

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Tel Aviv: 'We will seize every opportunity to kill Hamas leaders'
—PAGE 2

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 68/NO. 14 APRIL 13, 2004

New law is aimed at pushing back women's right to choose

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

In a measure that opponents of women's rights are using as an argument for further attacks on the right to choose abortion, the U.S. Senate approved a bill March 25 decreeing that a fetus has legal rights under federal law.

The bipartisan legislation, approved in a 68-38 vote, would add an additional federal offense for those convicted of harming or killing a fetus in the course of a violent crime against a pregnant woman. In February the House of Representatives passed

a similar version of the misleadingly titled "Unborn Victims of Violence Act." President George Bush has said he will sign it into law.

Supporters of women's rights say this and other ongoing efforts to undermine reproductive rights are why they are working to build a turnout of tens of thousands for an April 25 march on Washington to defend the right to choose.

Rita Haley, president of the New York City chapter of the National Organization for Women, said the demonstration will send a loud message "that we're not going

Continued on Page 10

Pathfinder
Supersaver
Sale, p. 3

Spain 'antiterror' drive targets workers' rights

Imperialist powers in Europe step up police spying

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

Targeting Moroccan immigrants, police in Spain have arrested 20 people as part of the "antiterror" campaign that the government there has intensified since the March 11 train bombings in Madrid. Those detained are being held under Spain's Antiterrorist Law, which allows authorities to jail individuals for extended periods without a trial, restrict their access to legal counsel, and deprive them of other rights. For years the law has primarily been used to victimize Basque independence supporters.

Imperialist governments throughout Europe have seized on the Madrid bombings to step up police spying and disruption and other attacks on the rights of working people. At a March 25-26 summit in Brussels, the European Union approved a series of "antiterrorism" measures, including increased cooperation among the spy agencies of member governments.

Making it clear that his administration will use the "war on terrorism" to defend Spanish imperialist interests in the world, incoming prime minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero has announced that the number of Spanish troops that are part of the NATO occupation force in Afghanistan will be doubled to 250. Zapatero has said that the Spanish troops in Iraq will remain there if the international occupation force comes under United Nations sponsorship.

Only five of those arrested in Spain have been charged with taking part in the

Continued on Page 7



Reuters/Felix Ordóñez

Spanish troops prepare for deployment to Afghanistan, January 2003. Under cover of fighting "terrorism," Prime Minister-elect José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero pledged to double to 250 the Spanish troops that are part of NATO occupation in Afghanistan.

2,000 more Marines head to Afghanistan

U.S., Pakistan troops wage offensive on Afghan border

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

As thousands of Pakistani soldiers, backed by U.S. Special Forces in eastern Afghanistan, waged an offensive against al Qaeda and Taliban forces along the border

between the two countries, U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman Gen. Richard Myers announced March 25 that 2,000 U.S. Marines on ships in the Arab-Persian Gulf would deploy to Afghanistan to join the U.S. oc-

cupying force of 13,000.

The large-scale assault, carried out by the Pakistani armed forces in the last two weeks of March, is part of the intensified drive by U.S. forces in Afghanistan to establish tighter military control of the border region and wipe out al Qaeda combatants and supporters of the Taliban-led Afghan government, which was overthrown by the Anglo-American invasion in late 2001.

Writing from Karachi, Pakistan, a correspondent for the *Asia Times* described the offensive as a "hammer and anvil operation...designed to trap militants between the Pakistan army on one side of the border and U.S. troops on the other."

Targeting villages and individuals ac-
Continued on Page 10

UK miners strike to oppose 12-hour shifts

BY PAUL DAVIES

NORTH YORKSHIRE, England—In the face of new company threats, miners at the Kellingley colliery (mine) here have vowed to continue their fight to prevent coal bosses from implementing changes to shift patterns that would extend the length of the working day and introduce compulsory weekend work.

Members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) held a spirited picket line during a one-day strike on March 18, following the bosses' decision four days earlier to issue 90-day dismissal notices to 293 of the union members.

"By issuing the 90-day notice they are hoping to force the men to return to work under a new contract with flexible working that will include the new 12-hour shift patterns," explained John Marron, one of the miners who took part in the strike. Marron is treasurer of the union branch at the pit and has worked there for 37 years. "They hope that they can force us to accept the new contracts, because we would face losing our jobs and redundancy money

Continued on Page 7

CHOICE • JUSTICE • ACCESS • HEALTH

MARCH FOR WOMEN'S LIVES

Washington DC April 25, 2004

ABORTION • GLOBAL • FAMILY PLANNING

10:00am: Assembly on Mall

Make history, create the future.

Organizers: Black Women's Health Imperative, Feminist Majority, NARAL Pro-Choice America, National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health, National Organization for Women (NOW), Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Cosponsoring Partners: Center for Reproductive Rights, National Abortion Federation, National Family Planning and Reproductive Health Association, National Partnership for Women and Families, National Women's Law Center

www.MarchforWomen.org
202-349-3838

Also Inside:

- Utah miners strengthen picket line, gain support 3
- How Cuban revolutionaries resisted 1958 prison massacre by Batista dictatorship 6
- John Kerry calls for intensifying U.S. offensive against Venezuela 11
- Australia: Aboriginal people fight for back wages stolen by government over decades 11

Tel Aviv: 'We will seize every opportunity to kill Hamas leaders'

BY PAUL PEDERSON

Following the Israeli armed forces' March 22 murder of Hamas leader Sheik Ahmed Yassin, officials in Tel Aviv announced they have targeted the organization's entire leadership for systematic assassination.

Two days after the killing Washington—exercising the veto power reserved to the U.S., British, Chinese, French, and Russian governments—blocked passage of a United Nations Security Council resolution condemning the assassination. The previous day, U.S. president George Bush said that Israel has the "right to defend herself from terror."

"If only there were more opportunities like this," said Israeli Defense Forces chief Moshe Ya'alon, crowing about the early morning helicopter missile attack that killed Yassin, a 67-year-old quadriplegic, along with seven others.

Citing an Israeli "security official," the Associate Press reported March 23 that "Israel will try to kill the entire Hamas leadership, striking whenever an opportunity presents itself," rather than waiting "for the next Hamas attack to take action."

A senior military official said, "We'll hit them at every opportunity," reported the Israeli daily *Haaretz*.

These targeted assassinations have killed 327 Palestinians, including 160 bystanders, since a rise in Palestinian resistance to the Israeli occupation began in late 2000, reported the *Palestine Monitor*, a news web site based in the occupied territories. They are often carried out with rockets or bombs delivered by helicopter gunships or fighter jets.

Yassin was the most prominent Palestinian leader to fall victim to Tel Aviv's hit squads. His assassination sparked an outpouring of hundreds of thousands across the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. A number of smaller protests were organized over the following week.

In addition to providing some social services in the occupied territories, Hamas, a bourgeois nationalist organization that calls for the replacement of Israel with an Islamic state, has built a political following through its opposition to Tel Aviv's occupation. It has

organized a number of military attacks on targets inside Israel and the occupied territories, including suicide bombings.

In addition to their stepped-up policy of targeted killings, reported *Haaretz*, Tel Aviv's military officers are openly discussing expanding their regular incursions into Gaza into a broader military offensive. "In recent weeks there's been a rise in the number of officers claiming that an escalation in Gaza would lead to a wide scale operation there, along the lines of Defensive Shield," the daily reported.

Launched in April 2002, Defensive Shield was the largest Israeli military offensive on the West Bank since its armed forces occupied the area in 1967. Some 20,000 Israeli reserve soldiers were called up in the lead-up to the assault, which hit every West Bank city except Hebron and East Jerusalem.

Veto a 'green light' for Tel Aviv

Such actions have consistently received tacit support from Washington. While lower-level U.S. State Department officials expressed mild criticism of the March 22 assassination, describing it as "not helpful," Bush and top administration officials placed it in the framework of Washington's "war on terror."

On March 23, Bush told a news conference that he was worried about Hamas officials' threats of retaliation against U.S. targets, and stated: "There are still people who want to harm our country. And so whether it be a Hamas threat or an al Qaeda threat, we take them very seriously."

Bush added, "Any country has the right to defend itself from terror. Israel has the right to defend herself from terror, and as she does so, I just hope she keeps consequences in mind as to how we stay on the path to peace."

On March 26 Hamas leader Ismail Haniyah pointed out that the U.S. veto of the UN Security Council vote gave Tel Aviv a "green light" for its policy of assassinations and "comprehensive aggression." The vote was the latest in a long line of vetoes by U.S. representatives of resolu-



March 23 demonstration in town of Nazareth, in northern Israel, against Tel Aviv's murder of central Hamas leader Sheik Ahmed Yassin.

tions condemning Zionist expansion and aggression—including three over the past six months. The representatives of London and Berlin abstained on the motion, while 11 governments voted for it.

The U.S. government has targeted Syria for allegedly providing offices and other facilities to Hamas, the Lebanon-based Hezbollah, and other Palestinian groups. According to the media reports, the administration plans by April to implement measures laid out in the Syrian Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Act. This legislation, which was passed in December, gives the president the power to cut off trade in food and other goods with Damascus if it does not comply with U.S. demands to shut down offices of the Palestinian groups, withdraw its troops from Lebanon, and halt its alleged development of medium- and long-range missile systems.

As his government continues its assaults on the Palestinians, Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon is pressing to win broader support for new steps to corral the Palestinians into tightly controlled areas in the West Bank and Gaza, all in the name of "withdrawing" from the occupied territories.

Sharon says that he will pull 7,500 Israeli settlers and occupation forces out of Gaza as part of a series of so-called disengagement steps. On March 15 he won a 46-45 nonbinding parliamentary vote in support of his approach. At the same time, Sharon has stressed, Tel Aviv would reserve its self-proclaimed right to conduct military operations in any nominally Palestinian-controlled territory.

The *Jerusalem Post* reported March 26 that Dov Weisglass, a top official in the Sharon government, told U.S. officials in Washington that Tel Aviv was willing to withdraw six small settlements from the West Bank in exchange for Washington's explicit approval of Tel Aviv's formal annexation of the main West Bank settlement blocks.

Over the past decade, Tel Aviv has expanded the West Bank settler population by half, to over 300,000. It is well into the construction of a 450-mile wall that will confine the majority of the Palestinian population to 42 percent of the West Bank, leaving Tel Aviv with the lion's share of water resources and agricultural land.

Bush will meet with Sharon, as well as

Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak, and King Abdullah of Jordan, at the White House in April. Like his predecessor, the U.S. president is pressing for a "two-state" agreement designed to stabilize the situation and quell the resistance of the Palestinian people.

A March 24 *Jerusalem Post* editorial warned of the potential dangers for the Israeli regime of the weakening of the divisions between the 1.2 million Palestinians living as Israeli citizens inside Israel, whom Tel Aviv refers to as "Israeli Arabs," and those in the occupied territories.

Titled "Cheering the Enemy," the editorial noted the increasing "Palestinization" of Israeli Arabs and warned them that "disloyalty will backfire." It described a demonstration the day before on the streets of Nazareth, a majority Arab city inside Israel. "On Tuesday, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon visited the Hebrew University's Mount Scopus campus, where he was accosted by Arab students... shouting, 'We're all Ahmed Yassins,'" the daily reported.

"In a mass protest in Nazareth that day, participants also resorted to the 'We're all Ahmed Yassins' chant, along with 'There are a million Yassins...' The scene in Nazareth's streets was difficult to distinguish from the streets of Gaza," complained the *Post's* editors.

British prime minister visits Libya

Meanwhile, British prime minister Anthony Blair traveled to Libya March 25 to meet Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi.

The visit followed the Libyan government's announcement last December that it would cease development of chemical and other destructive weapons, and bow to demands by Washington, London, and other imperialist powers to open its military installations to imperialist "monitors."

"If a country is prepared to say, 'We want to put the past behind us, we want to give up chemical and nuclear weapons capability, we want to cease our ties with terrorist groups,' then we should be willing to open up to that and give them the hand of partnership," Blair said following the meeting. The British prime minister also helped seal the deal on a \$200 million oil exploration agreement between Tripoli and Anglo-Dutch oil monopoly Royal Dutch Shell.

THE MILITANT

Oppose U.S. threats against Venezuela

The 'Militant' brings you firsthand coverage on the U.S.-backed effort by capitalists in Venezuela to oust the elected government of Hugo Chávez and the efforts by workers and peasants in that country to oppose those reactionary moves as they seek to advance their class interests. Don't miss a single issue!



Venezuelan farmers with tractor bought on credit through a state agency, October 2003.

SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

NEW READERS

\$5 for 12 issues

RENEWAL

\$10 for 12 weeks

\$20 for 6 months

\$35 for 1 year

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

UNION/SCHOOL/ORGANIZATION _____ PHONE _____

CLIP AND MAIL TO THE MILITANT, 306 WEST 37TH ST., 10TH FL. NEW YORK, NY 10018.

12 weeks of the Militant outside the U.S.: Australia and the Pacific, A\$8 • United Kingdom, £4 • Canada, Can\$7 • Caribbean and Latin America, \$10 • Continental Europe, €12 • France, 20 Euros • Iceland, Kr1,500 • New Zealand, NZ\$10 • Sweden, Kr60 (Send payment to addresses listed in business information box)

The Militant

Vol. 68/No. 14

Closing news date: March 30, 2004

Editor: ARGIRIS MALAPANIS
Business Manager: MICHAEL ITALIE
Washington Bureau Chief: SAM MANUEL
Editorial Staff: Róger Calero, Michael Italie, Martin Koppel, Sam Manuel, and Paul Pederson.
Published weekly except for one week in January, July, and September.
The Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018. Telephone: (212) 244-4899; Fax: (212) 244-4947.
E-mail: TheMilitant@verizon.net
The Militant website is: www.themilitant.com

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018.

Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018.

Subscriptions: **United States:** for one-year subscription send \$35 to above address.

Latin America, Caribbean: for one-year subscription send \$65, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$80.

Africa, Asia, and the Middle East: Send \$65 drawn on a U.S. bank to above address.

Canada: Send Canadian \$50 for one-year subscription to Militant, 1237 Jean-Talon est, Montréal, QC. Postal Code: H2R 1W1.

United Kingdom: £25 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LF, England.

Republic of Ireland and Continental Europe: £70 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution at above address. **France:** Send 115 euros for one-year subscription to Militant, Centre MBE 175, 23 rue Lecourbe, 75015 Paris; chèque postale: 40 134 34 U.

Iceland: Send 5,500 Icelandic kronur for one-year subscription to Militant, P.O. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik.

Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark: 400 Swedish kronor for one year. Pay to Militant Domargränd 16, S-129, 47 Hägersten, Stockholm, Sweden.

