

THE MILITANT

INSIDE
Introduction to 'Making History:
Interviews with Cuban Generals'
— PAGES 8-9

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Join with fighting miners, truckers, Puerto Ricans

America Firstism of WTO protests is deadly threat; int'l labor solidarity is answer to employers' attacks

A social movement is unfolding in the coal fields today. Miners and retirees are fighting back against the attempt by the coal bosses and the government to gut the lifetime health benefits they won in decades of struggle. These experienced labor fighters are appealing for support to other workers and youth throughout the mining regions.

Truck drivers across the country are walking the picket lines—with the sup-



Overnite strikers and supporters rally in Atlanta November 22. Joining battles against the bosses—from the trucking giant to coal companies trying to gut miners' health benefits—and opposing Washington's imperialist aggression, from Puerto Rico to China, is the only way forward for working people, not the nationalist actions promoted by AFL-CIO officialdom.

Militant/Linda Joyce

EDITORIAL

port of thousands of other Teamsters—in a battle to win a union at Overnite, the largest nonunion trucking company in the United States.

Working farmers from New England to Georgia are seeking ways to resist being forced off the land in face of dropping commodity prices and increasing foreclosures.

In Puerto Rico and throughout the United States, Puerto Rican workers and students are mobilizing to demand the U.S. military stop using the Puerto Rican island of Vieques as a bombing practice zone. This struggle is intertwined with the fight to free the Puerto Rican nation from Washington's colonial rule.

These are just a few of the struggles that point the way forward for working people today; they are battles that should be supported and joined. They are examples of the new proletarian movement that has begun to rise in the city and countryside in the United States.

Class-conscious workers are campaigning to get into the hands of those engaged in these

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U.S. rulers press trade openings against Chinese workers state

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

The trade agreement that negotiators from Beijing and Washington signed November 16 has become the focus of attention leading into the November 30-December 3 ministerial meeting of the World Trade Organization (WTO).

The capitalists in the United States are preparing to march with their goods and investment through the opening they judge this pact has made.

They hope to profit in the short term, and over time to overturn the gains of the Chi-

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Gov't forced to retreat from anti-Muslim campaign in wake of EgyptAir crash

BY RASHAADALI AND BERNARD YOUNG

SAN FRANCISCO—U.S. government officials and the big-business media have been forced to retreat in the anti-Muslim campaign they are waging around the October 31 crash of EgyptAir Flight 990, which killed all 217 passengers and crew members. Major newspapers across the country had splashed headlines alleging that a member of the flight crew, Egyptian copilot Gameel Batouti, possibly downed the plane in a "secret suicide mission."

While promoting speculation of "terrorist" action, the media hype has fueled anti-Arab prejudices. Three weeks after the crash a pilot ordered an emergency evacuation at a runway in Columbus, Ohio, because the flight crew supposedly observed "suspicious behavior" by two Arab passengers.

Washington's anti-Muslim campaign sparked anger among Egyptian government officials and other citizens. "They are looking for a scapegoat," declared Issam Abdel

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Puerto Ricans mobilize against U.S. military in Vieques

BY RON RICHARDS

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico—"As long as I'm living and breathing, I will fight for Vieques," declared Myrta Sanes. She was addressing a crowd of 300 people who rallied November 20 in front of the entrance to the U.S. Navy's Camp Garcia, which occupies the eastern end of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques.

Sanes is the sister of David Sanes, who was killed by a bomb during a Navy training session April 19. Since that date thousands of Puerto Ricans have mobilized to demand the Navy get out of Vieques.

The battle over Vieques is at a critical juncture. Any day now, U.S. president William Clinton is expected to announce plans to resume bombing practice there, which has been suspended since April. Under the Navy's current schedule, the battle group of the USS *Eisenhower* is supposed to sail from Norfolk, Virginia on December 2, to be trained in the use of live munitions on Vieques. The ships are to return to the United States by Christmas and be deployed in the Middle East in February. Under a 1983 agreement with the Puerto Rican government, Washington is supposed to give 15 days' notice before using the bombing range in Vieques.

The weekend of November 19-21 saw an
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Thousands rally to back locked-out Steelworkers in Ohio

BY EVA BRAIMAN

MANSFIELD, Ohio—"They're after breaking the union, but that's not going to happen," said Doug Christo, the vice-president of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 9365 at the Mansfield Foundry. He was part of a crowd of more than 2,000 workers who rallied in the town square here November 20 in support of the 620 members of USWA Local 169 locked out by AK Steel (formerly Armco). Christo, whose father and uncle are both among the locked-out steelworkers, echoed the morale and resolve of the unionists who attended the rally.

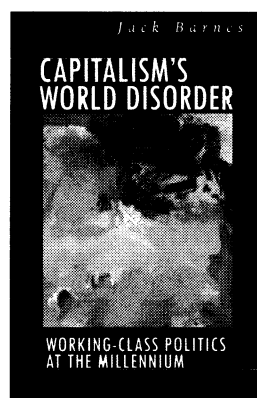
The central issues in this dispute are forced overtime, violations of seniority rights, replacement of 16 percent of union jobs with nonunion contractors, and pensions below industry standards.

The rally site was a sea of union jackets, buttons, and picket signs. Union members and their families from dozens of USWA locals around Ohio came out, as well as from the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE), International Association of Machinists, Communication Workers of America, Teamsters, public employees, carpenters, bakers, bricklayers, painters, firefighters, and others. Members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 549 at the General Motors plant in nearby Ontario, Ohio, have

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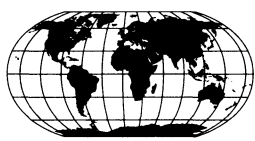


Capitalism's World Disorder:
Working-Class Politics at the Millennium

Jack Barnes

"The capitalist rulers offer us social disaster. They offer us depression. They offer us death from curable disease. They offer us war. They offer us fascism. They offer us an unending list of horrors. But we offer ourselves the ability to prevent those horrors from becoming the final reality, the confidence that we can transform that future."

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Caspian oil pipeline deal signed

The governments of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Turkey agreed November 18 to construct a U.S.-promoted \$2.4 billion pipeline from the Caspian Sea that would bypass the existing pipeline through Chechnya to Russia's Black Sea port of Novorossisk. The 1,080-mile pipeline would start in Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, cross Georgia, and end at the Mediterranean port of Ceyhan in Turkey. A second pact was signed among the regimes in the region to build a 1,250-mile natural gas line from Turkmenistan, which has the world's fourth largest natural gas reserves, to Erzurum, Turkey.

Washington hopes these deals will strengthen its influence in the Caucasus. "This is a major foreign policy victory... that advances America's strategic interests," crowed U.S. energy secretary William Richardson. But one oil executive cautioned, "A million things could happen" in the turbulent region by the time construction begins in 2004 or later.

Romanian workers rally for jobs

Some 2,000 workers rallied November 18 at the Black Sea port of Constanta, Romania, to demand the government take measures to reverse falling living standards and rising unemployment. In other parts of the country thousands of workers demonstrated in the southwest town of Turnu Severin, while oil workers and truck drivers marched through the oil town of Ploiesti. The regime in Bucharest has announced plans to lay off 100,000 workers as part of an agreement with the World Bank to sell off, restructure, or shut down state-owned enterprises.

In January 10,000 miners from the Jiu Valley waged a two-week strike and a five-day march toward Bucharest that pushed back plans to close two mines in the region.

Thousands in Austria march against anti-immigrant campaign

Tens of thousands of people demonstrated in Vienna November 12 against racism and hostility to immigrants. Politicians of the long-ruling Social Democratic and Austrian People's parties were booed and pelted with eggs. Estimates of the number of marchers ranged from 30,000 by the conservative *Presse* to 60,000 by the liberal *Standard*. The action



Indigenous women in Latacunga, Ecuador, mock the Spanish conquest of the Americas.

came in the wake of recent electoral advances by the ultraright Austrian Freedom Party, whose leader, Jörg Haider, denounced the demonstrators as "fanatics." The Freedom Party, whose campaign included scapegoating immigrants, won the second-highest number of votes in Austria's parliamentary elections in October. The police, which is a bastion of the Freedom Party, estimated 25,000 people participated in the protest.

Tamil Tigers overrun bases

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam have scored major victories over the Sri Lankan military. In early November the army withdrew units from the east to reinforce troops in the north, where heavy artillery exchanges and other fighting have occurred. The Tamil Tigers overran 10 army bases in five days, retaking territory that the Sri Lankan army had conquered in 19 months at a cost of

2,500 soldiers killed. A presidential election is due in Sri Lanka in December. The Tamil people are fighting for a homeland and an end to discrimination. They make up 18 percent of Sri Lanka's 18 million people.

Strike halts transport in Ecuador

Public transportation was paralyzed for six hours on November 18 in Quito, the capital of Ecuador, when the association of drivers went on strike demanding their debt in U.S. dollars be converted to the national currency, the sucre. The head of the association, Jorge Yáñez, said the drivers obtained loans when the sucre was worth 3,000 to the dollar; its value has dropped six-fold since then. "We can pay our debts with a lesser-valued dollar," Yáñez stated.

Earlier this year a general strike organized by trade unions, peasant groups, students, and others paralyzed the country during protests against austerity measures imposed by the government. The regime was forced to retreat from plans to sell off several state-owned companies, jack up gas prices, and raise the value-added tax.

Thousands demand jobs in Brazil

Hundreds of thousands of workers in Brazil went on a brief strike in mid-November and organized rallies throughout the country to protest joblessness and worsening economic conditions. During the first half of 1999 several state governments defaulted and stopped paying debts, while the currency has plummeted 31 percent against the U.S. dollar this year. In the last two years the country's domestic debt nearly doubled from \$108 billion to about \$205 billion.

U.S. gov't halts release of Arab man jailed on 'secret evidence'

U.S. attorney general Janet Reno blocked the release of Nasser Ahmed, an Egyptian jailed on "secret evidence," after he was due to walk out of the New York Metropolitan Correctional Center November 19. Citing "national security implications" that supposedly link Ahmed to "terrorist organizations," Doris Meissner, commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), urged Reno to intervene against him. Last July an immigration judge ruled Ahmed should be granted asylum. He has been imprisoned for more than three years.

In October U.S. District Judge William Walls ordered the release of Mahmoud Kiardeeen, a Palestinian who was incarcerated under similar circumstances for 19 months without ever being charged with violation of any criminal laws. Some 24 Arabs have been jailed by the INS based on so-called secret evidence authorized under the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act signed into law by U.S. president William Clinton in 1996.

INS steps up deportations

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has deported more than 89,000 people through the "expedited removal" process in the last year, according to a report released November 12 by the agency. Overall, some 177,000 immigrants were deported during the 1999 fiscal year, an increase of 3 percent. Under the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, INS officials can deport immigrants almost immediately upon their arrival in the United States without allowing them to see an attorney or have a judicial hearing.

Furor over Confederate flag deepens in South Carolina

A economic boycott campaign of South Carolina organized by the NAACP, aimed at removing the battle flag of the slavocracy from flying over the state Capitol in Columbia, has provoked a polarization in the state. An all-white memorial service of 2,500 people to honor the Confederacy was held November 12. The boycott campaign has put a national spotlight on the issue and has cost the state an estimated \$80 million, according to NAACP officials. Gov. James Hodges said he wants the flag removed and offered to push for a bill to make Martin Luther King, Jr. Day, a state holiday, if the NAACP drops its boycott campaign.

The Confederate flag was put up over the capitol in 1962 as symbol of racist defiance to the movement of hundreds of thousands of Blacks in the South to end the system of Jim Crow segregation. "I am a southerner... and I like living in the South," stated Charleston resident Danny Gilliard, who is Black. "But that flag on top of the Capitol is the most offensive thing I have ever seen."

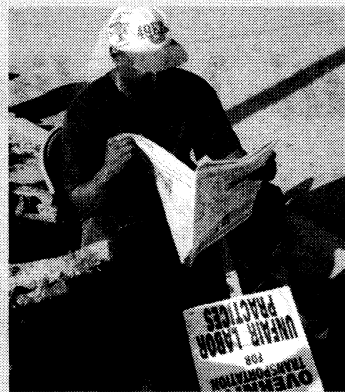
—MAURICE WILLIAMS

Robert Dees contributed to this column.

THE MILITANT

Workers' enemy is Washington

Capitalist politicians, the big-business press, and labor officials of all stripes tell workers and farmers in the United States that their problems stem from trade pacts, workers in other countries, or immigrants. The 'Militant' exposes these lies and explains why workers' enemy is the capitalist class and its representatives in Washington. Don't miss a single issue!



