begun using a nonunion stevedore company on the Charleston docks. The ILA reached out for support in the fight, he said, and pointed to the example of dockworkers in Spain who refused to service Nordana Line ships until the company met the demands of the Charleston longshoremen. After having its access to crucial Spanish ports threatened, the company "couldn't find us quick enough," recounted Riley.

Another example of international solidarity evident in this struggle is the promise of French dockworkers and others around the world to suspend work during the trial of the Charleston 5, scheduled for sometime this fall. "It just goes to show what international solidarity can do," Riley said. "We must be one unified workforce. As our corporate bosses go global, we have to, too. We have generations of gains to lose in this fight."

Riley encouraged other union members to come to Charleston for the trial as part of the political campaign demanding South Carolina's attorney general release the union militants immediately and drop the charges. The ILA has established a solidarity fund to help defend the union, which already faces \$365,000 in legal fees alone. Participants in the meeting here contributed \$3,331 on-the-spot for travel and other expenses.

Natalie Corvington is a student at Ohio State University; Eva Braiman is a meat packer and Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Cleveland.

Crisis-ridden airlines announce mass layoffs

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

Tens of thousands of aircraft cleaners, baggage handlers, flight attendants, and pilots face imminent layoffs across the United States, as a number of major airlines announce massive restructuring in the wake of the September 11 airliner hijackings and attacks.

The two-day shutdown of airports across the country immediately following the attack, the heavy cost of new security measures, the limited startup of flights over the following days, and continuing low patronage have piled losses on companies in a year already marked by economic slowdown and intense price competition for customers.

Announced cutbacks in airline staff are 65,000 and rising. The two largest airlines, American Airlines and United, said September 19 that they would each eliminate around 20,000 jobs—15 percent and 20 percent respectively of their payrolls—and one-fifth of their pre-September 11 schedule.

Continental Airlines, the fifth-ranking airline, announced four days earlier that it will lay off 12,000 of its 56,000-strong workforce. Company executives said the decision was sparked in part by the cost of implementing the beefed-up security measures demanded by the government. The airline reported losses of \$33 million in the year to June. A number of major airlines racked up larger deficits over the same period.

Other companies, such as U.S. Airways, America West, and America Trans Air have also announced staff reductions. North Carolina-based Midway Airlines, already in Chapter 11 bankruptcy proceedings, closed

its doors the day after the attacks, dismissing 1,700 employees.

"Even before Tuesday's attacks," reported the September 15 *New York Times*, "a sharp decline in the number of high-paying business travelers, combined with high fuel prices and expensive new labor contracts, have sent most major carriers into the red." The industry would "emerge much smaller" from the current shutdown, predicted the paper.

Legislators have "rushed to complete an aid package for the airlines," reported the *Times* on September 19. Industry executives have placed a shopping list before a congressional committee of a \$5 billion cash infusion and \$12.5 billion in loan guarantees. The Internal Revenue Service agreed to the airline companies' demand to defer the payment of hundreds of millions of dollars in ticket taxes that have already been collected from passengers.

In addition, United Airlines and American—the companies whose flights were hijacked—are pressing for legislation to limit their liability in the face of likely law suits stemming from the attacks.

The ripple effects of the crisis in the industry are already being registered. Boeing, the world's largest aerospace company, has announced plans to lay off between 20,000 and 30,000 people in its workforce of almost 200,000 people, in the expectation of a steep decline in orders.

The airlines' woes were the most prominent features in the first days of trading on Wall Street, which reopened on September 17 after a four-day closure. In the first day's trading the stocks of the three largest air-

line companies slumped by 40 percent. Overall, the Dow Jones industrial index fell almost 9 percent in three trading days. The decline in the Nasdaq index was 10 percent.

Capitalist pundits are already calling for airlines to "put their house in order," in the words of the *Investor Business Daily*. The paper quoted analysts calling for cuts in wages and salaries.

Toilers of East appeal to workers

Continued from Page 15

keep us under an iron heel. You would have to give power over us to your generals and governors. And once they had tasted the sweetness of the idle life lived at the expense of our labor and learned how to hold generations of colored toilers in bondage, they would soon turn their bayonets against you—and the wealth accumulated in Asia and Africa would be used to thrust you back into your previous slavery.

If you were to forget us now, you would pay dearly for that mistake; you would have cause to remember our chains when you felt chains on your own hands. You cannot free yourselves unless you help us in our struggle for liberation. The wealth of our countries is, in the hands of the capitalists, a means of enslaving you. So long as the British capitalist can freely exploit Indian, Egyptian, and Turkish peasants, so long as he can rob them, so long as he can force them to serve in the British army, he will always have wealth enough and executioners enough to subdue the British workers. Without our revolt there

can be no victory for the British workers over the British capitalists, for the world proletariat over world capital.

And just as you cannot wrest power from the hands of the capitalists without unity with us, so you are not in a position to maintain power without this unity. The capitalist countries of Europe do not produce enough grain and raw materials to provide food, clothing, and footwear for their workers. Our countries, the countries of the East and of Africa, are rich in grain and raw materials. Without these supplies, the workers of Europe would die of starvation after their victory. They will be able to obtain these supplies by uniting with the toilers of Africa and Asia, by helping the toiling masses of Africa and Asia and thus inspiring them with confidence and love.

Such unity between ourselves and you will bring invincible strength. We will be able to feed and clothe each other; we will be able to help each other with armies of warriors fired with the single idea of common liberation.

Coal miners strike in U.K. wins support

Continued from front page
money itself for maintaining our morale,” Skidmore explained.

The Rossington miners also decided to reject a company request that the union allow 39 miners to go back to work to help deal with problems involved in securing safe working conditions on some of the coal faces. “We won’t do this,” Skidmore said. “It’s just a ploy to get some of us back to work and divide us. We’re not on a crusade here. We want to be able to go back to work, and in safe conditions, but UK Coal can cover this work with the pit deputies who are already working.”

The striking miner said the company has withheld sick pay from those who were sick before the strike began, pay from those miners who worked during their holidays, and tax rebates, “so no we are not going to have 39 go back to please them.”

Issues in the strike

“Our fight goes back to June last year,” John Gibson said. “After a 95 percent vote for action we had an 11-week overtime ban. Our demands were parity of conditions with the rest of UK Coal. We have an eight-hour shift while the rest of UK Coal has seven-and-a-quarter hours for the same money. So their hourly rate is higher. Plus we don’t get any extra allowances such as shift and travel money,” he said. Gibson reported that miners were also concerned that the productivity bonus are lower at the Rossington colliery than at other mines.

The Rossington mine is run by UK Coal on a ‘lease and license’ basis from the government. The coal bosses have used this arrangement to impose conditions on the miners there that are worse than other mines. In response to the miners’ demand and their decision to not work overtime, UK Coal issued “a letter threatening to sack us,” Gibson said.

