

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

FBI, police provocateurs
conduct disruption operations

—PAGE 4

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 68/NO. 32

SEPT. 7, 2004

Miners win labor support in Seattle for Utah fight

BY CONNIE ALLEN

SEATTLE—"Because of the strike, we have made progress in our struggle to be treated with dignity by the company. We never had vacations before. Now the foremen come and tell us when our vacation days are approved. We are committed to the fight to win a union and thank you for your solidarity, which has been crucial in our battle." With these remarks, Timoteo González opened his presentation to more than 100 unionists at an August 18 meeting here of King County Labor Council (KCLC) delegates at the Seattle Labor Temple.

González is a coal miner at the Co-Op mine near Huntington, Utah, and has worked there for a year and a half. He and Bill Estrada, another Co-Op miner, visited Seattle on a labor tour sponsored by the

Order back issues of 'Militant' to learn about miners' battle. Free with sub! (see p. 2)

KCLC to consolidate and expand support for their struggle to win representation by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA).

"This is a critical period for Co-Op min-
Continued on Page 4

Socialist Workers candidates on N.Y. ballot

BY VED DOOKHUN

ALBANY, New York—"Workers, farmers, and young people have an alternative in the November elections," said Róger Calero, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president at an August 17 news conference here as the party filed petitions containing 30,000 signatures with the state board of elections. "The SWP will be on the ballot in 15 states, including here in New York and the District of Columbia."

Campaign organizers report that the board of elections informed them August 23 that the Socialist Workers Party ticket will be on the ballot in New York. No one challenged the SWP petitions during the three days allowed by state law. Candidates are officially certified by the state in late September.

The socialists announced that they had filed more than 30,000 signatures, double the legal requirement to win a ballot spot for the socialist ticket—Calero for president, Arrin Hawkins for vice-president, and Martin Koppel for U.S. Senate from New York.

"Because of the number of people who signed from Buffalo to Binghamton, Albany, and the five boroughs of New York City," said Calero at the state capitol news conference, "there will be an independent working-class alternative in New York to the Democrats, Republicans, and smaller capitalist parties that function as pressure groups of the left and right within U.S. imperialism's two-party system."

Calero described the grinding social
Continued on Page 7

Oppose bipartisan assault from United States to Iraq

Support the working-class alternative

Vote Socialist Workers Party in 2004!

Workers and farmers in the United States face an intensifying assault by the bosses and the twin parties of capitalism—the Democrats and Republicans—on our wages, working conditions, social wage, and broader gains. And increasingly, attacks on our political rights as well, more and more

EDITORIAL

carried out in the name of the "global war on terrorism."

The ruling classes in the United States, Europe, Japan, and elsewhere are driven in their assaults on working people by intensifying competition common to the opening stages of a world economic and financial crisis. This sharpening conflict between the dominant imperialist powers over dividing and redividing the world's markets and resources among themselves is rooted in the long-term decline of the average rate of industrial profit—that is, the normal workings of the capitalist system.

The foreign policy of Washington and other imperialist powers—from trade conflicts over agricultural subsidies to the Anglo-American war on Iraq—is an extension of their domestic policy, of the offensive against labor at home.

This antilabor and prowar course

Pathfinder supersaver sale p. 6



Militant photos by Nicole Sarmiento (above), Dan Fein (left) Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. president Róger Calero (left) at August 17 press conference in Albany, New York, announcing that socialists filed 30,000 signatures that day. State officials said SWP will be on ballot. Calero's running mate, Arrin Hawkins (above, right), campaigns in June at Point Blank Body Armor in Oakland Park, Florida. Workers at plant, which makes protective gear for the armed forces and police, won first union contract in April.

is not simply the product of the agenda of George Walker Bush.

The Democratic contender for the White House, John Forbes Kerry, has made it clear

he would have backed the invasion of Iraq even if he knew in the winter of 2003 that no "weapons of mass destruction" would
Continued on Page 10

U.S. occupation forces besiege Iraqi militia in Najaf

BY SAM MANUEL

U.S. occupation forces have tightened their noose for an all-out assault against a few hundred fighters of the militia loyal to Muqtada al-Sadr. Al-Sadr's forces have been holding the Imam Ali mosque in Najaf in southern Iraq. Since mid-August, U.S. helicopter gunships and war planes have bombed al-Sadr's positions, while U.S.

tanks have come as close as 130 yards to the shrine. Nearly 80 Iraqis have been killed in these assaults, according to the Iraqi health ministry. U.S. troops have unleashed similar attacks in Sadr City in Baghdad's suburbs, killing dozens of Iraqis.

Facing increasing military pressure and political isolation among Iraqis, al-Sadr announced August 21 that he plans to with-

draw his supporters from key positions in Najaf. His irregulars have been involved in several armed uprisings against the U.S.-led occupation—mostly in Najaf and the nearby cities of Kufa and Karbala, where the majority of the population is Shiite Muslim—aimed at gaining greater influence within a new Iraqi regime.

Al-Sadr's announcement reflects the blows the occupation forces have dealt insurgent groups in Iraq, as Washington has continued to take steps to impose the
Continued on Page 3

Defeat of pro-imperialist recall boosts confidence of Venezuela's toilers

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

A recall referendum aimed at removing Venezuela's elected government, headed by President Hugo Chávez, failed by a large margin August 15. More than 59 percent voted "no."

"It's a big victory for us," said Lenin Dávila, an oil worker in Maracaibo, Zulia state, in an August 23 telephone interview. "Most of my co-workers have been celebrating. We are even happier today because some of the closest allies of *los escuálidos* came out and definitively rejected their claims of electoral fraud." Dávila used a derogatory term—meaning the squalid ones—utilized widely in Venezuela to describe the pro-imperialist opposition that has Washington's backing.

On August 23, U.S. officials announced that the White House accepted the results of the referendum after an audit by the Atlanta-
Continued on Page 3



AP/Marcelo Hernández

Venezuelans celebrate defeat of pro-imperialist recall August 15 outside presidential palace in Caracas.

Also Inside:

- Labor board to hear complaint on harassment of workers trying to win union at North Carolina food giant 2
- Washington, D.C.: immigrants demand right to vote 2
- Puerto Rican independence fighter Antonio Camacho released from U.S. jail 5
- Socialist campaign responds to red-baiting smear in Mississippi newspaper 6

Labor board to hear harassment charges of unionists at Smithfield

BY JANICE LYNN

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) has scheduled a hearing on a complaint filed by the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) against Smithfield Packing. The union has charged the food giant with harassment, physical assaults by company goons, and complicity in the false arrest of workers trying to win union representation by the UFCW in the company's hog slaughterhouse and processing plant in Tar Heel, North Carolina.

The company employs nearly 6,000 workers. Two previous attempts by the UFCW to organize the plant in the 1990s failed. The union is now in the middle of its third organizing campaign.

"The NLRB complaint, issued July 30, 2004, charges Smithfield Packing and a number of employees by name with: illegally assaulting employees; threatening workers with arrest by federal immigration authorities; causing workers to be falsely arrested; and threatening workers with bodily harm," said an August 4 press release by the UFCW.

Smithfield's in-house cleaning contractor, QSI, based in Lumberton, North Carolina, has also been charged with "failing to pay workers their wages and vacation time; and threatening workers for supporting the union," the press release said.

According to the *Bladen Journal*, a local paper, the NLRB has scheduled a September 20 hearing on the charges filed by the union.

Last November, a group of maintenance workers walked off the job to protest harassment of union supporters by the bosses. Some workers, employed by QSI, "felt that management was harassing them with unwarranted write-ups and withholding promised raises," the UFCW press announcement said. "A sympathetic supervisor was fired for supporting workers' complaints." In response, 250 workers walked off the job.

Following the walkout, QSI managers decided to bring everyone back, including the fired supervisor, and signed an agreement promising wage increases and an end

to the abusive write-up system.

"The successful collective action within the maintenance department appears to have inspired a crack down by management," the UFCW statement said. A few days later, "more workers were terminated, which inspired a second walkout."

This time, according to the union, Smithfield company police, along with deputies of the Bladen County Sheriff's Department, blocked the doors, assaulted workers, arrested employees on trumped up charges, and threatened them with physical violence as they attempted to walk off the job. According to union officials, 21 workers and some supervisors were fired after this incident.

"Smithfield is the only packing plant in the country to employ a full company police force with armed officers, an in-plant holding cell, and the right under state law to make arrests and charge people with infractions," the UFCW press release said. "Company police officers have the right to carry concealed weapons."

"Smithfield resorts to a police presence to create a Gestapo-like atmosphere in an attempt to suppress workers from speaking out," said Bill McDonough, UFCW executive vice president and director of organizing. "We demand that the company police force be immediately disbanded."

These assaults have come down as workers at Smithfield are making their third attempt to win union representation by the UFCW. In two previous organizing

New Militant Labor Forum hall opens in Scotland



Militant

Tony Hunt of the Communist League of the UK speaking at July 24 grand opening of Pathfinder Books and the Militant Labour Forum hall in Edinburgh, Scotland. The meeting marked a milestone in a nearly three-year effort to extend the reach of the communist movement into Scotland, during which communist workers have joined in important labor battles, fights of small producers on the land and among fishermen, and in support of the Irish freedom struggle. Participants bought \$65 worth of books and raised \$172 towards the Communist League's party building fund, bringing the total raised in Scotland to \$1,000.

drives, the company used many means of intimidation and prevented workers from voting in the union. During the first organizing campaign in 1994, the union filed numerous charges against Smithfield for illegal surveillance, threats, coercion, and harassment of union backers.

After the second campaign in 1997, union supporters won damages of \$755,000 in a civil lawsuit against the food giant, after union election monitors were badly beaten by company thugs. An NLRB administrative law judge issued a ruling stating that Smith-

field had worked with the cops to instigate violence during the vote count and that company managers collaborated with the local sheriff's department to intimidate and physically assault union supporters.

In testimony to the U.S. Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee in June 2002, Sherri Buffkin, a former Smithfield supervisor at the Tar Heel plant, said, "I terminated employees who didn't deserve to be terminated. I'm here to tell you that Smithfield Foods ordered me to fire

Continued on Page 10

Immigrants press for vote in Washington, D.C.

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A bill before the city council here would extend the right to vote in local elections to permanent residents. This proposal is part of the growing nationwide debate on the right of foreign-born residents to vote and hold office.

Last year Utah senator Orrin Hatch introduced a bill to amend the U.S. Constitution to allow those who have been naturalized

citizens for at least 20 years to be eligible to become president; a similar bill was introduced in the House. The election last year of Arnold Schwarzenegger, an Austrian-born naturalized citizen, as governor of California has drawn attention to this question.

In San Francisco, a proposal to extend the vote to noncitizens in school board elections will be voted on in November. It has sparked a debate among capitalist politicians. San Francisco Board of Supervisors President Matt Gonzalez supports the proposal. Democratic senator Dianne Feinstein has sharply opposed it, saying, "Allowing non-citizens to vote is not only unconstitutional in California, it clearly dilutes the promise of citizenship." Nearly 9 million of the 35 million residents of California are foreign-born.

The bill in Washington, D.C., introduced July 13 by five city council members, would require only that a person be a permanent resident. In promoting the bill, the council members pointed to the growing number of immigrants in the city. According to the 2000 Census, the Latino population here has increased by 37 percent in a decade.

Rep. Thomas Davis, chairman of the

House oversight committee on the District of Columbia, and Rep. Thomas Tancredo have said Congress, which has the authority to overrule legislation in this city, will not allow the bill to become law if passed.

In several cities, from Chicago to Tacoma Park, Maryland, noncitizens can vote in municipal or school elections. In New York City they were eligible to vote in school board races and serve on the board until two years ago. Proposals to allow legal residents to vote for local offices are being debated in Connecticut, New York, and other areas.

A number of individuals born abroad hold government office, such as Canadian-born Jennifer Granholm, Democratic governor of Michigan; Labor Secretary Elaine Chao, born in Taiwan; and Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Melquiades Martínez, born in Cuba. Former secretaries of state Madeleine Albright and Henry Kissinger were born in Czechoslovakia and Germany, respectively. Until the 1920s, 22 states and territories allowed legal residents to vote in local elections. With the government's antilabor, anti-immigrant campaign following World War I, voting rights at every level were restricted to citizens.

THE MILITANT

Find out about Utah miners' fight for union

After a 10-month strike, coal miners at the Co-Op mine in Huntington, Utah, returned to work and continue the battle for the union from inside. The 'Militant' has covered this fight every week since the strike began. New subscribers can get two back issues of their choice to learn about this important labor struggle. Don't miss a single issue!



Miners at Co-Op mine in Huntington, Utah, march to coal mine July 6.

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 _____

YES, SEND ME TWO ISSUES COVERING THE CO-OP MINERS' STRUGGLE

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, 12 Euros • Iceland, Kr500 • New Zealand, NZ\$10 • Sweden, Kr60 (Send payment to addresses listed in business information box)

The Militant

Vol. 68/No. 32

Closing news date: August 25, 2004

Editor: ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Business Manager: MICHAEL ITALIE

Washington Bureau Chief: SAM MANUEL

Editorial Staff: Róger Calero, Michael Italie, Martín Koppel, Sam Manuel, Doug Nelson, and Paul Pederson.

Published weekly except for one week in January, June, 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 Diffusion du Militant, P.O. Box 175, 23 rue Lecourbe, 75015 Paris.

Iceland: Send 3,500 Icelandic kronur for one-year subscription to Militant, P.O. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik.

Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark: 400 Swedish kronor for one year. 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.

Venezuela recall vote

Continued from front page

based Carter Center and the Organization of American States (OAS) concluded there was no evidence of irregularities. "In our view, the results of that audit are consistent with the results announced by [Venezuela's] National Electoral Council," said U.S. State Department spokesperson Adam Ereli.

The opposition coalition *Coordinadora Democrática*, led by weighty sections of Venezuela's capitalist class that enjoy Washington's support, orchestrated the recall vote. After managing to get less than 41 percent, opposition leaders said fraud was involved and refused to recognize the outcome.

Their claims, however, have been rejected left and right. Former U.S. president James Carter, for example, said in a letter published in the *Wall Street Journal* that the August 15 vote was "free and fair."

Even some of the right-wing media in Venezuela acknowledged the sweeping character of the victory for the vote "no" campaign. *El Nacional*, one of the country's main privately-owned dailies, which has been campaigning to unseat the Chávez administration, said that a majority voted against the recall in every single one of Venezuela's 23 states and the Federal District, which includes the capital, Caracas.