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Ten years after fall of Berlin Wall, German gov't has failed to bring capitalism to east

BY CARL-ERIK ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden—At the time of the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, there seemed to be no limit to the euphoria among the ruling bourgeois classes the world over. Prospects for enormous profitable capitalist investments seemed to be opening up, as the Stalinist regimes in Eastern and Central Europe shattered and the Soviet Union dissolved. The rulers in Washington and other imperialist centers thought they had regained for capitalist exploitation the huge regions they lost with the coming to power of workers and farmers in Russia 1917 and the overturn of capitalist property relations in Eastern and Central Europe after World War II.

The reunification of Germany, they hoped, would give stagnant capitalist economies in Europe a boost in the 1990s and help to unify Europe.

That was at the opening of the '90s. Now, at the close of this decade, the capitalists' euphoria has faded. Today they are very cautious about investing money in Eastern and Central Europe, let alone Russia. Washington's "new world order" has increasingly become a capitalist world disorder. At the same time the disintegration of the bureaucratic castes that sat on top of the workers states, who pretended for decades to represent communism, has removed an enormous roadblock that stood in the way of revolutionary fighters finding their way to communism. It was imperialism that lost the Cold War.

German reunification has become not a boost for capitalist growth in Germany and Europe but a lid on it, and a huge burden for the ruling class in Germany.

This decade has proven that it is not possible to change the social relations that were shaped by the overturn of capitalist property relations throughout the region, including Eastern Germany, by just pouring in money. Where once revolutionary force by workers and farmers was used to overturn the capitalist property relations, however limited and bureaucratically restricted by the Stalinist misleaderships, counterrevolutionary force by the capitalists must be used to restore capitalist property relations.

Rulers choke trying to swallow east

Nearly 10 years after reunification, the ruling class in Germany has not been able to defeat the workers and farmers in eastern Germany in a fight to restore capitalist property relations there. Instead, a net \$800 billion has been poured into eastern Germany from the west over this decade, and no end short of a showdown with workers and farmers throughout the country is in sight. The national debt has tripled to close to \$900 billion since 1990 as the government has borrowed on the international capital markets to finance reunification.

Just 25 percent of the money that has gone to the east has been invested in roads, buildings, railways, telecommunication, and other infrastructure. The other three-quarters has gone to pensions, unemployment benefits, make-work programs, and similar spending to avert social upheaval. Eastern Germany is full of tales of west German capitalists who took over companies in the east only to strip their assets and shut them down. The success stories are few as the big-business press draws its balance sheets for the '90s. Jenoptik, a technology enterprise in Saxony headed by a former western politician Lothar Spath, is one of the few pointed to in a recent *New York Times* article. Even after the new boss laid off half the workforce of an old state enterprise and refused to negotiate with the metalworkers union, that project would have failed if Spath hadn't received huge financial help from the German government.

Most of the old industries in the east are closed or considerably cut down, while very few new industrial jobs have been created. As an example, of the 320,000 textile workers employed in the east before 1990, only 20,000 are still working.

Growth rates in the east are now lower than in the west after surging in the first half of decade. That initial growth was spurred by a brief consumer boom when the eastern

mark was exchanged for the West German currency at a rate of one to one, and by a building boom that peaked in 1994.

Unemployment in the east skyrocketed and now stands at 18 percent, compared to about 10.5 percent nationally. But jobs are a big issue throughout the country. More than 1 million jobs have been lost in the west since 1995, many of them at flagship companies like Siemens and Volkswagen. More than 4 million workers in Germany are unemployed, the majority in the west. Wage costs are close to twice as high in Germany as in the United States, so the competitiveness of German industry is low and many companies move production out of the country to exploit labor at lower costs.

This year the German economy—which accounts for a third of the gross domestic product in the "euro zone" of countries that are part of the European Monetary Union—is expected to expand just 1.5 percent, less than other economies in the region except for Italy. Upturns in the German business cycle over the last decade, upon which other capitalists put much hope for the whole of Europe, have been weaker than expected. Just a week after the European Central bank had raised interest rates in early November, amid signs that growth in Europe was picking up, an unexpected 4.5 percent decline in retail sales was reported for September in Germany and the euro fell to close to parity with the U.S. dollar.

The German economy, which is very export-based, is vulnerable to the deflationary pressures at work in the capitalist world economy and the crises it provokes, from Asia to Brazil to Russia. Of the debts owed by Moscow to foreign banks, German banks hold more than 40 percent. Finance capital in Germany is thus very vulnerable to the political instability in Russia.

Push to restore military capacity

The political instability in Germany's traditional "backyard" of eastern and central Europe, including the Balkans, has put the German rulers on a course to restore their military capability, which had been crippled by Berlin's defeat in World War II. The German government took part in the assault on Yugoslavia this spring on equal terms with other NATO members in Europe, and is now part of the occupation force in Kosovo. By contrast, in the U.S.-organized war against Iraq in 1990-91, Bonn was not able to participate militarily, yet was forced to foot a large portion of the bill.

Germany's rulers, now seated in Berlin, are shifting their political focus to the east. They have taken the lead in supporting early membership in the European Union for Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic and they are playing a leading role financially

Sweden protesters: 'racists can't silence us'

BY CLAUDIO BURGOS AND BIRGITTA ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden—"It is important to be seen, to show the racists they cannot silence us," said Oskar Ljungstedt, one of the participants in a November 9 march here marking the 1938 Kristallnacht in Germany. Sixty-one years ago the Nazis initiated attacks on Jewish stores and synagogues across Germany, killing Jews and sending tens of thousands to concentration camps. The date has become a rallying point for ultrarightists.

The desire "to be seen" in response was shared by many people. Up to 3,000 people, most of them young, took part in the rally. Maya Rios from Forshaga and Ingeborg Zackarias from Bergen in Norway, both students, said it was their second time marching against racism. They joined in a demonstration October 23 in response to the murder of union activist Björn Söderberg, who was killed October 12 by three youths who the police claim have connections with ultrarightist forces in Sweden.

There were demonstrations in at least 18 cities across Sweden on the anniversary of Kristallnacht. Overall, they were bigger than in previous years. In Malmö in the south



Construction workers in Germany protest against possible job losses November 19 outside European Banking Congress in Frankfurt.

in the Balkans. Turkey is much more the focus of German diplomacy today. The German rulers are preparing for a post-Yeltsin era in Russia by cultivating closer ties with his rivals, such as Moscow mayor Yuri Luzhkov.

These moves by the rulers in Germany are putting a strain on its relations with other member states of the European Union, especially France. For example, the German government, which pays five times as much to finance reunification as its net contribution to the European Union, is engaged in a constant quarrel within the EU, arguing that it pays too much. The German rulers' interests are increasingly diverging with Paris on questions such as enlargement of the EU, subsidies to farmers, and military policy.

The reunification of Germany has not unified Europe but instead provoked increasing divisions within the European Union.

The German social democratic government is trying to ram through an austerity package of \$16 billion in social cuts, but it is meeting resistance. In early October 55,000 public workers marched in Berlin to protest the government's austerity measures, and at the end of October 10,000 farmers rallied there to protest the government's farm policy.

Political polarization increases

The unpopularity of the austerity measures has dealt electoral setbacks to the social democrats, who have lost heavily in state and local government elections this fall, and political polarization in Germany is growing. Ultrarightist parties like the German

People's Union (DVU) are gaining ground on "German jobs for German workers" campaigns, scapegoating immigrants for the high unemployment and targeting the political establishment with demagoguery. DVU is now seated in the state parliaments in Brandenburg and Saxony Anhalt.

In several states in the east, 10 years after the fall of the wall, the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), as the former ruling party in the east is now called, has become the second biggest party.

When the Berlin Wall came down, "what was opening up as a result of the collapse of the Stalinist apparatuses in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union was the possibility, for the first time in half a century or more, of collaboration between workers in these countries and workers facing similar assaults on their rights and living conditions in other countries," noted Jack Barnes, the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States, in a 1993 speech published in *Capitalism's World Disorder*. He described watching on television a recent demonstration of metalworkers and their supporters from across Germany to protest the government's decision to renege on promises to bring together the living standards, wages, and working conditions in the east and west.

"That kind of Germany-wide working-class action could now begin to happen again, after more than sixty years," Barnes said. "It will take time, but it is now possible."

Carl-Erik Isacsson is a member of the Metal Workers union in Södertälje, Sweden.

800-1,500 people rallied, in Gothenburg 2,000, in Linköping between 1,000 and 1,600. There 15 rightist skinheads were arrested by the police in connection with the demonstration.

Hundreds of people also gathered in Uppsala, north of Stockholm. Among the speakers were Archbishop K.G. Hammar and Terry Carlborn, the international secretary of the writers group PEN. Carlborn spoke about the increase in ultrarightist threats against union activists and journalists.

"I am here because you have to fight the fascists," said Leila, a 17-year-old participant in the Uppsala rally who did not want her last name in the paper. But she said she was not sure how and wanted to discuss this with others at the rally. "I think more people would have come if they knew about it," she said. Proposals to ban fascist organizations were not good, she thought. "A law like that can be used against anyone. They can use it against anarchists or others they don't like."

Another student said he was on his

way home "when I saw all these people. I found out it was a protest against racism so I decided to participate."

Claudio Burgos is a member of the Industrial Workers Union and the Young Socialists. Birgitta Isacsson is a member of the Metalworkers Union.

NEW INTERNATIONAL NO. 11

U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War
by Jack Barnes

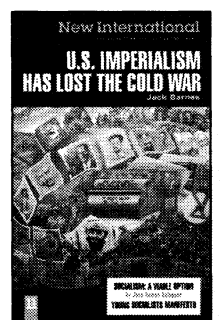
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'No more bombs, no more missiles,' say 300 protesters demanding U.S. out of Vieques

This column is written and edited by the Young Socialists (YS), an international organization of young workers, students, and other youth fighting for socialism. For more information about the YS write to: Young Socialists, 3284 23rd St., San Francisco, CA 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1429.

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BY HANSARRIETA AND ELENA TATE

NEW YORK— "Vieques logically belongs to the people of Vieques, and it is their right to take back what was once theirs. In the name of Puerto Rico, we will show that we can fight Yankee imperialism when we are united," said Awilda Rodríguez, a student at Hunter College. She was one of 300 people in front the federal building in Manhattan November 19 protesting the U.S. Navy's presence in Vieques. It was a very spirited protest, called by Todo Nueva York con Vieques (All New York with Vieques) and featured music, chanting, and flags of different countries, especially of Puerto Rico.

The majority of the protesters were young people, including an organized presence of about 30 high school students from El Puente Academy. The night before, there was a candle-light processional in New York for the same cause.

Popular chants included, "No more missiles, no more bombs!" and "Vieques, sí! Marina, no!" ("Vieques, yes! Navy, no!"). The U.S. Navy has had a huge presence in the Puerto Rican island of Vieques since World War II, and uses the island and its



Militant/Don Mackle

Hundreds of people in New York demand U.S. Navy Out of Vieques November 19.

surrounding waters for bombing practice. Many people at the action were against this use of the Puerto Ricans' land as a naval base, and as a location to practice invasions to be used against other countries. Rodríguez commented, "The Navy has a terrible effect on Vieques because the people cannot fish in their waters, and a big number of residents survive on fishing. They have also lost their land and their crops, which they depend on to live. They are fighting for that which is theirs. I feel very proud to be here, defending what is ours and fighting for a cause that makes us more united. I am ready

to get rid of Yankee imperialism, that has Americanized our island."

Anamaria Amador-Miranda, an exchange student from Puerto Rico who is studying at Hunter College, said she had taken part in demonstrations in Puerto Rico in support of the telephone workers' strike and in protest of school budget cuts. "During the actions, I felt very strong, and I believe that I was doing a lot for my cause. I think that this protest will be effective in terms of putting international pressure on the Navy to leave Vieques."

Another exchange student, who preferred

that his name not be used, said, "I think that some decision must be made regarding the political future of Puerto Rico, because the effects have been too harsh on the people. I think the best way out would definitely be to make Puerto Rico free of U.S. domination. As for statehood, I don't think it's possible, because the U.S. government only wants it as they have it now, to control it and use it." The struggle for independence "is a long way, but it has to start somewhere, and it has started and it has been moving for awhile. It's hard, but it's not impossible," he declared.

Not only those participating in the action were supporters of the fight to free Vieques. José Manuel, a passerby who stopped to watch, said he was proud to be Puerto Rican, and wanted the Navy to leave.