New Zealand: Send New Zealand \$55 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand. **Australia:** Send Australian \$50 to P.O. Box 164, Campsie, Haymarket, NSW 2194, Australia. **Pacific Islands:** Send New Zealand \$55 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand.

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

Utah miners upgrade picket line, win support

BY ANNE CARROL AND GUILLERMO ESQUIVEL

HUNTINGTON, Utah—A delivery driver for the Joy Mining Machinery company pulled to a stop as striking miners on picket duty here waved him down. They asked the driver to not cross the picket and instead to support their strike against CW Mining, miners reported.

The driver gave the strikers the name of his boss and where to contact the company. He pointed out that when the Deserado mine in western Colorado was hit by a strike, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) contacted his boss and the picket line was honored. The boss was contacted that afternoon and he said the picket line would not be crossed.

On Sept. 22, 2003, the company illegally fired 75 miners for protesting the suspension of one of their co-workers. The miners had been involved in union-organizing activities with the support of the UMWA. They set up picket lines on October 3.

The Co-Op mine is owned by the Kingstons family, a millionaire family in Utah that owns businesses in six western states.

The miners, now into their sixth month

on strike, are determined to outlast the Co-Op bosses. With the weather getting much warmer during the day, strikers have upgraded and organized more visible picket lines.

The miners reported March 26 that the previous week a United Parcel Service delivery truck driver stopped when he saw the pickets waving their signs at him. "This is a picket line—we're on strike. We ask you not to cross, and to support our strike," Alyson Kennedy said she told the driver.

"The driver said he was a Teamster and supports the strike. He said all the parts he delivers that are addressed to CW Mining he delivers to a convenience store in Huntington. He said he calls the mine and tells them to pick up the parts. That day he was delivering a package to a house up the road," she said.

Co-Op strikers report that with a number of strikers getting jobs, they have reorganized the picket shifts into three eight-hour shifts. They said this will enable them to have larger crews on the picket line and have enough strikers to carry out the important outreach work to

Continued on Page 11



Militant/Guillermo Esquivel

Striking Co-Op miners on the picket line March 22. Left to right: Jesús Salazar, Humberto Miranda, Héctor Flores, and Jesús Galaviz.

Boston-area unions hold tour for Co-Op strikers

BY MAGGIE TROWE

BOSTON—"We found out about the brothers and sisters in Utah, and we want to put forward \$1,000 for starters," said Moe Lepore, president of the Boston Metro Area local of the American Postal Workers Union, at a solidarity meeting for coal miners on strike against the CW Mining Company in Utah. "We need to have the miners working in safe environments," he said, referring to the account by visiting miners of the unsafe conditions they are fighting against.

The 75 miners, who have been on strike since September, are demanding recognition of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), safe working conditions, better wages, and an end to company abuse. At the invitation of Massachusetts Jobs with Justice, the miners sent two strikers to Boston in mid-March.

Lepore was speaking at a March 18 meeting held at the Boston Teachers Union hall. It was chaired by Gabriel Camacho, president of the Massachusetts Labor Council for Latin American Advancement. The two miners, William Estrada and Ana María Sánchez, were featured speakers at the meeting.

Among the speakers were also Ronald Estrada and other workers at Commercial Cleaners who are fighting to be represented by Service Employees International Union Local 615, and Wilmer Sosa, a leader of the United Food and Commercial Workers union organizing drive at Kayem Foods, a packing plant in nearby Chelsea.

Ronald Estrada described how the bosses at Commercial Cleaners fired him for his union support. Sosa said, "I identify with the problems these brothers and sisters have had." He told how the company fired him in a similar way last summer, and reinstated him seven months later after a campaign by union supporters on his behalf.

"The bosses never thought we would wake up and struggle for our rights, but we did, and here we are," Sánchez told those attending the meeting. As evidence of the unsafe working conditions the miners had worked under, William Estrada said, "Three of the last mine fatalities in Utah occurred in this mine." He said miners from nearby Deer Creek mine, the only UMWA-organized mine in Utah, contribute food regularly to the strikers. In the process of linking up in solidarity, some of the Deer Creek miners, most of whom are U.S.-born, are learning a little Spanish and the Co-Op miners, most of whom are Mexican-born, are learning some English, Estrada said.

Before the meeting two members of UNITE Local 1 presented the strikers a check for \$57 raised in a collection at the Sterlingwear garment plant in East Boston.

Earlier that day, the two coal miners met with officials of the Massachusetts AFL-CIO. The union officials voted to donate \$500 to the strike fund and to send a letter to all member locals requesting solidarity and financial contributions.

Estrada addressed the monthly meeting

of the Springfield, Massachusetts, Central Labor Council, where he was well received. Sánchez spoke at the Southeastern Massachusetts Central Labor Council in North Dartmouth, where they received \$426 from the labor council and \$210 from a collection taken by UNITE Local 377 members at Riverside Manufacturing in New Bedford.

The miners spoke at the morning and evening membership meetings of International Union of Electrical Workers/Communications Workers of American Local 210, which organizes production workers at the General Electric aircraft engine plant in Lynn, Massachusetts. The local gave the strikers \$390. The local's newsletter, *Electrical Union News*, has featured the miners' strike in two recent issues.

Estrada told the Local 201 members, "Miners are working to undo conditions in nonunion mines that are more and more like those of the Co-Op mine."

Sánchez and Estrada answered questions

about the company "union" that the company pretends is a legitimate representative of the workers in order to keep miners from bringing in the UMWA. "The bosses are members of that so-called union," Sánchez explained. "It never represented us or did anything for us."

UNITE sponsored a brown-bag lunch meeting for Sánchez at the union's headquarters. Laundry workers participating in an all-day workshop on organizing took part in the lunch meeting. Martie Voland, assistant manager of the UNITE New England Joint Board, welcomed the visiting miner.

The contributions raised in Massachusetts for the miners' strike fund totaled some \$4,200. The miners were interviewed by the *Metro West Daily*; *Metropolitan*, a Brazilian weekly in Portuguese; and by a Spanish-language radio station.

Maggie Trowe is a member of UNITE Local 1 in Boston.

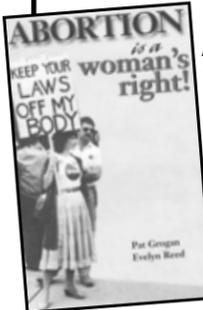
Order your bundle: 'Build April 25 March on Washington' Pathfinder Supersaver special supplement

Order bundles of the four-page "Build the April 25 March on Washington" Pathfinder Supersaver Sale supplement. It includes a spread of ads for a special sale of Pathfinder books and pamphlets, a *Militant* editorial on building the April 25 demonstration, and large ads for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Use it to campaign to get the featured books in the ad below into the hands of workers, young people, and others as part of building the April 25 march for a woman's right to choose. The price for the free hand-out is 15 cents a copy. Order a big stack today! See address on Page 2.

Build April 25 March on Washington

PATHFINDER SUPERSAVER SALE

ALL PAMPHLETS \$1 OR \$2, ALL BOOKS \$5 OR \$10



Abortion is a Woman's Right

by Pat Grogan

Why abortion rights are central to the struggle for the full emancipation of women, and why the labor movement has a vital stake in this fight. In English and Spanish. \$4.50

\$2



The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning

The Fraud of Education Reform Under Capitalism — by Jack Barnes

In English, Spanish, French, Swedish, and Icelandic. \$3

\$1

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions

by Jack Barnes

An invaluable guide to the struggle for women's liberation and its increased weight in working-class politics. This is a handbook for workers, farmers, and youth repelled by the class inequalities, economic instability, racism, women's oppression, cop violence, and wars endemic to capitalism, and who are seeking the road toward effective action to overturn that exploitative system and join in reconstructing the world on new, socialist foundations. In English, Spanish, and French. \$23

\$10

Cuba and the Coming American Revolution by Jack Barnes \$13 \$5

Capitalism's World Disorder by Jack Barnes \$23.95 \$10

Problems of Women's Liberation by Evelyn Reed \$12.95 \$5

In Spanish, *¿Sexo contra sexo o clase contra clase?* \$18.85 \$10

Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women by Evelyn Reed, Joseph Hansen, Mary-Alice Waters \$14.95 \$5

Communist Continuity and the Fight for Women's Liberation Part I: \$40 \$4 Part II: \$9 \$4 Part III: \$11 \$4 3 Volume Set — \$30 \$10

Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle by Thomas Sankara \$5 \$2

Feminism and the Marxist Movement

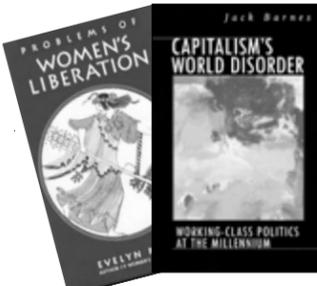
by Mary-Alice Waters \$3.50 \$2

In Spanish, *Marxismo y Feminismo*. \$18.95 \$10

Malcolm X Talks to Young People

by Malcolm X \$15 \$5

The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State by Frederick Engels \$17.95 \$5



Is Biology Woman's Destiny?

by Evelyn Reed \$3 \$2

Women and the Family

by Leon Trotsky \$11.95 \$5

The Long View of History

by George Novack \$5 \$2

Women and the Cuban Revolution

Speeches by Fidel Castro, Vilma Espín, and others

\$14.95 \$5

To Speak the Truth

by Ernesto Che Guevara, Fidel Castro \$16.95 \$5

Marianas in Combat

by Teté Puebla \$14 \$5

The Communist Manifesto

by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels \$3.95 \$2

ORDER ONLINE AT: WWW.PATHFINDERPRESS.COM

Also available in bookstores, including those listed on page 8. Offer good until May 1, 2004.

Socialist workers in meatpacking, garment chart course to deepen trade union work

BY RACHELE FRUIT
AND VED DOOKHUN

SAN FRANCISCO—"We can and must go deeper into the unions," said Joel Britton, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, to a meeting here of socialists who work in meatpacking plants throughout the country, many of whom are members of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW). At the meeting they decided to take a goal of doubling the number of new readers of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* among workers in the meatpacking industry over the next two months as part of an international subscription campaign by *Militant* supporters. In the course of this effort, they will also organize to bring as many workers and youth as possible to the national convention of the Socialist Workers Party in June.

Workers at the March 13-14 meeting took note of the continuing resistance by workers to the bosses' attacks and the opportunities to build solidarity within the labor movement for striking coal miners in Utah.

"Union organizing drives in Nebraska and Iowa are continuing in several meat and poultry plants. Many of these workers are more open to our ideas because of the struggles they are engaged in," said Lisa Rottach, who works at a packing plant in Omaha. The socialist meat packers discussed the work they are involved in to help build the April 25 march on Washington to defend a woman's right to choose. They are looking for ways to work with others who want to build the march. Among their tools in this mass work are Pathfinder books and pamphlets that are sharply reduced in price until May 1.

In a report to the meeting, Dennis Richter from San Francisco described recent developments in the labor movement, including the solidarity that has been organized for the striking coal miners at CW Mining (Co-Op) in Huntington, Utah.

"Many unionists, rank-and-file workers as well as officials of our unions, are interested in getting involved in this. What we and others in the labor movement do can make a difference in this strike," he said.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, a series of speaking engagements were organized in January for four striking coal miners, at the initiative of the Labor Committee for Latin American Advancement (LCLAA). The miners spoke to more than eight unions and union bodies such as the San Francisco Central Labor Council.

"The tour had a big impact on workers they spoke to about their fight, as well as on the miners themselves, who are learning about the history of workers' struggles in the United States," Richter said. More than \$10,000 was raised there to bolster the strike funds. The miners were particularly impacted by the reception they received at a meeting of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU). A delegation of longshoremen later traveled to Huntington to participate in a strike solidarity rally there.

"We think this strike has the potential to win," Richter said. "It was started by workers who came to the decision to organize. They drew the union into their fight and at the same time caught the bosses off guard."

A number of those attending the socialist meeting said they are becoming more effective at doing strike solidarity work within the union structures as they exist today.

"If we are working with others in our plants and union who are inspired by these fights, if we are patient and approach it the right way, solidarity will be won from the union movement, maximizing the chances of victory," Richter explained.

In a report entitled "Re-universalizing the turn and deepening communist penetration into our class," Socialist Workers Party leader Joel Britton stated that the question of the proletarian party is as important today as it was at the founding convention of the SWP in 1938 when party founder James P. Cannon said, "All the experience of the class struggle on a world scale ... teaches one lesson: the most important problem of the working class is the problem of the

party."

Britton quoted from reports contained in the book, *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics; Working-class politics and the unions*, by Jack Barnes to review the decisions made by the party in the mid to late 1970's to once again concentrate political work in the industrial unions.

This turn to industry was a universal effort by the party, involving every branch and every individual member. It was a political move flowing from the big changes facing the capitalist class on a world scale and the need of the imperialist ruling classes around the world to advance their offensive, more and more making the industrial workers and their unions their target. Attitudes among the working class were changing in response to this offensive.

"Twenty years later, these changes are more evident today," Britton told the meeting. "Worker-bolsheviks are in the unions for one reason: to build the party. This is the arena where we will either win the leadership of our class or see petty-bourgeois currents triumph and the revolution go down to defeat. This is why we must go deeper into the unions."

As the bosses' assaults have deepened in the past decade, workers in several industries have been resisting. Socialist workers, concentrated in the meatpacking plants, garment factories, textile mills, and coal mines, have sought to be part of these struggles.

Britton explained that it would take a renewed collective effort to ensure that every member who can be part of a union fraction does so and that he or she gets the needed help from local party leaderships to make it possible.

Ron Short, a Young Socialist from San Francisco, emphasized the importance for youth of a revolutionary proletarian party where, working with party members of all generations, they can learn proletarian habits, including collective, disciplined functioning.

As part of a kickoff target week to the spring subscription drive organized by the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, socialist meat packers projected a West Coast regional team to Fresno, California, and a Midwest regional team to Storm Lake, Iowa, on the weekend of March 27-28.

David Rosenfeld from Omaha said, "At the same time that we introduce the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, we will explain to our co-workers that an \$85,000 fund has been launched to help finance these two socialist publications, which rely entirely on the contributions of working people. Many will see these as their publications and want to contribute."