Economic improvements

Advances in government-sponsored social programs—from literacy campaigns to public works, to free and competent neighborhood clinics operated by volunteer Cuban doctors and other improvements in health care—were a factor in the opposition's electoral demise.

During the first half of this year, the country's economy also improved, fueled largely by higher oil prices that reached a record of nearly \$47 per barrel in August.

Venezuela is the fifth-largest oil producer in the world. *Petroleos de Venezuela (PDVSA)*, the state-owned oil company, provides some 80 percent of the country's export income and about half of its total revenue. More than 50 percent of oil exports go to the United States and Canada.

The surge in oil prices has boosted state revenues. The government increased spending 81 percent, to \$8.6 billion, during the first five months of the year compared to the period a year ago. A large percentage of the outlay was devoted to public works such as road repairs and building other parts of the country's infrastructure. Retail sales rose 59 percent the first four months of 2004, while car sales nearly doubled from the previous year, according to the Bloomberg news service.

Unemployment fell to 12 percent this year from its high of 20 percent last year.

The country's gross domestic product (GDP) grew 13.6 percent the second quarter of this year, while it had declined 9.5 percent during the same period in 2003, according to the Central Bank of Venezuela. GDP expanded 35 percent the first quarter of this year, recovering from a 28 percent drop in the first quarter of 2003, when an employers' lockout crippled oil production for more than two months.

Third blow to proimperialist opposition

The bosses' "strike" in December 2002 and January 2003 crumbled as millions of workers defied the sabotage of the economy, taking over refineries and other plants and restarting production. It was the second attempt by many of the country's capitalists and middle-class layers to overthrow the government. The first, a U.S.-backed military coup in April 2002 that lasted barely three days, was defeated after massive street mobilizations by working people throughout the country divided the military. The third, and meeker, attempt by the pro-imperialist opposition to topple the elected government—the recall referendum—has now failed, too.

Since it took office in 1998, the Chávez administration has angered Venezuela's wealthy ruling families and their allies in Washington by passing measures such as an agrarian reform law, a bill protecting small fishermen from overfishing by large capitalist operations, and allocating state funds for affordable housing and other social programs. As workers and peasants have frequently mobilized to implement these and other measures that are in their class interests they have gained self-confidence and higher expectations, causing the wealthy

to fear that working people may push for even more radical steps that would impinge on their property and prerogatives.

The government's normalization of trade and diplomatic relations with Cuba, and the work in Venezuela of some 16,000 doctors, literacy teachers, and other volunteers from Cuba for the last two years, have also drawn the ire of many Venezuelan capitalists and their backers in the United States.

Even before August 15, however, as it became evident that the opposition campaign was rapidly losing steam, international capital in the oil industry made it clear it was increasingly favorable to the stability they hoped would come from a strong win by the Chávez administration. This is despite the fact that the government passed legislation in 2001 doubling royalties that investors have to pay for oil exploration contracts and mandating a majority stake by the state in any joint ventures with foreign investors.

"Before the referendum took place, and perhaps in anticipation of the result, U.S. oil giants ExxonMobil and ChevronTexaco signed agreements pledging to invest billions of dollars in two new projects in Venezuela," said an article in the August 22 *Financial Times*.

An article in the August 9 issue of the London daily had quoted Fareed Mohamedi, chief economist of the Washington-based PFC Energy, saying, "The companies are a lot more sanguine about the political situation and they have become convinced that Mr. Chávez is a man they can do business with."

The August 22 *Financial Times* article, though, cautioned against overoptimism. "At the same time," it said, "two multinationals took out insurance against expropriation of their assets, according to a diplomat in Caracas." It quoted Miguel Díaz, South America analyst at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C., saying, "Given the relations between the U.S. and Venezuela, the oil companies, especially the Americans, really are on their own when it comes to their investments in Venezuela."

Class contradictions

For his part, Chávez tried to reassure the capitalist class that it faces no new danger to its property rights and its hold on Venezuela's economy following the defeat

U.S. troops, Iraqi military intensify assault in Najaf

Continued from front page

Iyad Allawi government in Baghdad that is largely a tool of American strategic interests. According to press accounts, al-Sadr has likely fled Najaf and about 300 of the estimated 1,000 members of his militia remain in the city.

They are surrounded by U.S. troops, armor, and airpower.

After suffering substantial losses, al-Sadr's forces have been largely confined to the grounds of the Imam Ali mosque. Al-Sadr counted on the reluctance of the U.S. occupiers and the Iraqi military to launch an assault on the scale that would be needed to dislodge him and his supporters from the Muslim shrine, because of the religious significance of the mosque.

However, Allawi, prime minister of the interim Iraqi government, took advantage of the meeting of a national conference to elect an interim national council and issued a final warning to al-Sadr to vacate Najaf and dissolve his militia. Allawi was also successful in getting the conference itself, with participants from most of the political groups in Iraq, to call on al-Sadr to end his insurgency.

That conference took another step in consolidating a pro-U.S. regime in Iraq. It selected 81 members of a national council that will have limited legislative authority until elections are held next year. Another 19 members of the council will be selected from former members of the U.S.-appointed Iraqi Governing Council, which was dissolved shortly after the U.S.-run occupation regime transferred the government to an Iraqi cabinet headed by Allawi on June 28.

Efforts by opponents of the interim government to boycott the meeting collapsed as the contending political groups jockeyed to gain a more favorable position.

In an earlier sign of his growing iso-



AP/Leslie Mazoch

Fernando Jesús Toro, 9, has his tonsils checked July 29 by Cuban doctor Magalys Navarro Rui in a clinic in the La Vega neighborhood in Caracas, Venezuela.

of the August 15 referendum.

During his weekly "Hello President" television and radio show on August 22, the president said he would pursue his "revolution for the poor," and pledged to accelerate land distribution and government credits to peasants and other exploited producers. He also said he no longer recognizes the *Coordinadora Democrática* opposition coalition because of its insistence that electoral fraud took place and its refusal to accept the referendum results. The result of this vote allows the president to serve his full term until 2006, when he will be eligible to run again. "I don't recognize the *Coordinadora* as the political opposition," he said. "There is no dialogue with this *Coordinadora*."

The Venezuelan government has so far rejected calls by the pro-imperialist opposition to postpone state and local elections scheduled for September 26, after *Coordinadora Democrática* threatened to boycott them unless its demands are met for further investigation into its claims of fraud in the recent referendum.

At the same time, Chávez said, the government is keeping the door open to work with any of his opponents who recognize the voters' will as expressed August 15.

"What we want is national unity," Chávez said in his August 22 address. "This revolution should not frighten anybody.... All this stuff about Chávez and his hordes coming to sweep away the rich is a lie. We have no plan

to hurt you. All your rights are guaranteed, you who have large properties or luxury farms or cars."

Partly as a result of the course expressed in Chávez's remarks, and because of the recent improvements in the economy, a minority of Venezuela's capitalists and landlords and substantial middle-class layers backed the vote "no" campaign and don't see an immediate threat to their class prerogatives under this government.

Many working people in the cities and countryside, however, 70 percent of whom live under the official poverty level, see it differently. Some say there is no way to defend themselves and make progress in substantially improving working and living conditions for the vast majority without taking on the ongoing rule of the industrialists, bankers, and large landowners.

"Among the biggest challenges we face now, even more clearly, are the rich in the government and the wealthy who present themselves as 'pro-Chávez,'" Napoleón Tortolero, a peasant in the Los Cañizos farm cooperative in the northwestern state of Yaracuy, who has taken part in struggles for land over decades, told the *Militant*. "These people use their positions to block implementation of agrarian reform, even its modest parts. More than 80 peasant leaders have died the last two years fighting for land. We intend to intensify the struggle after August 15."

lation, al-Sadr had reversed on June 12 his opposition to the U.S.-picked interim regime, called on his followers to lay down their arms, and promised to convert his militia into a political movement. The change of stance took place after Ayatollah al-Sistani, Iraq's leading Shia cleric, gave his stamp of approval to the interim government.

The latest armed revolt by al-Sadr's forces reflects dissatisfaction by him and his followers over their ability to influence the interim regime.

On August 17, U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld told PBS television news host Jim Lehrer that the Iraqi government will eventually have to deal with al-Sadr. "At some point," Rumsfeld said, the situation involving al-Sadr, "will have to change."

In an attempt to avoid appearing to give in to the demands of the interim government al-Sadr sought to negotiate turning over the keys to the Imam Ali shrine to al-Sistani. But the Shia cleric refused the offer, saying that al-Sadr's forces must first leave the mosque. "We cannot receive the shrine compound unless they agree to this formula," said an aide to al-Sistani, according to the Associated Press.

U.S. military forces also stepped up their attacks against al-Sadr's supporters in Sadr City, named after al-Sadr's father, who was killed along with two of his brothers allegedly by members of the Iraqi secret police on orders of the Saddam Hussein regime. U.S. military officials told Al Jazeera TV that 50 militiamen loyal to al-Sadr had been killed as dozens of tanks and Bradley fighting vehicles pushed deep into the working-class district of Baghdad.

U.S. warplanes also carried out bombing strikes in Fallujah, central Iraq, killing five Iraqis and wounding six others. U.S. forces routinely bomb targets in the city they claim are "safehouses or strongholds"

for insurgents. Fallujah, the center of a Suni Muslim insurgency in April, was one of the cities where the deposed Hussein regime had a strong base.

The occupation forces and the Allawi government have made it clear they will not allow any pockets of dual power to develop through armed revolts, whether in Fallujah, Najaf, or other cities.

In another development, a U.S. Army investigation into the abuse of Iraqi prisoners at the Abu Ghraib prison near Baghdad will widen the scope of culpability from seven Military Police soldiers who have already been charged with abuse to include nearly 20 low-ranking soldiers, according to the *Washington Post*.

Seven members of the 372nd Military Police company that operated the prison have been charged with various offenses. No Army officers have faced charges to date.

In the medical journal *Lancet*, Steven Miles of the Center for Bioethics at the University of Minnesota wrote that the findings of the investigations along with a review of the translated testimony of detainees indicates that medical personnel at the prison may have played a role in aiding the abuse of prisoners by overlooking injuries obviously inflicted as a result of torture and routinely attributing cause of death on certificates to "natural causes."

Miles noted that a psychiatrist helped design, approve, and monitor "interrogations" at the prison. In one instance, the journal reports, a doctor permitted an untrained guard to stitch a cut on a prisoner's face.

An estimated 2,200 detainees are being held at Abu Ghraib now, down from the 7,000 held earlier this year when the prison became the focus of worldwide outrage at revelations of abuse of Iraqi detainees by U.S. military guards.

This conduct mirrored widespread practices throughout the U.S. prison system.

Miners speak in Seattle

Continued from front page

ers, for miners in western coal, and for the UMWA,” Estrada said. “The future of the UMWA is at stake. With your support we won our jobs back. This put us in the best position to win union recognition. We are now in the middle of a war with the Kingstons, the Co-Op owners, to win UMWA representation.”

Estrada said this was the first speaking trip the Co-Op miners have made since returning to work July 12.

During the strike, several Co-Op miners had addressed nine locals of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) in Washington and Oregon June 8–10. Unionists contributed more than \$15,000 to the strike at the time.

ILWU delegates to the KCLC had moved to invite the miners to return to address a broader group of unionists. González and Estrada spoke at a special order of business on the agenda of the August 18 meeting. Before they spoke, members of Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 1199NW reported on their strike preparations in a contract dispute with Group Health.

González and Estrada were two of the 75 miners the bosses fired Sept. 22, 2003, for their efforts to bring the UMWA into the mine. The miners said they were being paid between \$5.15 and \$7 an hour, while wages for underground coal miners nationwide average above \$17 per hour. Since getting back on the job—after the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ruled they had been fired illegally, and the company made an unconditional offer to return—the miners said they have been locked in a trench war with the bosses in their effort to win a majority for the UMWA.

Estrada described the fight inside the mine to win over the production workers who did not take part in the strike. “Since returning to work we have been working 12 hour shifts,” he said. “At first the bosses caught us off guard. But now we have been able to back them off. We got organized so we don’t confront the bosses one-on-one, but collectively as a crew.”

The mine owners operate a company “union,” the so-called International Association of United Workers Union (IAUWU), which has started having meetings to counter the UMWA organizing effort. The three officers of this phony union, the miners said, are supervisors in the mine. Estrada described how UMWA supporters went to an August 6 IAUWU meeting and exposed the character of the outfit as a boss setup (see “Utah miners in trench war with bosses to win UMWA representation” in the August 31 *Militant*).

“Because we could expose this company ‘union’ in the meeting, workers who crossed the picket line are looking up to us and see that we have strength,” Estrada told the KCLC delegates. “Solidarity is extremely important. Any day the NLRB will decide when the union recognition vote will be held and whether the Kingston family members can vote.”

The NLRB mandated the holding of a union election after the strikers signed a petition for representation by the UMWA. The labor board then held a hearing July 20–21 in Price, Utah, to determine who will be eligible to vote in the election. The mine owners claimed that 100 people they describe as seasonal and part time workers, most of whom are Kingston family members or relatives, are legitimate employees and should be part of the list of those who vote. At the hearing, the union presented evidence that most of these people are children or grandchildren of supervisors, or of the company owners, who were not working there prior to the strike. UMWA lawyers argued that these Kingston family members “have a conflict of loyalty” and should not be allowed to vote. Attorneys from both sides submitted their briefs to the NLRB by August 4. UMWA officials said they expect a ruling by the labor board within weeks of that date.

“It is important to let the NLRB know that you are watching,” Estrada said. “With your support we are going to win this election and then get a contract. This will reinvigorate the efforts to unionize coal miners in the West. More miners are talking union now.”

Estrada thanked the unionists for their crucial solidarity and asked for their continued support. He ended by inviting all present to join a delegation to Huntington for the upcoming one-year anniversary of the strike, promising to send more information on the event as soon as the miners work out the details. The event has been set for September 25.

Nancy Young, KCLC president, chaired the meeting and called for the hat to be passed for contributions. “We don’t just want money from your pockets, we want donations from your locals,” she said.

Ligia Velázquez, president of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, came forward to present a check of \$102.

James Weddington, from ILWU Local 23 in Tacoma, said he had the honor of visiting the miners in Huntington June 18–19 to get



Militant/Scott Breen

Co-Op miners from Huntington, Utah, at August 18 meeting of the King County Labor Council in Seattle. Standing left to right are: miners Bill Estrada and Timoteo González, and translator Rebecca Saldana of SEIU Local 6 at the podium; seated to the left of the podium is KCLC president Nancy Young.

a first-hand feel for their fight. He described the conditions he saw, and explained why it was important to support these miners. “If they win, we win,” he said, encouraging all to dig deep.