A teacher from El Puente Academy, Martín Perna, said that he came with a delegation from his school that was organized on only a day's notice. "I'm here even though I'm Mexican, but U.S. imperialism must be fought wherever it is. Many of my students and co-workers are Puerto Rican, and we need to support each other."

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FROM PATHFINDER

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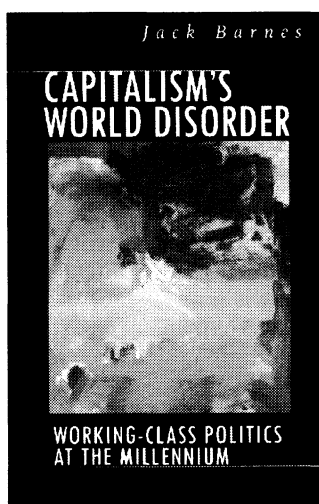
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Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-class Politics at the Millennium

JACK BARNES

The social devastation, financial panic, political turmoil, police brutality, and acts of imperialist aggression accelerating around us are not chaos. They are the product of lawful—and understandable—forces unleashed by capitalism. But the future the propertied classes have in store for us is not inevitable. It can be changed by the timely solidarity, courageous action, and united struggle of workers and farmers conscious of their power to transform the world. Regular price \$23.95 **Special offer \$17.95**

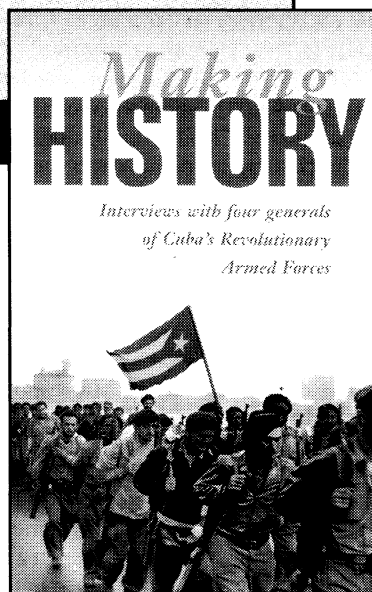


Making History

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Book helps deepen discussions with workers and students

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Socialist workers and members of the Young Socialists are becoming adept at using *Capitalism's World Disorder* in political discussions with fighting workers, political activists, and others. Members of the Socialist Workers Party and the YS are waging a joint campaign to place *Capitalism's World Disorder* in bookstores and libraries and sell it to working people and youth. The campaign is central to deepening the involvement of both organizations in labor battles, the broader class struggle, and building the communist movement.

Socialist activists in Cleveland, Ohio, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, took the campaign to a November 20 rally of 2,000 workers in Mansfield, Ohio in support of members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) who are locked out by AK Steel. "We sold 3 copies of *Capitalism's World Disorder*, 43 copies of the *Militant*, and 3 introductory *Militant* subscriptions to participants there," said Eva Braiman, a member of the United Auto Workers from Cleveland.

Below are reports of sales teams that spent several days promoting *Capitalism's World Disorder*, other Pathfinder titles, the *Militant*, and *Perspectiva Mundial* among workers in the coalfields of West Virginia and Pennsylvania and with shipyard workers at Newport News, Virginia.

Coal team learns about miners' appeal to students for support

BY STEFANIE SWENKO

INDIANA, Pennsylvania—On the first day of a three-day team, supporters of the *Militant* in Pittsburgh traveled to this coal mining region where Consolidated Coal recently announced the closing of several mines in the area. This means several hundred miners will be laid off. Six miners at the soon-to-be-closed Lucerne mine bought copies of the *Militant*.

On the way to the coalfields we visited the plant gate at a garment shop, where two workers bought copies of the *Militant*. When we reached Indiana we sold three papers going door to door in the community.

Students at the college campus there bought nine papers and three Pathfinder pamphlets.

One student in a discussion on the attacks on working people today pointed to the attack on coal miners' lifetime health benefits. He said recently the UMWA had been on the campus to collect signatures to defend this union gain. We also got off to a good start on the placement of *Capitalism's World Disorder*; the labor archives section of the campus library ordered a copy of the book and six other Pathfinder titles.

Two professors we talked to decided to buy a copy of *Capitalism's World Disorder* and two other Pathfinder books. This could soon result in Pathfinder titles being used for classroom texts.

Team sells to shipyard workers in Newport News, Virginia

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

NEWPORT NEWS, Virginia.—We organized a two-day trip November 17-18 to the Tidewater area of Virginia to meet several members of USWA Local 8888 who had first begun reading the *Militant* and learning about Pathfinder books during their four-month long strike against the Newport News Shipbuilding Company. As a result of these discussions two steelworkers bought copies of *Capitalism's World Disorder*. Two of them renewed their subscriptions to the *Militant*. Another had already read the entire book. He purchased a copy of *Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-class politics and the unions*.

In response to a Pathfinder literature table set up by the 50th Street gate during the shift change at the shipyard another worker made arrangements to buy a copy of *Malcolm X on Afro-American History* the following day.

The previous week a team of socialist workers had an extensive discussion about *Capitalism's World Disorder* with Rick, a member of USWA local 8888, and sold him a subscription to the *Militant*.

Upon seeing the Pathfinder literature table set up at the 50th Street gate, Rick approached with us his \$20 in hand, eager to get his copy of the book. Several other workers expressed interest in getting other Pathfinder books in the future. They encouraged us to set up tables on Thursdays or Fridays, the days that they get paid.

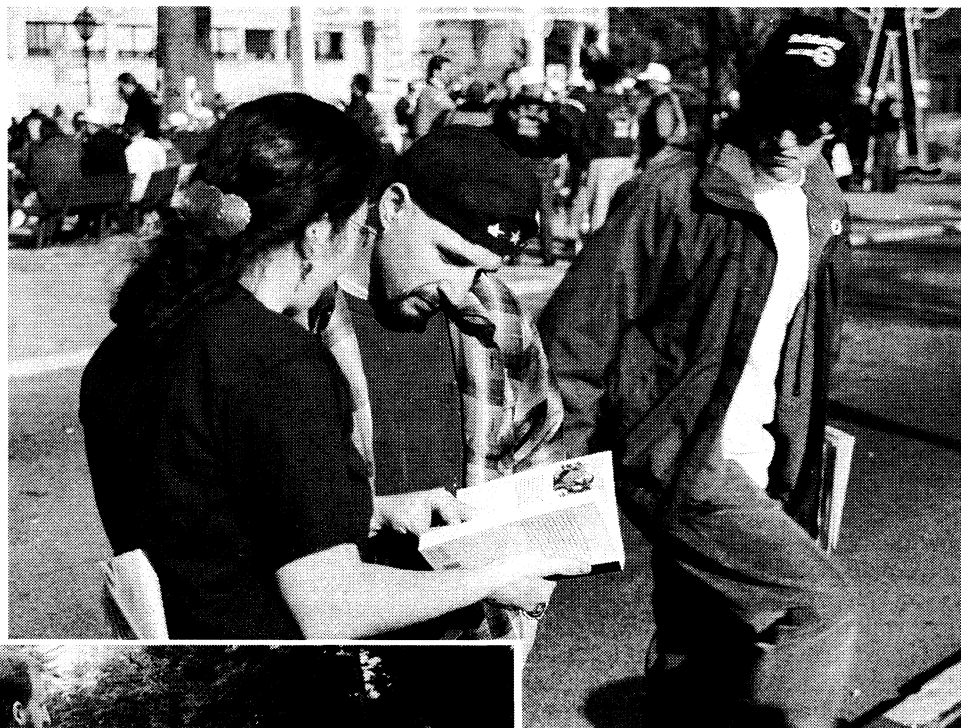
All totaled, the team sold three copies of *Capitalism's World Disorder*—including one to a student,—and placed two copies at a local bookstore that students visit. The manager there also placed an order for two copies of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, two copies of *John Coltrane and the Jazz Revolution of the 1960s*, and one copy of *Black Music, White Business*. He said he will order more books.

We met a friendly response in our visits to two libraries in the area. Librarians at both took a Pathfinder catalog, and promised to review and circulate it. Both librarians will be recontacted over the next couple of weeks to find out what orders they are planning to place.

We received an excellent response at the Old Dominion University campus where we set up a literature table for a couple of hours. We sold eight copies of the *Militant* along with two catalogs, and five students signed up for more information.

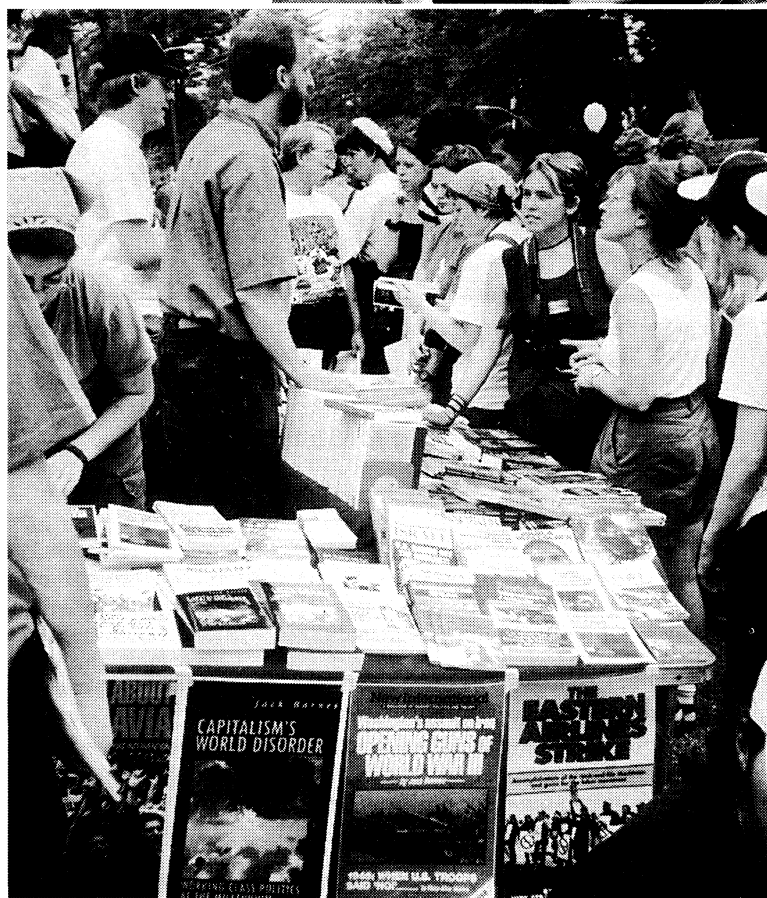
Youth snap up book at protest against School of Americas

COLUMBUS, Georgia—Fifteen copies of *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium* were sold November 20-21 at the pro-



Militant/John Sarge

Above: Selling *Capitalism's World Disorder* at march and rally in solidarity with locked out members of Steelworkers Local 169 in Mansfield, Ohio, November 20. (See front page.) Left: Pathfinder table at protest against U.S. military's School of the Americas in Columbus, Georgia.



from cities across the United States.

"My experience is that people I sold the book to were very interested in Cuba," said Atlanta Young Socialists member Paul Cornish, "and how much of the book actually described the Cuban revolution, and where it fits into the world."

Cornish, a member of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE), sold three copies of *Capitalism's World Disorder* to protesters. "I told people about the strike by 2,000 truck drivers against the Overnite Transportation Company and pointed to several articles in the *Militant* newspaper and how the book deals with workers' resistance such as this national strike, as well as strikes and struggles of workers in the past. The book describes what is happening today as a 'sea change' in working-class resistance."

The discussions around the book have "deepened the political work the Young Socialist is doing," Cornish added. "Many young people that we talked to have a more clear idea of who we are and what our organization is all about."

Sixty copies of the *Militant*, two *Militant* subscriptions, and 1 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscription were also sold. Many young people were interested in the *Militant's* coverage of the World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle and protests planned in response. A number said they planned to participate in these protests. Discussion and debate on that was frequent at the socialists' literature tables. Some of these discussions, particularly on ultrarightist Patrick Buchanan's connection to the Seattle actions, helped convince demonstrators to buy *Capitalism's World Disorder*.

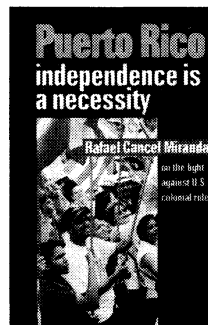
test here at Fort Benning demanding the School of the Americas be closed. The school runs a training program for the armed forces of Latin American governments Washington supports. It is closely associated with the use of death squads, torture, and other means of repressing popular struggles of workers and peasants.