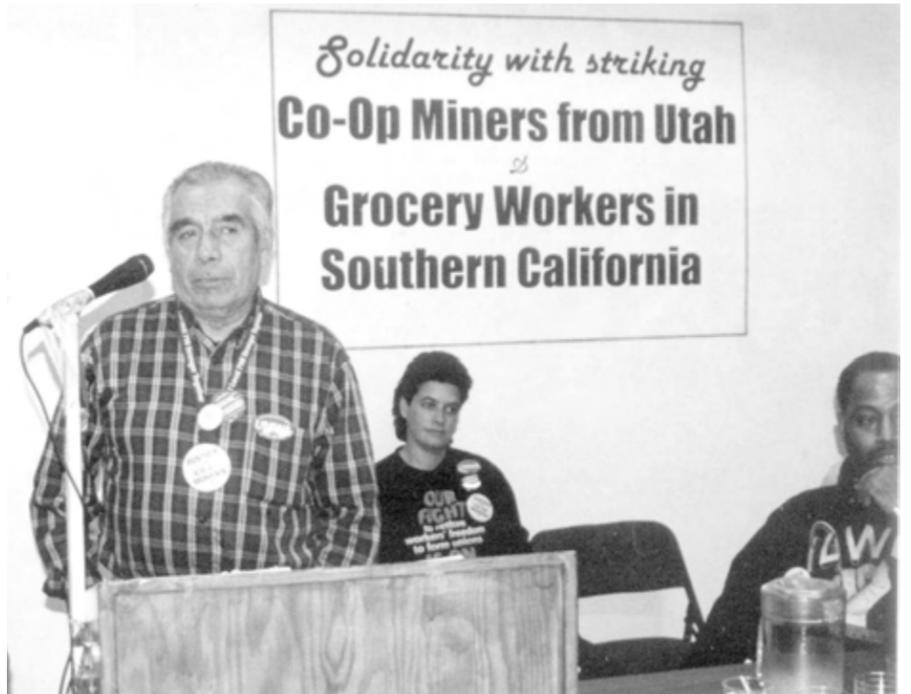
BY JAMES HARRIS
AND JANINE DUKES

MIAMI—Socialists who are members of UNITE, the union that organizes workers in the garment and textile industry, met here over the March 20-21 weekend to discuss advancing the Socialist Workers Party's work in the trade union movement.

The socialist and textile workers discussed steps they are taking to root the party's political activity deeper among workers and in the unions. They are doing this as they campaign against the imperialist offensive from Washington to Madrid, promote solidarity with union struggles such as the Utah coal miners strike, build the April 25 march on Washington for a woman's right to choose abortion, and expand the circulation of the socialist press among workers and farmers.

In a report to the meeting, Socialist Workers Party leader Joel Britton began with the response by the communist movement to the stepped-up drive by Spanish imperialism against the peoples of the Basque country and North Africa using the March 11 train bombing as a pretext.

Referring to a statement by Martín Koppel for the SWP National Committee, Britton said, "Our statement is not a statement on the bombing; you can get that in *Newsweek*. We start with opposing Spanish imperialism, which has earned the well-de-



Militant/Bernie Senter

Striking Co-Op miner Ricardo Chávez addresses January 18 solidarity event in San Francisco during labor tour. To his left are Tracey Richardson, striking grocery worker and UFCW member from Southern California, and Trent Willis, business agent for International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10.

served hatred of millions of the oppressed all over the world."

Britton noted that this stance goes against the grain of the middle-class left, which sees it as progressive that the social democratic party in Spain won an electoral victory on the basis of calling for Spanish troops in Iraq to continue to be part of the imperialist occupation force in that country under the banner of the United Nations rather than formal U.S. administration. The "antiterrorist" campaign of the Spanish rulers serves to justify employer assaults on working people in that country, and the Spanish nationalist anti-Americanism promoted by the Socialist Party is prowar poison aimed at subordinating working-class interests to those of the capitalist rulers.

Britton took up the importance of joining with others to build a massive turnout for the April 25 march on Washington for a woman's right to choose abortion. Socialist workers participate in building and attending the march not simply to meet others interested in a communist perspective, but because we support the struggle for women's rights, and a large turnout will boost that fight, Britton said. Socialists can make an additional contribution by working with others to involve more workers and farmers to the march.

Britton spoke about the effort by the Socialist Workers Party as a whole to make sure all its members who are able to are working in garment and textile, meat packing, and coal—industries the party has focused on because of the sharpness of the bosses' attacks and the potential for resistance by workers in those industries. To do this, "we have to revitalize our job search committees and organize systematically to make sure every member who can be is a part of this effort."

Participants in the meeting reported that students on campuses everywhere are organizing buses, attending planning meetings, and leafletting to build the April 25 march. They noted the openings to involve workers and their unions in this activity.

Maggie Trowe gave a report that focused on the campaign to win support for the strike by the Co-Op miners in Utah to organize a union. She noted that there had been some progress in gathering official union support for the miners strike since the last meeting of socialist garment and textile workers in December.

"The stakes in this strike are big," said Trowe. "In face of the continuing weakening of the unions, our class needs to win some strikes that can help

revitalize the labor movement."

The garment and textile workers voted to take a goal of selling 50 *Militant* and 40 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions as part of the international sales drive—double the goal taken during the previous subscription campaign. They are also joining the campaign to sell Pathfinder books that are specially discounted as part of building the April 25 march on Washington.

A glimpse of the attraction of these books was seen at a Militant Labor Forum on the rightist takeover and U.S. invasion of Haiti that was held that weekend in Miami. Many of the youth attending the forum took advantage of the "supersaver" prices by scooping up several Pathfinder titles at a time.

The forum itself provoked a lively discussion from the more than 55 participants. A Haitian worker kicked off the discussion after the presentation asking, "What is the real purpose of U.S. troops in Haiti, since it is not to stop violence. Haitians continue to die every day."

A worker from the Point Blank Body Armor plant, where garment workers went on a six-month strike last year in an ongoing effort to organize into UNITE, took part in the forum. She said she had been hearing a variety of opinions on the events unfolding in Haiti from her Haitian co-workers. "I was surprised at what I heard tonight. I didn't know the depth of the problems in Haiti," she said, adding that she wanted to understand the situation there better.

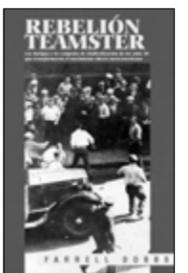
James Harris works in a sewing plant in Atlanta, Janine Dukes is a textile worker in Sylacauga, Alabama.

New from Pathfinder; now available!

In Spanish for the first time!
New introduction by Jack Barnes,
20 pages of photos.

Rebelión Teamster
by Farrell Dobbs

The 1934 strikes that built the union movement in Minneapolis and helped pave the way for the CIO, recounted by a central leader of that battle. The first of a four-volume series on the class-struggle leadership of the strikes and organizing drives that transformed the Teamsters union in much of the Midwest into a fighting social movement and pointed the road toward independent labor political action. \$19.00.



\$16 offer for
Pathfinder Readers Club Members

order online: www.pathfinderpress.com

Week one: 'Militant' drive ahead of pace

BY PAUL PEDERSON

Having reached more than one-fifth of the total goal in the opening week, the international *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* subscription campaign has started in grand style. In the first nine days 415 people signed up to subscribe to the *Militant*. That's 21 percent of the goal of 2,000.

Campaigners are also on pace to win 600 new subscribers and renewals to the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The success so far has given the March 20–May 17 campaign real momentum. Already, campaigners in Atlanta, New York, Omaha, and the Twin Cities have raised their goals. A few more local raises are needed to bring the total goal to 2,000.

Here are a few highlights.

Fanning out across Iowa, southern Minnesota, and northern Nebraska over the March 27–28 weekend, a half-dozen campaigners from four Midwest cities brought the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to packinghouse workers and others.

In South Sioux City, Nebraska, the meatpacking giant Tyson Foods runs a beef-packing plant that employs 2,000 workers. The bosses there recently fired 200 workers, claiming they had discovered that the workers were "illegal."

David Rosenfeld, who joined the South Sioux City leg of the team, reported that

three meat packers signed up for subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* and two to the *Militant* as the team went door-to-door.

"The coverage on the labor movement and struggles of immigrant workers really attracted workers trying to figure out how to respond to these mass firings," Rosenfeld said. "The firings in Sioux City were also a big topic of discussion with workers from the Tyson plant in Storm Lake, Iowa."

Kevin Dwire from Des Moines traveled to Storm Lake, where another Tyson plant employs hundreds of workers. He reported that the coverage of union struggles in the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* caught workers' attention. Six signed up for subscriptions to the Spanish-language monthly. One worker also bought the Pathfinder book *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* and the pamphlet *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning*.

Dwire reports that 23 people subscribed to the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial* on those weekend teams, the majority of them packinghouse workers.

"We had a fun beginning to the sub drive!" wrote Annette Kouri of Vancouver. "One of our first subscriptions to the *Militant* was at a sale outside the Fletcher's pork-processing plant." She added that Joe Young, a socialist who works at the plant, sold the subscription to a co-worker who was interested in the Cuban Revolution and Young's recent visit to Havana as part of an international team at the Havana International Bookfair.

Kouri reported that another seven subs were purchased by a striking auto worker, co-workers on the job, and at a March 20 peace protest.

Arrin Hawkins from New York was part of a team at the Borough of Manhattan Community College. "There was a constant crowd around the

table," she reported. "We took 35 papers and ended up almost selling out of them. We brought back five subscriptions. There was a lot of interest in the April 25 march on Washington."

Dan Fein added that they also sold more than a dozen books. "Most of them were books sold at SuperSaver sale prices that we had advertised on the table," he said.

"A Haitian-born professor bought *Capitalism's World Disorder* in Spanish and pre-paid for the French edition. While he was fetching money for the books a student bought the last French edition. When the professor returned he paid anyway and promised to stop by the Pathfinder book center for his book. He was also attracted to the coverage in the *Militant* on the U.S.-led occupation of Haiti and kidnapping of [Haitian president Jean-Bertrand] Aristide. He also bought an introductory subscription, and *Marxism and Terrorism*" by Leon Trotsky.

This reporter was part of a New York sales team to the Crown Heights district of Brooklyn, an area with a large Caribbean population. On the table we had two copies of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, Pathfinder's collection of speeches by the leader of the Grenada Revolution who was assassinated in 1983 during the overthrow of the revolution.

Roger, a computer and radio technician



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

Young Socialists table at March founding congress of the Youth of the Fifth Republic Movement in Barquisimeto, Venezuela. Conference participants bought dozens of Pathfinder titles and five subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

originally from Grenada, passed by the table and exclaimed, "That's my prime minister!" He spoke about his experiences as a 16-year-old militiaman during the revolution, at the time of Bishop's assassination, and the subsequent U.S. invasion.

Roger stayed by the table for the next two hours helping the team sell three subscriptions and a half-dozen books, including a copy of *Maurice Bishop Speaks* to a friend. He himself purchased a *Militant* subscription, the *New International* issue titled "U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War," and *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning*.

Promising to keep in contact with the socialist movement, he told members of the team, "I'm glad I ran into you—I've been looking for this."

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Spring Subscription Drive March 20–May 17: Week 1 of 8					
Country	Militant			PM	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold
UNITED KINGDOM					
London	40	14	35%	10	1
Cent. Scotland	20	6	30%		
UK total	60	20	33%	10	1
UNITED STATES					
NE Pennsylvania	35	19	54%	10	3
Omaha*	50	16	32%	40	11
Chicago	80	25	31%	35	4
Atlanta*	55	17	31%	20	1
Washington	55	17	31%	20	2
San Francisco	120	36	30%	40	4
Utah	30	9	30%	15	4
Newark	110	32	29%	35	3
Philadelphia	60	16	27%	10	0
Des Moines	50	12	24%	25	4
Houston	55	13	24%	15	0
New York*	200	47	24%	60	12
Birmingham	30	7	23%	8	2
Los Angeles	120	24	20%	50	4
Pittsburgh	50	10	20%	3	0
Twin Cities*	75	15	20%	35	8
Seattle	60	8	13%	10	0
Tampa	30	4	13%	10	1
Miami	70	8	11%	18	1
Cleveland	30	3	10%	8	0
Western Col.	30	3	10%	15	0
Boston	85	8	9%	50	4
Detroit	50	3	6%	8	0
U.S. total	1530	352	23%	540	68
ICELAND	18	4	22%	1	0
NEW ZEALAND					
Auckland	25	8	32%	1	0
Christchurch	20	2	10%	1	0
N.Z. total	45	10	22%	2	0
AUSTRALIA					
	45	9	20%	7	2
SWEDEN					
Gothenburg	14	2	14%	4	1
Stockholm	15	2	13%	6	1
SWEDEN Total	29	4	14%	10	2
CANADA					
Vancouver	60	9	15%	9	4
Toronto	50	6	12%	7	5
Montreal	25	1	4%	10	1
CANADA total	135	16	12%	26	10
Int'l totals	1862	415	21%	598	82
Goal/Should be	2000	250	13%	600	75
IN THE UNIONS					
Country	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold
UNITED STATES					
UMWA	50	16	32%	12	1
UFCW	110	17	15%	123	26
UNITE	50	2	4%	40	3
Total	210	35	17%	175	
CANADA					
UNITE	9	0	0%	5	
UFCW	13	3	23%	5	1
Total	22	3	14%		
AUSTRALIA					
AMIEU	10	1	10%		
NEW ZEALAND					
NDU	2	0	0%	1	0
MWU	2	0	0%		
Total	4	0	0%	1	0
SWEDEN					
Livs	4	0	0%	1	0

AMIEU—Australasian Meat Industry Employees' Union; LIVS—Food Workers Union; MWU—Meat Workers Union; NDU—National Distribution Union; UFCW—United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA—United Mine Workers of America.

'Militant'/'Perspectiva Mundial' fund drive campaigners reach out for contributors

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

"We've begun to get a good response here from subscribers and other people who support the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*," said Deborah Liatos in San Francisco about the \$85,000 fund-raising campaign for the socialist press. Liatos said local campaigners for the international fund have drawn up a list of more than 60 people to phone or visit—"not counting the new readers during the subscription drive."

The San Francisco partisans of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are putting together a special public meeting April 18 to discuss important political questions of interest to working people, raise thousands of dollars, and gain new contributors.

Similar work is going on in other cities in the United States and other countries where supporters of the socialist publications have taken local quotas in the fund campaign, which runs from March 15 to May 10—side-by-side with the international sales drive.

The fund is needed to cover the costs of publishing the two socialist periodicals as well as expanding their circulation. It will also make possible special reporting teams like the ones this year in Cuba, Palestine, and Venezuela.

Like the subscription drive, the fund campaign was launched at the February 29 Grand Opening of the New York Pathfinder book center, *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* offices, and national office of the Socialist Workers Party. Nearly 150 people at the meeting pledged or donated some \$24,000.

The sales drive has started with a bang as campaigners have hit the streets of working-class communities, plant gates, campuses, and political events.

The same campaigning spirit and detailed organization is needed now for the *Militant/Perspectiva Mundial* fund drive. As of March 30, local quotas add up to more than the \$85,000 goal, but actual collection of payments is only \$3,410.