After lifting the overtime ban, the union pressed for renegotiation of the bonus scheme in light of the company opening up a new coal face. Instead, the “managers just came to each shift and told them of the new work arrangements and bonus. There was no negotiation. They just announced it,” the striking miner said, adding the company set a base of 21,500 tons of coal produced each week before miners could get a bonus, which in the coal mining industry here often amounts to a significant percentage of a worker’s wage. At Rossington, coal production was only averaging 16,500 tonnes a week, meaning workers received no bonus at all.

In this situation, Gibson explained, miners had only their basic pay to rest on. For the highest paid face workers this totals £69 per shift (£1=US\$1.40). “We only got the bonus three times from March to June. We requested they discount shifts where there was no production, but they refused. Again and again they wouldn’t meet us.”

The anger of the miners grew until the bonus figures were posted in early June, recording no bonus would be received by workers. In response, Gibson said, “miners went down the pit shaft and didn’t get on the un-

derground trains to go the face; they decided to go home.” Miners from the morning shift met those from the next shifts and they too joined the walkout. The following Sunday the miners held a meeting and decided to return to work and press for a new bonus scheme, but still the company refused to answer. Miners decided to organize a vote for official strike action. Gibson reports the result was a clear 71.7 percent in favor of a strike, which began August 15. This action is the first all-out strike in the UK mines since the defeat of the yearlong strike in 1984-85. At that time there were 140,000 miners working in 133 mines. there are now no more than 8,000 working in 17 deep mines.

Miners here say UK Coal wants to implement seven-day, round-the-clock shifts—a big change from the five-day, and 37-and-a quarter-hour weeks at most mines. In an interview with the *Yorkshire Post*, UK Coal spokesman Stuart Oliver said that mine machinery today “is far more reliable. It doesn’t require the same care and maintenance program. But working practices haven’t changed.” The coal bosses have launched a drive to cut the cost of producing coal by 25 percent by early next year. Among the changes they are looking for, the *Yorkshire Post* reports, are working four-day rotations on longer shifts, a practice miners call “continental shifts.”

Miners at many pit gates over the past

week stopped to talk to *Militant* supporters and tell them how bitterly they are opposed to the continental shifts. At Stillingfleet, NUM official Nigel Pearce pointed out that “miners want to be at home on weekends.”

At the Wellbeck mine in Nottinghamshire, miners said that although they often receive a £20 bonus per shift they think the bosses will take advantage of the new shift schedules to eliminate jobs.

Keith Picken, a surface electrician and union delegate at Gascoigne Wood preparation plant in North Yorkshire, said the Rossington strike “is very important to me. They’ve been made the lowest of the low. If we support them, then it can help our situation. We need parity across the board.”

Picken said miners where he works have also been hit by low bonuses, which are determined on the average production from the three mines in the area that feed the preparation plant. “Our bonus has been virtually nonexistent for months,” he said, showing his wage slip with just £2.65 bonus for the week on top of the £51.90 basic shift pay for a surface worker. “You have to work seven days to get a decent wage packet now,” he said, noting that “miners often get penalized if you miss an overtime shift. They can stop you working for the next three weekends”

At the Gascoigne Wood plant, “Rumblings began a few months ago,” Picken

said. “One weekend most of the lads said that was enough and refused to volunteer for overtime. But the manager rostered us for compulsory overtime. After taking legal advice we refused to do this,” he said. “Since then, we’ve had some well-attended meetings of 50 to 60 out of the 200 NUM members there,” with some determined to press for action and others still uncertain. “We have plans for a ballot for industrial action, but these are held up pending talks, we’re waiting to see what they offer us,” Picken added. “We’ve got them frightened.”

Meanwhile, several hundred miners at Hatfield in Yorkshire may win their jobs back. On August 13 they had marched in protest of the sudden closure of the mine four days earlier. According to the government, a new buyer has been accepted for the mine.

In a substantial victory for mine workers and the union, women who have worked as mine canteen workers and cleaners won an equal pay ruling last April. Since then, reports NUM Executive Officer Paul Hardman, women have packed meetings held in miners union halls in Barnsley, Yorkshire. The miners union successfully argued that their pay should be comparable to other surface workers such as bath attendants, who were all male. The women stand to gain £1,000 for each year worked. Some have worked up to 30 years.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

The Elementary Human Right to Food. Reportback from the Food Sovereignty Con-

ference in Havana, Cuba. Speaker: Rolande Girard, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. Dinner at 6:30 p.m. 3926 Mission Street. Tel: (415) 584-2135.

NEW YORK

Fri., Sept. 21 forums on Pathfinder titles as part of ‘New York is Book Country.’

Brooklyn

‘Che Guevara Talks to Young People,’ by Ernesto Che Guevara. Speaker: Martin Koppel, Socialist Workers candidate for New York mayor. 6:30 p.m. 372A 53rd Street. Donation: \$4. Tel: (718) 567-8014.

Garment District

‘Capitalism’s World Disorder,’ by Jack Barnes. Speaker: Steve Clark, Editorial Director, Pathfinder Press. 7:30 p.m. 545 8th Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 693-7358.

Upper Manhattan

‘Cuba and the Coming American Revolution,’ by Jack Barnes. Speaker: Jacob Perasso, Socialist Workers Party. 6:30 p.m. 540 W. 165 St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 740-4611.

“New York is Book Country” will be held Sun., Sept. 23, on Manhattan’s Fifth Avenue, 48th–57th Streets. Pathfinder’s booth has the theme of “Books for workers and youth resisting capitalism’s world disorder.” Steve Clark, editor of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*, and Martin Koppel, interviewer of Rafael Cancel Miranda for the pamphlet *Puerto Rico: Independence is a Necessity*, will be at the Pathfinder booth at 1:00 p.m. and 3:00 p.m.

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—CALENDAR—

Casa de las Américas invites you to a meeting in New York on

Revolutionary Cuba Today:

A firsthand report by participants in the Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange

7:00 p.m., Sat., Sept. 22
33 W. 14th St., Manhattan.
Suggested donation: \$5.
Tel: (718) 857-4477

NEW YORK

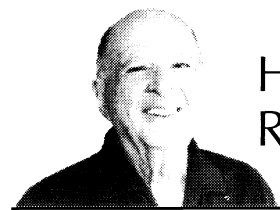
Garment District

Socialist class series.

10:30 a.m. Sunday, Sept. 23. **Washington’s Third Militarization Drive.** From *New International* No. 7, ‘Opening Guns of World War III: Washington’s Assault on Iraq.’ 545 8th Ave., 14th Floor. Tel: (212) 695-7358.

Where Lumumba is playing:
to find out go to:
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2001—Documented Mexican immigrants went to a Colorado flagstone quarry on the promise of \$10 an hour. Instead, they found, they had signed an agreement to be paid



Harry Ring

by the ton—and no money until the stone was sold. So far Colorado officials have fined the outfit \$60 for filthy toilets. The no-money “agreement” is being looked into.