The books were sold by members of the Young Socialists, Socialist Workers Party and supporters who joined the protest from Atlanta, Birmingham, and Houston. The tables they set up swarmed with interested demonstrators throughout the two days of activities and well into the night. More than \$1,000 in Pathfinder books and pamphlets were sold overall, with books about the Cuban revolution especially popular. The crowd, estimated as high as 10,000 people, was predominantly high-school and college-age youth who attended

Campaign to sell CAPITALISM'S WORLD DISORDER to workers and farmers

Union	Placements Goal/Sold	Individual Sales Goal/Sold
IAM	75/44	50/27
UAW	40/10	35/7
UFCW	(63/8)*	(36/8)*
UNITE	35/3	25/8
USWA	40/13	30/12
UTU	65/33	35/22
TOTALS	318/111	211/84

* Campaigners in UFCW have not adopted national goals.



Puerto Rico: Independence Is a Necessity

Rafael Cancel Miranda

In two interviews, Cancel Miranda — one of five Puerto Rican Nationalists imprisoned by Washington for more than 25 years until 1979 — speaks out on the brutal reality of U.S. colonial domination, the campaign needed to free the Puerto Rican political prisoners, the example of Cuba's socialist revolution, and the resurgence of the independence movement today. In English and Spanish. Booklet \$3

The Communist Manifesto

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

Founding document of the modern working-class movement, published in 1848. Why communists act on the basis not of preconceived principles but of facts springing from the actual class struggle, and why communism, to the degree it is a theory, is the generalization of the historical line of march of the working class and political condition for its liberation. Booklet \$3

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Support labor, farmer, national struggles

Oppose chauvinism of union officials at WTO protests

Continued from front page
nese revolution.

Washington's preparations for the WTO summit have stumbled badly as the governments of a number of countries announced in the last week that they may not attend. They include the "leaders of Japan, Brazil, the European Union, and several developing countries," according to the *New York Times*. Disputes have arisen over specific questions of trade, and over the agenda that will guide the talks.

In the countdown to Seattle, the U.S. rulers' demands that the European Union end agricultural subsidies have proved increasingly contentious. Paris is particularly incensed. France is the second-largest exporter of agricultural commodities, trailing only the United States, and the French capitalists fear the impact of competition with their more productive North American rivals. "Longtime [WTO] members, like France, are convinced that the United States is using its economic rise and unchallenged global power to draft rules that play to the strengths of American industry," reported the *New York Times* article.

Deep conflicts, especially among the powerful imperialist countries of Europe, North America, and Japan, threaten to derail the WTO summit and the round of extensive trade negotiations it is supposed to initiate.

In the United States, the trade deal with China has been the focus of the attention of the big business media and of the forces that are organizing protests outside the WTO meeting. Trade union officials, environmental groups, and others have increased the anti-Chinese pitch of their calls for action in the wake of the agreement, which includes Washington's commitment to back the Chinese government's application for WTO membership. AFL-CIO president John Sweeney called it a "trade deal with a rogue nation."

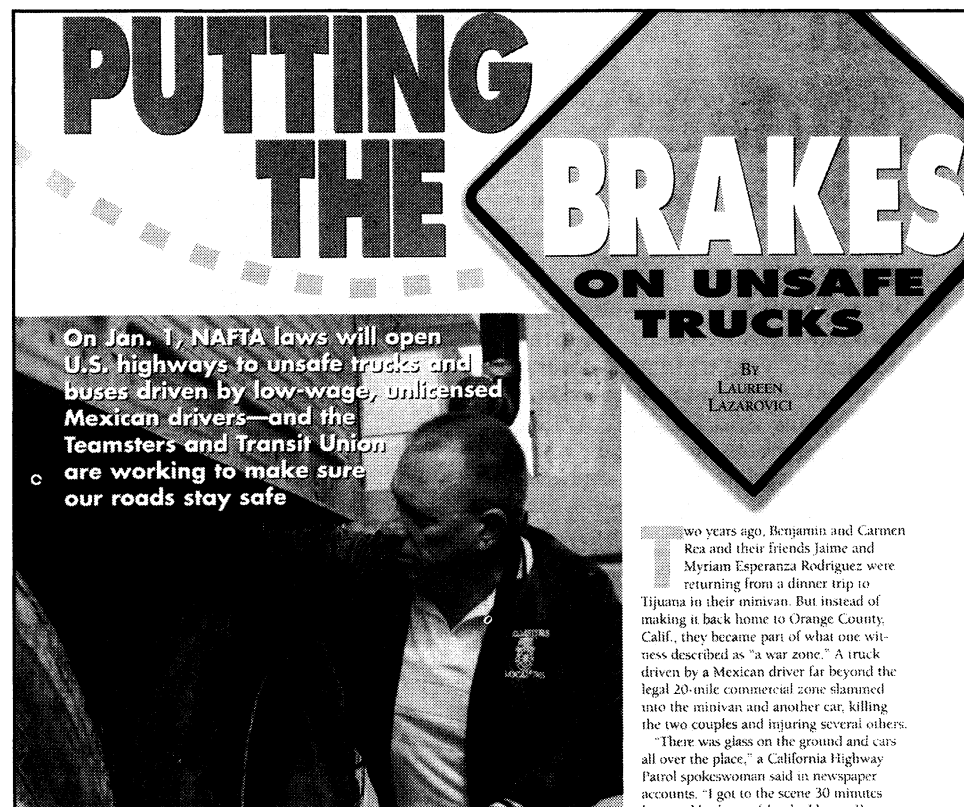
Ultrarightist presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan also scored the agreement as "capitulating to Beijing at the expense of working American families, and for the benefit of transnational corporations." He and his "Buchanan brigades" plan to be in Seattle for the protests.

The organizers of the anti-WTO actions falsely point to the WTO and other international bodies as the cause of unemployment, environmental destruction, and infringement on national sovereignty. Their political trajectory promotes economic nationalism and American chauvinism, pointing away from the international solidarity working people need, and away from an understanding that Washington is the biggest enemy of working people in the United States and beyond.

Capitalists' goals in trade deal

The debate today over trade with China stems from tactical divisions within the U.S. ruling class. The capitalist rulers differ over what stance will most effectively serve their mutually agreed-upon course: to seek the reestablishment of capitalism in the world's most populous country. Capitalists in the textile industry are prominent in the minority in their class who strike a "dissonant note" in opposing the pact, says the *New York Times*. Special tariffs for their industry will be phased out by the year 2005. Many union officials share their support for protectionist measures which penalize foreign competitors. The majority of the U.S. rulers, however, clearly back closer economic relations with China. The rulers argue over how best to blackmail and pressure Beijing; all agree that such tactics are necessary.

The U.S. rulers consider that they "lost China" in the years immediately following World War Two, when the Peoples Liberation Army made up of Chinese workers and peasants defeated the U.S.-backed Kuomintang forces of Chiang Kai-shek. In the following years, says Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes in *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium*, "The workers and peasants eliminated imperialist pillage and expropriated the emerging capitalist class in both agriculture and industry. These conquests made possible China's centralization as a modern nation," despite the Stalinist character of the leadership of the



Page from AFL-CIO magazine *America@work*, promoting Teamsters officials' campaign against Mexican truck drivers. This type of national chauvinism, which is central to the anti-WTO protests in Seattle, is a deadly trap for working people.

Communist Party of China. (See ad on front page and excerpt on page 13.)

Washington and the other imperialist powers in Europe and elsewhere remain implacably opposed to the revolution and its gains. They have subjected it for long periods of time to diplomatic freezes, economic sanctions, vitriolic propaganda, and military threats.

Businesses eye huge Chinese market

The "wide-ranging deal" on trade with China signed November 16 "has received a generally favorable response from foreign governments and corporations," wrote James Kynge, Beijing correspondent for the *Financial Times* on November 19. "[They are] excited over the wealth of opportunities that it opens up in the world's largest potential market." Under the deal, Beijing agreed to open up significant areas of the Chinese economy, including telecommunications and banking, to greater penetration by capitalist investors. Washington in turn pledged to support Beijing's application for membership to the WTO.

Among the U.S. politicians who have gained most prominence as prospective presidential candidates in the elections next year, only Republican conservative figure Malcolm Forbes and Reform Party hopeful Buchanan have opposed the deal. The big-business press has, by and large, supported it. "The trade agreement between Washington and Beijing... is a desirable step," wrote William Pfaff in the *International Herald Tribune* on November 18.

"Business groups" would join the White House to "win approval in Congress," reported the *New York Times*. But congressional approval is "not a foregone conclusion," warned the British business weekly the *Economist*, noting that "Protectionist and anti-Chinese sentiments are widespread on Capitol Hill." Beijing has also yet to gain the agreement of 24 or more governments represented in the 135-member WTO before it can join the organization.

Businessmen in the United States hope to make quick profits out of the trade concessions pried open by Washington. "U.S. Investors Salivate Over Chinese Stocks," ran a headline in the *New York Times* on November 18. Stephen Roach, the chief economist at Morgan Stanley Dean Witter, stated in a cautious assessment that "The telecom area will be a real opportunity immediately." He noted that "Throughout most of the 1990's, the Chinese economy, which is about \$1 trillion in size, has been growing at about 10 percent a year. This year it will grow around 7 percent, and it could expand at an 8 or 8.5 percent rate in 2000."

This growth, and the sheer size of the Chinese population and potential market and workforce attracts some capitalists. In one of a number of passages dealing with developments in China in *Capitalism's World Disorder*, Barnes speaks of the

"bourgeoisie's dream of the great miracle—a billion Chinese consumers and value-producers." The prospect, however utopian, of a billion mouths drinking Coca Cola, munching hamburgers, and wearing, driving, and consuming other U.S. brands strikes the capitalists with almost irresistible force.

Massive internal changes are driving the growth in the Chinese economy, Barnes notes. "As recently as the opening of the 1980s," more than 90 percent of the population lived in rural areas. Barnes describes the "gigantic migration from the countryside to the cities that is unfolding." That migration totaled 100 million people by late 1998. "In search of a livelihood," says Barnes, "millions of toilers from the countryside in China continue to head... toward the factories and manufacturing establishments large and small.... Workers face low wages, extremely long hours, and often appalling health and safety conditions."

In the Special Economic Zones, concentrated in the south of China, "the Japanese, U.S., and other capitalists investing in China think they have died and gone to heaven. They have most of the rights of capitalists, but the state 'handles' the workers for them," says Barnes, referring to the Stalinist regime and its party, police, and military apparatus. "In the medium term," he remarks, "these conditions will permit a relatively rapid economic expansion."

Trade, however, between China and the United States remains modest. In 1997 U.S. firms exported more than \$20 billion worth of goods to Taiwan, a country of less than 22 million people, almost twice as much as they shipped to China, a nation of more than one billion. Commerce between the United States and Mexico is worth far more in both exports and imports.

Hopes to boost 'market reform'

The U.S. rulers plan to wield the trade agreement as a weapon against the economic and social relations that still mark China, and that flow from the revolution and its accomplishments. They hold out hopes that the deal can boost the market "reforms," and encourage the "reformers" in the Chinese bureaucracy. Stephen Roach, in the above-cited interview, said "it really is a watershed event for Chinese economic reform." William Pfaff in the *International Herald Tribune* wrote, "This agreement reinforces China's political reformers, led by Prime Minister Zhu Rongji."

An editorial in the November 20 *Economist* stated, "The central question... is whether Chinese Communism will be strengthened by membership of the WTO—as China's leaders must hope—or be ruined by it."

Reginald Dale, a columnist in the *International Herald Tribune*, described the capitalist rulers' "gamble" on November 23. "At best," he wrote, "WTO membership will hasten the economic reforms China has pur-

sued for the past two decades and [bring] China closer into the fold of market democracies..." The big-business media uses terms like "democracy" and the "rule of law" as euphemisms for capitalist social relations, or the direct exploitation of China and its working people by finance capital.

"At worst," continued Dale, "it will lead to political upheavals in China and breed enmity toward capitalism, leading to serious new tensions between Beijing and Washington."

Washington tightens military ring

While the U.S. rulers believe they can make progress in undermining the workers state with their consumer goods and huge economic power, they are also welding a tighter military ring around China. President Clinton has given the green light to the development of an antimissile system frequently called Theater Missile Defense. The White House will decide whether to deploy these missiles, still in the early testing stages, next summer. U.S. military planners have openly discussed stationing them on the soil of Washington's Asian allies, including south Korea, Japan, and Taiwan. Beijing has protested these moves, as has Moscow.