The Co-Op miners got unexpected support at the next point on the agenda. Kirk Patrick, an International Association of Machinists member from Alabama, was speaking on Disaster Relief. He started his remarks by saying people should support the miners. He reported that the Birmingham Central Labor Council heard a report on the miners’ fight, passed a resolution supporting the Co-Op miners, and sent a contribution. Addressing González and Estrada, Patrick said, “Thank you for your courage and solidarity, thank you for what you are doing.”

Steve Williamson, KCLC executive secretary, started his report to the body by pointing to the UMWA solidarity shirt he

was wearing. “I visited the UMWA miners when they set up Camp Solidarity during the Pittston coal strike in 1990,” he said. “I supported their fight then and we have to support it now. The KCLC will send out to all local union affiliates information on where your local can send a letter to the NLRB and a contribution to the UMWA. But you will have to do the work to make sure your union locals follow through all the way,” he told the delegates.

Those present contributed more than \$1,000 for the miners’ organizing struggle. Four unionists signed up to join the Seattle delegation to the September anniversary of the Co-Op strike.

For more information on this struggle, to send a message of solidarity, or to make a donation, write to UMWA District 22, at 525 East 100 South, Price, UT 84501. Earmark checks to the “Co-Op Miners Fund.”

Immigrants in N.Y. to lose driver’s licenses

BY RYAN SCOTT AND ARRIN HAWKINS

NEW YORK—Unionists and other defenders of immigrant rights turned out August 19 for a protest at City Hall here. Demonstrators denounced moves by the New York State Assembly’s Transportation Committee to restrict immigrant workers’ right to hold a driver’s license.

Since the beginning of the year the New York Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV) has sent out hundreds of thousands letters threatening to suspend the licenses of drivers whose Social Security numbers do not match federal records. If fully implemented, as many as 250,000 working people in New York could lose their licenses.

About 600 licenses have been confiscated so far from those who went to the DMV in

person to respond to the letter, the *New York Times* reported. State officials told the *Times* that in November the DMV would begin suspending licenses at a rate of 4,000 a day of those who had not responded.

Several groups organized the rally of 75 protesters at City Hall, including the New York Immigration Coalition (NYIC), the New York Civic Participation Project, and the Young Korean American Service Education Center (YKASEC). SEIU local 32BJ, a union representing 70,000 building service workers in the region, has come out against these measures. Several participants came wearing the local’s caps and T-shirts. They were joined by a group of union construction workers.

“This is an attack against hardworking immigrants,” said Jubum-Cha, of the

YKASEC. “We are here to talk about the difficulties this causes immigrants. They should stop this policy—the DMV is not the INS.”

At the August 19 hearing at City Hall, Department of Motor Vehicles Commissioner Raymond Martinez waved the banner of the “war on terrorism” to justify the state’s moves. “These license documents, issued in states where requirements were less stringent than those here in New York State, allowed the hijackers to board airplanes and execute their acts of terrorism against our nation,” he said, stating that 18 of the 19 men accused of hijacking the planes that crashed into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on Sept. 11, 2001, held valid driver’s licenses.

Margie McHugh, executive director of NYIC, spoke at the hearing, arguing that the requirements were “an inefficient way to enforce immigration laws” and did not help in the fight against “terrorism,” said *El Diario la Prensa*. “Restrictions on licenses results in less information in the possession of the government...less information about who is in our state,” McHugh said.

Prior to 1995, New York drivers did not have to submit a Social Security number to obtain a license. This requirement and other steps pushed for by both the Democratic and Republican parties go hand-in-hand with the effort, carried out in the name of “homeland security,” to make the driver’s license into a more uniform identification card and strengthen the centralization of federal, state, and local police agencies.

“Not only do these moves seek to criminalize workers who are foreign-born,” Arrin Hawkins, SWP candidate for vice president, told reporters at the rally. “These requirements move in the direction of establishing a national identification card. Our campaign opposes this attack on the right to privacy of all workers in this country. We demand an end to ‘no-match letters,’ Social Security number requirements, and other moves by the ruling class to curtail workers’ rights.”

In California, a number of protests have been held against similar government measures affecting millions of workers in that state.

FBI provocateurs conduct disruption operations

BY DOUG NELSON

Dozens of people around the United States have recently been the target of unannounced visits and interrogations by provocateurs from the FBI and local police who are working together in the so-called Joint Terrorism Task Force.

These cops have been harassing individuals, and their friends and family, about their plans to take part in protests around the Republican national convention, scheduled for August 30–September 2 in New York, where tens of thousands are expected to take part in demonstrations.

This operation and others, which include infiltration of an array of groups, are intended to produce a chilling effect on political activity and to disrupt trade unions, Black rights organizations, and others. They are consistent with a long record of such provocations by the political police (see article on page 9).

Mark Silverstein, legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Foundation of Colorado, said activists around the country are being asked a similar series of questions on what they know about the plans of demonstrators. These include:

“Are you planning to commit any crimes? Do you know anyone who plans to commit any crimes? Do you know that withholding such knowledge from us is a crime?”

Sarah Bardwell, a 21-year-old intern at the Denver American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker group that opposes the Anglo-American occupation of Iraq, said agents appeared at her house and questioned her and her four roommates, according to media reports. “The message I took from it, was that they were trying to intimidate us into not going to any protests and let us know that, ‘hey, we’re watching you,’” Bardwell said.

Bardwell said the agents who showed up at her house acted provocatively. “We said, ‘You should leave our porch’ and they said, ‘We’ll leave your porch when we want to,’” she told the *Post*.

Last year, the city of Denver was forced to settle a lawsuit agreeing to restrictions on spying activity by local cops when it was disclosed that the police there were keeping files on 3,000 people and 200 organizations involved in protests without “reasonable suspicion” of illegal activity.

“Intelligence gathering” such as this, ac-

quired largely through infiltrating organizations, is used for frame-ups, provocations and disruptions.

Civil right activists in Chicago protested earlier this year when they learned that in 2002, undercover cops in that city infiltrated five protest groups, including the American Friends Service Committee and Not in Our Name. The groups were planning to protest the Trans-Atlantic Business Dialog, an international meeting of business leaders that took place in Chicago that year.

Chicago police launched four other similar operations in 2003 reported the *Chicago Sun Times* February 19. Such operations are increasingly common in cities across the country.

Federal prosecutors subpoenaed Drake University for records on the sponsor of a campus antiwar forum last February. The demand was dropped after an outcry from local residents, university employees, and students.

About a dozen people in Kansas and Missouri were harassed by the FBI before the Democratic convention in Boston last month. One of them, Nate Hoffman, 21, an

Continued on page 11

N.Y.: Socialists kick off 12 days of campaigning

BY PAUL PEDERSON

NEW YORK—"Hey, Róger Calero is running for president!" a unionist at an August 19 demonstration outside City Hall told Socialist Workers campaign volunteer Ryan Scott when he met a team of socialist campaigners. The rally protested the New York state government's moves to restrict immigrants' right to obtain a driver's license (see article on page 4).

"I heard about Calero's fight against deportation last year through my union," said the member of Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 32BJ, the building maintenance workers union. "That's a good idea. We need more workers running for president." He encouraged other unionists who were with him to pick up a copy of the Spanish-language socialist magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Socialists who have fanned out across New York City since August 21 to campaign for the Socialist Workers Party ticket of Calero and running mate Arrin Hawkins are finding similar receptivity among many working people and youth. SWP members and supporters, Young Socialists, and others from around the country have joined campaigners from New York and New Jersey for an all-out effort to reach the thousands taking part in the protests leading up to and through the Republican National Convention.

"Our aim is to get as many books, pamphlets, subscriptions, and campaign leaflets as possible into the hands of those we meet on the streets of New York in these next 12 days," Calero told the more than 40 volunteers assembled August 21 at the campaign center in Manhattan's Garment District. "This is part of redeeming the effort we put in to collecting 30,000 signatures to put our party on the ballot. Now we are out on the streets of New York, campaigning for the working-class alternative."

"I'm here for the duration," said Jenny Johnson-Blanchard, a member of the Young Socialists who is planning to stay through the entire 12 days of campaigning. Johnson-Blanchard, 19, a student at the University of Minnesota, had joined in the petitioning effort over previous weeks to get the SWP ticket on the ballot in Minnesota, Nebraska, and Wisconsin.

"I've learned so much doing this, getting out and learning from other people's experiences," she said. "Campaigning on the streets and explaining what our party stands for makes me examine things more closely."

Ten-week sub drive, book sales effort

To complement the effort, partisans of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* have launched a subscription drive that begins August 28, on the weekend of the largest demonstrations in New York, and extends to November 7, a week beyond Election Day. They have set a goal of selling more than 3,000 subscriptions to the *Militant* and its sister publication in Spanish, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The socialist campaigners are making full use of Pathfinder's Supersaver Sale that offers steep discounts on an array of books and pamphlets (see ad on page 6). The questions posed in this year's elections in the United States and the answers that socialists and other currents in the workers movement give to them are not new. They have been tested in the class struggle for more than 150 years. These books and pamphlets give working-class explanations to the main problems facing humanity and point a way forward to resolve them in the interests of working people.

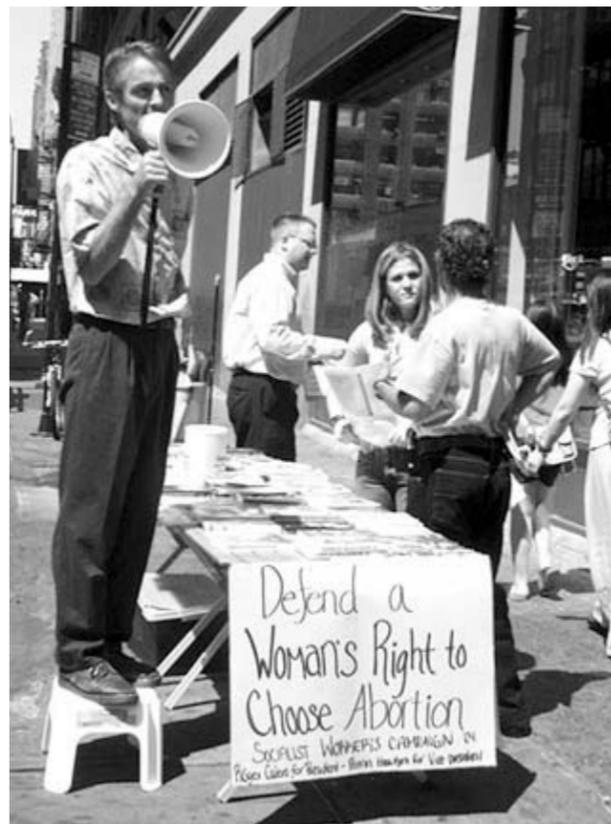
As teams of volunteers return to the SWP campaign headquarters each day, a wrap-up meeting open to all interested in the campaign is held. These public

meetings provide an opportunity to discuss the political questions posed in discussions on the streets, at plant gates, and protest actions. In particular, volunteers are honing their skills at popularizing and explaining the party's campaign platform and the political realities from which it flows.

One of the questions discussed at these meetings is the SWP campaign's support for workers right and pressing need to organize unions and defense of the labor movement from the bosses' assaults. "It's from this that flows our call for the formation of a labor party, based on the unions, that defends the interests of workers and farmers," Calero said.

"How do we clearly explain and present in signs the demand in the SWP platform, 'Support the efforts of power-poor semicolonial nations to acquire and develop the energy sources necessary to expand electrification'?" asked Sonja Swanson, a campaign volunteer from Miami. Swanson reported that her team had tried to use a sign with a shorthand version of this. "I found that the sign wasn't to the point, and so it wasn't effective," she said. "It said 'Expand electrification throughout the world. Two billion people in darkness.' Two people came up to me and asked if we were from the electric company."

"This is not a technical question, but a political one," said Martín Koppel, SWP candidate for Senate from New York, at the next meeting of the volunteers to help initiate discussion on the question Swanson raised. "It has to do with championing the struggles of oppressed nations against imperialism and forging an alliance between workers and farmers the world over. Our signs have to capture that so it doesn't look like an ad for Con Edison, or a crank scheme about electrification."



Militant/Iлона Girsch
Karl Butts, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in Tampa, Florida, soapboxing August 23 in N.Y. Garment District.

"This demand is not an abstraction, it relates to politics today," Koppel continued. "Under the banner of 'opposing nuclear proliferation,' Washington and its allies are trying to block semicolonial nations from developing the energy sources required to meet basic economic and social necessities."

"For millions of people in the world, productive and cultural activity ends with sunset. The communist movement champions the efforts of oppressed nations to develop their economic infrastructure and raise their living conditions in the face of actions by Washington and other imperialist powers against them."

Volunteers have come in to take part in the campaigning from other countries as well. As part of the 12-day effort, volunteers are setting daily goals on subscriptions and book sales. In the first four days, they sold 146 books, 20 subscriptions to the *Militant* and 4 to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Fall Subscription Drive August 28 – November 7, 2004 Initial chart with goals

Country	Militant Goal	PM Goal
AUSTRALIA	55	8
CANADA		
Montreal	32	12
Toronto	85	18
CANADA total	117	30
ICELAND	25	2
NEW ZEALAND		
Auckland	45	1
Christchurch	35	1
N.Z. total	80	2
SWEDEN	30	5
UNITED KINGDOM		
Edinburgh	25	2
London	50	12
UK total	75	14
UNITED STATES		
Atlanta	80	20
Birmingham	35	8
Boston	100	40
Chicago	100	40
Cleveland	40	10
Craig, CO	50	20
Des Moines	65	25
Detroit	50	10
Houston	75	20
Los Angeles	150	50
Miami	100	50
NE Pennsylvania	55	15
New York	250	70
Newark	125	25
Omaha	55	45
Philadelphia	95	10
Pittsburgh	65	4
Price, UT	50	20
San Francisco	125	35
Seattle	50	10
Tampa	40	10
Twin Cities	105	40
Washington	115	21
U.S. total	1,975	598
Int'l totals	2,375	657
International goals	2,500	550
IN THE UNIONS		
	Militant Goal	PM Goal
AUSTRALIA		
AMIEU	8	
CANADA		
UNITE HERE	2	1
UFCW	6	3
Total	8	4
NEW ZEALAND		
NDU	2	
MWU	2	
Total	4	
SWEDEN		
Livs	2	1
UNITED STATES		
UFCW	135	150
UMWA	30	15
UNITE HERE	45	35
Total	210	200

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

Antonio Camacho, fighter for Puerto Rican independence, released from U.S. jail

BY OLGA RODRÍGUEZ

NEW YORK—Prison authorities at the Allenwood federal prison in Pennsylvania released Antonio Camacho Negrón August 17. But the Puerto Rican independence fighter may soon face incarceration again under new sentences.