‘Time is money’—The supersonic Concorde jets, which hurtle

passengers across the Atlantic, are resuming flights. They were grounded after a takeoff crash in Paris claimed the lives of 113 people. A tire blowout was caused by a piece of metal on the runway. British Airways, announcing planned resumption of Concorde flights, said it would not check the runway on each flight departure because the new tires are sturdy enough to withstand punctures.

Short and tall?—One of numerous California Highway Patrol indicators of possible drug trafficking: “Mismatched occupants.” 1998 California Highway Patrol training manual.

Int’l pushers—“Sugar and honey can be found in some of the

cigarettes that British American Tobacco sells in the South Pacific. Health officials contend that the ingredients are added to lure children who might otherwise shy away from the acrid taste of cigarettes. The company denies the accusation.... But internal documents from as long ago as the 1970s from its American subsidiary Brown & Williamson, point out that it is a well-known fact that teenagers like sweet products.”—News item.

Plain-spoken—“Glenn Hubbard, the chairman of the White House council of economic advisers, said the slowdown among America’s peers was worrying. But he also said that the reasons for weakness were idiosyncratic...and that there was no reason to expect

that international problems would drag the United States or Europe into recession.”—News item.

What would we do without the experts?—“Experts say...that anyone, whether they work on a loading dock or in a corner office, can find satisfaction in their job—or at least find another job that is satisfying. The key is not expecting the job to make you happy.”—Workplace Section, *Los Angeles Times*.

P.S.—“A job needs to give a person a sense of purpose that he or she is not just a cog in the machinery. Jobs aren’t created with the individual in mind.”—Same as previous.

You thought it was common knowledge?—“The head of the

Colorado Criminal Defense Bar called for a comprehensive study to determine why so many Blacks and Hispanics wind up in the state’s prisons.”—*Rocky Mountain News*.

We dozed—We read the news that a federal court of appeals had ordered a new trial for Calvin Burdine who has been on Death Row in Texas since 1984. The order for a retrial came because Burdine’s lawyer “dozed” during a good part of the trial. (One account we read bluntly declared the lawyer was drunk.) Anyway, what we missed was that earlier a sub-panel of the appeals court had ruled that a lawyer could provide effective counsel as long as he didn’t conk out during “important” parts of the trial.

Caravan in Miami protests Latin Grammy pullout

BY ERIC SIMPSON

MIAMI—For upwards of two hours a caravan of about 40 cars, horns honking and covered with placards demanding, “End the Cultural Blockade of Cuba” and “Miami belongs to all cultures,” drove through the city here September 8. They went past the American Airlines Arena, where the second annual Latin Grammy recording industry awards ceremony was to have been held.

The caravan was protesting the decision by organizers of the program to move the show to Los Angeles, which was followed by a spate of cancellations of Cuban performances. The move was announced in late August after groups opposed to the Cuban Revolution announced they were moving ahead with plans to disrupt the September 11 event.

The reactionary organizations were infuriated by the fact that artists from socialist Cuba had been nominated for awards and were not going to be excluded from the ceremony.

The caravan featured a large RV blaring music by Cuban artists Los Van Van, Buena Vista Social Club, Carlos Puebla, and others. Many bystanders and others expressed support for the action. There were also a few hostile responses.

The Antonio Maceo Brigade (BAM), the Miami Coalition Against the U.S. Embargo of Cuba, and the Alianza Martiana were among the sponsoring organizations. According to protest organizer Andrés Gómez of BAM, who spoke at the Militant Labor Forum the night before the protest, the caravan was the continuation of a 40-year fight for cultural freedom in the city.

The protests against the Grammy award ceremonies were a continuation of the attempts by anti-Cuba organizations to dictate whether artists can perform or not based on their politics, Gómez told the gathering.

Later that day, 10,000 people gathered at the American Airlines Arena to celebrate the Virgin del Cobre, who is Cuba’s “patron saint” in the Catholic religion. The event was presented as a show of force by the right wing in the city. “Cuba will be free soon if all the Cubans back there and those around the world pray to the Virgin,” Miami mayor Joseph Carollo told the crowd. It was the 40th year of celebrating the saint’s day in Miami.

Campaign of intimidation

Leading up to the awards ceremony about 100 organizations had been discussing with the Miami police their plans for Grammy night protests. Carollo supported a protest site directly across the street from the Arena, at the foot of the so-called “Freedom Tower,” which is owned by the Cuban American National Foundation. It was this shift to a closer protest site that prompted the organizers of the Grammy ceremony to shift the venue to Los Angeles.

Grammy president C. Michael Greene told the press August 20 that the week before the no-protest zone surrounding the Arena “was abruptly changed by officials from the city of Miami.

“To further compound this problem, we then learned that more than 100 Cuban-American groups now would be allowed to demonstrate in a high-traffic area for Grammy activities, potentially putting our guests at serious risk. Further, the Academy was made aware that protesters had secured tickets to the show and were organizing a

disruption to the live telecast itself.”

The list of organizations planning to protest included a number with records of terrorist activity. Alpha 66, Brigada de Asalto 2506, Comandos F-4, Directorio Insurreccional Nacionalista, Grupo Táctico de Combate, Movimiento Insurreccional Martiano, and Vigilia Mambisa had all announced they would join the action.

The Cuban American National Foundation was also organizing a separate protest, even though their president, Jorge Mas Santos, the son of the late Jorge Mas Canosa, was one of the co-chairs of the “host committee” for the awards concert.

Greene attacked the Cuban Revolution when he told the *Miami Herald* that Cuban president Fidel Castro “could have very easily sent thugs in, to turn what could have been a peaceful protest into something—all he’s got to do is get five people with rocks and batteries and it suddenly erupts.” Greene subsequently said he had been told “a hundred times” that Cuban agents might whip up the demonstrators and that “all I was doing was repeating what city officials told me.”

Seven Cuban artists have been nominated for awards this year, including Omara Portuondo, Issac Delgado, Chucho Valdés, Celina González, and Lázaro Ross. All will be attending the awards ceremony in Los Angeles.

Two performances by Cubanismo! scheduled for March 2002 were canceled a week after the pullout of the Grammys. The orchestra had been scheduled to perform in Melbourne about three hours up the coast from Miami, and in West Palm Beach, which is closer to Miami.

John Lochen, who was organizing the tour, told the press the group was informed there would be no show “due to the usual outside pressure from the Cuban community.” The director of the Kravitz Center in West Palm Beach told the press she canceled the performance after meeting with leaders of Cuban-American exile groups.

A September 8 performance by Cuban jazz band Irakere was canceled rather than “risk my employees’ or patrons’ safety based on a projected threat of protesters that are now telling us they’re going to come up from Miami, West Palm Beach, and everywhere else to protest,” said the owner of the theater where the musical evening was planned. In addition, news reports indicated that a proposal to host the Cuban National Ballet was also rescinded.