At the same time conflicts have grown between the governments of China and Taiwan. Beijing claims Taiwan, where the defeated counterrevolutionary forces fled after the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949, as part of its territory. When tensions rose in 1996 Washington demonstratively sent a naval ship into the Taiwan Strait in support of Taipei.

Three days after trade negotiators signed the trade pact, the FBI claimed to have found "new evidence suggesting that China may have stolen information about the most advanced U.S. nuclear warhead." The police agency was forced to retreat from charges of espionage it leveled at Beijing earlier this year after it failed to provide any evidence.

As part of the propaganda blitz against Beijing the U.S. rulers point their finger at the Stalinist government's denial of labor and democratic rights. A layer of politicians and union bureaucrats attack Washington for not doing so more strongly.

Opposite of working-class solidarity

This is the opposite of organizing solidarity with the many workers and peasants in China who are beginning to organize to defend their rights. In fact, the canner imperialist investors fear the response of workers in China to the layoffs and other attacks that will accompany deeper capitalist investment. "Foreign competition is expected to eliminate more than 10 million jobs on China's farms, in its auto factories and in other sectors over the next five to 10 years," wrote John Pomfret in the *Washington Post* the day the pact was signed. Chinese agriculture would suffer especially from the imports of cheaper U.S. products, he reported.

"Even without foreign competition, angry workers and farmers have protested often enough to put the Government on edge," wrote Erik Eckholm in the *New York Times*.

The union tops have backed Washington's foreign policy throughout the postwar decades, and share Washington's hostility towards the Chinese revolution. On the whole, they stand with those politicians who want to isolate China more on the international stage, and place Beijing under more diplomatic, economic, and military pressure.

While the rulers in the United States are willing to invest substantially in China, things stand differently with the workers states of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. They aim to reintroduce capitalism there as well, but their methods are not marked by the same illusions. The rapid transformation of relations between town and country that stands behind China's relatively rapid economic growth already occurred decades ago in those countries.

There, as Jack Barnes wrote in "U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War," a 1990 resolution of the Socialist Workers Party published in the *Marxist magazine New International* No. 11, "Despite relatively rapid initial industrialization and urbaniza-

tion in a deformed and degenerated workers state—the more rural the economy at the outset, the longer this period can be—the rate of labor productivity growth peaks and decelerates toward economic stagnation and irreversible crisis. This is a law of development of these states.” The resolution explains that “The average annual rate of economic growth in the Soviet Union, for example, peaked at roughly 6 percent in the 1950s and steadily slowed to the point of an absolute decline by 1989, just before the Stalinist regime collapsed.”

Contrast with Russia, Eastern Europe

In place of economic growth, there is economic decline. In an editorial titled “The Ragged March to Markets” the *New York Times* listed the performance of a number of countries east of Germany in the period since the late 1980s, when one Stalinist regime after another shattered under the blows of working people’s protests and resistance. “Poland’s economy,” the editorial said, “is 20 percent larger than it was a decade ago. The economies of Slovenia, the Czech Republic and Hungary are about as large today as they were in 1989.” But, the editors note, “Ukraine’s output is 60 percent below its 1989 level; Russia’s economy has been cut in about half. Incomes in Kazakhstan and Moldova are falling from already low levels.”

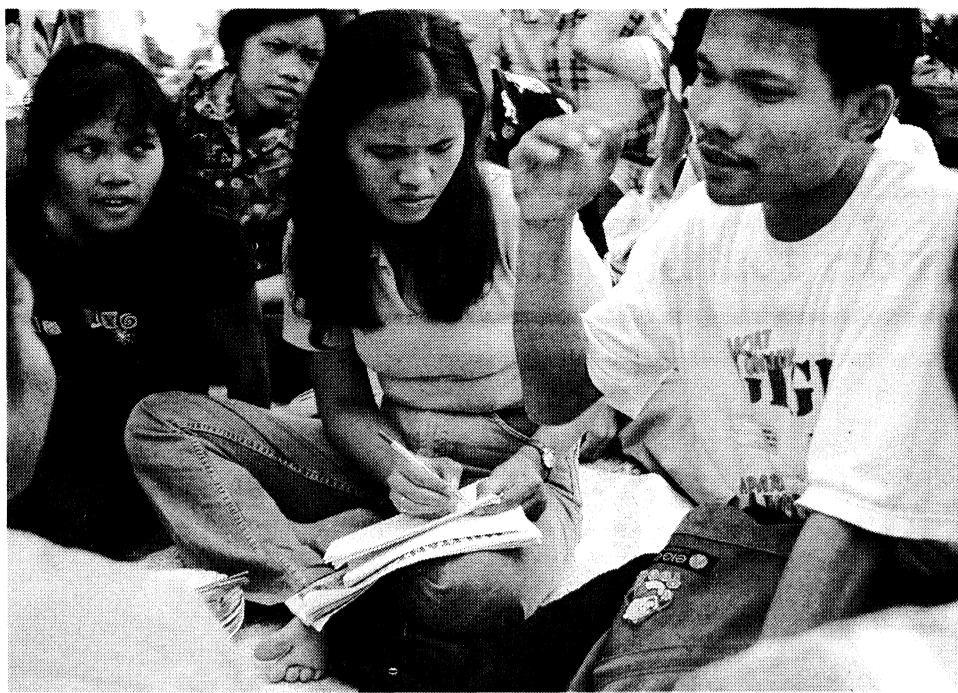
The consequences of this continuing crisis for working people are horrifying. Almost half the population in Russia lives below the official poverty line. Average life expectancy in Russia for men plummeted from 64 years in 1990 to 57 in 1995. Following the downfall of the Stalinist regimes, events rapidly showed that there would be no capitalist investment boom in these countries.

At the heart of the problem for the capitalists lies the manifest lack of what former president Richard Nixon described as a “management class” in a 1992 article stating that Washington could not claim to have won the Cold War. In reality, it is the capitalist class that is absent. Even after decades of misrule by Stalinist thugs and bureaucrats, who aped capitalist economic methods and shut working people out of politics, the social relations that weave through these societies are different than those that prevail under capitalism. And when investors do start to impose their demands, they confront a working class that is determined to hold onto its social rights, including the right to some sort of education and employment.

The Stalinist rulers in Beijing will prove equally unable to maintain economic growth past the initial burst of modernization and migration, and will face the same kind of crisis and resistance that unseated their counterparts in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. But the period of rapid growth is not yet spent in China. For the moment, capitalist investment in the Chinese economy far exceeds that in the other workers states. *Capitalism’s World Disorder* notes that “In 1996 China was the recipient of \$45.3 billion of foreign direct investment. That accounted for some 40 percent of all investment in plant and equipment that year in the Third World combined, and was a billion dollars more than the total foreign direct investment in eastern Europe and the former USSR as a whole for 1990–96.”

Washington’s policy towards Russia and the majority of the Eastern European countries contains the same ingredients as its policy towards China; as much as possible, it uses trade, investment, diplomatic, and military relations as weapons to weaken the workers states. But Washington has turned the military screws tighter in Europe than in Asia.

Having conducted several bombing campaigns and come to the brink of infantry invasion in Yugoslavia, Washington now has thousands of troops in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Macedonia. In April of this year, NATO approved The Clinton administration’s initiative and added Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary to its membership lists. The alliance’s line was moved eastward to the borders of the former Soviet Union, despite Moscow’s protests. “What logic would dictate that we freeze NATO’s eastern edges



Militant/Bob Aiken

Jakarta, Indonesia: Wido Ast, the president of the Glove Workers Union, speaks to Militant reporters in June, 1999. To his right is the union’s general secretary, Mesit Fitriani. Six hundred workers went on strike June 15 to defend fired members of their newly formed union. Workers like these are helping to establish union and democratic rights in Indonesia. Such workers in the Third World are depicted as “victims,” not as the fighters they are, by campaigns that lobby against sweatshops abroad.

where they presently lie,” said U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright, celebrating the decision.

The White House has decided to develop its anti-missile “defense” program over the Kremlin’s objections. Like Beijing, Moscow recognizes that the missiles potentially give the Pentagon a first-strike nuclear edge for the first time since the 1950s, when the Soviet Union developed nuclear weapons as a measure of defense and deterrence. As part of the NATO alliance and after the test of strength in Yugoslavia, Washington also dominates European military affairs more than it does Asian.

Socialist-minded workers today stand with China and the other workers states in their conflict with the imperialist powers. They defend its revolutionary gains regardless of the Stalinist character of its leadership, in the same way that workers defend their unions under attack by the bosses and their government, in spite of the officialdom. On that basis, working people will be stronger to carry out the political revolutions that are required to overthrow bureaucratic misrule and install a regime that represents workers and working farmers.

A nationalist, chauvinist campaign

The various forums and political actions that will occur outside the meeting of the World Trade Organization in Seattle, in contrast, have at their center defending Washington’s “national sovereignty.”

“The World Trade Organization has been granted spectacular powers,” read a full-page ad placed in the November 22 *New York Times* by a group of 20 environmental groups. “The WTO is already among the most powerful, secretive, undemocratic and unelected bodies on Earth.... Here’s the trade-off: Nation-states and their citizens sacrifice their democratic rights. Corporate interests gain them.” The ad called on readers to join the protests in Seattle.

“National boundaries are more important to the bourgeoisie today than at any time in history,” says Barnes in *Capitalism’s World Disorder*. “Forget the hoopla about European unity, the North American Free Trade Agreement, the World Trade Organization, and the United Nations. To the most powerful ruling families of world finance capital, borders are becoming more important, not less.”

“Why? Because national boundaries

mark off two things the capitalist rulers need in order to maximize their wealth and protect it in face of rising competition”—currencies and the home base of the bourgeoisie’s armed forces.

The WTO, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and other such institutions are not all-powerful, supra-national entities. Rather they register the relationship of forces among the major imperialist powers such as Washington, London, Paris, Berlin, and Tokyo, as well as codifying the unequal relations between these powers and the semi-colonial countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

What is the World Trade Organization? Washington took the lead in establishing the organization’s predecessor, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which inaugurated the WTO four years ago. The WTO serves the interests of the “great” imperialist powers as they wrestle with each other for a bigger share in the domination and exploitation of the Third World. It also registers the outcome of the trade conflicts between the big imperialist powers.

The focus on the WTO casts Washington in the role of victim instead of criminal. The WTO has no existence independent of the mighty imperialist powers. Even its budget, a puny \$75 million, gives a clue to its real weight. The WTO serves as an adjunct to the exploitation of working people by the capitalist system, not a separate and higher form of it.

Similarly, the International Monetary Fund (IMF)—which is justly hated by toilers throughout the Third World for the austerity policies it takes the lead in demanding in exchange for loans—does not stand above nation states. It acts on behalf of Washington and the other imperialist governments, and the capitalists they represent, helping to perpetuate the debt slavery of the semicolonial countries and transfer wealth into the coffers of the ruling families in the biggest capitalist centers.

A good example is the so-called bailout of Mexico following the collapse of the peso at the end of 1994. In return for a promised \$50 billion in “loan guarantees” brokered by Washington and the IMF, the

Continued on Page 14

Join struggle against U.S. bosses, not WTO, says socialist candidate in Seattle

The following article by Chris Rayson, who was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Port Commissioner in Seattle, appeared in the October 26 issue of the daily *Seattle Post Intelligencer* under the title, “Port should back working-class struggles against U.S. bosses.” Rayson is a rail worker and member of the United Transportation Union.

BY CHRIS RAYSON

Patricia Davis, Port of Seattle commissioner and president of the Washington Council on International Trade, led the effort to land the December ministerial meeting of the World Trade Organization for Seattle.

The Socialist Workers Campaign will not participate in the protests against the WTO. The fair trade campaign of the labor officials has a reactionary political character. Underneath all the demagoguery of protesting pollution, child labor and abysmal wages, one theme emerges: Protect jobs in the U.S. and buy products “made in America.”

Fair trade is economic nationalism. Whether it is the Teamster officials trying to lock out Mexican truckers or U.S.W.A. or I.A.M. officials joining the anti-China slander campaign against imports, the effect is to put cooperation with U.S. bosses above unity with working people abroad. Instead, labor needs to mobilize the broadest solidarity around today’s strikes and protests against U.S. bosses.

The most logical economic nationalist is rightist politician Pat Buchanan. His cultural war targets entire layers of the working class as scapegoats for the social crisis. He especially rails against immigrant and Mexican

workers and has tried to create a McCarthy witchhunt scare around Chinese spying. His current issue is the chief organizing center today of incipient American fascism. The fair trade anti-WTO protests provide him an opportunity to get a broader hearing within the working class and recruit to the Buchanan brigades shock troops eventually to be turned against the labor movement.