More than 50 people had gathered here August 15 at the San Romero Church in Washington Heights to welcome Camacho on his way back to Puerto Rico. The meeting turned into a lively protest of prison officials' refusal to release him two days earlier, as originally scheduled.

Camacho is one of four Puerto Rican freedom fighters remaining in U.S. jails for years-long sentences stemming from their activities for Puerto Rican independence. Still imprisoned are Haydée Beltrán, Carlos Alberto Torres, and Oscar López Rivera. Camacho had served his full 15-year sentence and was to be released with no parole conditions, but when his family showed up at the prison for him, they were told that he was not being released that day. When they pressed for more information, they were dismissed without further explanation as to why Camacho was being held past the completion of his sentence. Prison authorities continued to hold Camacho for nonpayment of the fine levied at the time of his sentencing. At an August 16 hearing it was determined that Camacho was unable to pay the fine, clearing the way for his release.

The 'Hartford 15'

Camacho was one of 15 Puerto Rican activists convicted on frame-up charges in connection with the 1982 robbery of

\$7 million from Wells Fargo in Hartford, Connecticut. Most of the Hartford 15, as the framed up independentistas came to be known, were arrested during massive FBI sweeps in Puerto Rico in August 1985. Camacho was arrested in March 1986, and sentenced to 15 years for his alleged role in the robbery.

Camacho has been released on parole twice before, only to be rearrested. In 1998 he was put back in prison for allegedly violating the draconian conditions of his parole, which included reporting every 72 hours to U.S. authorities in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and not associating with other independence fighters who had served time in prison. In 2002, he was rearrested after a year out on parole, again for allegedly violating his parole conditions. He had publicly announced at the time that he would not abide by the rules set by U.S. authorities because he did not recognize their right to set such conditions.

At the August 15 meeting in New York, Esperanza Martel, a leader of the pro-independence group ProLibertad, said that Camacho wasn't present "because Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States and he is a freedom fighter." She added that because of the colonial reality, Puerto Rican pro-independence fighters in prison are treated as "terrorists."

Benjamin Ramos and Frank Velgara, of ProLibertad one of the groups that have organized the campaign in the United States to free all imprisoned Puerto Rican freedom fighters, also addressed the meeting. Father Luis Barrios, pastor of the San Romero Church, urged those gathered to

continue to press for Camacho's release, and that of other Puerto Rican activists behind bars.

ProLibertad issued a press statement August 19 announcing that following his release Camacho was informed that he now has to serve two more jail sentences: one for 180 days and the other for 90 days. No explanation for the added time was given. He was told that he had to report by 9 a.m. the next day to the federal prison at Guaynabo in Puerto Rico. ProLibertad has called for protests against this injustice, which is aimed at perpetuating Camacho's time behind bars.

Vieques prisoners

ProLibertad has also called for letters to protest the treatment of José Pérez González by the authorities at the Elmore County jail in Wetumpka, Alabama. Pérez González, one of five Puerto Ricans jailed on charges stemming from activities to force the U.S. Navy out of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques, was moved to this contract jail for the U.S. Bureau of Prisons. Pérez González was placed in solitary confinement for 23 hours out of the day for two weeks, with no explanation for this punishment. He has since been moved in with the general prison population.

ProLibertad is asking that letters demanding an explanation for his transfer to Wetumpka, and that he be moved to a minimum security prison, be sent to: R.E. Holt, Director, Southeast Regional Office, Federal Bureau of Prisons, 3800 Camp Creek Parkway, S.W., Building 2000, Atlanta, GA 30331-6226.

SWP campaign answers red-baiting smear

Jackson, Mississippi, newspaper calls socialists 'wolves in sheep's clothing'

Printed below is a letter that Norton Sandler, national director of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) campaign, sent August 9 to Charles Tisdale, editor of the *Jackson Advocate*. Sandler sent the letter in response to a front-page article the *Advocate* had published in its August 5–11 issue. The author of the article, Barbara Harris, used red-baiting smears to discredit the Socialist Workers campaign. The *Advocate*, a weekly newspaper published in Jackson, Mississippi, ran the article under the title "Vulnerable Voters Deceived by Socialist Workers Candidate." It is printed on the facing page, after Sandler's letter. As of August 22, the *Advocate* editors had not published Sandler's response.

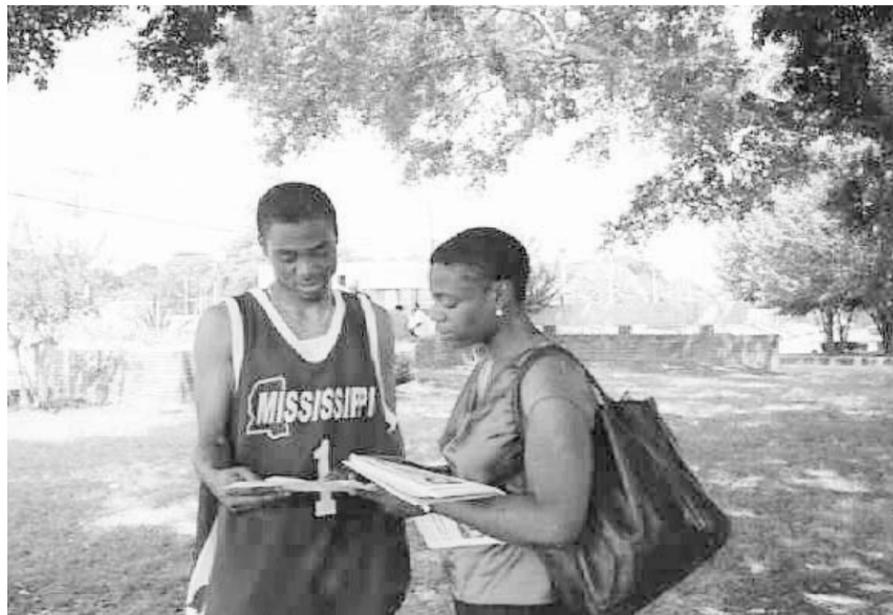
BY NORTON SANDLER

Dear Mr. Tisdale,

We are writing in response to the slanderous and highly misleading article "Vulnerable voters deceived by socialist workers candidate," by Barbara Harris, that appeared on page 1 of the August 5–11 *Advocate*.

Instead of contacting unnamed sources and the FBI, Ms. Harris could have easily found answers to her questions about Róger Calero and Arrin Hawkins, the Socialist Workers 2004 presidential ticket, by reading the candidates' biographies which were sent by fax to the *Jackson Advocate* and e-mailed to Ms. Harris, or by contacting their national campaign office located in Miami.

As the biographies explain, "Róger Calero, 35, is an associate editor of the Spanish-language magazine *Perspectiva Mundial* and a staff writer for the *Militant*."



Militant/Jeanne FitzMaurice
SWP vice-presidential candidate Arrin Hawkins, 29, collects signatures at Jackson State University August 2 to get the socialist ticket on the Mississippi ballot.

"Arrin Hawkins, 28, is a garment worker in New York. She was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Lt. Governor of New York in 2002."

In addition to being sent to the *Jackson Advocate*, thousands of copies of the biographies, along with clear statements on what the socialist candidates stand and fight for, were distributed to Mississippians by campaign volunteers who petitioned in Jackson as well as in Meridian, Natchez, Pascagoula, and Tchula. Far from deceiving anyone, the 2004 Socialist Workers

Campaign wants everyone to know what our campaign represents.

As Ms. Harris herself explains, we "support raising the minimum wage to union scale, a very popular issue with the working class and those entering the workforce." Is this something we should try to hide? Especially when no other candidates are raising this demand?

Other demands that we stand and fight for include:

- Support workers' right to organize unions and defend themselves against

the bosses' assaults. For the formation of an independent labor party based on the trade unions that fights in the interests of working people.

- Support the right of semicolonial countries to electrification, including use of nuclear power.
- For a massive federally funded public works program to put millions to work at union scale.
- Stop farm foreclosures!
- Defend and extend affirmative action in employment, education, and housing.
- All U.S. and other imperialist troops out of Iraq, Afghanistan, Yugoslavia, Korea, Haiti, Colombia, and Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, now!
- Fight cop brutality, abolish the death penalty.

We take issue with Ms. Harris' expressed opinion that there is something wrong with demands that speak to the interests of the working class. Our campaign's message is "It's not *who* you're against, it's *what* you are for! Vote Socialist Workers in 2004." Our candidates got an excellent response in Mississippi not by deceiving anyone, but by explaining what we stand for.

There is a name for the type of article Ms. Harris' wrote: red-baiting. This type of smear is used against civil rights advocates, democrats, dissidents, and freethinkers of all varieties, as well as socialists and communists. By making all kinds of insinuations and hints at devious methods on the part of the Socialist Workers Party, she hopes to keep readers from objectively considering the ideas and proposals the socialists are raising.

In compliance with Mississippi law, the 2004 Socialist Workers Campaign filed over 2,100 signatures with the Secretary of State. Our candidates also appeared on the ballot in Mississippi in the 2000 election by collecting 2,400 signatures.

The Socialist Workers Party has run candidates in every presidential election since 1948. Due to undemocratic election laws in virtually every state, which make it difficult and in some cases impossible for small working-class parties to gain ballot status, the Socialist Workers Party petitions to get on the ballot.

The Socialist Workers Party opposes laws that prevent working people from putting forward the candidates that they choose. We oppose laws that take away the voting rights of working people who have served time in this country's enormous prison system. We oppose all laws making it difficult for citizen-soldiers to vote and engage in political activity protected under the constitution. Our response to these undemocratic attacks on our rights is to turn the onerous requirements forced upon us into an opportunity to hit the streets with our campaign program and talk with thousands of working people around the country. This year, we are campaigning to be on the ballot in 14 states and Washington, D.C. This is not a "claim," as Ms. Harris asserts. It is a fact. From New York to Wisconsin to Mississippi, our campaign has gotten a serious response from working people and youth.

Because Róger Calero and Arrin Hawkins—whose ages are printed on the first lines of the campaign literature—are under the constitutional age requirement, there are stand-in candidates who are over 35 years old who will be on the ballot in states where that is required, including Mississippi. The stand-in candidates are James Harris and Margaret Trowe. Mr. Harris was the party's presidential candidate in 1996 and 2000. Ms. Trowe was the SWP vice-presidential candidate in 2000. Harris and Trowe appeared on the Mississippi ballot during the last presidential election and their names were clearly printed on the petitions that more than 2,000 Mississippians signed this year.

For many workers, farmers, and young people, Calero and Hawkins, who are young fighters for workers' rights, are attractive candidates. If the majority of people in the United States elected Calero and Hawkins, the fact that they are too young would be a minor problem to solve. Election laws like all other laws can be changed, including the laws in the U.S. constitution.

Ms. Harris attempts to use the fact that
Continued on next page

Questions posed in the 2004 elections aren't new
Lessons for the struggles of today and tomorrow

PATHFINDER SUPERSAVER SALE

ALL PAMPHLETS \$1 TO \$3; ALL BOOKS \$5 OR \$10

The Lesser Evil?

by Jack Barnes
Why the "tactic" of backing candidates of any capitalist party will neither stop the right-wing nor advance the interests of working people. "Let's stop talking about independent political action and start talking about independent working-class political action."—Jack Barnes, 1965, from one of the three debates collected in this volume.

\$5



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 * ‡

Aspects of Socialist Election Policy \$40 \$3

What Is American Fascism? by James P. Cannon, Joseph Hansen \$8 \$3

Problems of Women's Liberation by Evelyn Reed \$12.95 \$5
In Spanish, *¿Sexo contra sexo o clase contra clase?* \$18.85 \$10

Abortion Is a Woman's Right by Pat Grogan \$14.95 \$5 *

Notebook of an Agitator
by James P. Cannon \$24.95 \$10

The Second Declaration of Havana \$4.50 \$2 * ‡

Teamster Rebellion \$49 \$10 *

We Are the Heirs of the World's Revolutions
by Thomas Sankara \$7 \$3 * ‡

Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay
by Leon Trotsky, with articles by Karl Marx and Farrell Dobbs \$15 \$5

IN THE WORDS OF MALCOLM X

• **By Any Means Necessary** \$15.95 \$5

• **Habla Malcolm X** \$15.95 \$5

• **Malcolm X Talks to Young People** [pamphlet] \$4 \$2

* available in Spanish ‡ available in French

THREE CLASSICS OF SOCIALISM

• **The Communist Manifesto**
by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels \$3.95 \$2 *

• **Socialism: Utopian and Scientific**
by Frederick Engels \$4 \$2

• **Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism**
by V.I. Lenin \$40 \$3 *

NEW INTERNATIONAL:

A MAGAZINE OF MARXIST POLITICS AND THEORY

• **'U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War'** by Jack Barnes—from *New International* No. 11 \$14 \$10 * ‡

• **'Imperialism's March Toward Fascism and War'** by Jack Barnes—from *New International* No. 10 \$14 \$10 * ‡

• **'Washington's 50-year Domestic Contra Operation'** by Larry Seigle—from *New International* No. 6 \$15 \$10 [In Spanish] **50 años de guerra encubierta** (pamphlet) \$7 \$3

• **'The Fight for a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States'** by Jack Barnes
• **'The Crisis Facing Working Farmers'** by Doug Jenness—from *New International* No. 4 \$14 \$10



ORDER ONLINE AT: WWW.PATHFINDERPRESS.COM

Also available in bookstores, including those listed on page 8. Offer good until Nov. 7, 2004.

SWP on N.Y. ballot

Continued from front page

conditions facing working people, as a result of the offensive by the bosses and their government trying to shore up declining profit rates. "The consequences are deteriorating conditions on the job, a faster pace that endangers life and limb, longer hours, a longer workweek, often needing more than one job to survive, and a longer working life," he said. "Millions of working families have no medical coverage or access to medical care."

Calero cited this systemic crisis of capitalism and the resistance to its effects by workers and farmers as the main reasons for the response to the SWP election campaign platform. More than 60,000 people nationwide signed petitions in just over two months to place the socialists on the ballot, he pointed out.