Cuban National Ballet tour organizer Jane Herman said she thought the troupe’s Miami Beach appearances “would have sold out, maybe even double, triple, quadruple.”

A poll taken in April by *el Nuevo Herald* showed that 90 percent of those interviewed favored having Cuban artists perform at the Grammys ceremony in Miami.

One hundred people gathered at a September 9 event to welcome Cuban poet Pablo Armando Fernández, who won Cuba’s National Prize for Literature in 1996, Max Lesnic, a leader of the Alianza Martiana who was a leader of the U.S.-backed invasion force at the Bay of Pigs 40 years ago, and Andrés Gómez jointly opened the meeting, while four people picketed outside. Fernández was greeted with shouts of “down with the blockade.”

Alianza Martiana says it favors an end to the embargo and a peaceful transition to “democracy” in Cuba.



Militant/Eric Simpson

Cuban poet Pablo Armando Fernández signs book for opponents of embargo at September 9 meeting in Miami. Seven Cuban artists were nominated for Latin Grammy awards this year and all will be attending the awards ceremony in Los Angeles.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



October 1, 1976

Socialist Workers party members have faced the government in court before, as defendants in frame-up cases. But this time the government is in the dock. The socialists are the plaintiffs, suing the FBI and other police agencies for spying and disruption.

On September 13 Attorney General Edward Levi admitted there was no basis for the FBI “investigation” of the SWP.

Leonard Boudin, attorney for the SWP, answered the government, “We welcome the Attorney General’s decision [and] regard it as an appropriate vindication of the plaintiff’s position of the illegality of a forty-year vendetta against our clients....”

The *Militant* asked some SWP victims of this forty-year vendetta what they thought about the lawsuit and, in particular, the attorney general’s announcement.

One of these former victims is Farrell Dobbs, former national secretary of the SWP. He was also a central leader of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike and headed the major Teamster organizing drive in the North-Central states during the late 1930s.

Dobbs told the *Militant*:

“The government today has to be more careful of its image. It’s lied to the people so long and in so many ways that it’s not believed anymore. Nobody believes the FBI and the Department of Justice when they argue that they had to carry out their dirty tricks against us in the interests of national security.

“This is very significant. It demonstrates why a party like ours can fight effectively in this matter. It’s because we’re a party with revolutionary working-class principles. We tell the truth. We mean exactly what we say

when we say that we are seeking to exercise our democratic rights to try to convince the majority of the people in this country of the need to get rid of capitalism and establish a socialist society to solve the burdensome problems that are plaguing people.”



October 1, 1951

Try to imagine this: A striker is peacefully picketing his plant. A gang of strike-breakers come out, armed with clubs and blackjacks, and start to beat him up. A cop standing by turns his head the other way until they have finished their dirty work. Then he drags the striker off to jail on charges of “inciting to riot.”

This is what the Cicero case is like. The police looked the other way while a mob, incited by racists, ran wild for several days and gutted the apartment rented by Harvey E. Clark, Jr., Negro bus driver. Clark’s attorney, George Leighton of the NAACP, then went to court and filed suit for \$200,000 damages and for a contempt citation against the Cicero police who had violated an injunction ordering them to protect Clark and his property.

A grand jury was called in Cook County to investigate the anti-Negro riot, which had aroused world-wide protest and condemnation. 117 persons had been arrested at the scene of the outrage, many of them in the act of burning and destroying parts of the building.

But the grand jury did not take any action against any of the 117. Instead, the grand jury, which was lily-white in composition, handed down indictments against five people, all of whom were opposed to the riot and most of whom were not even present when it took place.

Support striking UK miners

Miners on strike against UK Coal in Yorkshire, England, deserve the support of all working people. Their fight, entering its fifth week against an intransigent company, is the first all-out strike in the British mines since the defeat of the yearlong strike in 1984–85.

Financial support and messages of solidarity have already streamed in from other branches of the mineworkers union, and from other organized workers. Workers can build on this support, and go a step further by extending solidarity outside the United Kingdom.

The bosses at UK Coal are leading the charge in extending the workweek and driving down miners' wages. For the ruling class, this strike is a test to see how far they can push in their efforts to further drive down the working conditions of miners throughout the country. Other miners are following this fight closely. The determination of the UK Coal workers to win encourages other workers to fight back.

This strike takes place in the midst of deepening resistance in Britain. Hundreds of miners marched to defend their jobs Yorkshire on August 13. In April, mineworkers and their union scored a victory when women who work in the mine canteen and as cleaners won the right to wages comparable to other surface workers who are men.

Auto parts workers at Friction Dynamics are in their fifth month of a strike and lockout in Canaerfon, Wales. Last January, 10,000 auto workers joined union brothers and sisters across Europe to protest plant closings by the

auto giants. Farmers, facing the worst crisis since the 1930s, have carried out a series of actions over the last year demanding financial relief. This past summer, Asian youth in Oldham and Bradford took to the streets to protest racist attacks. The Irish struggle for independence continues to dog the rulers of the United Kingdom.

The capitalists who own the factories, mines, and mills never pause in their efforts to pit working people against each other, especially workers from different countries. They speak about cheap imports or "low productivity" at home to try to wrest more concessions from our unions. In the United States, thousands of miners are waging struggles against the bosses' assaults on safety, health care, pension benefits, and wages. There are growing opportunities for mineworkers across the Atlantic to offer support against a common enemy and common conditions.

As the rulers in the United States, Britain, and other imperialist countries prepare for war, workers will come under growing pressure to refrain from striking against attacks on our wages and conditions by the employers. Under the guise of "pulling together as a nation," the ruling class will try to obfuscate the irreconcilable class differences between the capitalists and exploited labor. Strikes like the one at UK Coal take on added importance in face of the impending imperialist war. This places added importance on all workers to offer support and weigh in on the side of the mineworkers.

Socialist campaign in New York

Continued from front page

government—Democrats and Republicans alike—to curb the constitutionally guaranteed space for political organization and activity and to legitimize the use of the U.S. armed forces at home and abroad."

Koppel referred to the mobilization of tens of thousands of troops from the National Guard and reserves for "homeland defense" on U.S. territory, the deployment of armed sky marshals on passenger planes, and moves to widen spying and wiretaps by the FBI and other political police agencies. "It's working people who are the target of these reactionary moves," he explained.

Koppel condemned the wave of violent attacks on immigrants from the Mideast and Asia, including the killing of an Indian man in Arizona, a Pakistani immigrant in Texas, and an Egyptian-born man in California. "The U.S. government's warmongering abroad and harassment of immigrants at home is responsible for these criminal attacks," he said.

After the filmed interview, the television reporter commented how Washington had invaded Panama in 1989 under the pretext of "fighting drugs." Remarking that the U.S. assault had killed thousands of Panamanians in working-class neighborhoods, she was pleased to hear a voice of opposition to Washington's aggressive moves. She was disturbed by the American patriotic atmosphere she saw at a "memorial" set up at Union Square, which is covered with U.S. flags, candles, pacifist signs, "prayer stations," and banners.