The WTO has nothing to do with promoting free trade or the development of oppressed nations. It is a vehicle used by Washington, as the dominant imperialist nation, to organize trading policy in a world of capitalist disorder, with intensified competition and rising tensions. There is no better alternative within the framework of capitalism.

Labor needs to chart an independent working-class course. Instead of fair trade protests against the WTO, it must champion international solidarity and back working-class struggles against U.S. bosses. Along this road a transformed labor movement can forge an alliance with farmers to fight for a workers and farmers government that can put an end to capitalism and build a society based on human needs not profit.

In the Port of Seattle race, our campaign has stressed backing strikes and protests by workers and farmers that are taking place now in the United States and abroad. In office, our priorities remain the same.

Puget Sound port drivers struck last summer to demand union recognition and a living hourly wage. They ran into opposition from the trucking companies, shipping lines, railroads and the ports of Seattle and Tacoma. The port was open for business, authorities said, and worked with the railroads especially to keep the freight mov-

ing.

The Port of Seattle must institute a licensing arrangement to enforce an agreement with the truck drivers similar to that won by drivers at the Port of Vancouver. Only those trucks that recognize the Teamsters as the port drivers’ bargaining agent and that pay a living hourly wage should be licensed by the port.

The port drivers’ strike (their ranks are made up of workers from many different countries) is part of the growing mood of resistance to capitalist injustice in the United States and worldwide.

Here is an action program for building a political movement led by labor that the Socialist Workers campaign advances:

- Cancel the debt of third world nations that is squeezing workers and peasants, destroying any chance for progress and development.
- Support an international fight for a shorter work week, with no cut in weekly pay. This is labor’s answer to layoffs and downsizing.
- Guarantee all farmers a livable income.
- Open the borders and defend the rights of immigrant workers.
- Oppose any imperialist intervention or war, which is at bottom always directed at preserving capitalist rule and domination. Get the United States and the United Nations out of East Timor. Get U.S. and NATO troops out of the Balkans.
- Oppose economic sanctions against revolutionary Cuba and against North Korea, Iraq, Iran, Libya, Yugoslavia or any other nation targeted by Washington. Oppose the military and economic threats against China.

'Making History': four generals of Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces speak out

New title from Pathfinder features interviews with leaders of the revolution

Below we print the introduction by Mary-Alice Waters to *Making History: Interviews with Four Generals of Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces*, just released by Pathfinder Press. The book contains interviews with Cuban generals Néstor López Cuba, Enrique Carreras, José Ramón Fernández, and Harry Villegas.

The interviews took place in Havana with Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters and Martín Koppel. Barnes is national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. Waters is the president of Pathfinder Press and the editor of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*. Koppel is editor of the Spanish-language monthly magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The Cuban publishing house Editora Política will release the Spanish edition of this book in early 2000. The introduction is copyright © Pathfinder Press 1999, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

"We have been capable of making history but not of writing it."
—Raúl Castro

On January 1, 1959, men and women of Cuba in their millions ceased being simply the objects of history and became its makers as well. In so doing they opened the door to the first socialist revolution in the Americas.

As the four interviews in this book highlight, the human beings who fought to accomplish that feat were ordinary working people. Overwhelmingly young, most still in their teens or early twenties—workers, farmers, students, shopkeepers—they didn't set out to change world history. They had merely decided to bring down by any means necessary the bloody tyranny of Fulgencio

the men and women who emerged as the leading cadre of the Rebel Army came from, and what shaped them, is the real subject of this book. As generals of Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) talk about their ex-

perience, we get a glimpse of how the struggle itself transformed them, changing their understanding of the world and their

place in it and creating the disciplined communist fighters whose unity has both led the Cuban people forward and held U.S. imperialism at bay for more than four decades. "The Cuban revolution you see today continues, but is not the same as, the Cuban revolution of yesterday, even after the victory," the Argentine-born Cuban leader Ernesto Che Guevara told a thousand young people from throughout the Americas gathered in Havana the summer of 1960 for the historic first Latin American Youth Congress.

Much less is it the Cuban insurrection prior to the victory, at the time when those eighty-two youth made the difficult crossing of the Gulf of Mexico in a boat taking on water, to reach the shores of the Sierra Maestra. Between those youth and the representatives of Cuba today there is a distance that cannot be measured in

years—or at least not correctly measured in years, with twenty-four-hour days and sixty-minute hours.

All the members of the Cuban government— young in age, young in character, and young in the illusions they had—have nevertheless matured in the extraordinary school of experience, in living contact with the people, with their needs and aspirations.

The hope all of us had was to arrive one day somewhere in Cuba, and after a few shouts, a few heroic actions, a few deaths, and a few radio broadcasts, to take power and drive out the dictator Batista. History showed us it was much more difficult to overthrow a whole government backed by an army of murderers—murderers who were partners of that government and were backed by the greatest colonial power on earth.

That was how, little by little, all our ideas changed.



In April 1997 a team of reporters for the *Militant* newspaper and the Spanish-language magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*, both published in New York, visited Cuba. Reminiscences and analyses of the victory of the Cuban militias and Revolutionary Armed Forces at Playa Girón on the Bay of Pigs were in the news, as the thirty-sixth anniversary of that titanic accomplishment approached.

On April 17, 1961, an expeditionary force of some 1,500 Cuban mercenaries, armed, organized, and financed by the U.S. government, landed in an isolated area of south-central Cuba with the objective of establishing a beachhead, declaring a provisional government, and appealing to Washington for immediate military support. Within seventy-two hours the invading troops were routed and virtually the entire force taken captive. The beachhead was never consolidated. Cuban commander in chief Fidel Castro rightly referred to this battle as the first military defeat of Yankee imperialism in Latin America.

Our reporting team mentioned to colleagues in Cuba that we would like to write something for our readers commemorating that historic event. When asked if we would be interested in interviewing some veterans of the combat at Playa Girón, we said yes, enthusiastically. Within a matter of days, much to our surprise, the combatants with whom interviews had been arranged turned out to be three division and brigadier generals of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba—José Ramón Fernández, field commander of the Cuban forces at Playa Girón; Enrique Carreras, who commanded Cuba's air force in that battle; and Néstor López Cuba, one of the tank corps commanders.

The interviews actually occurred a few months later, in October 1997. By chance they coincided with the anniversary of the 1962 October Crisis, known in the United States as the "Missile" Crisis. Thirty-five years earlier, the administration of John F. Kennedy had pushed the world to the brink of nuclear war in a showdown with the governments of Cuba and the Soviet Union over the installation of Soviet nuclear weapons—accepted by Cuba in face of the need to defend the island from Washington's mounting invasion preparations. This anniversary, too, was much in the news, both in the United States and Cuba, and was



Lee Lockwood

January 1, 1959. Prisoners just released from jails of Batista dictatorship, still in white prison clothes, arm themselves and form up as Cuba's working people take over the streets and ensure victory of Rebel Army.



Courtesy José Ramón Fernández

Above: José Ramón Fernández, field commander of the Cuban forces during the battle at the Bay of Pigs, April 1961. Workers and peasants in Cuba defeated the U.S.-backed mercenary invasion in 72 hours. Right: Enrique Carreras boards a IL-28 aircraft in Pinar del Río, Cuba, during the "missile" crisis of October 1962, when the Kennedy administration brought the world to the brink of a nuclear holocaust. Washington backed off plans to invade the island in face of the mobilization of millions of Cubans to defend their revolution.

Batista—a dictatorship backed by the military might of Washington and the proper interests it represents.

As the revolutionary war unfolded from late 1956 on, victory was decided by the caliber of the Rebel Army soldiers forged under the command of Fidel Castro. Where

periences, we get a glimpse of how the struggle itself transformed them, changing their understanding of the world and their



Courtesy Enrique Carreras

an unexpected opportunity to ask the three generals not only about combat at the Bay of Pigs, but about their experiences at the time of the October Crisis as well.

October 1997 was an important moment in Cuba's history. Solemn ceremonies from Havana to Santa Clara and beyond commemorated the return to Cuba of the remains of Ernesto Che Guevara and six other



Courtesy Néstor López Cuba
Néstor López Cuba (center) along with other Cuban combatants in Nicaragua in 1988, when Cuban advisors helped Sandinista army defeat U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary forces. "Our internationalist missions have been a catalyst for the values that exist among the Cuban people," he says in interview in *Making History*.



Militant/Argiris Malapanis
Brig. Gen. Harry Villegas with participants at World Festival of Youth and Students in Havana, August 1997. The accurate history of the Cuban revolution and its Revolutionary Armed Forces, as told by veterans of the struggle, is important not only for the Cuban people but for workers, farmers, and youth around the world who want to emulate the revolutionary example.

internationalist combatants who had fought alongside him in Bolivia in 1966-67 in the effort he led to consolidate a revolutionary leadership nucleus in the Southern Cone of Latin America. In his speech to the main ceremony in Santa Clara where the remains of these internationalist fighters were laid to rest, President Fidel Castro said he viewed "Che and his men as reinforcements, as a detachment of invincible combatants that this time includes not just Cubans. It also includes Latin Americans who have come to fight at our side and to write new pages of history and glory."

In addition to the three commanders at Playa Girón, we were able to interview one of the combatants in the Bolivian campaign: Brigadier General Harry Villegas. "Pombo," as he is known worldwide, served on Guevara's general staff in Bolivia, and following Guevara's death commanded the Cuban and Bolivian revolutionaries who fought their way out of the military encirclement organized by the Bolivian army and U.S. special forces.

Generals of the FAR have given few interviews over the years to Cuban, let alone non-Cuban, reporters. The four generals placed no restrictions on the topics or questions to be posed to them, however, nor did they ask for questions in advance. The interviews at times took on the character of a conversation and exchange. Revolutionaries from the United States and Cuba talked about history-making events, some of which they had lived through in common from very different vantage points in the frontline trenches.

From their earliest political experiences in the struggle against the Batista dictatorship; to their participation in the epic combat of David against the Goliath of U.S. imperialism throughout the opening years of the revolution; to their internationalist missions in parts of the world as far removed from each other as Syria, Vietnam, Bolivia, the Congo, Nicaragua, and Angola; to their observations about the challenges facing the Cuban revolution today—the generals spoke with candor and clarity.

Four things above all stand out

First, as Fidel Castro has often remarked, Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces didn't learn the art of war by reading manuals in the classrooms of a military academy. "They are forces whose roots are in history and whose apprenticeship was in combat," he noted on April 19, 1963, the second anni-

versary of the defeat of U.S. imperialism at the Bay of Pigs. Cuban men and women fought for something they believed in—and combined that experience, as soon as time permitted, with the study and training that have made the FAR among the most feared and most admired armies in the world, depending on one's class standpoint.

"This revolution has been characterized not by being a copier but by being a creator," Fidel told the July 26 rally in Santiago de Cuba in 1988. "Had we been willing to follow the schemas, we would not be gathered here today, we would not have had July 26, we would not have had a socialist revolution in this hemisphere. . . . Theory had it that no revolution could be made here. . . . That's what the manuals used to say."

Second, the fact that the majority of the cadres of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, including its officers, came from peasant and working-class origins is a product of the actual development of the Rebel Army over the course of the 1956-58 revolutionary war. The deliberate measures by Cuba's leadership to maintain that social composition are an expression of the class interests the FAR defends.

The heartfelt revulsion expressed in these interviews over the contemptuous and dehumanizing treatment of soldiers by officers in other armies, as witnessed by some of the generals, underscores the class character and composition of the FAR. This character is registered above all in the internationalism of the Cuban revolution. "Whoever is incapable of fighting for others will never be capable of fighting for himself," was the way Fidel Castro summarized this touchstone of the revolution in a speech to half a million people in Havana on Cuba's Armed Forces Day in December 1988.

Third, these interviews highlight the decisive place of youth in the forging of the

revolutionary movement in Cuba. Two of the generals were themselves teenagers when they joined the Rebel Army in the Sierra Maestra. The preponderance of young fighters carrying the full range of military and political responsibilities in the revolutionary government following the triumph in 1959 is evident.

Fourth, the heroic days of the Cuban revolution are not past, but are present and future. The extremely difficult economic conditions since the early 1990s referred to in Cuba as the Special Period pose challenges as great as any the revolution has ever faced, especially political challenges. That is why the accurate history of the Cuban revolution and its Revolutionary Armed Forces, as told by living combatants, becomes even more important to the continuity needed so much by young revolutionary fighters.