Militant supporters in a number of cities have announced special fund-raising events. Helen Meyers writes from Cleveland that *Militant* staff writer Paul Pederson will speak there April 17 at a meeting titled, "Resisting the Israeli Regime's Military Boot—Eyewitness Report."

On April 30, *Perspectiva Mundial* editor Martin Koppel will be in Hazelton, Pennsylvania, speaking at a fund-raising meeting titled, "Oppose the Imperialist Offensive Against Working People—Fight for a 'New Europe' and a 'New America.'" Koppel will explain how the "antiterrorist" drive by imperialist Spain is part of the assaults on working people and

the oppressed by the ruling employers from Washington to Madrid to Berlin.

In New Zealand, Felicity Coggan, a leader of the Communist League, will speak at meetings in Auckland and Christchurch, drawing on the experience of having been part of an international team of socialist workers at the recent Havana Book Fair.

\$85,000 Militant/PM Fund March 20–May 17: Week 1 of 8			
	Goal	Paid	%
Twin Cities	4,000	700	18%
Omaha	440	65	15%
New York	11,000	1,590	14%
Boston	3,000	225	8%
Los Angeles	8,000	550	7%
Detroit	3,000	200	7%
NE Pennsylvania	1,600	100	6%
Cleveland	1,200	35	3%
San Francisco	8,500	120	1%
Newark	3,500	45	1%
Seattle	6,000	60	1%
Washington, D.C.	2,800	10	0%
Atlanta	5,000	0	0%
Birmingham	2,000	0	0%
Chicago	5,000	0	0%
Des Moines	1,100	0	0%
Houston	3,500	0	0%
Miami	1,700	0	0%
Philadelphia	3,200	0	0%
Pittsburgh	3,800	0	0%
Tampa	1,300	0	0%
Utah	1,500	0	0%
Western Colorado	2,000	0	0%
Sweden	500	0	0%
Canada	5,000	0	0%
Total	88,740	3,700	4%
Goal/Should be	85,000	11,050	13%

How Cuban rebels resisted prison massacre

1958 account of 'sheer heroism' of revolutionary cadres jailed by Batista tyranny

Printed below is a selection from *Aldabonazo: Inside the Cuban Revolutionary Underground, 1952-58*, by Armando Hart, recently published by Pathfinder in English and Spanish editions. Hart was a central organizer of the urban underground during the Cuban revolutionary struggle, and is one of the historic leaders of the Cuban Revolution.

This account of the struggle to overthrow the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship spearheaded by the July 26 Movement and the Rebel Army, under the leadership of Fidel Castro, recounts the events from the perspective of revolutionary cadres organized in the cities.

The *Militant* is publishing a series of excerpts from the book. This week's selections are taken from Chapter 8, "From the Sierra Maestra to Principe." The first item is Hart's account of the Aug. 1, 1958, massacre at the Principe Castle prison in Havana while Hart was imprisoned there. The second is a letter by Hart exposing the truth about those events. Written two days after the massacre, it was smuggled out of the prison and delivered to Radio Rumbos in Caracas, Venezuela, to be broadcast. Hart had been captured by the Batista dictatorship in January of 1958 and remained locked up until the revolutionary victory on Jan. 1, 1959.

Copyright © 2004 by Pathfinder Press and reprinted by permission.



BY ARMANDO HART

In early July 1958, one year after my escape from the Havana courthouse, I was transferred from the Boniato jail to Principe Castle in Havana. I was taken under heavy guard on a military plane. The guards took me by mistake to the detention cells on the top floors of the Principe—the Vivac—where the prisoners who had not been sentenced were held. Even though I did not call attention to the mistake, right away the military officers there said that I should be taken downstairs to the area where cells for those who had already been sentenced were located.

One of the first people I ran into there was Quintín Pino Machado, who had been imprisoned on the Isle of Pines and had also been transferred to Principe Castle for some hearings. As soon as he saw me, Quintín asked, "Armando, are we communists?" I stood there thinking, caught off guard and not knowing exactly how to answer him. Quintín had been influenced by socialist ideas in Santa Clara, where his mother, Margot Machado, ran a school where very advanced ideas predominated. He was a communist within the ranks of the July 26 Movement.

In going back over the various letters and documents I wrote at that time, reviewing the strategic ideas I had about the seizure of power and many other subjects, I can confirm that by then I clearly had a socialist world view, as did other compañeros in the July 26 Movement.

Around that time, revolutionary literature from the Frank País Second Eastern Front, commanded by Raúl Castro, arrived at the jail. We learned that Raúl had consolidated his forces throughout that entire vast region and they were carrying out



Council of State Office of Historical Affairs Archives
From left: Fidel Castro, Armando Hart, Celia Sánchez, Raúl Castro, and Javier Pazos at mid-November 1957 meeting of July 26 Movement leadership in the Sierra Maestra mountains. The day after this photo was taken, Hart, Pazos, and Tony Buch were captured as they left the mountains. Inset, Hart at Boniato jail in 1958. He was transferred that July to Principe Castle prison in Havana, and spent that year in Batista's prisons until the Jan. 1, 1959, revolutionary victory.



Courtesy of Armando Hart

important cultural, social, and ideological work in one of the poorest territories in the country. One of the documents we received had a very big impact on me because of its social and anti-imperialist content: a June 27 message to the youth from Raúl. This document confirmed the beliefs I already had, and it was a moral and political reaffirmation of the convictions held by many of the revolutionary prisoners at Principe Castle.

We were transferred to a much more uncomfortable cellblock where we were overcrowded, fostering an increase in tension among the members of the action groups. It was harder to develop an organization like the one we'd had there the previous year. More restrictive prison policies had been ordered regarding visits and meals, and a number of abuses had been committed. At 3:00 p.m. on August 1, 1958, tension reached a high point. On that day the guards had kicked our relatives out of the prison and mistreated them. The truth is that they didn't want any witnesses to the approaching massacre.

The perpetrators of this heinous crime against the political prisoners were the well-known killers Conrado Carratalá Ugalde and Esteban Ventura Novo, escorted by more than twenty henchmen who were members of the National Police and the Military Intelligence Service (SIM).

Those who died in that massacre at Principe prison, all of whom were in the detention cell block, were political prisoners Vicente Ponce Carrasco, Reinaldo Gutiérrez Otaño, and Robert de la Rosa

Valdés. Another twenty were seriously wounded.

We put up valiant resistance in that unequal encounter. Cornered behind bars, we fought with beds, with bottles, with anything we could get our hands on.

In the detention cell area, the compañeros who were near the wounded assisted them, until finally, little by little, the beasts began to get control of themselves. In spite of the uncertainty we managed to stay calm. Later we had to stand for two hours with our hands in the air, under close watch. The wounded went three hours without any medical attention.

The criminals had the gall to inform the public that the incident had been instigated by the political prisoners themselves, who had been carrying firearms and resisted, setting off the "battle" because they refused to peacefully hand over these weapons to the police. On August 2 we learned that there had been eight more victims of the sinister massacre.

We managed to send out an account of what had really happened, and I explained the details in a denunciation that we were hoping to publish both nationally and internationally.



The following letter describing the August 1 massacre at the Principe Castle prison was written to Radio Rumbos in Caracas, Venezuela.

Príncipe Castle, August 3, 1958
Mr. Manuel Iglesias
Caracas

Dear compañero:

First of all, a revolutionary embrace for the formidable job being done by Radio Rumbos, which we listen to here every night. I send you these greetings on behalf of all the compañeros in prison,

The main reason for this letter is to enclose a document that explains our position on how the events of August 1 took place. The document and the personal information I'm sending say it all. I cannot add much, since that would entail difficulties in getting it out of here.

You may assert that August 1 in Principe was one of the most terrible crimes committed by the tyranny in its long chain of murders. We were protesting arbitrary acts by the prison authorities and the repressive bodies. All the repressive forces then massed in Principe, machine-gunning the defense-

less prison cellblocks for more than three hours. Unfortunately, the detention cells were more accessible to them than were our cellblocks, which are off toward a side in the castle. Here we were able to resist with better luck. We set fire to our mattresses, closed the cell doors, and obstructed the passage with the burning iron grating of our beds.

Eventually, by machine-gunning the cellblocks they were able to force their way in, where they were met by shouts of "Down with the tyranny!" and "Death to the murderers!"

Colonel Carratalá was wounded in the face by his own men, and it seems we owe our lives to this fact. After we surrendered, they took us to a wall, amid blows and insults, and lined us up against it. Nearly a hundred men stood firm with our arms in the air and the henchmen's guns at our backs, as we awaited the shots. At that point news arrived from the detention cells, and they abandoned their plans. Perhaps they did not want the scandal to become bigger than it already was. Or perhaps it was that a number of hours had already gone by, and the climax of the situation had passed.

The one who directed the massacre at the detention cells was Irenaldo García Báez, second in command of the Military Intelligence Service (SIM). We've also heard—although they're keeping us cut off from contact—that Esteban Ventura was there. You can state that García Báez fired on Cellblock 1, where all the dead and wounded basically were.

You should also tell the people of Cuba that the honesty and integrity of the imprisoned combatants was just as firm as when they confronted the murderous bullets of the regime in the streets or in the mountains.

Here, my friend, there's a whole legion of selfless combatants from the clandestine movement who demonstrated once again the extraordinary heroic capacity of Cuba's youth, because the stance of the compañeros on the afternoon of August 1 can be termed sheer heroism. You can confidently assert that the argument about us having weapons is false. Had we in fact possessed them, we would still be resisting today. You can also state that the story about an escape plot by us is false. It was simply a protest against the arbitrary acts of the prison system, which the tyranny, without even hearing us, responded to by machine-gunning the cellblocks.

But the most serious threat—that they will return—is weighing heavily today on the minds of all the political prisoners in Principe Castle. We have news that they will try to take advantage of any situation for a new act of savagery. On the afternoon of August 1 they came with the specific aim of murdering a group of us whom they considered most committed.

For this reason, we ask you to keep public opinion in Cuba and internationally on alert, and to help the compañeros of the July 26 Movement committees with a series of instructions you've received—or will be receiving—in this regard through the organization. We don't need to stress the necessity of this, because we know you can appreciate them.

Before finishing, I want to stress that you should broadcast the news and information without even a hint of who the informant is. Otherwise, there would be no way to continue with the work I'm involved in.

In addition, don't say that we listen to you every night, because if so, they will take away our radio.

I send a strong comradely embrace to you and special greetings for Radio Rumbos. I hope to be able soon to listen to your fiery revolutionary words over CMQ.

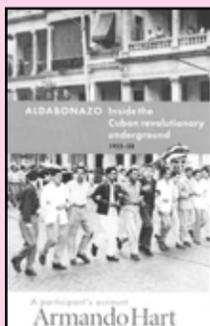
Warm regards,
Dr. Armando Hart Dávalos

P.S. Report that Captain Ramos was the one at the prison who telephoned the repressive bodies, and that Colonel Pérez Couset, head of the prison, gave his approval.

New from
Pathfinder

Aldabonazo: Inside the Cuban Revolutionary Underground, 1952-58

by Armando Hart



In this firsthand account by one of the historic leaders of the Cuban Revolution, we meet many of the men and women who in the 1950s led the urban underground in the fight against the brutal U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship. Together with their comrades-in-arms of the Rebel Army, they not only brought down the tyranny, their revolutionary actions and example worldwide changed the history of the 20th century—and the century to come. \$25.00

Special \$20 offer for Pathfinder Readers Club members!

Order online from www.pathfinderpress.com.

Spain 'antiterror' drive targets workers

Continued from front page

March 11 attacks and "belonging to a terrorist group."

Another six have not been accused of participation in the bombing but rather of "collaborating with a terrorist group."

Under Spain's Antiterrorism Law, those arrested by police can be held incommunicado for five days. They can be jailed for up to four years while prosecutors conduct an "investigation" to find charges to be brought against them.

The law, which has been used for years against Basque independence fighters—and against the leadership of the dockworkers union in 1995—gives the minister of the interior the power to order searches, wiretaps, and the opening of mail without court warrants.

Spanish, German, and French police have cooperated in the arrests. Three of those detained were formerly legal residents of Germany. According to German television, Berlin's secret police claim the three are linked to "Hamas and other extremist groups" and has declared them to be among 300 Muslims in Germany dubbed "potential terrorists," without explaining what that vague category means.

The media and authorities present Moroccan immigrant Jamal Zougam, a resident of Spain, as the "prime suspect" in the bombings. All but one of those arrested—the Spanish-born man, accused of selling explosives for the bombings—have denied any involvement in the attacks. One told the court that he learned of the attacks on the morning of March 11 while watching television with his children.

Of those arrested in connection with the bombings, 15 are immigrants from Morocco. Others are from Syria, Algeria, and India; one was born in Spain.

In Spain today there are an estimated 2.2 million immigrants, the largest number of whom are Moroccans, estimated to number some 334,000. About one-third of them live in Barcelona and other parts of Catalonia.

Madrid has used the March 11 train bombings, in which 190 people were killed, to broaden its "antiterrorism" offensive, especially among North African immigrants. The March 25 *International Herald Tribune* noted that Spanish authorities have undertaken a "crackdown on Muslim groups following the Madrid rail bombings," including people not accused of any link to the attacks.

As one example, the big-business daily reported that Spanish High Court judge Baltasar Garzon had "ordered the return to prison of four suspected Muslim radicals who were released last year

by another judge." The judge cited "new police reports" but provided no evidence and presented no charges against them.

At the time of their original arrests in January 2003, Prime Minister José María Aznar claimed that his government had smashed a "major terror network." Two of the men were released within a couple of months after the traces of chemical weapons they were accused of storing at their homes turned out to be laundry soap.

On March 25 police in the Spanish city of Valencia released one Syrian and two Algerian citizens, after having jailed them on accusations of membership in a "radical Islamic cell and armed group."

Offensive against Basque nationality

Under the banner of fighting "ETA terrorism" Madrid has also stepped up its attacks on the struggle for self-determination by the Basque people, an oppressed nationality in both Spain and France. ETA is an armed Basque independence group that over the years has claimed responsibility for killing numerous Spanish government officials and others.

On March 22 Prime Minister-elect Zapatero dismissed an offer of talks announced by ETA the previous day. "The only communiqué I await from ETA," he said, "is one in which it abandons violence."

Aznar's government waged an intense crackdown against Basque organizations, arresting more than 150 people last year accused of membership in ETA and claiming success in reducing the number of ETA actions.

Nearly 600 Basque political prisoners are in French or Spanish jails. In Spain, most of these have been jailed under the Antiterrorist Law.

The Socialist Party (PSOE) government of Felipe González, which preceded the Aznar administration, was particularly notorious in its repression against the Basque movement.