Since the U.S. government launched a war drive following the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, Socialist Workers candidates around the country and their supporters have been campaigning to explain the nature of this stepped-up war on working people at home and abroad by getting out on street tables in working-class districts, speaking out at forums and public protests against Washington's actions, and joining in the resistance by unionists and other working people to the employers' assault on wages, working conditions, and rights.

In Pittsburgh, Kathleen Fitzgerald, a garment worker, said that socialist workers and Young Socialists joined a rally at Carnegie Mellon University to protest the U.S. war drive. They met students repelled by the brutality and patriotic chauvinist campaign unleashed by the U.S. rulers. These same students were interested in a working-class explanation of the world and the prospects for building a revolutionary movement of working people in this country that can take power out of the hands of the capitalist warmakers. One student they met at the rally renewed his subscription to the *Militant*, the Socialist Workers campaign newspaper.

Frank Forrestal, a union coal miner and Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh, said he and two other socialists who work at the same mine took advantage of a day off to go to Pennsylvania State University, where Black students organized a protest against racist attacks. "They had been pressured to call it off in the wake of the September 11 events but held it anyway," said Forrestal.

In New York, Koppel and other Socialist Workers campaigners set up street tables in the city's Garment District. "By being there with the campaign statement and the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and Pathfinder books that explain the roots of the war drive and how to oppose it, we became a pole of attraction for a stream of people who came over to our tables to talk and purchase literature," said campaigner Dan Fein. "Some people had sharp disagreements with us, but they were civil discussions." A math teacher bought the *Militant* and invited Koppel to address his class.

In Brooklyn, Manhattan's Garment District, and Up-

per Manhattan, Militant Labor Forums were held on Sunday, September 16, titled "Oppose U.S. military assaults and curbs on democratic rights." Publicized on two days' notice, the meetings drew about 90 people, including a number who had just met the socialist campaigners on the street and came to join in a discussion. This included a group of students from New York University, young Palestinian activists, a hospital worker, and young people who had taken part in a recent fact-finding trip to Cuba. A Mexican-born furniture worker in Brooklyn decided to join the Young Socialists.

In Houston, supporters of the socialist candidate for mayor, Anthony Dutrow, have been organizing a final push to collect enough signatures to place his name on the ballot. They joined with 60 others at a demonstration in front of the federal building in Houston to condemn Washington's war moves.

'Imperialism is a death trap for workers in U.S.'

A young Dominican-born worker told Koppel, "I think the reason they are going to war is oil in the Mideast and other investments. Are they going to send thousands of young people to Afghanistan to die for that?" Another worker who joined the discussion commented, "The U.S. is violent all over the world. As long as there is injustice there is going to be war and violence," he said, pointing to the 1965 U.S. invasion of his country, the Dominican Republic. "Look at the Palestinians—they're fighting for their land."

Both workers were interested in the response by Koppel, who pointed to the socialist campaign statement, which explained that "by its systematic superexploitation of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America; by its never-ending insults to their national and cultural dignity; by its ceaseless murderous violence in countless forms—U.S. imperialism is turning North America into a death trap for working people and all who live here."

Socialist Workers campaigners in New York are organizing to regularize their weekly sales of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and Pathfinder books at plant gates in the Garment District and other meat-packing plants and clothing shops in the city, to get these publications into the hands of other workers who are discussing the events unfolding in the world today.

"Our campaign in New York—and Socialist Workers campaigns around the country—will be reproducing our September 11 statement and putting it in every copy of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* that we sell," Koppel said.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CANDIDATES FOR MAYOR

Boston—Sarah Ullman, garment worker

Cleveland—Eva Braiman, meat packer

Detroit—Osborne Hart, meat packer and member of United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW)

Houston—Tony Dutrow, meat packer

Miami—Mike Italie, garment worker

New York—Martin Koppel, editor, the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*

Pittsburgh—Frank Forrestal, coal miner and member of the United Mine Workers of America

Seattle—Ernie Mailhot, meat packer and member UFCW

St. Paul—Tom Fiske, meat packer

What was the character of youth festival?

BY JACK WILLEY

Joseph Fritz, in his letter to the editor, states that the series of *Militant* articles giving firsthand coverage of the 15th World Festival of Youth and Students in Algeria "underestimated the anti-globalization sentiment of the gathering" and that "the World Federation of Democratic Youth participants called for a continuation of the type of demonstrations that began in Seattle."

The Algiers festival was stamped overwhelmingly by the thousands of young people who hailed from countries oppressed by imperialism—from Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, and Asia. The discussions largely concentrated on struggles they were directly part of against the brutalities and indignities of imperialist domination.

Leaders of the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST) of Brazil provoked quite a bit of discussion about

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

peasant struggles for land. The MST has mobilized tens of thousands of peasants and farm workers to occupy huge landed estates and are demanding a thorough-going agrarian reform to grant land to all rural toilers.

Participants from Cuba spoke about the advances working people there have won through their socialist revolution, including the two land reforms in the opening years of the revolution, when both the foreign and domestically owned capitalist estates were expropriated and title to the land was given to every peasant who worked the soil.

Other fighters for national liberation, from Palestine to New Caledonia to Western Sahara, campaigned to broaden solidarity for their struggles. The Korean delegation raised the demand for U.S. troops out of the Korean peninsula and reunification of their nation. These examples of resistance imbued the festival, from breakfast discussions over coffee and a croissant to the hours-long workshops and solidarity meetings.

There was unanimous agreement in Algiers for the demands to cancel the Third World debt and to abolish all imperialist military and economic alliances such as NATO and the International Monetary Fund used by the rulers in the United States and other imperialist powers to assert their domination over the semicolonial world and suck billions of dollars of value produced by the world's toilers.

However, this is a separate question from support for the "anti-globalization" protests like those in Seattle, Quebec City, and Genoa, Italy. Participants at the festival expressed differing opinions about these actions. Many who came from Western Europe presented these protests as a new progressive movement to confront "global capitalism." Others, including the Palestinian delegate mentioned by Fritz and members of the Young Socialists, raised disagreement with this assessment.

The protectionist demands that dominate these protests—"no dumping" of steel and other imports from China, Russia, or Brazil; "fair trade, not free trade"; and "no more sweatshops"—give support to the trade restrictions imposed by Washington on semicolonial countries and its imperialist rivals: trade weapons that have devastating effects to working people in nations oppressed by imperialism. This is why, under the broad umbrella of combating global capitalism, ultrarightists like Patrick Buchanan and his supporters felt comfortable in Seattle during the protests against the WTO two years ago. He used the protests to rail against the WTO as "an embryonic institution of world government" and called for defense of "American sovereignty." Anticommunist "free Tibet" groups that call for economic sanctions and other measures against the workers state in China have also been part of these actions.