As the generals interviewed here explain and exemplify, the seeds of the revolutionary discipline, selfless attitudes, and commitment to human solidarity that mark the vanguard in Cuba today were planted in

the earliest years of the struggle against the Batista dictatorship. Many institutions, including the FAR itself, the militias, and the Union of Young Communists trace their origins in a straight line to the Rebel Army—which also gave birth to policies as wide-ranging as the revolution's priority to advancing the literacy and culture of the toilers, its measures to combat racial discrimination and promote women's equality, and its profound agrarian revolution.

In the initial years following the triumph in 1959, the cadres of Cuba's revolutionary movement did not have the leisure, nor did many of the workers and peasants who were making history yet have the cultural level, that would have enabled them to also write it down for others. That task is now consciously and deliberately being shouldered by the revolutionary leadership. The fruits of this endeavor are important not just for the people of Cuba, but for workers, farmers, and youth throughout the Americas and around the world who seek to emulate the example of the Cuban revolution. *Making History*, we hope, is a modest contribution to this effort.



A special note of appreciation is due to Santiago Dórquez, director of Editora Política, as well as Iraida Aguirrechu, Nora Madan, and others there whose aid and collaboration made possible not only the interviews in this volume but their careful editing as well.

Readers for whom the many historical references in these pages are largely new or unfamiliar will find the extensive combined glossary and notes at the end of the volume especially useful. Similarly, the notes on further reading will be an aid for those who wish to delve more deeply into the lessons of the modern working-class movement that form the historical framework assumed by the four Cuban generals and referred to in their remarks.

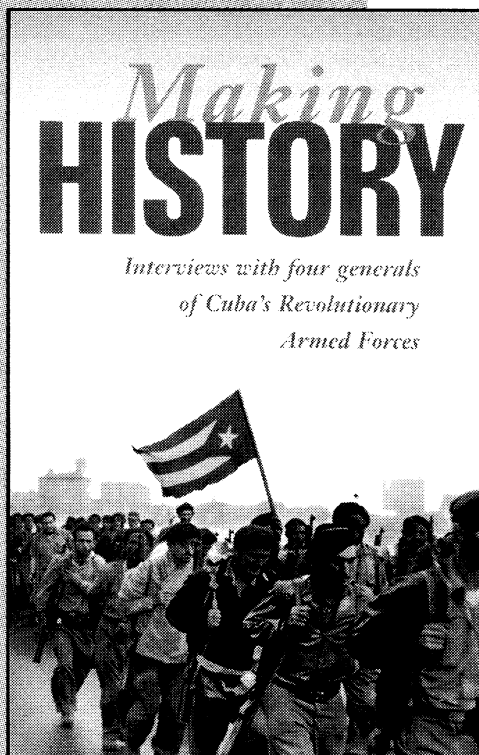
We dedicate this volume to the young people of Cuba and worldwide, for whom the men and women of the Rebel Army still point the way.

Mary-Alice Waters
 October 1999

NEW FROM PATHFINDER

Making History

Interviews with four generals of Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces



On January 1, 1959, men and women of Cuba in their millions ceased being simply the objects of history. They became its makers as well. By their actions they opened the door to the first socialist revolution in the Americas.

The human beings who fought to accomplish that feat were ordinary working people. Most were still in their teens or early twenties when they began. Who they were, where they came from, and the experiences that transformed them are the subject of this book.

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Dairy farmers struggle against foreclosure

BY MARGRETHE SIEM
AND LINDA MARCUS

NORTH TROY, Vermont—Working dairy farmers here and across New England are struggling to stave off foreclosure. Between 1982 and 1992 farmers lost 658,000 acres due to increasing pressures of land prices, low prices paid by dairy corporations for milk, and ever higher costs of equipment and bank loans.

"Most of the farmers in the area have been foreclosed on," said Dexter Randall, a dairy farmer here near the border with Quebec. "In the town of Troy alone, in 1978 there were 42 operating family farms, and today there are only 12," he said.

Over the past month the U.S. Congress has been debating measures that will increase the squeeze on small farmers through changing various "price support" mechanisms. The legislators and their corporate sponsors among dairy companies are openly trying to pit farmers from various regions of the country against each other.

Price support policies by Washington always benefit the large, capitalist farmers. For example the Northeast dairy compact, which sets prices above the rest of the country, benefits the largest dairy farmers in New England the most. It puts them at a competitive advantage over small, family farmers, widening the gap between them.

In response to Congressional moves to end the Northeast Dairy Compact, though, many working farmers here organized to prevent the suspension of the pact. The end of the compact "will have a very devastating impact on the family farmer," said Randall. "We all think that the compact is not the final answer for the dairy producers and consumers, but if we do lose the compact there will be a very rapid exit of small farmers from the business."

On October 13 the United States Senate passed an agricultural bill that discontinues the compact. Later, a two-year extension was tentatively approved. The compact guaranteed New England dairy farmers a minimum price for Class I milk, or liquid milk, above that set in U.S. government price-support program. Class II and III, which are milk processed into butter, cheese, and yogurt, are not part of the compact, and constitute about half of what the dairy farmers produce.

Dairy farmers confront price squeeze

Big business and milk companies have pushed for an end to the compact, which has brought \$75 million to the region's dairy farmers since it was implemented in 1996. It was designed to protect New England's dairy farmers, who on average have much smaller herds than their counterparts in the Midwest and West, from fluctuations in milk prices. "For years farmers were forced to sell their farms and milk prices went down," Randall said. "Something had to be done. It



Alice and Dexter Randall on their dairy farm in northern Vermont

took almost 10 years of pressure for the compact to come through."

Randall, his wife Alice, and two of their grown children work their dairy farm here in northern Vermont. They have 230 head of cattle, of which 100 are milkers; the rest are replacements, that is calves and other cattle not milking-ready. They raise feed corn on 30 acres of land and grass on another 200 acres. Theirs is among the nearly 1,700 dairy farms in Vermont. New England as a whole has 3,000 dairy farms.

Randall is the vice-chairman of Rural Vermont, an organization of farmers and their supporters who actively address, lobby, and fight for improving the conditions for the family farmer. In the past they have participated in actions against foreclosures, held milk strikes and struggles against monopoly prices by the big processors, and organized in support of the compact. Rural Vermont has 1,600 members, one-quarter of whom are farmers. "It is important to get the consumer on our side, to understand our common interest," said Randall.

"The compact is not the solution to the economic struggle of the small farmers today," he continued. "The main point of the compact is that it stabilizes the milk prices, and sets a minimum price. There are still fluctuations in the price, but much less than before. The compact gives us more opportunities for planning."

Even with the compact, the price received by the Vermont dairy farmer today is roughly the same as it was in 1980. Robert Judd, a dairy farmer and the Randalls' neighbor, commented, "The price we get for milk, our expenses to produce, and debt are the univer-

sal problems of small farmers in the area."

Like other working and family farmers, New England dairy farmers face rising costs for feed, veterinarian medicines, equipment, and energy. "We get the same milk price today as 20 years ago," said Dexter, so with rising costs "there is a constant need for more heads of cattle and bigger farms. It is like a treadmill." He gave the example that this year they had to replace the milk storage tank and build a new milkroom, at a cost of \$40,000. "It is twice the size we can fill today, but I expect to need the capacity in a few years, just to make ends meet," he said. This year they also needed a new tractor, and purchased an eight-year-old one for \$42,000. "These kind of expenses can be enough to capsize a small dairy operation these days," he said.

Corporations push to end compact

The dairy corporations are leading the effort to end the compact, pretending to defend Midwest dairy farmers and consumers.

"We don't need a dairy farm in every backyard in New England," said Kathleen Nelson, spokeswoman for the International Dairy Foods Association. "New England has way more milk than it needs. Midwestern farmers should not be punished because New England cannot produce milk as efficiently."

Arthur Pappathanasi, president of the Milk Industry Foundation and chief executive officer of West Lynn Creamery in Lynn, Massachusetts, wants to derail the compact because that would allow him to command a higher price as he sells his dairy. His spokes-

man stated that Pappathanasi opposes the compact because it raises the price of milk and thus cuts into his sales.

"I don't think a consumer in the United States would complain if they knew that the money would go to the farmers," said Randall. "The fact is that while the consumer has paid 40 percent more for milk over the last 10 years, the farmer is getting the same price. The fluctuations in price are either picked up by the consumer who pays more, or the farmer who get less. The milk handlers get the same price regardless of supply and demand on the market," Randall explained.

Midwest Democratic and Republican party politicians also pushed for the repeal of the compact. Minnesota Department of Agriculture commissioner Gene Hugoson said, "Regional compacts are simply the wrong direction to go in as we enter the 21st century. We believe the greatest prosperity for the dairy industry lies in a less regulated, more market-driven system." Sen. Rod Grams, also from Minnesota, called the compact "a protectionist economic power grab."

But Randall said the compact is increasingly popular among dairy farmers. They have succeeded in getting more than 20 state legislatures to vote to form interstate dairy compacts, which cannot take effect without Congressional approval.

The Vermont farmer said, "there should be a compact everywhere in the United States. There is still a remote chance that the compact will be reinstated because politicians in other states will vote for it. What the milk handlers are afraid of is that if we get the compact on Class I milk in most states, it would follow that we get it on Class II and III as well. And that would dramatically raise the price farmers get paid for milk."

Margrethe Siem and Linda Marcus are members of the United Transportation Union in Boston.

FROM PATHFINDER



Farmers Face the Crisis of the 1990s

DOUG JENNESS
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farmers and workers can unite internationally against the mounting assaults from the billionaire bankers industrialists, and merchants of grain.
Booklet \$3.50

Protests mount over 'zero tolerance' expulsions of students in Illinois

BY DAVID ADAMS
AND JOEL BRITTON

DECATUR, Illinois—Despite sizable protests, lawsuits, and acts of civil disobedience joined by Jesse Jackson and other protest leaders, public school officials here refuse to accept a compromise proposal to lighten "zero tolerance for violence" sanctions imposed on seven students at Eisenhower High.

The seven, who are Black, were all expelled for two years for a fight that broke out in the bleachers at a football game in September. No alternative schooling was provided for by the school board, most of whose members are white.

After mass rallies and demonstrations protesting the draconian punishment—for alleged involvement in a fracas that wasn't considered newsworthy in the daily paper's coverage of the football game—the expulsion was cut to one year and the board agreed to admit the youths to alternative schools.

Jackson and other supporters of the students are urging that a proposal by the state superintendent of schools that could result in the readmission of the students to Eisenhower by January be accepted.

Some 3,000 people marched November 14, capping a week of marches, rallies,

school closings, and intense controversy in this central Illinois city. One young woman captured the sentiment of the marchers with a hand-written sign saying, "Zero tolerance for Racism." The multi-generational crowd was overwhelmingly Black. About half the marchers were from Decatur and the rest from Chicago and other cities in the region.

The controversy has gripped the city for several weeks now. Some homes and businesses are displaying signs that say "We support our school board."

Two much smaller actions took place November 14. Betty Stockard, a member of the city council who is Black, led a mostly white march of a couple hundred to "Stop the Violence" and in support of the school board.

The *Decatur Herald and Review* reported that at another location, 10 hooded and robed Ku Klux Klanners from Butler, Indiana, attracted "almost 200 people.... The crowd roared approval for the shouts of 'White Power' and for jokes made about African-Americans and Jews.... Some individuals on the fringe of the crowd did not cheer and appeared to be observing the spectacle."

Nancy Waterman of Decatur, who is white, shouted, "Take off your masks, cowards," as she held a sign saying, "Hey KKK!"

Open your small minds before you open your big mouths."

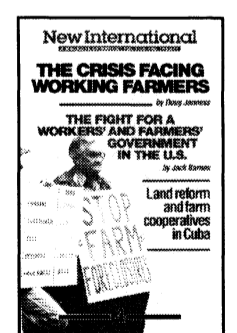
At the early morning mobilization of supporters of the expelled students on November 16, Brandi Carr told the *Militant* that she and about 20 fellow students from the University of Illinois in Champaign-Urbana carpooled to Decatur "to show support for the Decatur Seven." Carr said they opposed the "extremely harsh punishment" and "want to see them back in their regular school in January."

Sarah Smith, a young worker from the South Side of Chicago, told the *Militant* that she came with other Black friends. "I feel they shouldn't end a person's education over a single fight," Smith said. "They should be happy people want to go to school."

Roy Hawkins, a psychiatrist who is white and counsels youth in the Decatur schools, referred to the importance of the labor battles here earlier this decade and noted that if the youth "were white they wouldn't have been suspended for two years. This is also a racial issue. It's the educational 'death penalty.'"