Under González, who served as prime minister from 1982 to 1996, the government waged a brutal "dirty war" against the Basque pro-sovereignty movement, including the use of death squads such as the Antiterrorist Liberation Group (GAL), made up of cops. Revelations about police murders of 27 people accused of being ETA members helped to end González's reign in disgrace.

Without offering a scrap of evidence, Aznar and other government officials, along with Zapatero and other PSOE leaders, initially blamed ETA for the March 11 attacks.

The Spanish rulers sought to whip up public opinion to step up their attacks on the rights of working people and the



Spanish soldiers board north Korean ship bound for Yemen in December 2002, justifying imperialist act of piracy on basis that cargo included missiles. Yemeni government protested and the vessel was allowed to complete its delivery.

Basque struggle.

Among those helping mobilize a large turnout for "antiterrorist" demonstrations after the bombings were the two main trade union federations—Workers' Commissions (CC.OO.), led by the Communist Party, and the General Workers Union (UGT), led by the PSOE. In a joint statement issued March 11, the CC.OO. and UGT blamed "the terrorist ETA group." The union officials called on workers to join a 15-minute "moment of silence" in order to "express solidarity with the victims and their families and roundly condemn terrorism." They urged participation in nationwide government-sponsored mobilizations March 12.

Troops to Afghanistan

Announcing Zapatero's decision to boost Madrid's deployment in Afghanistan, a PSOE official said that the new government wants "to send a message that the Socialists do not believe in appeasement"—a reference to the claim by critics that the electoral defeat of Aznar was a "concession to terrorists."

Seeking to rationalize the decision, the official said that "in Afghanistan, there was, in fact, a terrorist origin"—that is, the attacks in New York and Washington on Sept. 11, 2001. "Sending the troops [there] was in legitimate defense of the United States," he claimed, "whereas in Iraq that wasn't the case."

Zapatero used the occasion of the March 24 state funeral, at which the Spanish king and queen expressed tearful condolences with family members of the bomb victims, to meet with government officials from Washington and London along with Berlin, Paris, and Warsaw.

The prime minister-elect repeated his demand for UN officials—who oversaw a decade of economic sanctions and intrusive arms "inspections" that softened Iraq up for the assault by imperialist forces—to assume oversight of the occupation of that country. According to the *International Herald Tribune*, U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell and British prime minister Anthony Blair "signaled that they wanted to push ahead with talks about a UN resolution that addresses Spanish concerns."

One possible formula would involve placing UN officials in command of non-U.S. forces, the Associated Press reported.

According to the *Tribune*, Miguel Angel Moratinos, Zapatero's pick for foreign minister, said Powell had "promised to share intelligence, equipment and strategies with the Spanish government, so the two countries can lead the fight against terrorism."

At a two-day EU sum-

mit in Brussels, representatives of European imperialist powers decided to implement a series of homeland security-type measures, many of which they had approved after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks in the United States but never fully put into force.

British prime minister Anthony Blair applauded the moves to increase "cooperation between the intelligence services and police services of the various countries." Secret police agencies would collaborate more closely across borders to spy on and harass alleged "suspects," which in the past have included trade unionists, supporters of national liberation struggles, and others fighting employer and government attacks.

Demands UN cover for occupation

In the election campaign and since then, Zapatero has criticized Aznar's decision to ally Spanish forces closely with the U.S.- and British-led invasion and occupation of Iraq. He advocates a course for Spanish imperialism less tied to the U.S. rulers and more allied to Washington's European rivals, Paris and Berlin.

According to the *Washington Post*, Zapatero said the fight against "international terrorism... should be conducted through a 'grand alliance' of democracies and not through 'unilateral wars.'"

The PSOE used anti-American demagoguery before the elections to mobilize support for the Spanish imperialist government. In a highly publicized incident during last October's Columbus Day military parade, for example, Zapatero sat down as the American flag passed by. "It's not my flag," he reportedly said later.

At the same time, Zapatero told the *Washington Post* that he wanted to have "cordial relations" with Washington, stating, "That's the beauty and greatness of democracy. It allows you to disagree while maintaining good relations."

UK miners hold strike to oppose 12-hour shifts

Continued from front page

[severance pay] if we did not."

"Miners have worked seven-and-a-half hours a day for decades, with good reason," he added. "We work in 90-degree heat and are exposed to high levels of dust. The longer the day, the worse it is."

The March 18 strike was the second of its kind at the pit to oppose the proposed shift changes. The strike was solid, including all three shifts and won the support of a small number of miners who are already contracted to work the longer shifts. Scores of miners joined the lively picket line, successfully turning back several lorries. They also helped to convince a group of pit deputies, members of the NACODS (National Association of Colliery Overmen, Deputies, and Shotfirers), not to cross the picket line.

Coal bosses are trying to play off the miners at Kellingley against NUM members further north at the Wistow colliery,

which is scheduled to close. The bosses have said that miners at Wistow will be transferred to Kellingley. "The Wistow men are being told by UK Coal that it is too dangerous for them to come here while we are in dispute," said Terry Briscoe, another of the NUM pickets at Kellingley that day. The union has proposed that, rather than extend the hours to find work for miners laid off at other pits, a new coal face be opened at Kellingley.

"They have tried to introduce these longer shifts now because there is a 'face gap'—there is currently no production at this pit—so that any strike action that we take will be less damaging to UK Coal," Briscoe added.

"The strikes are preventing installation work from being done," John Marron pointed out. The union has also been carrying out an overtime ban for several weeks. Further one-day strikes are planned over the coming weeks.

For Further Reading

In New International no. 10

Imperialism's March Toward Fascism and War

by Jack Barnes

Also includes:

What the 1987 Stock Market Crash Foretold ♦ Defending Cuba, Defending Cuba's Socialist Revolution by Mary-Alice Waters ♦ The Curve of Capitalist Development \$14

by Leon Trotsky

The Spanish Revolution (1931-39)

by Leon Trotsky



Analyzes the revolutionary upsurge on the land and in the factories leading to the Spanish Civil War and how the Stalinists' course ensured a fascist victory. \$30.95

ORDER ONLINE AT:
WWW.PATHFINDERPRESS.COM

Frederick Engels, communist 'General'

Below is an excerpt from *Portraits: Political and Personal* by Leon Trotsky, one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for March. The book is a collection of 22 biographical sketches by a central leader of the October 1917 Russian Revolution.

The excerpt is from Trotsky's biographical sketch of Frederick Engels, a cofounder with Karl Marx of the modern communist movement. It was written in 1935, on the 40th anniversary of Engels's death.

The article is also a critical review of a collection of correspondence between Engels and Karl Kautsky published that same year.

Kautsky became a central leader of German Social Democratic Party (SPD) and of the Second International. With the outbreak of World War I, Kautsky advanced a pacifist course opposing both the right wing of the SPD, which supported its own capitalist class, and the Spartacists who advocated



Karl Marx (center) and Frederick Engels (to his left) review *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, paper of the Communist League during 1848 German revolution, coming off presses.

BY LEON TROTSKY

Engels's insight into military matters, based not only upon his extensive special knowledge but also upon his general capacity for a synthesized appraisal of conditions and forces, enabled him to publish in the London *Pall-Mall Gazette*, during the Franco-Prussian War, remarkable military articles, ascribed by fame to one of the highest military authorities of the time (the Messrs. "Authorities," doubtless, surveyed themselves in the mirror not without considerable astonishment). In his intimate circle Engels was dubbed with the playful nickname of the "General." This name is signed to a number of his letters to Kautsky.

Engels was not an orator, or it may be that he never had the occasion to become one. Towards "orators" he displayed even a shade of disrespect, holding, not without foundation, that they incline to turn ideas into banalities. But Kautsky recalls Engels as a remarkable conversationalist, endowed with an inexhaustible memory, remarkable wit, and precision of expression. Unfortunately, Kautsky himself is a mediocre observer, and no artist at all: in his own letters Engels stands out infinitely more clearly than in the commentaries and recollections of Kautsky.

Engels's relations with people were foreign to all sentimentalism or illusions and permeated through and through with a penetrating simplicity and, therefore, were

profoundly human. In his company around the evening table, where representatives of various countries and continents gathered, all contrast disappeared as if by magic between the polished radical duchess Schack and the not at all polished Russian nihilist Vera Zasulich. The rich personality of the host manifested itself in this happy capacity to lift himself and others above everything secondary and superficial, without departing in the least from either his views or even his habits.

One would seek in vain in this revolutionist for bohemian traits so prevalent among the radical intellectuals. Engels was intolerant of sloppiness and negligence both in small and big things. He loved precision of thought, precision in accounting, exactitude in expression and in print. When a German publisher attempted to alter his spelling, Engels demanded back several galleys for revision. He wrote, "I would no sooner allow anybody to foist his spelling on me than I would a wife." This irate and at the same time jocose sentence almost brings Engels back to life again!

In addition to his native tongue, over which his mastery was that of a virtuoso, Engels wrote freely in English, French, and Italian; he read Spanish and almost all Slavic and Scandinavian languages. His knowledge of philosophy, economics, history, physics, philology, and military science would have sufficed for a goodly dozen

of ordinary and extraordinary professors. But even apart from all this he possessed his main treasure: winged thought.

Engels's optimism extended equally to political questions and to personal affairs. After each and every defeat he would immediately seek out those conditions which would prepare a new upsurge, and after every blow life dealt him he was able to pull himself together and look to the future. Such he remained to his dying day. There were times when he had to remain on his back for weeks in order to get over the effects of a rupture he suffered from a fall during one of the "gentry's" riding to foxes. At times his aged eyes refused to function under artificial light, which one cannot do without even during daytime in the London fogs. But Engels never refers to his ailments except in passing, in order to explain some delay, and only in order to promise immediately thereupon that everything would shortly "proceed better," and then the work will be resumed at full speed.

One of Marx's letters has a reference to Engels's habit of playfully winking during a conversation. This helpful "winking" passes through Engels's entire correspondence. The man of duty and of profound attachments least of all resembles an ascetic. He was a lover of nature and of art in all its forms, he loved the company of clever and merry people, the presence of women, jokes, laughter, good dinners, good wine, and good tobacco. At times he was not averse to the belly-laughter of Rabelais, who readily looked for his inspiration below the navel.

Was he, perhaps, an epicurean? The secondary "boons of life" never held sway over this man. On the other hand, he was genuinely interested in the kinship customs of savages or in the enigmas of Irish philology, but always in indissoluble connection with the future destinies of mankind. If he permitted himself to joke trivially, it was only in the company of untrivial people. Underlying his humor, irony, and joy of living one always feels an ardent moral spirit—free of all rhetoric or posturing, deeply hidden, but all the more genuine for that, and ever ready for sacrifice. The man of commerce, the possessor of a mill, a hunter's horse, and a wine cellar, was a revolutionary communist to the marrow of his bones.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

revolutionary action against the imperialist war. Following the 1918 German Revolution Kautsky served in the coalition government that prevented the revolution from going beyond bourgeois limits.

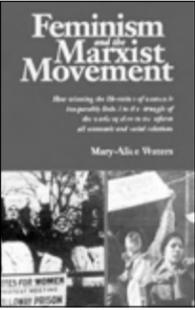
Kautsky was an opponent of the October 1917 Russian Revolution and wrote several books attacking it. He was answered by Trotsky in the book *Terrorism and Communism* in 1920 and by V. I. Lenin's 1918 pamphlet *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*. Copyright © 1977 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

March BOOKS OF THE MONTH

PATHFINDER READERS CLUB SPECIALS

25%
DISCOUNT

Feminism and the Marxist Movement
By Mary-Alice Waters
How winning the liberation of women is inseparably linked to the struggle of the working class. \$3.50 **Special price: \$2.00**



Polemics in Marxist Philosophy
By George Novack,
Defends scientific socialism—first advanced by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. \$20.00 **Special price: \$15.50**

Notebook of an Agitator
By James P. Cannon
Articles spanning four decades of working-class battles—defending frame-up victims Sacco and Vanzetti; 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strikes; labor's fight against McCarthyite witch-hunt and much more. \$21.95 **Special price: \$16.50**



Portraits, Political and Personal
By Leon Trotsky
Literary and biographical sketches. \$21.95 **Special price: \$16.50**

Join the Pathfinder Readers Club for \$10 and receive discounts all year long

ORDER ONLINE AT WWW.PATHFINDERPRESS.COM

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

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

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA: Birmingham: 3029A Bessemer Road. Zip: 35208. Tel: (205) 780-0021. E-mail: bhmSWP@bigfoot.com

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: 4229 S. Central Ave. Zip: 90011. Tel: (323) 233-9372. E-mail: laswp@sbcglobal.net
San Francisco: 3926 Mission St. Zip: 94112. Tel: (415) 584-2135. E-mail: sfswp@hotmail.com

COLORADO: Craig: 6 West Victory Way. Zip: 81625. Mailing address: P.O. Box 1539. Zip: 81626. Tel: (970) 826-0289. E-mail: westerncoloradoswp@yahoo.com

FLORIDA: Miami: 8365 NE 2nd Ave. #206 Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 751-7076. E-mail: miamiswp@bellsouth.net;
Tampa: 1441 E. Fletcher, Suite 421. Zip: 33612. Tel: (813) 910-8507. E-mail: TOC1004@aol.com

GEORGIA: Atlanta: 2791 Lakewood Ave. Zip: 30315. Mailing address: P.O. Box 162515. Zip 30321. Tel: (404) 763-2900. E-mail: atlpathfinder@cs.com

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 2901 W. 59th Street. Zip: 60629. Tel: (773) 737-1190. E-mail: ChicagoPathfinder@sbcglobal.net

IOWA: Des Moines: 3720 6th Ave. Zip: 50313. Tel: (515) 288-2970. E-mail: swpdesmoines@cs.com

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 12 Bennington St., 2nd Floor, East Boston. Mailing address: P.O. Box 261. Zip: 02128. Tel: (617) 569-9169. E-mail: 103426.3430@compuserve.com

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 4208 W. Vernor St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 44739. Zip: 48244-0739. Tel: (313) 554-0504. E-mail: DetroitMISWP@netscape.net

MINNESOTA: St. Paul: 113 Bernard St., West St. Paul. Zip: 55118. Tel: (651) 644-6325. E-mail: tcswp@qwest.net

NEBRASKA: Omaha: P.O. Box 7005. Zip: 68107. E-mail: omahaoc@netscape.net

NEW JERSEY: Newark: 168 Bloomfield Avenue, 2nd Floor. Zip: 07104. Tel: (973) 481-0077. E-mail: swpn Newark@yahoo.com

NEW YORK: Manhattan: 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor. Zip: 10018. Tel: (212) 629-6649. E-mail: nyswp@yahoo.com

OHIO: Cleveland: 11018 Lorain Ave. Zip: 44111. Tel: (216) 688-1190. E-mail: swpcleveland@yahoo.com

PENNSYLVANIA: Hazleton: 69 North Wyoming St. Zip: 18201. Tel: (570) 454-8320. Email: swpnepa@intergrafix.net
Philadelphia: 5237 N. 5th St. Zip: 19120. Tel: (215) 324-7020. E-mail: Philadelphia SWP@yahoo.com
Pittsburgh: 5907 Penn Ave. Suite 225. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 365-1090. E-mail: pghswp@bigzoo.net

TEXAS: Houston: 619 West 8th St. Zip: 77007. Tel: (713) 869-6550. E-mail: swphouston@evl.net

UTAH: Price: 11 W. Main St. Rm. 200. Zip: 84501. Mailing address: 1179 E. Main St., PMB 316. Zip: 84501. Tel: (435) 613-1091. E-mail: utahswp@yahoo.com

WASHINGTON, D.C.: 3717 B Georgia Ave. NW, Ground floor. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 722-1315. E-mail: swp.washingtondc@verizon.net

WASHINGTON: Seattle: 5418 Rainier Avenue South. Zip: 98118-2439. Tel: (206) 323-1755. E-mail: swpseattle@yahoo.com

AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 1st Flr, 3/281-287 Beamish St., Campsie, NSW 2194. Mailing address: P.O.