Support right to organize unions

"Our campaign strikes a chord among working people," Calero noted. "At the center of our platform is support for the right of workers to organize unions and to defend themselves from the bosses' assaults." The socialists are using the campaign to help spread the word about organizing and other labor struggles, he said, to help expand labor solidarity so that workers can get allies in their struggle "to organize a union where they don't have one or to strengthen those they do have." Calero said there is a need for "unions to become more effective fighting

instruments for better working and living conditions, not just on the factory floor but on a social level."

Highlighting the Socialist Workers' call for "a massive, federally funded public works program to put millions to work at union scale," Calero said it's important for the labor movement to champion this demand as part of transforming the unions into instruments of struggle to defend working people from the ravages of the capitalist economic crisis. "There are enough resources to put millions to work to build the deteriorating infrastructure," he said.

Working people not only need to defend themselves on the economic level, Calero added. "We need to organize independently of the employers on the political level as well. Socialists call for the launching of a labor party, based on the unions, to fight in the interests of workers and farmers." This flows from supporting workers' right and pressing need to organize unions, and defending the labor movement from the employers' assaults that are backed by the Democrats and Republicans, he pointed out.

On the eve of the Democratic Party convention, Andrew Stern, president of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), stated that in spite of the fact that the SEIU had poured millions of dollars into the Democratic Party campaign of John Kerry, a victory for Kerry would consolidate an even worse Democratic Party for labor. Thus it might be better for Kerry to lose.



Militant/Dan Fien

Socialist Workers presidential candidate Róger Calero (left) files August 17 more than 30,000 signatures on petitions with elections officials in Albany, New York, to place the SWP candidates on November 2 ballot. Among those accompanying Calero is Dorothy Kolis, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in New York's 16th C.D.

That way, Stern said, the Democratic Party could nominate candidates from its more pro-union wings. It would then address the problems that unionized workers and other working people face today.

After a few days of pounding by the other labor tops and the leadership of the Democratic Party, Stern was back in line, saying

"All out for Kerry!"

Everything Stern said, however, was wrong, Calero said.

The cause of the worsening economic and social crisis—from exploitation by the bosses to wars of plunder abroad—is not an individual politician or a particular party

Continued on Page 10

Hundreds in Delaware register socialist to put SWP on ballot

BY JOHN STUDER

WILMINGTON, Delaware—In the effort to put the Socialist Workers presidential ticket on the ballot in Delaware, 509 people throughout the state have registered Socialist Workers Party. Socialist campaigners turned in to election officials the last 145 registration cards on August 21, the last day on which the party could register voters to receive ballot status for the November 2 elections.

Supporters of the socialist campaign redoubled their effort in the final week of the voter registration drive after state elections authorities claimed that only 107 of the first batch of 245 registrants the socialists had turned in were valid. After organizers of the SWP ballot effort challenged the low validity rate, election officials said the rate from the second batch of 108 registrants was better but declined to give a figure.

In order to obtain ballot status, the state requires a party to have 259 voters registered to that party. September 1 is the deadline for the state to make a determination on the ballot request.

Socialist campaigners have had to overcome a host of undemocratic restrictions across the country to seek ballot status in some 14 states. Many state governments require the collection of tens of thousands of signatures on nominating petitions, including distribution requirements for the signatures in many counties, and payment of fees. All are designed to keep working-class parties off the ballot so the two major parties of capitalism—the Democrats and Republicans—can remain unchallenged.

Over the past 12 years, Delaware officials have responded to efforts by the Socialist Workers to get on the ballot by changing the state election laws to make it more difficult for socialists and other working-class candidates to get on the ballot.

After the 1992 elections, state legislators changed the election laws, more than doubling the number of signatures required for candidates to get on the ballot through the signature petition method. The law now requires 5,200 signatures. That's why the socialists decided to seek ballot status by registering at least 259 people into the party.

State officials put up an additional obstacle to ballot access by declaring a March to September "moratorium" on people changing party registration. This meant that campaign supporters had to sign up 259 people who were not registered at all to put Calero and Hawkins on the ballot.

In preparing for the effort, campaign supporters met with election officials, and were informed that they had a leg up—11 people

were already registered Socialist Workers.

On August 7, the first weekend of the socialist voter registration effort, campaigners spread out from Newark, a campus town where the University of Delaware is located, to Wilmington and surrounding areas. Their explanation of the need for a working-class alternative to the capitalist parties received a good response.

"I really like the platform of your party," one young woman said, as she registered SWP after reading what the party stands and fights for outside the Valu Giant store at 4th and Adams in Wilmington. "Especially the demand for a shorter work week to spread jobs around to all who need them, and to get the U.S. troops out of Iraq and

around the world."

She took extra copies of the campaign flyer and circulated them to others at the grocery store, urging people to stop and register. By the end of the socialists' effort, 180 patrons of this store, in the center of the city's Black community, registered SWP to put the party's ticket on the ballot.

Campaigners reported that the state of Delaware had put one more obstacle in front of many working people trying to exercise their right to vote—the state ban on letting workers convicted on felony charges to register to vote. Four years ago state law was changed, allowing those with felony convictions to vote after maintaining a "clean" record for five years following the

end of their sentence.

A number of people who responded favorably to the socialist campaign, however, said they continue to be disenfranchised. One woman said she had been pressured to cop a plea to a frame-up charge under the threat of serving jail time if she went to trial, and ended up with a record that has followed her, including preventing her from registering. Several members of another family explained how their father had gotten out of prison 30 years ago and still wasn't able to vote.

The socialists responded that the SWP is fighting, among other things, for dropping these undemocratic restrictions on the right to vote.

SWP campaign answers red-baiting smear

Continued from Page 6

Róger Calero is an immigrant to criminalize him. She states that the "Immigration and Naturalization Service failed in their attempt to deport Calero after his felony conviction." But this is not accurate.

Calero and all those who supported him scored an outstanding victory, not only for immigrants but for all working people, when the U.S. government moved to end its deportation proceedings against him last year. We have proudly used his victory as a weapon so that others can press for their rights, in this country and around the world. The federal government dropped its case against him because of the widespread support he won for his fight, from unionists, immigrant rights activists, and others. He fought back, proudly and publicly. He refused to be intimidated and that is why the government backed down. In the words of the INS, the "circumstances of the case had changed." Indeed.

*Sincerely,
Norton Sandler
SWP National Campaign Director*

The article below was published in the August 5-11, 2004, issue of the weekly newspaper *Jackson Advocate* under the headline "Vulnerable Voters Deceived by Socialist Workers Candidate." It is reprinted by permission.

BY BARBARA HARRIS

Workers, black farmers and young adults, beware of wolves in sheep's clothing!

Monday, the Socialist Workers Party filed the required amount of signatures with the Mississippi Secretary of State's

Office to qualify their candidates to be on the November ballot for President of the United States.

However, the *Advocate's* research has found that neither the presidential candidate Roger Calero nor his vice presidential running mate Arrin Hawkins meet the qualifications to run for the respective offices.

The Socialist Workers Party collected more than 2,100 signatures across the state to meet the 1,000 signature guideline to appear on the ballot. Initially, more than 200 signatures in Hinds County, collected primarily from local college students, were rejected.

However, the Hinds County Election Commission reversed its decision last week and the signatures were allowed.

Calero, whose biography suggests he is only 33-34 years old, was born in Nicaragua and automatically does not meet the U.S. native requirement. In addition, Calero has a 1988 felony conviction for sale of marijuana, another disqualification.

Though she was not willing to make a specific statement, a spokesperson of the Jackson FBI office said Wednesday that this writer's research is most likely correct.

She referred the *Advocate* to a Houston radio station whose news department reported the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization service failed in its attempt to deport Calero after his felony conviction.

A news director at KPFT in Houston told the *Advocate* she remembers the story but did not know many specifics because though she lives in the city, she was not employed at the station at the time.

According to the *Advocate's* research, Calero is not even a naturalized citizen. He is a green card-carrying permanent alien,

journalist for *The Militant* and former meat packer.

On the other hand, Arrin Hawkins, an African American woman, is also apparently constitutionally ineligible to run for the nation's second highest office. Hawkins claims she is 24 years old—far too young to meet the minimum legal age requirement for the office.

The best research—relying on acquaintances' recollections—put Hawkins' age at "somewhere between 28 and 30," still to[o] young to run for vice president.

A presidential or vice presidential candidate is required to be at least 35 years old; be born in the United States or one of its territories or possessions; and live in the U.S. or one of its territories or possessions at least 14 years.

The Mississippi Secretary of State's Office confirmed that they had received the petitions and filing papers, but no decision has yet been made.

"The election board meets in September and we will submit all the information we've gathered to them. The decision will be made from that," SOS spokesperson David Blount said. "Thank you for bringing this information to our attention."

The Socialist Workers Party issued a press release claiming to be on the ballot in 15 states, including Iowa, Utah, Vermont, Colorado, New Jersey and Washington state.

The party's platform claims to support raising the minimum wage to union scale, a very popular issue with the working class and those entering the workforce.

Therefore, college students, including those at Jackson State University, and black farmers across the state are vulnerable voters.

Education is a universal, lifetime activity

Below is an excerpt from the Pathfinder pamphlet *The working class and the transformation of learning—the fraud of education reform under capitalism*. The Spanish-language edition is one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for August. In it, Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes explains that education is part of preparing workers and farmers, "for the greatest of all battles in the years ahead—the battle to throw off the self-image the rulers teach us, and to recognize that we are capable of taking power and organizing society, as we collectively educate ourselves and learn the exploiters in the process." Copyright © 2000 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.



Granma

Volunteer helps Cuban peasants learning to read and write during 1961 literacy drive

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY JACK BARNES

In the United States today, under capitalism, the only future we can count on is one in which education will worsen—in which education will fuel rather than retard social differentiation. There will only be "education" to squelch curiosity and creativity. There will only be "education" as regimentation. There will only be "education" as preparation to rationalize—or simply resent—class polarization.

I am not saying that everybody involved in education intends for this to happen. There are human beings in this society who are not communists and who are not workers but who genuinely, in their own

way, would like to see children and other people have a better education and become more self-confident. I have had some teachers like that, as many of you have. But such individuals are not the norm, and they cannot and will not change the character of education in bourgeois society.

Instead, people are reduced under capitalism to hoping things will be different for your child. *Your child somehow* will get a decent education, *somehow* will get to college, *somehow* will not have the desire to learn beaten out of them. *Your child somehow* will be able to compete with everybody else and have a better life.

That is what the president of the United States did, isn't it? Clinton spent nine months campaigning about the importance of public education—and the whole working class knew what the Clintons were going to do when they had to choose a school for their daughter, Chelsea. We all knew what Clinton was going to do. And that is what he did: he sent her to an exclusive private school in Washington.

Class-conscious workers bore no resentment toward William, Hillary, or Chelsea Clinton because of this decision. Envy of the propertied classes and their spokespersons is not a revolutionary or proletarian trait; it is encouraged not by communists but by fascists. But in watching the Clintons go about

selecting a school for their daughter, thinking workers recognized further confirmation of two fundamental realities of class relations under capitalism. First, there is no connection between the values and public policies sanctimoniously espoused by the ruling layers and the lives they and their families lead. Second, there is no such thing as classless "education" in capitalist society; schools for the working class and schools for the ruling class are qualitatively different things.

If education is not discussed this way, then revolutionaries can never be convincing. If we start where reformers and liberals throughout the capitalist world begin—with *my children, my neighborhood, my schools, my problems*—then we get nowhere. And when the reformers start jabbering about defending *all children*, reach for your wallet and your watch! They are like the so-called right-to-lifers who defend children in the abstract before they are born, but oppose anything to advance a truly human life for most actual children from the moment they're born till the day they die. There is *no universal education* under capitalism; there is no such thing as education "for all." There is only "education" for the working class, and a completely different kind of "education" for the small propertied minority.

If we do not explain education under capitalism as a class question (that is, from the

standpoint of the bourgeoisie, two totally separate and unrelated questions for two different classes); if we do not present working-class schooling as the social destruction of human solidarity, as the organization of a society based on class differentiation, where human beings late in their teens become units of production in the minds of personnel managers and social planners; if we do not point to the fundamental issue of truly universal, lifetime education—if we cannot explain education this way, then we cannot explain it at all.

But understood and explained correctly, there is no more important question for communists. Education as a lifetime experience—I cannot think of a better reason to make a socialist revolution. What better reason to get rid of the capitalist state, to begin transforming humanity, to begin building human solidarity?

This approach to education is what we have to explain to students, to young people, and to others. If they went to school to get a leg up in life, then they did so due to a misunderstanding—unless they are from a class background that already gives them a leg up, and attended a school that teaches them they deserve it. But youth can be convinced of this working-class perspective, especially as they become active in a few political tussles, and if they haven't yet been totally coarsened by this society. Young people want to match deeds and words. They still have vitality—they have not had it ground out of them. They can be attracted politically to the working class and communist politics, but only if we argue with them in this way.

Rightist movements, as I said, always try to play on the disappointments and resentments of youth from the lower middle classes or slightly better-off sections of the working class. That is one of the ways fascist movements are built. "You worked so hard for your education," they say; "Soon you'll be raising your children. And now you're going to have to pay more taxes for their children and their elderly;" And the list of "thems" keeps growing.

I've been convinced for a long time that explaining the communist approach to education is part of preparing the working class for the greatest of all battles in the years ahead—the battle to throw off the self-image the rulers teach us, and to recognize that we are capable of taking power and organizing society, as we collectively educate ourselves and learn the exploiters in the process.

—IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

Where to find distributors of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New International*, and a full display of Pathfinder books.