What was striking at the world youth festival was how seldom the antiglobalization protests were raised for discussion. The fact that basic anti-imperialist demands are absent from these protests—NATO troops out of Yugoslavia, support for the Palestinian fight for self-determination, and defense of the Cuban Revolution, just to name a few—helped me to see why so many youth from semicolonial countries did not orient toward the Seattle or Genoa protests but rather drew strength from the battles being waged by workers, farmers, and oppressed people against imperialist domination today.

The most important conclusion to draw from the anti-imperialist festival in Algiers is the necessity to join those forces that are working to rebuild a communist international. Those who are in the United States have a special responsibility to build a communist party here that champions progressive struggles around the world and that will join with other vanguard workers and farmers to forge the leadership and mass revolutionary movement needed to take on and overthrow the strongest and most rapacious imperialist power on earth.

Jack Willey was one of the delegates from the United States to the 15th World Festival of Youth and Students.

Toilers of East appeal to workers of the world

Printed below is an excerpt from *To See the Dawn: Baku, 1920—First Congress of the Peoples of the East*. This book is one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for September. The excerpt is taken from a document titled "Appeal to the Workers of Europe, America, and Japan."

The first Congress of the Peoples of the East, held Sept. 1-7, 1920, in Baku, capital of Soviet Azerbaijan, occurred nearly three years after the October 1917 revolution in Russia, in which the Bolshevik Party had led in the establishment of a revolutionary workers and peasants government. Some 2,000 delegates from more than two dozen peoples of Asia met in joint conference with leaders of workers' parties in Russia, Western Europe, and the United States to hammer out a common policy in the fight against imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation. Copyright © 1993 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.



Workers of Britain, America, France, Italy, Japan, Germany, and other countries! Hear the representatives of millions of toilers of the East. Listen to the voice of sorrow, speaking to you from the enslaved countries of Asia and Africa, from Turkey, Persia, China, Egypt, Afghanistan, Bukhara, and Khiva.

For many years, for many decades we have been silent. You did not hear our voice. No one told you of us, of how we live, how we suffer under the rule of those who are your masters too.

Your masters, the European and American factory owners, merchants, generals, and officials, broke into the peace of our villages and towns, plundered us for centuries, took from us what our work in the past had created, and sent all this off to Europe to embellish their lives, their homes, with the labor of our hands and of our ancient culture. They turned us into slaves.

Where previously we had to pay tribute to our own rich men, to the landlords, slave owners, sultans, emirs, khans, and maharajas, now the whip of the European slave owners was also laid across our backs. We were forced to labor on the plantations of the European capitalists. Sweat poured from our brows so that they might obtain rice, tea, sugar, tobacco, and rubber at a cheap rate. Our children were born and died in bondage. If it suited the interests of your bosses and ours, they parted child from mother, wife from husband, and drove them

from one country to another.

To you they said that they were bringing European knowledge and science to our countries. But what they brought in fact was opium and vodka, so that when sorrow welled up in the heart of the Asian and African slaves, they would more easily forget their intolerable life and would not dare to lift their chained hands against their enslaver.

Your bosses, the European capitalists, supported our own enslavers, making them their guard dogs to watch over us. But when the whip of the local ruler was not enough, they sent in white soldiers, they sent in cannon. They destroyed the independence of our countries, subjecting us to their laws and their governors and making slaves of us in the full sense of the word. The aim of their colonial rule, they told us, was to train us for future independence. But they fought with every means against the spread of knowledge among us toilers of the East. Prisons and barracks for us they had in number, but they did not build schools where the children of Asia might learn what the white men had discovered that was great and good. They looked on us as an inferior race; they forbade us to sit in the same railway carriage that white men traveled in; they forbade us to live in the same neighborhood as white people or to eat at the same table with them.

You did not see our wounds; you did not hear our songs of sorrow; you believed your own oppressors when they said we were not people but cattle. You, who are servants to the capitalists, saw us as your own servants. In America you protested when Chinese and Japanese peasants, evicted by your capitalists from their villages, came to your country in search of a crust of bread. You did not



Courtesy of City Library, La-Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland

Residents of town at border of Azerbaijan republic gather in August 1920 to welcome train carrying delegates to Baku for Congress of the Peoples of the East.

approach us in a fraternal way in order to teach us how to fight along with you for the common cause of emancipation. Instead, you denounced us for our ignorance, you shut us out of your lives, you excluded us from your unions....¹

Only a common victory of the workers

¹For the pre-1914 Socialist International's stand on immigrant workers from Asia, see Riddell, *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, pp. 15-20, 41.

of Europe and America and the toiling masses of Asia and Africa will bring liberation to all who have until now toiled for the happiness of the wealthy few. If you were to free yourselves alone, leaving us in slavery and bondage, you yourselves would fall the next day into the same bondage. For in order to keep us in chains and in prison, you would have to form packs of prison bloodhounds to guard us in the East and in the South. You would have to raise armies to

Continued on Page 11

LETTERS

The truth must be told

Working people need to prepare ourselves more politically in view of the thickening smokescreen incessantly pouring out of the major media ever since the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

On the one hand, we are being conditioned to accept that we must begin to give up civil liberties, supposedly in order to assist the crackdown on terrorists. On the other, Secretary of State Colin Powell has led the chorus in declaring as legitimate tar-

gets, not just terrorists, but any state that allegedly shelters and/or supports terrorists. As pertinent background for this we are reminded that Cuba remains on the U.S. (short) list of "state-sponsors of terrorism"—this despite the reality that Cuba has been subjected to over 40 years of terrorist attacks from their base on U.S. soil, as Fidel has just reminded the world. The implications of this are chilling—not just for Cuba and its supporters, but for all supporters of human rights and justice, for all working people—in fact, for the vast majority of humanity.

But I hasten to remind you of Fidel's encouraging perspective that "History is on our side!" along with his principled directive that "the truth must not only be the truth; it must be told!" Just as the crisis of U.S. imperialism continues to deepen with its consequent descent into reaction, so the resistance of humanity to oppression and injustice continues to grow stronger.

Joe Kleidon
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Likes SWP statement

Congratulations on the September 11 statement by Martin Koppel on the attacks in New York City and Washington, D.C., and the U.S. government's response. It said all that needed saying.

Bruce Levine
Watsonville, California

A sterile exposition

Buried somewhere in Martin Koppel's statement, one will find a perfunctory mention of the fact that revolutionaries and class-conscious workers "reject" the methods used by those who destroyed the World Trade Center towers and attacked the Pentagon.

Not one word of sympathy, not a single expression of condolence, for the thousands of ordinary working people who died!

An appalling demonstration of sterile exposition, whose effect will be to persuade none and to win over none.

The substance of what the statement has to say is indeed correct. Yet, instead of educating and explaining, the SWP has chosen to express its views with a declaratory shrillness, which is the hallmark of a lifeless sect.