Box 164, Campsie, NSW 2194. Tel: (02) 9718 9698. E-mail: cl_australia@bigpond.com

BRITAIN

London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LF. Tel: 020-7928-7993. E-mail: clondon@onetel.net.uk

CANADA

Montreal: 1237 Jean Talon E. Montréal, QC. Postal code: H2R 1W1. Tel: (514) 284-7369. E-mail: Librpath@sympatico.ca

Toronto: 699 Lansdowne Ave., Postal code: M6H 3Y9. Tel: (416) 531-9119. E-mail: milpathtoronto@bellnet.ca

Vancouver: 2645 E. Hastings, Room 203. Postal code: V5V 1Z5. Tel: (604) 872-8343. E-mail: clvancouver@lynx.net

FRANCE

Paris: P.O. 175, 23 rue Lecourbe. Postal code: 75015. Tel: (01) 47-26-58-21. E-mail: 73504.442@compuserve.com

ICELAND

Reykjavik: Skolavordustig 6B. Mailing address: P. Box 0233, IS 121 Reykjavik. Tel: 552 5502. E-mail: milpth@mmedia.is

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: Suite 3, 7 Mason Ave., Otahuhu. Postal address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 276-8885. E-mail: milpath.auckland@actrix.gen.nz

Christchurch: Gloucester Arcade, 129 Gloucester St. Postal address: P.O. Box 13-969. Tel: (3) 365-6055. E-mail: pathfinder.militant@paradise.net.nz

SWEDEN

Gothenburg: Ryttagatan 9, S-415 03 Gothenburg. Tel: (031) 21 56 90. E-mail: bokhandelnpathfindergbg@telia.com

Stockholm: Domargränd 16, S-129 47 Hägersten. Tel: (08) 31 69 33. E-mail: pathfbkh@algonet.se

Civilization marches on— Yielding to complaints, school officials in Lawrence, New Jersey, middle schools modified the



Harry Ring

rule allowing students 15 visits a month to the toilet. They will now be permitted 30 a month. And students will no longer have

to pay \$1 for lost monthly punch cards.

The common touch— Presidential wannabe John Kerry and his wife own not one, not two, but five mansions, worth \$24 million in all. For vacations there's the summer home in Nantucket and the ski lodge in Idaho.

So, scrap church/state rule—Thousands of rabbis in Israel went on strike to protest the government's withholding of their salaries, a chief rabbi said. "The government hasn't paid salaries to 3,000 rabbis and employees

of municipal rabbinates and religious councils for more than half a year. Some cities haven't been paid because of budget cuts. But some rabbis complain that the government is trying to reduce their authority."—*USA Today*.

Be a good neighbor—United Kingdom airlines are scraping "frills" beyond the bones. For instance, Ryanair told the *Times* of London about a new policy on sick bags. A spokesperson explained: "These will be handed out on demand. So do try not to be ill during the (paid for) meal service when staff are busy."

Free advice—The Food and Drug Administration has issued its periodic reminder that fish is good for you, but should be eaten sparingly. The Denver *Rocky Mountain News* cited the feds as advising that, "high levels of mercury in some fish can pose a hazard for children and women who are pregnant or nursing." What are they doing about it? What a silly question.

Wham!—United Kingdom teachers warn that officials are planning classes with up to 80 pupils. The teachers will be flanked by "assistants."

Part of the war effort—According to the Scripps Howard news service, some 500 GIs garrisoned in Kuwait complained that their cots were crashing underneath them. A check indicated that the cot frames, provided by a private contractor, were too weak.

Correction—In issue No. 11, we asked readers to send clippings for this column. But we published the wrong postal zone number. The correct snail mail address is Pathfinder Books, 4229 South Central Ave., Los Angeles, CA. 90011.

How women in the workforce strengthen labor

Reprinted below are excerpts from "The Capitalist Ideological Offensive against Women Today," by Mary-Alice Waters. Written in 1985, it is the introduction to the Pathfinder title *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*, by Evelyn Reed, Joseph Hansen, and Waters.

The article is also excerpted in "Women's Liberation and the Line of March of the Working Class," the first of a three-part series of *Education for Socialists* bulletins titled, "Communist Continuity and the Fight for Women's Liberation." This title is part of Pathfinder's "Build the April 25 march on Washington" Super-saver Sale. (See ad on page 3.) Subheadings are by the *Militant*. Copyright © 1986 by Pathfinder Press.

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

The accelerated expansion of capitalism in the postwar years brought with it an even greater incorporation of women into the labor market than during World War II. In 1950, 33.9 percent of women sixteen years of age and over were in the labor force. By 1960 that figure had risen to 37.7 percent. In 1970 it was 43.3 percent. And by 1983, more than half of all working-age women—52.9 percent—were in the labor force. During that thirty-three-year period, the percentage increase of women who were in the labor market was slightly more than the percentage increase during the seventy years between 1890 and 1960!

Women today account for 43 percent of the labor force, as compared with 29 percent in 1950. This marks a qualitative advance in the economic independence of women and consequently a change in their social status.

It is also important, however, to take a look at the changes in *where* women are employed. Two of the most carefully promoted myths are the notions that working women have generally "escaped" from industrial jobs, and that this represents a rising economic and social status for women. The reality is far more complex. The most important advances for women—although directly involving only a small percentage of women—have been precisely those that have integrated them more deeply into the most strongly organized, predominantly male, sectors of the industrial working class....

Industrial jobs no longer off-limits

The gains for women in industrial production jobs previously off-limits to them—whether in mining, steel, auto, or whatever—have usually meant integration into the industrial unions in a qualitatively new way. Probably the best example is the employment of women in coal mining and the growing role of women in the United Mine Workers union. Women have been fighting their way into jobs such as coal mining. This is precisely because unions such as the UMWA have won contracts that guarantee higher average wages and better benefits than women can find in traditional "female" occupations. Moreover, women are guaranteed wages and conditions equal to male co-workers in the same job categories. Women who have busted into these industries are often among the most conscious unionists. Many have learned through their own experiences why class solidarity and organization are so indispensable. They know that without union protection they would not stand a chance against the bosses' attempts to divide the work force and turn other workers against them....

But it is precisely by fighting their way into such jobs that women can have an impact on the social conditions that keep the value of their labor power substantially lower than that of men. It is in such industrial union jobs that women are in the best position to develop mutual respect and confidence with male co-workers, gain self-confidence and class consciousness, and affect the attitudes of both men and women about women's role in society.

A woman who works on an assembly line has a different relationship to the men around her than a woman who works as a secretary. And both are in a qualitatively different economic and social situation vis-à-vis men than a woman who remains outside the labor market altogether....

Other changes important to women's social position also occurred during the postwar period. For the first time ever, advances in medical science gave women access to birth control methods that were relatively safe and certain, and that were under their own control.

Educational levels rose in general, and women won broader access to job training programs and higher education....

Framework of broad assault

Today the employers are once again making a concerted political effort to roll back, or at least slow down, some of the changes in consciousness about women's place in society. They are taking aim at concrete gains won through hard struggle in the 1960s and 1970s, such as abortion rights and affirmative action programs.

The goal of the bosses and their government is not to drive women out of the labor force, but to undermine their class consciousness and political self-confidence. The goal is to make women more willing to acquiesce in attacks on wages, working conditions, social services, affirmative action programs, and equality on the job. In this way, the employers are attempting to hold back the increase in the value of women's labor power (and thereby that of the class as a whole) and to enforce greater discipline and "productivity" by imposing speedup and more dangerous working conditions.

These attacks on women's rights are part of a broader offensive that the U.S. capitalist class has been waging for more than a decade. The target is all working people, and all those whose race, sex, language, or national origin is used by the ruling class to single them out for superexploitation and special oppression. The employers are determined to fundamentally shift the relationship of forces between capital and labor that was established following the post-World War II strike wave....

The attack on women's rights is fundamental to the success of the capitalist offensive. Discrimination against women is one of the most important ways in which the rulers work to deepen divisions within the working class. Its acceptance helps the



Militant/Ernie Mailhot
Eastern Airlines striker and other unionists take part in April 1989 march in Washington for a woman's right to choose.

bosses keep the labor movement shackled to a narrow trade union perspective, instead of thinking in broader social terms and acting politically to advance the interests of the oppressed and exploited. The perpetuation of women's subordinate status is one more obstacle along the road to independent

working-class political action.

The employers aim to undermine working-class women's consciousness of themselves as workers, as part of the working class, and instead to heighten their consciousness of themselves as women not in the feminist sense, but in all the retrograde ways that are drummed into women from childhood. The employing class seeks to reinforce the prejudices about women's proper place and domestic role. It seeks to convince women that they *want* to be dependent on a man, with the second-class status that entails.

Such prejudices, and the ways women internalize them, go back millennia. But the rise and development of capitalism progressively undermines them, as it forces women out of the home and off the farm and pushes them as individuals into the labor market—with all the brutality inherent in the capitalist mode of production.

The capitalists' offensive against women's rights is not aimed at driving women out of the work force. That is historically precluded. The percentage of wage and salaried workers who are female has been rising, from one plateau to another, ever since the beginning of the industrial revolution. Instead, the aim is to make women more vulnerable to increased exploitation. The goal is not to push women *out* of the labor market but to push them *down*—to jobs with fewer paid holidays, more piece work, less safety, shorter lunch breaks, less union protection, and lower wages.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



April 13, 1979

BALTIMORE—About sixty-five trade-union women and men attended a "Salute to Working Women" conference here March 31. Held at the United Steelworkers Local 2609 hall and sponsored by the local's Women's Advisory Committee, the conference focused on the relationship today—and historically—between the women's movement and labor movement.

Sara Barron, a retired member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, was particularly well qualified to speak on the history of working women. Barron was elected a union shop steward at the age of fourteen in 1916. In 1918 she marched in Washington to demand women's suffrage. Later Barron helped organized the CIO.

"Our union stood for equal rights from the beginning," Barron said. "But we had to educate the men."

"Here is 1979," she continued, "and I see all these women working in auto factories and steel mills. We should say to men, 'You have gained from this.'"

Alice Camara, president of Baltimore National Organization for Women, spoke on the developing alliance between women and labor today.

"The concerns of the women's movement are the concerns of the labor movement," she said. "Eighty percent of women workers are underpaid, undervalued, and underemployed. Union women earn at least 40–70 percent more than non-union women, but only about 10 percent are organized."



April 12, 1954

Eisenhower and Dulles threaten to turn the Indo-China war into another Korea. They are talking in most belligerent language. American military personnel, disguised as "technicians," are already aiding the French invaders in Indo-China. This country is supplying two-thirds of the money and arms to keep the invasion going. Wall Street would long ago have sent troops too, if the administration did not fear popular reaction, particularly after the demonstration of the people's hostility toward the Korean intervention. "There is much fear we are being sucked into the Indo-China war," wrote Scripps Howard foreign editor Ludwell Denny on April 5. He added: "Recognizing the lack of enthusiasm for its get-tough-in-Asia policy, the administration is now trying to convince Congressional leaders of the extreme seriousness of the Communist pressure in Indo-China."

Serious for whom? Not the American, French or Indo-Chinese people. This war on the part of France is just naked imperialist grab, an invasion to steal the country from the Indo-Chinese. The Vietminh government was recognized by treaty back in 1946. The French tore up this treaty and treacherously attacked the Vietminh.

Thus, the Vietminh war for independence began years before the Mao regime took power in China. The Indo-Chinese people have the same right to take help from China, or anywhere else, to win their freedom that the American colonists had to take aid from Royalist France in our own revolutionary war of independence.

'War on terror' targets workers

From Madrid's plans to reinforce the NATO occupation of Afghanistan to the U.S. Congressional "9-11" hearings on beefing up FBI and CIA spying, all the imperialist powers are stepping up their offensive against working people at home and abroad under the banner of the "war on terrorism." Each is doing so to advance the interests of its own ruling class.

The newly elected social-democratic government in Spain has taken a prowar stance from the beginning—not an "antiwar" position, as claimed by many liberal and radical commentators. It's easier to understand this when we start with the reality that Spain is an imperialist power. Whichever party or individuals happen to hold office, they are simply doing their job of enforcing the class interests of the billionaire families that rule Spain.

Prime Minister-elect José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero of the Socialist Party has not promised to withdraw all Spanish troops from Iraq. He has said the goal is to keep them there, by giving the imperialist occupation force a United Nations cover. There is no such thing as the "United Nations," however, that has any functional meaning for the occupation of Iraq or Afghanistan. Only the imperialist governments that control the UN have armies and the power to use them. The new government in Madrid hopes UN sponsorship will improve Spanish finance capital's position relative to Washington in Iraq.

The Spanish government's announcement that it will double the size of its contingent in Afghanistan to 250 troops illustrates again that the Spanish rulers are acting to advance their own imperialist interests.

This development also registers the progress Washington is making in its longer-term goal of pressing NATO powers in Europe to take responsibility for the imperialist occupation of Afghanistan and elsewhere. In October of last year, at a summit meeting of NATO powers in Colorado Springs, Colorado, U.S. and British officials argued for a transformation of the armed forces across Europe

and the growing involvement of other NATO powers in the Atlantic imperialist alliance's expanding operations around the world. Initially, these governments committed few troops and military hardware in Afghanistan. Today, however, Madrid is taking the lead in this direction.

The "war on terror" is also being used against workers, farmers, and oppressed nationalities on the domestic front. In Spain, the government is widening the use of the Antiterrorist Law, which for many years has targeted Basque independence fighters—hundreds of whom are locked up under brutal conditions. Now Moroccans and other North African immigrants are among those victimized. Such measures have also been used against dockworkers engaged in a union struggle.