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA: Birmingham: 3029A Bessemer Road. Zip: 35208. Tel: (205) 780-0021. E-mail: bhmSWP@yahoo.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: swpsf@sbcglobal.net

COLORADO: Craig: 11 West Victory Way, Suite 205. Zip: 81625. Mailing address: P.O. Box 1539. Zip: 81626. Tel: (970) 824-6380. E-mail: swpcraig@yahoo.com

FLORIDA: Miami: 8365 NE 2nd Ave. #206. Zip: 33138. Tel: (305) 756-4436. 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) 768-1709. E-mail: swpatlanta@aol.com

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 3557 S. Archer Ave. Zip: 60609. Tel: (773) 890-1190. 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: bostonswp@cs.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: newyorkswp@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@localnet.com
Philadelphia: 5237 N. 5th St. Zip: 19120. Tel: (215) 324-7020. E-mail: PhiladelphiaSWP@yahoo.com
Pittsburgh: 5907 Penn Ave. Suite 225. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 365-1090. E-mail: pghswp@bigzoo.net

TEXAS: Houston: 4800 W. 34th St. Suite C-51A. Zip: 77092. Tel: (713) 869-6550. E-mail: swphouston@ev1.net

UTAH: Price: 11 W. Main St. Rm. 103. Zip: 84501. Zip: 84501. Tel: (435) 613-1091. 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

CANADA

QUEBEC: Montreal: 6955 Boul St-Michel, Suite 202. Postal code: H2A 2Z3. Tel: (514) 284-7369. E-mail: lc_montreal@sympatico.ca

ONTARIO: Toronto: 2238 Dundas St. West, Suite 201, M6r 3A9 Tel: (416) 535-9140. E-mail: cltoronto@bellnet.ca

FRANCE

Paris: P.O. 175, 23 rue Lecourbe. Postal code: 75015. Tel: (01) 40-10-28-37. E-mail: milpath.paris@laposte.net

ICELAND

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

Stockholm: Bjulvägen 33, kv, S-122 41 Enskede. Tel: (08) 31 69 33. E-mail: kfstockholm@telia.com

UNITED KINGDOM

ENGLAND: London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LF. Tel: 020-7928-7993. E-mail: cllondon@onetel.com

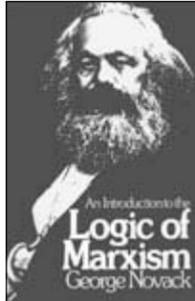
SCOTLAND: Edinburgh: First Floor, 3 Grosvenor St., Haymarket. Postal Code: EH12 5ED. Tel: 0131-226-2756. E-mail: cl.edinburgh@btinternet.com

August BOOKS OF THE MONTH

PATHFINDER READERS CLUB SPECIALS

25%
DISCOUNT

An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism
By George Novack
An explanation of the dialectical materialist approach to understanding the world. \$14.00
Special price: \$10.50



The Crisis of the French Section (1935-36)
By Leon Trotsky
\$22.00 **Special price: \$16.50**

La clase trabajadora y la transformación de la educación
By Jack Barnes
"Until society is reorganized so that education is a human activity from the time we are very young until the time we die, there will be no education worthy of working, creating humanity." Also in English, French. \$3.00 **Special price: \$1.00**



El aborto: derecho fundamental de la mujer
By Pat Grogan and Evelyn Reed
Also in English.
\$4.50 **Special price: \$2.00**

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

ORDER ONLINE AT WWW.PATHFINDERPRESS.COM
OFFER GOOD UNTIL AUGUST 31

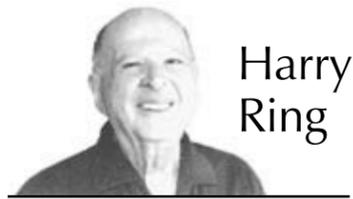
He does have problems—Three Los Angeles cops killed Erick Je-

and called it a “problem shooting.” *Los Angeles Times*.

be too ill to cause harm.”—News item.

said many more likely have the disease but haven’t required medical attention.”—*USA Today*—July 29.

exceeding air pollution standards, not enough to deter them from repeated violations, according to an environmental group’s review.”—*Los Angeles Times*.



Harry Ring

Not so ‘humane’—“Phoenix, Arizona—Medical examiners have found that Taser electric stun guns may have played a role in at least five deaths, contradicting the manufacturer’s claim that they never killed or injured anyone...”—*Arizona Daily Sun*.

A bright future—Halliburton, the big-time builder, held job fairs in 22 cities, and recruited 112 people for jobs in Iraq. The company has a \$4.5 billion Pentagon contract in Iraq for rebuilding projects. Halliburton says those taking the jobs can make \$60,000 to \$110,000 a year, working an 84 hour week. We don’t know if life insurance is available.

Get with the program—Thousands of young people are surgically altering their appearance each year. Teenagers “are having breasts enlarged, noses and ears reshaped and skin peeled and plumped. In 2003, almost 336,000 teens 18 or younger had some kind of cosmetic surgery or procedure, a 50 percent increase over 2002.”—News item.

Don’t squeeze the meat—London supermarkets are pumping 13 percent water into fresh, expensive pork. “Water added” labels are added on the meat packages, but so artfully designed that consumers are not likely to notice. Earlier in the United Kingdom there was a major expose of water-injected chickens.

rome Garcia, 36, at a Greyhound bus station. They said he was behaving erratically. Two fired with guns, and the third with a high voltage Taser gun. The killing was filmed by five Greyhound security cameras. Police Chief William Bratton said there were “a lot of tactical issues”

How compassionate can they get?—“Jackson, Mississippi—The Mississippi Department of Corrections is considering the early release of as many as 20 terminally ill inmates. Those who qualify in the late stages of diseases such as cancer and lung disease and would

Care for the colony—“U.S. territory, Puerto Rico—Some 102 cases of viral meningitis have been reported in Puerto Rico since an outbreak began last week. Officials

Parking tickets—“Oil refineries, power plants and other industrial operations typically pay fines of a few thousand dollars for

Reminder—You can now send e-mail clippings directly to: theatre@sbcglobal.net.

The FBI’s 50-year record of provocation, disruption

Below are excerpts from the article “Washington’s 50-year domestic contra operation.” The article appears in full in issue no. 6 of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory. (See ad on page 7 for Pathfinder Supersaver Sale price.) It addresses a question of vital interests to workers and farmers throughout the world—the fight against attacks on democratic rights and political freedom by the FBI, CIA, and other U.S. government police agencies. Copyright © 1987 by Pathfinder. Reprinted by permission. Subheading is by the *Militant*.

BY LARRY SEIGLE

The FBI was working overtime to counter the growing civil rights fight. The facts about the FBI’s crusade against the Black movement in this period unfortunately remain largely unknown and only sketchily documented publicly. What is known, however, makes it abundantly clear that the FBI’s campaign of slander, frame-up, blackmail, and assassination against Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, the Black Panther Party, and other fighters for Black rights in the 1960s was not an aberration. It was the continuation of a course that began the day that the Roosevelt administration called on the FBI to go after “subversives.”

In fact, from the standpoint of the Justice Department and FBI, the Black population as a whole was, if not subversive, at least suspect. The FBI prepared a secret wartime “Survey of Racial Conditions in the United States” for the benefit of the Roosevelt administration. In this 714-page report, the FBI explored the question—deeply troubling to them—of “why particular Negroes or groups of Negroes or Negro organizations have evidenced sentiments for other ‘dark races’ (mainly Japanese), or by what forces they were influenced to adopt in certain instances un-American ideologies...”

The NAACP in particular, which was growing rapidly in size and activity, was targeted for infiltration by FBI stool pigeons and provocateurs. When fifteen Black sailors assigned as waiters for white officers in Washington, D.C., protested racial discrimination, the navy’s response was to ask the FBI to investigate the protesters. The FBI obliged by opening a full-fledged, nationwide “investigation,” including the massive use of informers, against the NAACP.

“FBI investigation of the NAACP [during the war]... produced massive information in Bureau files about the organization, its members, their legitimate activities to oppose racial discrimination, and internal disputes within some of the chapters,” a U.S. Senate committee concluded in 1975. But these “reports and their summaries contained little if any information about specific activities or planned activities in violation of federal law.”

In mid-1942 Attorney General Francis Biddle summoned several editors of Black weeklies to Justice Department headquarters in Washington, D.C. Biddle arrogantly told the editors that their coverage of clashes between white and Black soldiers at army bases was a disservice to the war effort. Biddle did not challenge the accuracy of the reports but nonetheless insisted that the information should not have been printed. The attorney general, a liberal and staunch Roosevelt supporter, told the



Militant

Cop photographs protesters at demonstration against U.S. policy toward Iraq in Birmingham, Alabama, Feb. 19, 1998.

editors that if they did not change the tone of their papers, he was “going to shut them all up” on charges of sedition....

Biddle’s threats of prosecution for sedition did not come out of the blue. The editors he was threatening knew that leaders of the Teamster union and the Socialist Workers Party had been convicted in Minneapolis in 1941 for violation of the Smith Act, which outlawed advocacy of revolutionary ideas. In addition, sedition indictments had been brought in September 1942 against sixty-three members of the Temple of Islam (the Black Muslims), including its leader Elijah Muhammad. The Muslims were accused of sedition because they refused to accept the racist, anti-Japanese stereotypes that were a major part of U.S. war propaganda and expressed solidarity with the Japanese as a people of color. Although the Justice Department could not make the sedition charge stick, it did succeed in convicting Elijah Muhammad and the other defendants on draft-evasion charges.

The government blocked shipment to troops overseas of Black newspapers that continued to publish condemnations of racism and other “unhelpful” facts and opinions. These papers were also often confiscated on military bases in the United States.

Early in 1943, at Biddle’s urging, the U.S. Post Office began proceedings to suspend the second-class mailing rights of several newspapers with uncompromising stands against race discrimination. These included the *Militant*, whose contributors and editors included members of the Socialist Workers Party. The Postmaster General banned the *Militant* from the mails on the grounds, among others, that its articles included “stimulation of race issues.” All fighters for Black rights were supposed to get the point. The *Militant* won restoration of its mailing rights after a year-long battle that included the mobilization of protests from leaders of Black groups, trade unions, and civil liberties organizations....

F.D.R. unleashes FBI

For several years after the First World War, the FBI had functioned as a politi-

cal police force, carrying out the arrest or deportation of some 3,000 unionists and political activists in 1920 (the infamous “Palmer Raids”). But following widespread protests over these and other FBI actions, and with the decline of the postwar

labor radicalization, the capitalist rulers decided against a federal secret police agency. They relied instead on city and state cops with well-established “bomb squads” and “radical units” and on state national guard units in cases of extreme necessity. These local and state agencies had intimate connections with antilabor “citizens” organizations organized by the employers and with hated private detective agencies, such as the Pinkertons, with long experience in union busting.

By the mid 1930s, however, a vast social movement was on the rise, with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) at the forefront. The relationship of forces was shifting in favor of working-class organizations. The bosses’ old methods could no longer always be counted on. Communist perspectives did not come close to commanding majority support among working people, and in fact remained the views of a small minority, but the bosses were nonetheless concerned that progressive anticapitalist and anti-imperialist political positions advanced by class-struggle-minded union leaders were winning a hearing among a substantial section of the ranks of labor. Especially in times of crisis, such as war, minority points of view defended by established and respected working-class fighters could rapidly gain support.

With this in mind, the administration of President Franklin Roosevelt expanded and centralized federal police power.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



September 7, 1979

The following is a description of how neighborhood committees in Managua [Nicaragua] are organized, as told to ‘Militant’ reporters by a leader of the committee in the Monseñor Lescano neighborhood.

Civil defense committees and people’s action committees were formed before the insurrection, when we saw the need to organize people to prepare them for the eventuality of war.

We needed people who could offer medicine and food, and we needed to instruct people to produce shelters in their homes for protection against the bombing and shelling. We needed committees for civil defense, supplies, and health, and also vigilance committees to detect Somocista groups that might be on the loose.

With the victory of the insurrection, we have initiated the task of organizing ourselves to defend our Sandinista revolution. So the civil defense committees became Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS).

We also have militias in each neighborhood. They are independent of the neighborhood committees, and are tied directly to the army. They handle problems of a military nature, for example, leftovers from the Somocista forces that might be around.

We are on a campaign footing to carry out this revolution in an organized way—block by block, neighborhood by neighborhood, city by city, province by province—until we have an organization that will ensure the triumph of the revolution.



September 6, 1954

DETROIT—In a full front-page attack on the policy of accepting wage cuts to “enhance” each individual company’s “competitive position,” Ford Local 600’s newspaper Ford Facts today declared: “NO WAGE CUTS AT FORD’S—WILL FIGHT FOR INCREASE IN ’55.”

Without directly attacking CIO and United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther, the officers of the country’s largest union local take issue with the course set by Reuther when he approved the pay slash by Studebaker corporation.

“Approximately 20,000 Kaiser, Studebaker and Nash workers are forced by their employers under the threat of losing their jobs, to accept pay cuts—which trend, if followed to its ultimate conclusion, could eventually jeopardize the wage and job security of more than one million Ford, General Motors, Chrysler and other workers,” states Ford Facts.

Only three days before this statement, the danger it warns against was emphasized by what the press described as the “dramatic, unprecedented action” of Chrysler Corp. president L. L. Colbert appearing as the main speaker at a closed session of the UAW’s Chrysler Council.

According to “leaks” to the Detroit Free Press, Colbert threatened the secret session—about which the UAW leaders have kept silent—that it would be “bad” for the Chrysler workers if they did not “get going” and improve the “poor competitive position” of Chrysler corporation.

It's not who you're against; It's what you are for!

Continued from front page

be found there. Kerry has worked hard to portray himself as a "war hero" for fighting in Washington's imperialist military against the Vietnamese people in the 1970s. He insists he will do better than Bush in pursuing the "war on terrorism"—the code word all imperialists use today to tell anyone resisting their domination that the Iraq treatment may be around the corner for them. Kerry was quick to side with Bush's endorsement of Ariel Sharon's "settlement plan" and backs Tel Aviv's murderous policies—aiding the Israeli regime to make the most progress it has achieved in years in keeping the Palestinian people under its boot.

The Democrats' insistence that the wealthy rulers need better domestic intelligence is contributing to the latest disruption operations by provocateurs of the FBI and other police agencies. On other domestic social and economic policies, Kerry is following in the footsteps of his predecessor William Clinton, famous for "ending welfare as we know it."

Kerry also tries to paint himself as a defender of women's rights. But he says he wants abortion to be legal but rare, while it should be a woman's right to choose. Kerry and the Democratic Party leadership also have a record of promoting cuts in federal funding for abortion, beginning shortly after the Supreme Court decriminalized the procedure in 1973, that have severely curtailed access to abortion, especially for working-class women.

Working people lose with either the Democrats or the Republicans—the two main parties of capitalism.

Smaller capitalist parties, like the Greens, or pro-capitalist campaigns like that by the "independent" ticket of Ralph Nader and Peter Camejo, serve as pressure groups on the Democratic Party, reinforcing the shell game of the twin parties of American imperialism.

The Socialist Workers presidential ticket of Róger Calero and Arrin Hawkins and other SWP candidates across the United States are the only ones offering an independent working-class alternative to the Democrats and Republicans and other "third" capitalist parties.

We urge you to support their campaign and vote Socialist Workers in 2004. Vote for the program, not the man or the woman. What counts is not who you are against, but what you are for!

Calero and Hawkins explain that the problem is not individual politicians, like Bush or Kerry, or even their parties. The cause of the worsening economic and social crisis is the capitalist system and the tiny handful of billionaire families that perpetuate their rule at the expense of the vast majority.