John Rubinstein
London, United Kingdom

Keep us informed

I read with interest the letter from Dean Hazelwood. In the September 17 issue. The

next time he or any other reader hears of such a rightist rally or protest in North Carolina, please advertise it so that we can organize a counterdemonstration. I live in Wilmington, and would be glad to travel to such an event, as I'm sure many of my Latino co-workers would as well.

Matt Skiba
Wilmington, North Carolina

Anti-globalization protests

As a participant in the World Federation of Democratic Youth festival in Algeria, I thought your coverage underestimated the anti-globalization sentiment of the gathering. You quoted a representative of the Palestinian youth, who asserted that "right-wing organizations are comfortable" participating in the growing movement against corporate globalization. I would be curious to hear some of these right-wingers identified, as that has not been the experience either here in the United States or anywhere else, as far as I know.

The *Militant* reported that only two people spoke in solidarity with this movement, but the final declaration makes clear the dominant sentiment. A couple of brief quotations will show that, in the majority, the World Federation of Democratic Youth participants called for a continuation of the type of demonstrations that began in Seattle:

"The ongoing neoliberal globalisation dictated by multinationals is imposing economic re-colonisation of the developing countries, expanding and intensifying exploitation, widening the gap between the rich and the poor.... Being encouraged by the growing awareness and struggles of the people, especially workers, peasants, women, youth, and students in many parts of the world during the last four years against neoliberal globalisation, against imperialist aggression.... We call for more intensive actions to stop the imposition of unjust economic orders and anti-people economic policies of World Trade Organisation, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, which are dominated and manipulated by U.S., EU, and Japan."

Joseph Fritz
Chicago, Illinois

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people.

Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

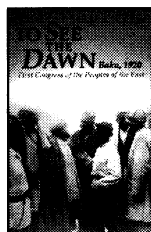
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To See the Dawn

Baku, 1920—First Congress of the Peoples of the East

How can peasants and workers in the colonial world achieve freedom from imperialist exploitation? By what means can working people overcome divisions incited by their national ruling classes and act together for their common class interests? These questions were addressed by 2,000 delegates to the 1920 Congress of the Peoples of the East. **Special offer \$15.00** (regular price \$19.95)



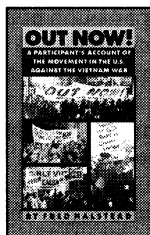
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Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12

Workers protest closure of Ansett airline

BY DOUG COOPER

SYDNEY, Australia—Workers at Ansett—the second of this country's two major airlines with 40 percent of the market—organized impromptu protests September 14 when they arrived for work and found terminals locked and guards posted at the doors. The company had abruptly closed.

Baggage handlers, mechanics, flight attendants, ticket agents, pilots, and others joined angry demonstrations at Ansett terminals around the country to condemn the closure and to demand payment of their estimated \$A500 million in entitlements to unpaid wages, unused holiday pay, sick pay, long service leave pay, and redundancy payments (\$A1 = US 49 cents).

Despite weeks of increasingly nervous speculation, and amid assurances from Ansett's top bosses that the airline would stay afloat, the company eliminated the jobs of 16,000 workers without notice. Tens of thousands of passengers were stranded in the days that followed.

Workers at wholly owned Ansett subsidiaries, including regional carriers Kendell Airlines, Hazleton Airlines, Flight West, Aeropelican, and Traveland, one of the top three national travel agencies, are also out of work. Thousands more who worked for suppliers, such as national food contractor Gate Gourmet, have also been sacked. The flow-on effect could mean thousands more workers in related industries will lose their jobs.

Largest corporate collapse

Measured by the number of workers thrown out of work, it is the largest corporate collapse in the history of the country and comes on top of other recent high-profile bankruptcies, including insurance giant HIH and mobile phone company One.Tel.

Rural and regional areas were particularly hard hit, with Ansett or its subsidiaries having had a monopoly on many smaller, less profitable routes.

The workforce is highly unionized. In Adelaide, workers maintained a 24-hour blockade of the terminal for the first three days. Workers in Sydney also protested in the central business district on September 14 with a 1,500-strong rally. Smaller protests have been maintained during daylight hours to keep watch over assets at all Ansett terminals.

Reeling from the protests and with a federal election mandated before the end of the year, the conservative government of Prime Minister John Howard demagogically promised to revise the Corporations Law to permit employees to go to the top of the list of creditors ahead of secured creditors such as banks.

Ansett was owned by Air New Zealand, and the Howard government has used the closing to stoke the fires of Australian nationalism. He promised to pay part of the entitlements owed to those workers directly employed by Ansett or its subsidiaries through a tax on airline tickets, if the government's pursuit of Air New Zealand, Ansett's parent company, failed. Air New Zealand is itself teetering on the brink of insolvency. Both the lead-up and the aftermath to the Ansett collapse have been marked by anti-New Zealand chauvinism emanating from politicians and labor officials.

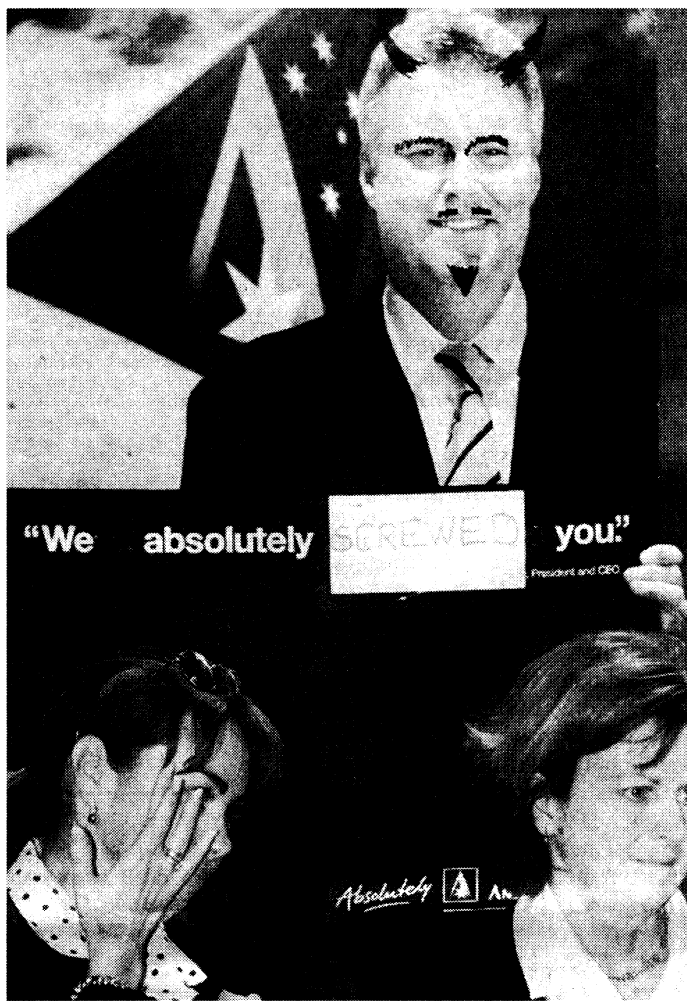
Despite the rhetoric of close economic cooperation across the Tasman Sea, with an economy and population many times the size of New Zealand's, Australia's capitalist class uses these facts to their competitive advantage to force Australian goods into the New Zealand market and frequently block access to Australia for goods produced by New Zealand's workers and farmers.