In the United States, the Congressional commission on "terrorism" has focused on "intelligence failures"—that is, the charge by Democratic Party politicians that the Bush administration didn't do enough to crack down on "terrorism" before the September 11 attacks because of its emphasis on overthrowing the government of Iraq. The hearings have served as a platform for Democrats and Republicans to campaign for strengthening the powers of the CIA, FBI, immigration cops, and other political police and further restricting constitutional and workers rights. The target of this increased spying and harassment will be the unions, militant farm groups, Black rights organizations, and others who resist the attacks by the employers and their government.

Working people should demand that all imperialist troops get out of Iraq, Afghanistan, the Balkans, Korea, Haiti, Colombia, Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, and everywhere else—now! We should protest the stepped-up attacks on workers rights, from the United States to Spain, and join with all those fighting for unions, for the rights of immigrant workers, for women's equality, and other struggles in the interests of working people and the oppressed to advance these goals.

New law aimed at right to choose

Continued from front page

to tolerate going back to the past." She said that in New York alone an entire Amtrak train has been reserved and reduced train and plane fares have been arranged to get to the march.

The bill states that a fetus is "a member of the species *Homo sapiens*, at any stage of development, who is carried in the womb."

Defenders of a woman's right to choose have noted that such laws will be used to undermine the right to abortion by treating the fetus as a person from conception. "These measures don't seem to me to be inspired solely to protect a woman or her pregnancy," said Kate Michelman of NARAL Pro-Choice America. "The goal is to gain separate legal recognition of the fetus."

The Senate vote comes just months after the passage of the misnamed Partial-Birth Abortion Act, which outlaws a specific medical procedure used to perform late-term abortions. In a victory in the fight to defend abortion rights, on March 26 a federal appeals court in Chicago rejected a Justice Department demand for abortion records from Northwestern Memorial Hospital. The police agency had said it needed the records as part of enforcing the new law, but the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that turning over the records would violate the privacy of the women who had had abortions at the Chicago hospital. Legal challenges initiated by the National Abortion Federation, Planned Parenthood, and others to the anti-abortion law began March 29 in three separate cases—in New York, San Francisco, and Lincoln, Nebraska.

Since the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision decriminalizing abortion, there has been a concerted effort by capitalist politicians to curtail a woman's right to choose. Those attacks have fallen most heavily on working-class women.

The 1977 Hyde Amendment denied Medicaid funding

for abortion, except in the case of rape, incest, or danger to the life of the woman.

Today only 21 states provide funding for abortions. The result is that some two-thirds of women annually pay for the procedure themselves.

The lack of access to abortion has particularly affected working people in rural areas. Less than 15 percent of counties in the United States have an abortion provider, and in nonmetropolitan areas the figure is only 3 percent.

Parental consent laws, which require young women to get permission from their parents to obtain an abortion, are now in effect in more than half the states. Mandatory waiting period laws in some states require women to wait up to 24 hours between "counseling" and an operation. The lost time from work, child-care needs, and travel significantly increase the cost beyond the \$350 to \$500 for the least expensive first-trimester abortion.

While Senate backers of the bill claimed abortion was not at issue in the Unborn Victims of Violence Act, they displayed photos of blood-covered fetuses along with quotes from women describing violent attacks against them—scare tactics identical to those used by opponents of a woman's right to choose.

The Senate bill applies solely to crimes on a federal level, but 31 states have put similar measures on the books to extend or expand the legal status of a fetus. Some provide such legal coverage to the fetus from the moment of conception, while others define it from the time a fetus is considered "viable."

Supporters of the law to protect "unborn victims" have called it "Laci and Connor's Law," after Laci Peterson, a pregnant California woman who was murdered in December 2002. She had intended to name her child Connor. Based on California law, her husband is facing two murder charges—one for Laci Peterson and one for the fetus.

The Senate had earlier defeated by a 50-49 vote an alternate amendment to the bill, sponsored by Sen. Dianne Feinstein of California, which would have given prosecutors the power to double the charges for a crime committed against a pregnant woman. The amendment would not have granted legal status to the fetus, but would have made possible one charge for harming the woman and another for harming the pregnancy.

CORRECTION

In the March 29 issue the article, "Workers in Sweden: 'No hospital closings,'" incorrectly stated that the pension system the Swedish government introduced in 1998 was often referred to as the "crown jewel" of the so-called Swedish model. Instead, the 1998 pension system was an attack on workers' pensions and replaced the ATP pension system, which its supporters had commonly described as the "crown jewel."

2,000 Marines

Continued from front page

cused by Washington and Islamabad of collaborating with the opposition forces, Pakistan's military-led government has sought to strengthen its authority on the 1,500-mile border region.

Over the last two-and-a-half years the Pakistani armed forces have sent 70,000 troops to the area, the regime's most massive deployment there in the country's 57-year history.

According to a March 28 Associated Press report, Pakistani officers claimed their forces killed 60 "suspected militants" and took prisoner more than 160 others. They reportedly encountered stiff and well-armed resistance and took comparable casualties.

"As far as al Qaeda is concerned, yes, indeed, they are in bigger numbers than we thought in the region. And we need to eliminate them," Pakistani president Gen. Pervez Musharraf told ABC News, in an item aired the same day. According to wire service reports, about 7,000 Pakistani army and paramilitary troops laid siege to some 500 al Qaeda combatants and tribal allies near the border town of Wana, Pakistan.

Musharraf claimed tribal elders from six of seven tribal groups in western Pakistan "are cooperating with us, cooperating with the army."

"I'm very sure we'll take a very hard stand, and the writ of the government will be established, and these [al Qaeda] people have to be eliminated," said Musharraf.

Several days into the offensive, U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell visited Islamabad. He said the White House would "designate Pakistan as a major non-NATO ally for purposes of our future military relations." The administration, he added, appreciates "the sacrifices Pakistan already has made to keep us all safer from terrorism."

During the assault, U.S. president George Bush extended the suspension of sanctions that were originally imposed on Pakistan after it tested a nuclear weapon in 1998. The Bush administration, which had suspended the sanctions in 2001, has also provided a five-year package of \$3 billion in aid and has written off \$1.5 billion of the country's foreign debt.

Helicopter gunships attack mud houses

AP reported that "regional security chief" Brig. Mahmood Shah said that the soldiers who remain in the area will back up officers negotiating with tribal leaders for the handover of al Qaeda fighters.

"The main objectives of the operation have been achieved. They included destroying dens, searching of homes, taking people into custody and the recovery of gadgets and equipment," Shah said.

U.S. and Pakistani officials admit to the participation of "two dozen U.S. intelligence and communications experts" alongside the Pakistani troops, reported the March 22 *Christian Science Monitor*.

According to the *Monitor*, the offensive was concentrated in 30 square miles around the town of Wana, part of a mountainous border region the size of Texas. Commanders surrounded five villages in the area with thousands of troops, and attacked the local mud houses with helicopter gunships.

Thousands of local residents tried to escape the assault and the fighting that followed, reported the *Monitor*. One villager, Dilawar Khan, said, "For us, the sky and earth are both spitting fire. From the sky, helicopters are targeting us, and from the ground mujahedeen are firing. We poor tribesmen are sandwiched between al Qaeda and Pakistani forces."

An Afghan government official told the *New York Times* that about 300 homes had been destroyed. The *Times* reported that tens of thousands of people have fled the tribal areas, and noted growing resentment against the army.

Pakistani officials said March 26 that eight soldiers taken hostage by "militants" had been executed. Around a dozen paramilitary soldiers and two government officials held hostage at that time were later released.

For a time, U.S. and Pakistani government representatives made headlines with their claim that Ayman al-Zawahiri, allegedly the second-in-command of al Qaeda after Osama bin Laden, had been trapped in a cave by the advancing Pakistani troops. After officials backed down from that assertion, military spokesman Maj. Gen. Shaukat Sultan said March 27 that Tahir Yuldash, a leader of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, had been badly wounded in the assault and was "on the run."

On March 25 opponents of the Musharraf government released a tape on which a man identifying himself as al-Zawahiri called for the overthrow of the Musharraf government.

"I call on Muslims in Pakistan to get rid of their government, which is working for Americans," said the man in the recording. "This client government will continue to submit to America until it destroys Pakistan." He made an appeal to the Pakistani armed forces, saying "Musharraf ruins your natural fences—those tribes on the border—by engaging you in a fight with them. Then he removes your nuclear weapons. Will you stay silent until Pakistan is divided again?"

This last remark was a reference to the government's prosecution, under intense pressure from Washington, of Abdul Qadeer Khan, the scientist known as the father of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program, for allegedly selling nuclear secrets.

In a tape released last September, al-Zawahiri reportedly called for the assassination of Musharraf. The Pakistani military ruler blamed al Qaeda for the two assassination attempts that followed in December.

Further reading from Pathfinder

Europe and America: Two Speeches on Imperialism

By Leon Trotsky

In two speeches from the mid-1920s, Trotsky points to the emergence of the United States as the primary economic power in the world—alongside the decline of Britain, France, and Germany—as the decisive factor in world politics. He describes the sharp contradictions this new situation entails, and highlights the revolutionary prospects for the working class of the world. \$6



Order Online at: www.pathfinderpress.com

Australia: Aborigines demand stolen wages

BY LINDA HARRIS

SYDNEY, Australia—Thousands of Aborigines are fighting for lost wages and payments worth more than \$500 million in three states. The governments of New South Wales, Queensland, and Victoria face claims dating back to the early 1900s for wages withheld from Aboriginal workers on sheep and cattle stations as well as child endowment payments to Aboriginal mothers.

For much of the last century, under the “stolen generation” policy of the Australian government, many Aboriginal children were forcibly removed from their families, made state wards, and then sent to work between the ages of 12 and 18 as unpaid “apprentice” domestics or farm laborers.

They received only food and vouchers for clothing, and sometimes “pocket money” under a government policy justified on the basis that Aborigines were supposedly unable to handle their own money. Their wages, set at 66 percent of the pay

received by workers who were white, were paid into government trust funds and never returned.

Individual accounts ranged from a shilling to more than £800 (£1=\$1.81). The trust funds were operated by the Aboriginal Protection Board, then the Aboriginal Welfare Board, and more recently the Department of Community Services (DOCS). The funds also included money from pensions, compensation payments, and inheritances.

In January the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that Fred Edwards, now 64, was one of those fighting for his lost wages. For 25 years he had worked as a stockman on pastoral properties in the Gulf of Carpentaria in Queensland. “I worked for years and years on those stations...most of the time I didn’t see a cent,” he said. He estimated his lost wages at about \$400,000 but the Queensland government has offered him just \$4000.

Ros Kidd, a Queensland consultant who

advised a 1996 Commonwealth Human Rights Commission investigation, estimated that payments owed to Aborigines could be at least \$437 million in Queensland alone. “Many of the great rural industries of this country were built on the backs of free labor,” he said. “What’s being offered is clearly inadequate.”

In 1997 two Aboriginal sisters filed a claim for money held in trust by the New South Wales state government for their late mother, Alice Carney. This claim initiated a DOCS investigation in the state into how much money was held in trust accounts and how it could be repaid.

The findings of this investigation were not made public until February of this year, when a draft report to the cabinet of the state government, dated April 2001, was leaked. In this report Faye Lo Po’, then minister for Community Services, advocated that payment of up to \$69 million be made to some 11,500 Aborigines whose money had been taken between 1900 and 1969.

Lo Po’ said that since 1970 the state government has deliberately resisted returning money from trust funds. The report also noted that funds may have been stolen and defrauded by public servants including “collusion between station owners and government officials to limit payments into the trust funds.”

Lo Po’ warned that if it was not acted on, “it could be construed that the current government implicitly supports past wrongs.” They could also face years of legal claims.

Robert Carr, premier of the New South Wales Labor Party government, had Lo Po’ removed as minister in July 2002. In May 2003, Michael Egan, the state government treasurer, told Les Ridgeway, a claimant and activist for other Aborigines who believe their money is still in government hands, that “searches of Treasury records have failed to reveal the existence of these funds being transferred to NSW Treasury.”

Using freedom of information laws, the Sydney-based Public Interest Advocacy Centre (PIAC) tracked the money of thousands of Aborigines paid into trust funds on

their behalf in NSW.

The Carr government tried to block Lo Po’s report from being made public. But in the wake of the leaking of its content, Carr was forced to apologize in parliament to Aborigines whose money has been withheld. On March 11 he said the cabinet had in principle agreed to a scheme that would look into returning the money, in consultation with Aborigines. The *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that Carr had promised that anyone who can prove they are owed money will have it returned. This places the burden of proof on Aborigines fighting for their stolen entitlements.

Carr’s stance in holding off payment of stolen wages back to Aboriginal people parallels the state and federal governments’ reluctance to redress the injustice to thousands of members of the stolen generations.

Marjorie Woodrow, an elder from the Central Coast, now aged 80, has been fighting for 20 years to get back earnings paid into a trust fund. She worked as a maid on a station in western New South Wales from the age of 14.

Documents that Woodrow has obtained from state archives reveal that the Office of the Protector of Aborigines specified that her wages were to be paid to her with interest. The only money she ever received was five pounds for her wedding dress. “For the first six years of my married life when I was raising children I had to live in a tent because I couldn’t get my money, even though I tried and tried,” she said.

Woodrow pointed to Carr’s hypocrisy in launching her book *Long Time Coming Home* about her life as one of the stolen generations, in state parliament in November 2001. This was clearly after the government had decided to ignore Lo Po’s report. “Bob Carr’s sorry means nothing to me,” Woodrow said.

Woodrow and others are preparing to take legal action through the PIAC. “We are determined to show the government we have had enough as Aboriginal people,” she said. “We want to explain to ordinary people we did not live on welfare all our lives.”

Kerry calls for stepping up U.S. offensive against Venezuela

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

CARACAS, Venezuela—John Kerry, the virtually assured Democratic Party presidential nominee in the November elections, assailed the administration of Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez as “undemocratic,” singled out its relations with Havana for condemnation, and called for tougher measures by Washington aimed at removing the country’s elected government.

The statement by Kerry was posted on his campaign website March 19 and became front-page news here three days later.

“With the future of the democratic process at a critical juncture in Venezuela, we should work to bring all possible international pressure to bear on President Chávez to allow the referendum to proceed,” said Kerry in his statement. He was referring to the faltering drive by the opposition coalition Coordinadora Democrática for a referendum to recall the president.

“Throughout his time in office,” Kerry continued, “President Chávez has repeatedly undermined democratic institutions by using extra-legal means, including politically motivated incarcerations, to consolidate power. In fact, his close relationship with Fidel Castro has raised serious questions about his commitment to leading a democratic government.”