Imperialist war is rooted in the same profit-driven system.

Through Washington's deadly lightning assault on Iraq in 2003, and its continuing occupation of that country, the U.S. rulers have dealt blows to competitors in "Old Europe"—particularly France and Ger-

many—who are not accepting the U.S. government's lead rapidly enough. Having consolidated a "New Europe"-based "coalition of the willing," Washington is increasing its blackmail through intensifying military pressures against Iran, north Korea, Syria, and other countries. "You're next!"—that's the brutal message of the imperialist "war on terrorism."

At the same time, the imperialists in the United States, the European Union, and elsewhere are maintaining their decades-long hostility and punitive policies toward the people of Cuba and their socialist revolution. And they are preparing to intervene anywhere in the Americas, especially in Venezuela, where workers and farmers resist attempts by the local propertied classes and their imperialist allies to turn back the clock.

The Socialist Workers candidates call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. and all other imperialist troops not only from Iraq, but Afghanistan, Yugoslavia, Korea, Haiti, Colombia, and Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. They say U.S. hands off Iran and Venezuela!

The SWP candidates also explain that U.S. imperialism is far from all-powerful. Its historic decline has to do with the long-term economic catastrophe capitalism is dragging humanity toward—Washington's Achilles' heel. Resistance by working people in the U.S. and other imperialist countries to the grinding effects of this crisis is the biggest obstacle finance capital faces. Since the end of the 1990s, the long-term retreat of the labor movement bottomed out in most of the imperialist world. This sea change in working-class politics has opened modest but genuine and ongoing opportunities for militant workers to integrate themselves into, and to respond to, resistance by trade unionists and others to the bosses' assaults—from coal mines in the western United States, to meatpacking plants in the Midwest, to garment factories in the South and elsewhere.

At the heart of the Socialist Workers campaign is support for the right of workers to organize unions and to defend ourselves against the bosses' assaults on our jobs, wages, working conditions, and dignity. Working people not only need to defend ourselves on the economic level. We need to organize independently of the employers on the political arena, too. Socialists call for the formation of a labor party, based on the unions, that fights in the interests of workers and farmers.

Socialist candidates also explain that working people are the only social force that can end imperialism and its wars and change the course of humanity. The working class and its allies on the land can do so by following their line of march toward overturning capitalist rule, establishing a government of workers and farmers, and joining the worldwide struggle for socialism—a system based not on maximizing the profits of a few already wealthy families but on human solidarity and meeting the needs of the vast majority.

Join us in campaigning for the working-class alternative in November and beyond! Join us in campaigning for socialism!

Harassment complaint at Smithfield

Continued from page 2

employees who supported the union and that the company told me it was either my job or theirs. I'm here because Smithfield Foods asked me to lie on an affidavit [to the NLRB] and made me choose between my job and telling the truth." The company fired Buffkin shortly before a 1998 NLRB hearing.

James Blount, another former supervisor who was fired for similar reasons, told the *Charlotte Observer* that the company has routinely cheated workers out of overtime pay. Regardless of when workers clock out, he said, "they only get paid for what a crew leader writes down."

The Smithfield plant in Tar Heel is the largest hog processing plant in the world, with nearly 6,000 workers and a very high turnover rate. Workers at the plant slaughter about 32,000 hogs per day over two shifts.

According to company figures, 85 percent of the workforce comes from oppressed nationalities. About 60 percent of the workers are Latino, and most of the rest are Black.

As many as 20 percent of Smithfield workers at Tar Heel spend their first six months as temporary employees hired by the Labor Ready agency. These workers are paid lower wages and have no health or other benefits.

Unsafe working conditions

North Carolina state authorities have cited and fined the plant several times since it opened in 1992 for serious work safety violations. According to the UFCW, "hundreds of former Smithfield workers are

permanently disabled and unable to find employment in eastern North Carolina."

"My supervisor was making us work faster and faster, get out the product," José Saucedo, a Mexican-born worker there, told a congressional panel. "I was rushing and I reached for a loin and I got my hand caught in the saw."

Other companies have also opened plants in the state, operating under similar conditions. They employ tens of thousands of workers, many of them Latino.

It is estimated that nearly half a million Latinos now live in North Carolina, up from 76,000 in 1990. According to the *Charlotte Observer*, on-the-job injuries and illnesses resulting in time off work among Latinos jumped 19 percent in 1998 and another 24 percent two years later.

A year ago, the UFCW launched a video on the decade-long struggle by Smithfield workers to organize a union at the Tar Heel plant. Among other facts, the documentary provides evidence that the bosses foster divisions along race lines as part of their antilabor campaign aimed at keeping the union out. Managers threaten workers who are Black with replacement by Latinos, while they try to scare Latino workers with deportation and tell them that African-Americans are trying to get them out of the plant.

"They say Latinos are all going to get fired," Jorge, the 21-year-old son of Tar Heel worker Evelyn Ortiz, who is a union supporter, told the *Observer*. "At least with the union, they can help us."

Janice Lynn is a member of UFCW Local 27 at Smithfield Packing in Landover, Maryland.

New York ballot

Continued from page 7

holding office, but the capitalist system and the tiny handful of billionaire families that perpetuate their rule at the expense of the vast majority, he said.

The capitalist class has two parties, the Democrats and Republicans, he pointed out. Their two-party system is a trap designed to hoodwink working people into thinking that we have choice and to keep us from attacking the real problem, capitalism. "Anyone trying to convince working people that one wing of the Democratic Party can be a better friend of labor than another, is reinforcing this two-party con game," Calero said.

Calero described the socialists' stance in solidarity with working people on a world scale, and in support of the efforts of power-poor semicolonial nations to acquire and develop the energy sources necessary to expand electrification, a pre requisite for economic and social advancement. He said he is using his campaign to expose the drive by Washington and its allies to prevent nations oppressed by imperialism—such as Iran, Brazil, north Korea, and India—from developing the sources of energy they need, including nuclear power, to bring millions out of darkness.

Dorothy Kolis, the SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in New York's 16th C.D., denounced recent disruption operations by provocateurs from the FBI and local police (see article on page 4). "This can only have a chilling effect on the right of people to protest, which is a constitutionally protected right, and is aimed at disrupting and infiltrating unions and other organizations," she said. "We join with others in protesting this assault and will be in the streets during the Republican National Convention."

Foreign born and running for president

Responding to a question from a reporter on whether Calero met the constitutional requirements to run for office, Calero responded, "the laws can change, and have changed in this country." He pointed out the undemocratic election laws and noted that not so long ago you had to be 21 years old to vote, and that Blacks were denied the right to vote as well. "As more foreign born in the United States are drawn into politics, more people are beginning to demand that foreign-born residents be allowed to vote and run for office. We support these changes and support extending full rights to anybody who works and lives in this country. This can only strengthen the working class."

Explaining the opportunity to present a working-class alternative to the tens of thousands of young people, unionists, and others who will converge on the streets in New York City to protest leading up to and during the Republican National convention, Calero said, "While we wholeheartedly agree and join with those who say 'Defeat Bush!' we also say 'Defeat Kerry too!' Don't vote for the man, vote for the program. Nothing has changed in this country by voting for individual capitalist politicians. The Republicans and Democrats are the twin parties of imperialist war, economic depression, and racist oppression. Smaller capitalist parties running in these elections, like the Greens and the Libertarians, or the Nader-Camejo ticket, also serve the interests of American imperialism's two-party system."

"We are out to win," said Arrin Hawkins, in response to a question from a reporter who asked if the intention of the campaign was to just get the message out. Referring to the "third party" campaigns of the Greens and Ralph Nader, Hawkins said that these are not independent from the ruling class, but pro-capitalist campaigns that operate within the "Dump Bush" framework and serve as pressure groups on the Democratic Party. "Capitalism as a system cannot be reformed," she said. "We need a party and a movement that can lead working people through revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism, put in place a workers and farmers government in the United States, and join the worldwide struggle for socialism."

The Greens and Nader campaigns had filed petitions for ballot status in New York. According to state election officials, the Greens' petition has been challenged.

"Our campaign does not end on election day," Calero added. "We will continue to campaign and extend support to those fighting to defend their living and working conditions. Every one of our candidates will continue to do so after November 2. If we organize ourselves and we do it well, we can increase the number of victories that can be scored by our class. In that sense we are out to win."

Millie Sánchez and Willie Cotton, SWP candidates for U.S. Congress in New York's 8th and 15th C.D.s respectively, were also present. Local TV and newspapers covered the press conference.

"At first glance, Róger Calero seems like a perfect presidential candidate for the Socialist Workers Party," said an article published in the August 18 *Albany Times Union*.

"He is young, energetic and passionate about the party's signature issue—gaining rights for low-income, nonunionized workers—and even experienced their plight as a meat packer in Iowa.

"Only problem is, Calero, 35, cannot legally be president. Born in Nicaragua, he is still a citizen there. He has lived in the United States since 1985 and has a green card allowing him to work here, but the U.S. Constitution mandates the president be a natural-born American....

"Norton Sandler, national campaign director for the Socialist Workers Party, said that in about half the states where the party is on the ballot, it is fielding a slate of 'stand-in' candidates, who, if elected, would champion a constitutional amendment to allow Calero to be president and step aside to make way for him after it passed."

PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL

A Spanish-language socialist magazine

Special offer for new readers: \$5 for 4 months

Send your order to Perspectiva Mundial,
307 W. 36th St. 10th Floor, New York, NY 10018

Abortion is a woman's right to choose!

Printed below are excerpts from *Abortion Is a Woman's Right!* by Pat Grogan and Evelyn Reed, one of the titles featured in the Pathfinder Supersaver Sale advertised on page 6. Copyright © 1985 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY PAT GROGAN

On January 22, 1973, women won their most important victory in decades.

The U.S. Supreme Court, in *Roe vs. Wade*, ruled that women had the constitutional right to have abortions. The ruling legalized abortion through the first twenty-four weeks of pregnancy and struck down all laws that restricted that right.

For the first time the right of *women* to decide whether or not to bear children—not the state, church, husband, father, or priest—was recognized.

The women's liberation movement saw reproductive freedom as the most fundamental right of women, a precondition for full equality and liberation. Without the right to control her own body, a woman could not exercise effective control over her life.

Beginning in the 1960s, contraception was becoming more available and accepted, but it was not foolproof—and still isn't. Advances in medical science had made abortion a safe, simple, medical procedure. But in most states, abortion was against the law. Women were forced to bear children against their will, or risk dangerous—and often deadly—illegal or self-induced abortions.

In 1969, the year before New York State adopted liberalized abortion laws—a step that laid the basis for the later Supreme Court victory—approximately 210,000 women entered city hospitals due to abortion complications.

The restrictions on abortion were powerful and barbaric chains on women. Black women and Latinas suffered the most from the illegal status of abortion. Eighty percent of the hundreds of women who died each year were Black and Spanish-speaking women.

And many Black women and Latinas were forced to submit to sterilization in order to obtain an abortion.

Prior to the emergence of the feminist movement in the late 1960s, many supporters of legal abortion presented their arguments in terms of population control—arguments that are used to bolster the racist practice of forced sterilization.

The feminist movement put the axis for the fight to legalize abortion where it belonged—on the right of women to control their own bodies. It was on this basis that majority support for legal abortion was won.

Because of the stakes involved in the fight for abortion rights, this right was never secure.

Several years ago, Democrats and Republicans alike began to step up their attacks on the right to abortion.

1976 Hyde Amendment

The Hyde Amendment, passed by Congress in 1976, was the most serious blow. It cut off Medicaid funding for abortions, except in cases of rape, incest, or when a woman's life is in danger. In May 1981, Congress cut off funds even in cases of rape and incest.

In October 1984, Congress once again denied abortion funding for victims of rape and incest.

Since the Hyde Amendment was passed, thirty-six states have cut off state funding for abortions.

This strikes hardest at Black women, Latinas, and the poorest women. It is part of the attack against the right of all women to abortion and lays the basis for further attempts to restrict abortion rights.

In the years 1978 and 1979 alone, almost 1.5 million women were unable to obtain abortions, either because of lack of facilities or inability to pay...

[New York's Cardinal John O'Connor argues] that abortion is murder and that women who have abortions are, therefore, guilty of murdering children.

Abortion is not murder. It is a simple medical procedure that terminates a pregnancy. Abortion is key to allowing women to decide whether and when to bear children...

Official statistics show that during the 1960s, when abortion was illegal, thousands of women were maimed and hundreds died each year as a result of botched abortions. We have no way of knowing how many other abortion mortalities were reported as deaths due to "severe hemorrhaging" or "miscarriage."

In fact, it was outrage at the killings and maimings resulting from illegal abortion that helped spur women to demand an end to antiabortion laws. Legal abortions save lives—women's lives...

Forcing a woman to bear a child against her will is a brutal denial of a woman's humanity and dignity.

Necessary in fight for equal rights

Bearing a child affects all the other aspects and decisions of a woman's life—her ability to get an education, get a better job—or any job. As long as women are vulnerable to unwanted pregnancies, breaking down economic and social barriers on the job, in education, and in the home becomes



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

Nearly a million young women, men, and others turned out for the April 25 march in Washington, D.C., to support a woman's right to choose abortion.

a much more difficult task.

Of course, legalized abortion cannot solve all the problems facing women. But the right to choose is the most fundamental step toward women being able to achieve full equality.

That's why after women began pouring into the work force in the last three decades, the question of legalizing abortion became a burning issue for millions. When women

can control their childbearing functions, it allows them to begin to participate more fully in all aspects of social life. The right to choose means qualitatively more freedom and mobility for women.

We've already seen this in the 12 years that abortion has been legal. Even though access to it is far from universal, it has meant significant changes in the lives of millions of women.

FBI disruption operations

Continued from Page 4

economics student at the University of Missouri-Kansas City, agreed to meet with agents, but refused to answer their questions without a lawyer. "They told me that in their experience that when somebody didn't want to talk to them, that meant they probably had something to hide," he said.

Three others from Missouri who had planned to protest at the Democratic convention were followed and questioned by agents, and later subpoenaed to testify before a federal grand jury. This forced

them to cancel their trip to Boston, they said. Denise Lieberman, legal director for the ACLU in St. Louis, which is representing the three men, all in their early 20s, said that prosecutors informed them that they are targets of a "domestic terrorism" investigation, but have not provided any justification.

Cops in the streets of New York have been recently harassing and trying to intimidate street vendors and political street campaigners, sometimes shutting them down or forcing them to move.