Attacking what he termed "dithering" by the New Zealand Labour government on a rescue package for Air New Zealand, Australian Labor Party MP Martin Ferguson said September 6, "We are talking about 15,000 Australian jobs and I find it strange that the New Zealand prime minister can make quick

decisions about illegal migrants [from the *Tampa*], but when it comes to expeditious decisions about 15,000 Australian jobs, we can't get a bloody decision."

Air New Zealand, despite being the smaller airline, took full ownership of Ansett after buying the News Corp.'s stake in 2000. Air New Zealand's owners had long chafed under protectionist laws that blocked them from entering the much bigger Australian market for many years. In 1996 they were permitted to acquire 50 percent of Ansett.

In the wake of Ansett's collapse, Australian politicians and union officials have bemoaned the loss of what they term a 65-year-old "Australian icon." Some union officials have called for a boycott of Air New Zealand but support for this view is far from unanimous. Brian Saxby, a porter/loader with five years at Ansett and a member of the Transport Workers Union, told the *Militant*, "We shouldn't boycott Air New Zealand. How's that going to help, if they go under?" Saxby also disagreed with putting a tax on airline tickets. "Why should the public have to pay for our misfortune?"



Employees at Australian airline Ansett express their outrage at the decision of Ansett's chief executive, Gary Toomey to shut down the airline. Redesigned poster with message from the CEO reads: "We absolutely screwed you."

he asked.

Some workers have been drawn into the rulers' nationalist and anti-New Zealand framework. On the morning of the collapse, workers at Melbourne airport used machinery to block planes from taking off that were

scheduled to return Prime Minister Helen Clark to New Zealand. Ultimately, a New Zealand air force Orion flew to Australia to retrieve her.

There is also speculation in the big-business press that the Australian government was prepared to let Ansett fail in order to block Singapore Airlines, which is now part owner of Air New Zealand, from gaining a foothold in the domestic market.

With the demise of its only major competitor, Qantas has moved in rapidly, seeking to increase its share of the domestic market to 90 percent. Many stranded passengers have had to pay full-fare prices to continue their journey. Virgin Blue has said it is prepared to increase its operations in the wake of the Ansett collapse. It currently operates limited routes with nine planes. Virgin Blue, owned by Richard Branson, started up in mid-2000 as a no-frills, discount fare airline.

Ansett went to the wall due to the fierce price war since then, combined with sharply rising jet fuel costs, the second oldest fleet among the world's 50 largest airlines, and sharp declines in both the Australian and New Zealand dollars in the last year.

"I don't think we'll get our jobs back at Ansett," said Eric, a ramp worker with 14 years on the job, who didn't want his last name used. "But we're fighting for our entitlements." Asked about the likelihood of another airline being set up in the wake of Ansett's demise, he simply said, "Qantas doesn't want any competition."

Some 50 members of the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA) from sites around Sydney joined the protest at the Ansett terminal September 19. "I wanted to do cartwheels when the MUA workers and banners arrived" because of what it meant for solidarity, airline worker Brian Saxby said.

Doug Cooper is a member of the Maritime Union of Australia. Ron Poulsen contributed to this article.

New Zealand special forces put on standby

BY JANET EDWARDS

AUCKLAND, New Zealand—In response to Washington's war drive following the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the New Zealand government has put its Special Air Service (SAS) soldiers on standby, ready to join an imperialist military assault, and increased spying and restrictions on travel within its borders.

The cabinet has delegated authority to a committee of five, authorized to decide Wellington's military commitment on short notice.

The opposition National and Act parties have called on the government to follow Canberra's lead and invoke Clause IV of the ANZUS treaty, which states that an attack against one partner is an attack against all. New Zealand is currently suspended as a treaty partner for refusing entry to nuclear-powered warships.

Green Party Member of Parliament (MP) Keith Locke, while expressing opposition to joining Washington in a military assault, gave backing to the imperialist war drive by calling for intervention in the form of "political and economic pressures" and stating that "war criminals like Slobodan Milosevic are now in the dock. An International Criminal Court is being set up. Nations should cooperate to capture the terrorists and put them on trial."

The Labour-Alliance government has indicated that it will increase funding for spy agencies and step up "intelligence sharing" with Washington. Already, a hotline has been established for people to call the Security Intelligence Service, the government's main secret police outfit, with any information they have about "international terrorism."

New security measures have been intro-

duced at airports to screen domestic travelers for the first time, as well as international travelers, and military personnel have been stationed at the country's three major airports.

Opposition politicians have reopened the debate about the government's decision to accept 150 Afghani refugees from a boatload of migrants refused entry to Australia, claiming they pose a threat to security because of possible "terrorist" connections and should be turned away.

Referring to the heightened tensions between Canberra and Wellington following the collapse of the Air New Zealand-owned airline Ansett, rightist New Zealand First

leader Winston Peters said, "We're insisting upon taking a boatload of Afghani queue jumpers to help out the Aussies, who are in turn boycotting our airline and our products."

National Party spokesperson Lockwood Smith used the events to pressure the Waterfront Workers Union into canceling its plans to go on strike. Citing "a time of great jeopardy to our economy" Smith said the government "should talk to its unionist comrades and tell them to cancel this cynical industrial action. Australia already feels we are letting them down in terms of defense cooperation and airline services. Let's not add maritime trade to that list."

Strikers continue fight for a contract at chocolate plant in Vancouver

BY JOE YATES

VANCOUVER, British Columbia—Nearing the end of their fifth month on strike, the 100 strikers at Purdy's Chocolates here remain determined to win the fight for a their first contract with the company. Asked if the bosses were trying to break the union, striker Julier Odejar responded, "They cannot do that, we are strong." Odejar has been a production worker for six years. Of the strikers, 95 percent are women and a big majority are immigrants, mainly from Asia. They are members of Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union Local 2000.

The company hasn't "accepted the fact that we are unionized," said striker Lyne Wong. The owner "won't even mention the word union. This is our first real contract. We got the union in three years ago." The

major issues in the strike are a guaranteed 40-hour work week, a closed union shop, and improved benefits. There have been no negotiations for weeks.

"They think we are over paid," Wong added. "They say there is a good environment and they treat us like family. When we ask for medical benefits or long-term disability they say no. We are immigrants from Third World countries. They expected us to just keep our heads down and keep working. They didn't expect us to be united."

Eight workers have crossed the picket lines and some production is going on. However, striking worker Norma Moore reported that the company has had to cancel corporate orders for Christmas because they do not have enough chocolates. According to Wong, these orders brought in \$14 million for the company last year.