The Massachusetts senator went on to repeat, even more bluntly, accusations against Caracas that Bush administration officials made to justify the expanding U.S. government offensive against Cuba and Venezuela.

“President Chávez’s policies have been detrimental to our interests and those of his neighbors,” Kerry stated. “He has compromised efforts to eradicate drug cultivation by allowing Venezuela to become a haven for narco-terrorists, and sowed instability in the region by supporting anti-government insurgents in Colombia.”

Kerry said the Venezuelan government must be pressured to comply with the agreements it made “to allow the referendum to proceed, respect the exercise of free expression, and release political prisoners.”

Kerry’s statement reflected the frustra-

tion among U.S. ruling circles that the third U.S.-backed attempt by Venezuelan capitalists to topple the Chávez government has failed without an alternative course on the horizon. Two previous efforts—a military coup in April 2002 and a bosses’ “strike” about a year ago—were defeated as a result of large working-class mobilizations.

The pro-imperialist opposition received a temporary boost on March 15 in its campaign for a so-called referendum, when a Supreme Court panel here threw out an earlier decision by Venezuela’s National Electoral Council that basically rejected the referendum petition. That ruling, however, was itself overturned a week later by the Supreme Court’s constitutional panel, leaving little doubt that the referendum bid is all but dead.

Utah coal miners upgrade picket line

Continued from page 3
other unions.

During the day, especially on the weekend, local people come to Co-Op to buy lump coal to heat their homes. In response, the strikers made a big sign with red fluorescent paint that says, “Miners on Strike—Buy Lump Coal at Andalex Scale House—Andalex \$38/ton Co-Op \$45/ton.”

On March 20, three strikers attended the Four Corners Central Labor Council meeting at the Navajo Nation in Window Rock, Arizona. The striking Co-Op miners made the trip as part of their efforts to keep broadening their support in the West. “They demonstrated their solidarity to us. They continue to support us, they received us well, and they listened to what we had to say,” explained Jesús Salazar, one of the leaders of the strike, on the meeting with the Council, made up mostly of Navajo unionists. “They help us gain the courage to keep going.”

Coal miners represented by UMWA Locals 1332 and 1924, and International Union of Operating Engineers (IUOE) Local 953 in Arizona and New Mexico are members of the council and have supported the Co-Op miners with financial

donations. A few miners have visited the picket line in Huntington, Utah.

“After talking with us for a while the council passed a motion to write a letter to all their union locals to support the strike with financial donations and letters of support,” reported Bill Estrada, another Co-Op striker. “Before we left, a union officer for International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 387 invited to their next meeting,” said Estrada.

Salazar reported that the unionists passed around the hat for gas money and took a group picture with the council before heading back.

Later that evening, the three strikers went back to Price, Utah, to attend a dinner and dance that raised \$1000. The money will go toward payments for rents and utilities. The event was organized by the miners, their spouses, and the local Mission San Rafael Catholic Church.

For financial donations and

letters of support write to: Co-Op Miners c/o UMWA District 22, 525 East 100 South, Price, UT 84501. Write checks to the Co-Op Miners Fund.



Militant/Anne Carroll

Sign at Utah miners’ picket line telling those who come to CW Mining for coal how they can honor the picket line by shopping elsewhere.

LETTERS

Cuba embargo

I recently received an e-mail of an article that appeared in a publication called *Progresso Weekly*. It reports on the U.S. government’s ban on the travel to Cuba of 75 neurologists and bio-ethicists from the United States who were scheduled to attend the Fourth Symposium on Coma and Death, which started on March 9. They were contacted by OFAC, the agency that enforces Cuba travel restrictions, and told they would be breaking the law if they went. Several were scheduled to present at the conference. Marazul Charters reported that this

ruling will affect more than 15 such academic and scientific gatherings in the next month alone.

The same article reported on another very ominous development. In early March a ruling was made that bans publishers “from editing texts produced in ‘outlaw’ nations like Cuba.” The article states, “According to OFAC’s interpretation of the regulations, editing texts, such as scientific articles or studies, for publication in the United States is equivalent to providing a ‘service’ to the government of ‘outlaw’ nations.... Publishers that change so much as one word in a text face stiff

fines and jail time.”

It seems to me that this is not only an attack on academic freedom, which would be bad enough. Having just participated in the production of the beautiful new Pathfinder title *Aldabonazo: Inside the Cuban Revolutionary Underground* by Armando Hart, I can imagine what the real target of such a ruling is.

Sandi Sherman
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Social Security

While I am not a socialist, I do regularly read your online editions.

One editorial prompted me to write you this letter. It concerns saving Social Security.

The bottom line is really simple. Our congressmen and senators are enlisted in their own little retirement plan. Just a small perk that they voted for themselves. Why? Wasn’t the system that the ordinary people were a part of good enough for them? No it wasn’t and they knew what was coming down the road. If they had to participate in our Social Security system, it would have been addressed and fixed long ago. There is no incentive for them to do anything for the people. The

government that you call for to be more involved in our lives is the same government that has their own private little nest egg for themselves. Pretty ironic isn’t it?

Nick Renesis
by e-mail

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.

NATO boosts Kosova occupation force

BY SAM MANUEL

NATO has reinforced its occupation force in the Balkans in the wake of two days of fratricidal assaults on Serbs in the majority-Albanian region of Kosova. Imperialist troops have occupied Kosova since the U.S.-led NATO bombing campaign against Yugoslavia in 1999.

More than 1,000 NATO troops were deployed to the region starting March 18, adding to the 18,000 already there. Among the first to arrive was a battalion of some 500 French troops along with about 150 each from the United Kingdom and Germany.

In the guise of "peacekeepers," the occupation troops in Kosova, like those in Bosnia, are part of the efforts by Washington, London, Berlin, Paris, and other imperialist powers to undermine and carve up the Yugoslav workers state. They have maintained their foothold in the region by fostering divisions between Kosovar Serbs and Albanians over the past five years.

The assaults on Serb homes began shortly after reports that two Albanian youths had drowned in a nearby river. A third boy who survived said the three of them had been chased by Serbs with dogs. Crowds of Kosovar Albanians reportedly attacked Serb communities. Thirty-one people were killed and around 500 injured, according to the London-based *Guardian*. An estimated 400 Serb homes were destroyed along with 30 churches, and at least 3,600 Serbs were driven from Kosova.

The widespread character of the social eruption and fierce clashes with United Nations "peacekeepers" indicate that the events are rooted in the conditions fostered by the imperialist occupation of the province. "We condemn the acts of violence, as well as the slow pace of the UN mission towards a resolution of Kosova's final status," Arsmin Barjrami told the *New York Times*. Barjrami is a leader of the Democratic Party of Kosova, the second-largest of Albanian political parties in the province that are pressing for independence.

In Belgrade, the capital of Serbia to the north, crowds burned a 17th century mosque. A mosque in the city of Nis was also set on fire.

Almost five years after Kosova was placed under UN control, in a settlement imposed through a 78-day NATO-led bombing campaign against Yugoslavia in 1999, there is still no timetable for withdrawal of the occupation forces or resolving the aspirations of the province's Albanian majority for self-determination.

The occupation regime in Kosova is headed by UN-appointed governor Harri Holkeri. Following the latest outbreak, angry Serbs in Kosova have demanded that Holkeri, a former prime minister of Finland, be removed because of his regime's failure to protect the population.

In Bratislava, NATO chief Jaap De Hoop Scheffer of the Netherlands responded to criticism of the NATO troops' failure to prevent the attacks on Serbs in Kosova, saying, "KFOR can't guard every individual citizen, every house or farm." He said, "Things are going the wrong way," and that it looked as though the military force

"is there to stay." KFOR is the acronym for the NATO occupation force.

In a speech later that day to a conference of East European officials, Scheffer issued the "stiffest warning yet to Kosovo Albanian leaders," the *Guardian* reported. "Those who think they can achieve political ends through violence will be severely disappointed," said Scheffer, as head of the nearly 20,000-troop occupation force.

NATO troops have been conducting more aggressive operations in Kosova in the days since Scheffer's speech. In Mitrovica, for example, French troops raided an apartment and killed an Albanian man whom they accused of being a sniper. "My soldiers will immediately and forcefully stop anyone who violates the rule of law," said Brig. Gen. Richard Erlandson, a U.S. commander of NATO forces in Kosova.

In village after village throughout Kosova, as Serbs were being driven from their homes and their churches burned, foreign "peacekeepers" mostly stood by and watched, claiming to be outnumbered.

"We felt there was nothing we could do but sit back and watch the destruction," Angel Feliciano told the *Times*. Feliciano is a sergeant in a military police unit from Milledgeville, Georgia, operating in the Kosova village of Lipjan. He described how three armored personnel carriers with Finnish troops refused to take action when faced with a crowd of several hundred people threatening to burn a group of houses owned by Serbs.

Pedrog Antic, an electrician in the village of Svinjare, said UN police in armored cars drove alongside a group of young men as they set the homes of Serbs ablaze with Molotov cocktails and fired their guns.

Javier Solana, foreign policy head of the European Union, was confronted by an angry crowd of Serbs in Kosova on March 24 as he visited the region to mark the fifth anniversary of the NATO bombing campaign against Yugoslavia. He was NATO's secretary-general at the time.

"I am appalled by the brutality of the actions," Solana told residents of Polje. But an unidentified Serbian man said, "This is your Western politics," as he pointed to burned houses in the distance, reported the BBC.



U.S. soldiers search man at roadblock between Pristina and Mitrovica, Kosova, March 21. NATO occupation powers have fostered divisions among working people in Kosova.

Solana's entourage, which included the UN-appointed governor of the province, was turned back by a crowd of Serbs as they attempted to enter a block in the town to speak with those who had been displaced.

Solana also met with Albanian political leaders in Kosova's capital, Pristina. He told them the occupation forces' intelligence services had a "clear picture" of who had led the attacks on Serbs. "When we start arresting those responsible, do not jump up clamoring for their release," Solana said, according to the Reuters news agency. UN police say they have arrested 200 people whom they accuse of being responsible for the attacks on Serbs.

Some 8,000 Albanians attended the March 22 burial of the two youths who had drowned in the nearby Ibar River. About 200 Serbs watched the ceremony from the other side of the river. During the attacks on Serbs a few days earlier, some Albanians had protected their Serbian neighbors, according to media reports.

Some 50,000 troops, mostly under NATO command, were deployed in Kosova in June 1999. The agreement was reached a day after the UN Security Council approved a resolution authorizing deployment

of the occupation force by a vote of 14 to 0, with the Chinese government abstaining. After much fretting and bluster Berlin and Moscow backed the NATO terms.

Washington justified its massive bombing campaign against Yugoslavia by posing as a defender of Kosovars who were being driven out by right-wing Serbian nationalist paramilitary forces, often in collaboration with police and army units deployed by the regime in Belgrade.

The real objective of the U.S.-led assault was to deepen the divisions and accelerate the break-up of the Yugoslav workers state, which was made easier by the reactionary policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy that headed the government.

While the massive 1999 bombing campaign was in full force, Pentagon spokesperson Kenneth Bacon warned, "I don't think Kosova will be a very happy place for Serbs when NATO comes in." Officials of the William Clinton administration and other imperialist governments at the same time made clear they were opposed to self-determination for the Kosovars.

The latest reinforcement of the NATO forces underscores the open-ended character of the imperialist occupation of the country.

Rail strikers in Canada push back bosses

BY JOE YOUNG

VANCOUVER, Canada—Five thousand rail workers began returning to work March 20, ending a one-month strike against Canadian National Railway (CN). The strike at Canada's biggest railway had a major impact on operations.

The workers who struck are members of the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) and make up almost one-quarter of the company's workforce. They include maintenance, clerical, and intermodal yard workers—those who transfer cargo

between trucks and trains.

Maintenance workers voted 69 per cent in favor of the settlement, while the clerical and cargo workers approved the contract by an 81 per cent margin.

Describing the repercussions of the strike, the big-business daily *Montreal Gazette* said it had "crippled truck-to-train traffic at Canadian National Railway Co., triggered layoffs at crop producers, and caused widespread uncertainty for exporters."

The company says the union action cut its operating profit by \$35-40 million (C\$1 = \$0.76).

In an important display of solidarity, CAW members at some auto plants in southern Ontario refused to unload auto parts from trains, causing temporary shutdowns.

Some 400 intermodal truck drivers who are also members of the CAW respected the picket lines.

The union reports that for the first time in modern railway history, CN used replacement workers.

Workers went on strike February 20, rejecting a proposed agreement negotiated between the union and the owners of CN. The unionists opposed the new, harsher disciplinary system the bosses had imposed—including an automatic five-day suspension without pay as a minimum sanction. They were also fighting for improvements in pensions.

In the contract that was approved, the em-

ployer agreed to go back to the disciplinary system that was in place before 2001.

The company agreed to a 1.8 percent increase in the pension formula "whenever the pension improvement account is sufficiently funded," according to the CAW web site. The workers will receive wage increases of 3 per cent per year over the three-year contract, as well as a \$1,000 payment upon returning to work.

Al Kucher, a heavy duty equipment mechanic at CN, told the *Militant* outside a March 18 ratification meeting in New Westminster, British Columbia, "The grassroots guys voted with their hearts against the heavy-handed treatment we'd been getting. Now we will go back four or five years to the old [discipline] system. They were giving discipline for things they never gave it for before. Guys with 20 years who had never got discipline before were getting discipline."

Pat Flatta, who has worked at CN for 22 years, said in a phone interview, "Overall, I'm a little disappointed that we didn't get more but we stayed out long enough to get what we wanted. We're happy with the company's reversal on the discipline policy. We've been congratulated by other unions for holding out for that."

Joe Young is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1518 in Vancouver.

Further reading from Pathfinder

In New International No. 11 U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War

by Jack Barnes

Analyzes the propertied rulers' failed expectations coming out of the Cold War and charts a course for revolutionaries in response to the renewed rise of worker and farmer resistance.

Also includes:

- ❖ The Communist Strategy of Party Building Today by Mary-Alice Waters
- ❖ Socialism: A Viable Option by José Ramón Balaguer
- ❖ Young Socialists Manifesto
- ❖ Ours Is the Epoch of World Revolution by Jack Barnes and Mary-Alice Waters. \$14.00



The Truth about Yugoslavia

Why Working People
Should Oppose
Intervention

by Argiris Malapanis,
George Fyson,
Jonathan Silberman

Examines the roots of the carnage in Yugoslavia, where Washington and its imperialist rivals in Europe are intervening militarily in an attempt to reimpose capitalist relations. \$9.95

ORDER ONLINE AT:
WWW.PATHFINDERPRESS.COM