Support Women's Right to Choose
MARCH FOR WOMEN'S LIVES

Saturday, August 28
11:00 a.m.
Assemble Cadman Plaza, Brooklyn
12:00 p.m. March across the Brooklyn Bridge
1:00 p.m. Rally at City Hall Park, Manhattan
Sponsored by Planned Parenthood, NARAL Pro-Choice New York, the National Organization for Women, others.

—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

NEW YORK Manhattan

It's Not Who You're Against, It's What You're For. Meet the Socialist Workers Candidates in 2004 Roger Calero for president, Arrin Hawkins for vice president. Sat., Aug. 28. Dinner at 7 p.m., program at 8 p.m.
The Meaning of the Republican Convention and Protests Surrounding It Fri., Sept 3. Dinner at 7 p.m., program at 8 p.m. Both events at 307 W 36th St. 10th Floor. Tel: (212) 629-6649.

AUSTRALIA Sydney

Speak Out to Demand Justice for TJ Hickey, Prosecute the Killer Cops Speakers: Virginia Hickey, TJ's aunt; Ray Jackson, president, Indigenous Social Justice Association; Ron Poulsen, Communist League candidate in Australian Federal elections. Fri., Sept. 3, 7 p.m. 3/281-7 Beamish St., Campsie (upstairs in arcade near Evaline St.). Suggested donation \$4/\$2. Tel: (02) 9718-9698.

—LETTERS—

Investigation in Cyprus

The Crime Investigation Division of the Republic of Cyprus has launched an investigation of Petros Evdokas, at the request of the U.S. embassy in Cyprus, to determine whether he constitutes a "threat to U.S. interests."

The investigations began after Evdokas published an article this spring relating to a referendum, dubbed the Annan Plan after the UN secretary general, which was presented to the Cypriot people as "the last chance" to reunify their island.

As the *Militant* has reported on several occasions, far from a formula for reunification, the plan institutionalizes partition along ethnic lines, prevents the return of most refugees, and further entrenches intervention on the island by London, Athens, and Ankara.

The Cypriot authorities went as far as to interrogate Evdokas' family. A public campaign has forced

the Cypriot police to admit that it is carrying out the investigation, after orders from the U.S. embassy. Support has come from many quarters, including the Union of Editors in Cyprus, regardless of their stance on the referendum.

Evdokas is a long-time activist in rapprochement efforts between the island's Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot communities, divided since the 1974 coup by Athens and subsequent invasion by Ankara.

Supporters are asking for statements demanding that this harassment stop to be sent to the Embassy of Cyprus and the U.S. embassy in your country, or to the U.S. State Department for those in the United States.

Natasha Terlexis
Athens, Greece

Native Americans

In a letter printed in the June 7 *Militant*, Nehi Katawasisiw, a member of the Pipihkisis Cree First Na-

tion takes issue with some of the main points raised in a "Books of the Month" club article on George Novack's "Genocide against the American Indians".

Katawasisiw says Novack "characterizes 'our' (Indian) social organization incorrectly..." He goes on to argue that the ancient Cree social organization was not a form of primitive communism: "We Cree people did not consider the land as our property..."

But it is Katawasisiw who has made the incorrect assumption here. To describe North American Native social organization as a form of primitive communism involves no such assumption that Native Tribes considered the land as their "property." In a section of the Chapter "The conquest of the Indians" from the book *America's Revolutionary Heritage* that was not in the original column printed in the *Militant*, Novack explains this clearly:

"Above all, the North American Indians knew no such thing as private property in land, which is the basis of all other kinds of private ownership in the means of production. When the whites arrived, there was not one acre from the Atlantic to the Pacific that belonged to a private person, that could be alienated from the community or assigned to anyone outside the tribe." (pp. 28-29)

It is based on these facts of tribal collectivism in North American Indian social life, facts that were well documented over a century ago, that justify the conclusion that Indian social organization at the time of the arrival of European settlers could still be characterized as a form of primitive communism.

Finally, Katawasisiw misses completely the political importance of these facts of Indian social life and why the capitalist class and its paid apologists in academia distort, efface, and

cover up this history. Novack, in the same article, explains... "An understanding of the customs of the Indians and the reasons for their extinction may raise doubts about the immortality of private property and the standards of bourgeois life. ...Does it not indicate that, at least so far as the past is concerned, communism is not quite so alien to American soil as it is pictured by the witch-hunters?" (pp. 25-26)

Mike Galati
New York, New York

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.

Cuban teachers aid Maori literacy

BY MICHAEL TUCKER

AUCKLAND, New Zealand—Cuba trains numerous literacy teachers “not because we face illiteracy in Cuba, but because we have a great task to help humanity,” said Mercedes Zamora Collazo at a meeting here July 25. The local Cuba Friendship Society hosted the gathering. Grisel Ponce Suarez and Gloria Mendez Martínez spoke along with Zamora.

The three Cuban teachers have been in New Zealand since April 2003. They are working on a program to teach reading and writing being developed by Te Wananga o Aotearoa (the University of New Zealand). The Maori-based school, established a decade ago in the town of Te Awamutu, has grown rapidly to become the country’s largest tertiary educational institution. It provides courses by correspondence, over the Internet, and at satellite campuses throughout the country, attracting Maori and Pacific Islander adult students in particular. Maori, the indigenous people of New Zealand, and people from the Pacific islands, are oppressed nationalities in New Zealand and comprise a major part of the working class.

Currently there are 10 Cuban literacy teachers working on developing the Greenlight Learning For Life program at the wananga. Eight of the teachers participated in the July 25 meeting, which was attended by around 50 people.

While official statistics purport that 99 percent of the population of New Zealand is literate, Marcia Krawll, the coordinator of the Greenlight program, told the meeting that “the statistics are not reality.”

A survey by the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) found that 45 percent of New Zealand adults have literacy levels below what is “required to meet the demands of everyday life.” Functional illiteracy is disproportionately higher among Maori and Pacific Islanders.

Already demand for the literacy program was greater than could be met, Krawll said, with 5,000 people participating in the pilot course.

The courses being developed by the Cuban instructors aim to teach adults “how to read and write, and learn and think, in the least possible time,” Zamora said.

“You can’t just translate literacy courses developed in Cuba,” Ponce added, explaining why the Cubans had come to New Zealand to develop the program. “Each country and each language has its own characteristics,” she noted. Even in Spanish-speaking countries, like Venezuela and Mexico, where Cuban teachers are aiding local literacy campaigns, “You still have to put it into context,” she said, because some of the vocabulary is different. About 1 million people in Venezuela have already completed the literacy program, Ponce said.

However, she added, “This is the first time we have done this in a developed country like New Zealand.”

Jesús, one of seven additional Cuban teachers who arrived at the Te Awamutu

wananga in April, had been part of the literacy program in Venezuela. “If countries ask, we help for as long as they want our help,” he told the meeting. In addition to collaborating to prepare the literacy program in New Zealand, he said, “We want to help train literacy workers here to carry on. We didn’t come to stay,” he said. “We have a lot to do in other countries.”

Asked about the latest measures imposed by Washington against Cuba, which include new restrictions on Cuban-Americans visiting the island or sending cash remittances to relatives there, Ponce said that the Cuban Revolution has had to combat Washington’s unremitting hostility and trade sanctions for 45 years. “Since June 30 they have worsened the measures against Cuba,” she stated. “But we have confronted more difficult situations than the current one, and we will get over this one, too.”

During all the critical periods the Cuban Revolution has faced, she said, “we have never closed one school or hospital. Because the government puts a priority on study and education, the Cuban people are a very educated people.”

“I lived part of my life under Batista,” added Zamora, referring to the U.S.-backed dictator who ruled Cuba prior to the 1959 revolution. “Then we had private schools and discrimination. Now we have equal

rights for all.”

The participation of the Cuban teachers in the Greenlight literacy program hit the headlines here last October when member of parliament Rodney Hide of the right-wing Act party denounced the wananga’s collaboration with the Cuban government. “I am staggered that people think we could learn anything from Cuba other than what a failure socialism has proved to be,” Hide said, calling Cuba “a basket case” and its literacy efforts “indoc-trination.”

The attack was met by a rapid response from supporters of the Cuban Revolution, defenders of Maori rights, and participants in the wananga course. Prominently reported was a reply by Cuba’s ambassador to New Zealand, Miguel Angel Ramírez, who is based in Indonesia. Responding to Hide’s



Militant/Mike Tucker

Gloria Mendez Martínez, a Cuban literacy teacher working in a literacy campaign among Maori, the indigenous population in New Zealand, at July 25 meeting in Auckland.

denigration of Cuba’s socialist course, he said, “This has been the only system that has been able to guarantee free education, free health care, and social justice for the whole population and not for an exclusive elite.”

WTO rules for Brazil on EU sugar subsidies

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

A World Trade Organization panel ruled August 4 that \$2 billion in sugar subsidies by European Union governments gave agricultural interests in those countries an unfair advantage in world export markets. The case had been brought against the European Union trade bloc a year ago by the governments of Brazil, Australia, and Thailand. Details of the ruling have not been made public, and the EU is expected to appeal in September.

The decision came at a time when imperialist powers and governments of semicolonial nations have been involved in several trade conflicts over agricultural export markets. In Geneva a week earlier, in an effort to get the governments of Third World countries to come to the table and resume the WTO trade negotiations known as the Doha round, U.S. and EU representatives promised concessions on some of the many subsidies they pay out to farmers in their countries, the main beneficiaries of which are capitalist farmers. The so-called Doha negotiations began in Doha, Qatar, in November 2001 and broke down in September 2003 when ministers from semicolonial nations walked out of a trade conference in Cancún, Mexico.

“This ruling, just like the cotton decision, confirms that there are immense distortions in international agricultural markets,” Clodoaldo Huguency, a Brazilian foreign ministry official, told the *New York Times*. “It also confirms that serious negotiations need to take place to do away with farm subsidies, both for exports and domestic consumption.”

In June the WTO ruled in a complaint brought by the Brazilian government that \$12.5 billion in U.S. cotton subsidies also violated trade regulations. Washington has indicated it will appeal the decision. The WTO has not released the details of either ruling.

With the largest economy in Latin America, Brazil has been among the most energetic in pressing the demands of its export industries. Over the last decade Brazil has become the largest sugar producer in the world. Its sugar exports rose from 5.8 million tons in 1996 to 13.4 million in 2002. The EU runs a distant second, exporting about 5 million tons per year.

The 25-member European Union, an imperialist trade bloc, sets quotas for sugar production for its domestic market in order to limit supply and maintain high prices. Companies in those countries that

use sugar, such as soft drink companies, pay three times more than their competitors on the world market, according to the Bloomberg News agency. Any “surplus” sugar must be exported at lower prices. The EU budget provides subsidies to these exporters, allowing them to sell cheap and maintain a steady stream of profits.

Six European sugar companies, which include Suedzucker of Germany, Tate & Lyle in the United Kingdom, and France’s Beghin-Say, received a total of nearly \$900 million last year in export

subsidies, half of the annual EU sugar export subsidy.

The EU agricultural policies also include price supports for a number of African, Caribbean, and Pacific Island (ACP) countries as part of the efforts of the European imperialist powers to reinforce their markets there. While they lay out massive sums to the agricultural giants in Europe, EU officials hypocritically opposed the WTO ruling with claims that the Brazilian government’s goal is to “steal” market share from the ACP nations.

Union certified at Quebec Wal-Mart

BY BETTY BURKE

MONTREAL—In a breakthrough in the ongoing fight to unionize Wal-Mart stores in North America, workers at one of the retail giant’s stores in Quebec won union certification August 2.

More than 50 percent of the 170 workers at the Wal-Mart store in Jonquière, Quebec, signed to be represented by the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW). The Quebec Labour Relations Board, which certified the union, has scheduled a hearing for August 20 to decide on the makeup of the bargaining unit.

Wal-Mart, with 1.3 million employees worldwide and \$265 billion in sales, has fought to keep its workers from unionizing since it was founded in 1962.

The Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ) held a press conference the next day to celebrate the victory and voice support for other campaigns that are underway to organize Wal-Mart workers in Quebec and the rest of Canada. FTQ secretary-general René Roy “saluted the courage of the Jonquière workers who had to organize two times before winning this big union victory.” A first attempt to organize the store was lost when the union fell just four percentage points short of the votes needed to win. Roy also said he hoped that the QLRB would act rapidly to certify the UFCW at the Wal-Mart in Brossard on Montreal’s south shore, where UFCW Local 501 applied for certification on July 22.

There are three other UFCW applications pending at Wal-Mart stores in Canada, two in Saskatchewan and one in British Columbia.

On August 6, workers at the Wal-Mart store in Thompson, Manitoba, lost a vote to be represented by UFCW Local 832 with 67

against and 44 in favor. This was the second loss for the union at that store.

The UFCW won certification at a Wal-Mart in Windsor, Ontario, in 1997 but the union was decertified before the ratification of a first contract.

In May 2003 the British Columbia Labour Relations Board found Wal-Mart guilty of unfair labor practices at its store in Quesnel, British Columbia. The UFCW had filed the complaint against the company because of its “blatant attempts to interfere with employees’ right to join a union.”

The drive to bring the union into Wal-Mart stores in Canada complements a similar effort by the UFCW in the United States. Low wages, benefits, and abusive treatment on the job are some of the key issues pushing workers to organize. In February 2000, when meat cutters at a Wal-Mart store in Jacksonville, Texas, voted to be represented by the UFCW, the company refused to recognize the union, and instead moved to distribute packaged meats and changed the job functions of the meat cutters.

In October 2003 more than 250 workers faced deportation after they were arrested by immigration cops in coordinated pre-dawn raids at 60 Wal-Mart stores in 21 U.S. states. The raids were aimed at further intimidating workers in the midst of these ongoing union-organizing efforts.

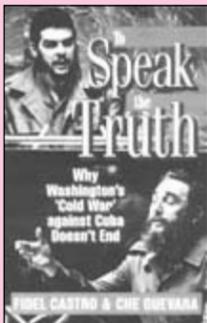
Wal-Mart hailed a July 27 ruling by a Saskatchewan court that quashed a subpoena by the province’s labor board that would have forced the company to turn over a number of internal documents, including one titled: “Wal-Mart: A Manager’s Toolbox to Remaining Union Free.” The UFCW is challenging the decision.

To Speak the Truth Why Washington's 'Cold War' against Cuba Doesn't End

By Fidel Castro and Che Guevara

In historic speeches before the United Nations and UN bodies, Guevara and Castro address the workers of the world, explaining why the U.S. government so hates the example set by the socialist revolution in Cuba.

\$16.95



WWW.PATHFINDERPRESS.COM