Lisa Potash, a member of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees, contributed to this article.

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Thousands rally in Ohio for locked-out Steelworkers

Continued from front page

donated more than \$16,000 to Local 169 through several plant gate collections as well as giving a Thanksgiving turkey to every locked-out family.

UAW Local 1239 in Wooster, Ohio, donated their Christmas money to the struggle. Many of those present have visited the picket lines since this lockout began August 31. In the course of the rally, a long line of union representatives were welcomed up on stage to turn over checks ranging from \$50 to \$5,000 to the AK Steel workers. One rally participant who won a sizable amount of cash at the 50-50 raffle donated his winnings back to the union.

A number of those in attendance have been or are part of bitter contract negotiations, lockouts, or strikes in recent years, and feel they have a deep stake in the outcome of this battle. One member of International Union of Electronic Workers Local 1719, after donating \$585, said, "We got a contract because of what you have done."

Christo described the five-week strike against Mansfield Foundry last summer. "It took a lot of courage to stand behind the union. Ours was a victory primarily because everyone stood together; the company gave into us,

we didn't give in to them." Workers from the foundry have been active supporters of the AK Steel pickets.

Workers from Ideal Electric, who were on strike in 1991, gave \$2,040 to the strike fund. Other participants included unionists from Magnetic Specialties Inc. in Marietta, Ohio, who won a contract after an 18-month strike last year; from Ormet Aluminum in Hannibal, who are in an ongoing fight for a new contract; and a worker involved in a UNITE organizing drive at Dreisen in Cleveland. Steelworkers locked out at Kaiser Aluminum in Newark, Ohio, and aluminum workers from Ravenswood, West Virginia, who waged a hard-fought strike in the early received warm applause when their presence was announced at the rally. There were also unionists from Ashland, Kentucky, and Logan, West Virginia.

The presence of hundreds of jackbooted, armed guards and scab workers, who are occupying several area motels, is the source of a lot of anger among locked-out workers and town residents. One rally speaker described how these company agents harass people at their homes and around town, saying, "They are trying to provoke us but we have unity and we are solid. We are going to win this."

Joyce Paige, one of the locked-out AK Steel



Militant/John Sarge

About 2,000 locked-out members of USWA Local 169 at AK Steel and supporters marched and rallied in Mansfield, Ohio, November 20.

workers, described the atmosphere of harassment and intimidation inside the plant leading up to the contract. She and four other women from the plant, along with 200 others, had just returned from a Women of Steel conference in Columbus, Ohio.

Other members of Women of Steel, an organization that encourages women to be active in the USWA, were at the rally, including two workers from the 18-inch mill at Republic Steel in Massillon, Ohio. The District 1 Ohio chapter donated \$1,300 to the strike fund.

Dave Beverage, 19, and Jeff Yates, 23, Steel-

workers at National Material in Mansfield, came to the rally to "help out as much as we can. We are behind them 100 percent," Yates said. Beverage explained how important unions are and described his family's fight to prevent a freeway from being built through their farm in Crestline, Ohio. When asked what he thought was behind the AK Steel lockout, Yates answered "company greed."

Eva Braiman is a member of UAW Local 2400 in Cleveland. Henry Hillenbrand, a member of USWA Local 185, contributed to this article.

Overnite strikers win support in fight for union

Below are several reports by worker-correspondents from the picket lines of the Teamsters strike at Overnite Transportation. Nearly a quarter of the 8,200 drivers and dock workers at Overnite have been on strike since late October, fighting to organize the largest nonunion trucking company in the United States. Overnite workers have voted to join the Teamsters at 37 of the company's terminals since 1995, but Overnite refuses to negotiate a contract and is resting the organizing drive at other worksites. The strikers have won solidarity from other Teamsters and unionists across the country, and need more support in this important labor battle.

BY MAGGIE TROWE

BLAINE, Minnesota—When two meatpackers and a young farmer took time out from the Minnesota Farmers Union convention to visit the Overnite picket line in this Minneapolis suburb, the two strikers on duty gave them "Shut Overnite Down" buttons and told them things were going well. Jamie Huff, 29, and Gary Damlo, 54, said the union had partially pushed back the court injunction limiting pickets to two and forbidding strikers to follow trucks driven by strikebreakers.

"With the new court decision, we can have four pickets in front of the gate and others can stand by the roadside. And we are following the scab trucks again, and talking to workers at warehouses where they try to make deliveries," Huff said. Workers at a number of warehouses, both union and nonunion, have refused to unload Overnite trucks, the strikers said.

Damlo said the company had put up a ban-

ner outside their Blaine terminal that said they were open for business "today, tomorrow, and in the future." The banner had blown down, however, and it was clear to the strikers that Overnite is not doing much business. "When the trucks go out, we can hear by how the springs sound that they are light or empty," Damlo said. "The company is desperate to have the public see the trucks running on the road. And they have been sending out their salesmen to tell customers the strike is over. But we follow them and tell the customers the truth—that the strike is going strong and the trucks are running empty."

Maggie Trowe is a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers.

BY NED MEASEL AND KATHIE FITZGERALD

MOONACHIE, New Jersey—About 150 Teamsters and supporters from other unions rallied on the Overnite picket line outside the company's terminal here November 23. The terminal has been the scene of a longtime organizing drive, with the last union representation election three years ago failing by only two votes of the 55 workers.

Most joining the line were from Teamster locals in the northern New Jersey including five workers from the Tosco refinery in Linden who told the *Militant* they are picketing three days a week at the Carteret, New Jersey, terminal. A picket line rally there November 18 drew 150 unionists. Many Teamster locals throughout the state are holding weekly collections for the strikers.

Many other unions were represented at the

Moonachie rally, most notably 25 members of Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) Local 99 from the nearby Liz Claiborne warehouse.

The mood was spirited as truck after truck drove past, pulling their horn cords in deafening support. Support also came from a sizable number of Overnite drivers who support the union organizing drive. As they pulled their rigs onto the highway, waves and greeting were exchanged between drivers and pickets.

Ned Measel is a member of UNITE Local 7587. Kathie Fitzgerald is a member of United Transportation Union Local 60. Jorge Ledesma contributed.

BY BOB BRAXTON

ATLANTA—Unionists and others rallied to support striking Overnite workers at the main loading dock here on Moreland Avenue November 22. The rally, sponsored by striking Teamster's Local 728 and the Atlanta Labor Council, heard support for the strike from many local union representatives as well as Reverend Tim McDonald, the Metro Atlanta Religion-Labor Round Table, and several state legislators. The main theme was the demand that Overnite cease its attempted harassment and intimidation of the striking Teamsters. More than 150 people took part.

Midway through the rally a delegation of a dozen legislators and strike supporters presented company representatives with a letter to that effect. Platform speakers repeatedly emphasized the nonviolent and law-abiding character of the strike, in response to violence-baiting smears by the company and big-busi-

ness press.

Among the supporters present were workers from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, United Auto Workers, Steelworkers, UNITE, Communication Workers of America, Laborers International Union, Ironworkers and others. The largest numbers were striking Overnite workers and Teamsters from other unionized companies in the area, including USF Holland, CSF, and ABE. A USF Holland worker indicated that he walked the line regularly as well as helped the ambulatory picketing. Money contributed in a collection box by USF Holland workers is being donated weekly to the strike.

Eddie Dunn, a striker and 23-year veteran driver at Overnite, expressed well the sentiment of those present at the rally: "It's not just for us. It's for the whole labor force. What happens here will set a precedent for all workers. The companies will see whether they can get away with these types of conditions or not. That's why more workers should support this strike."

'We can win,' say strikers at Atlanta Forum

BY JILL FEIN

ATLANTA—Speaking at a Militant Labor Forum here November 13, John Culberson, a member of Teamster Local 728 and a driver for 16 years at Overnite said, "We're convinced we can go one day longer and win this strike." Culberson described how difficult it has been trying to get a contract from Overnite since the successful union election on April 17, 1995.

There have been 155 negotiating sessions in four years, according to Culberson. At the last negotiating session held in June, negotiators for Local 728 made a proposal straight out of the Overnite Employee Handbook that was rejected by the company. "They would rather our source our work than give us a legal binding contract."

Culberson expressed his lack of confidence in the NLRB to help them win the strike. "We're leading them, dragging them along the way. The NLRB is the wrong place to be relying on for anything. If we're going to war I wouldn't want them on my side, and we are in a war."

Also speaking at the Militant Labor Forum was Richard Merritt, a driver at Overnite for 23 years. "Hope lies in the united strength of our unions—UNITE, Teamster, UAW, and others," he said. "We need to act as one body."

British Columbia: longshore workers approve contract, continue to resist nonunion labor

BY BERNICE BRANDON

VANCOUVER—Under the threat of back-to-work legislation, more than 2,000 members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) voted 74 percent in favor of a four-year agreement. The deal, retroactive to Jan. 1, includes a 9.5 percent wage increase that will raise the Can\$25.36 hourly base rate to Can\$27.74 by the end of the contract (Can\$1=US\$0.68).

The results of the vote by ILWU locals in Vancouver—North America's third-busiest port—and other British Columbia locals were announced November 19.

The agreement leaves unresolved the key issue of the dispute: the contracting out of work on the docks to nonunion companies. The new contract only provides for further talks on

the issue.

On November 7, the B.C. Maritime Employers Association (BCMEA), which represents 71 port companies, locked out the 2,200 Longshoremen and 1,000 casuals after the ILWU refused to put the BCMEA's final offer to a membership vote. The employer's offer did not address the issue of contracting out. In 1998, Sultran, a Calgary-based company, had awarded a three-year contract to a nonunion firm to test the quality of sulfur shipments.

On November 20 Longshoremen at the BCMEA hiring hall in Vancouver expressed their opinion that nothing had been resolved around contracting out and that the deal was better than what they would have received under a contract imposed by the federal government after back-to-work legislation.

As they continue to resist the bosses' introduction of nonunion labor on the docks, the longshore workers face the threat of further legislation against their right to strike. Responding to pressure from companies in both the forest and mining industries, deputy prime minister Herb Gray said, "We intend to go further into this issue and make sure that this does not happen every year." Gray made his comments on November 15, shortly after the BCMEA had lifted its lockout in response to the ILWU leadership's decision to recommend an offer to the ILWU membership.

Preston Manning, leader of the federal Reform Party, a right-wing capitalist party, had earlier called for federal legislation that would "remove even the possibility of future lockouts and work stoppages."

'As long as I'm living and breathing, I will fight for Vieques'

Continued from front page
increase in the tempo of activities in Vieques, including the Saturday evening rally in front of Camp García and the reinforcement of camps where protesters have been occupying the bombing range for months. The weekly vigils at the entrance to Camp García are more accessible to a wide range of people than the civil disobedience camps, which can only be reached by boat.

The strengthening of the camps was both political and physical. Hurricane Lenny, a late season storm, passed to the south of Vieques November 17 and destroyed buildings at a number of the camps. On the south side of the island, the storm shelter built by the Puerto Rican Independence Party was flooded and had to be evacuated. The small chapel built on the National Hostos Congress camp was also destroyed.

"We are preparing to increase the civil disobedience," said Ismael Guadalupe, a leader of the Committee for the Rescue and Development of Vieques. "We want a Vieques without fences, without the threat of bombs without feeling that we are prisoners in our own land."

The Puerto Rican secretary of justice, José Fuentes Agostini, appealed for "calm" if U.S. authorities order the arrest of the protesters in the Vieques camps. He stated November 23 that the government of this U.S. colony was prepared appeal to the U.S. court in Puerto Rico if Clinton orders the resumption of military exercises in Vieques. Under the pressure of the mass sentiment among working people throughout Puerto Rico against the U.S. military presence on Vieques, even the pro-statehood governor, Pedro Rosselló, has tried to paint himself as a defender of the island.

"We do not know what the Navy will do," said Frente Socialista leader Rafael Bernabé, "The only thing we can do is not to lose the will to fight."

The Frente Socialista has called a picket for 4:30 p.m. November 24 at the main gate to Ft. Buchanan, in the San Juan suburb of

Guaynabo. Ft. Buchanan is the headquarters of the U.S. Army South units that were forced to relocate from Panama recently. This base will also be the scene of protests if the protesters in Vieques are arrested.

On Sunday morning, November 21, the roughly 100 people who had spent the night at the protest camps on the north side of the live impact zone marched to Observation Post 1, the three-story building where David Sanes was killed.

Héctor Pesquera, a leader of the National Hostos Congress, said that when the marchers arrived at the high security facility the gate was open but nobody was visible. One person climbed up the outside and put a Puerto Rican flag on the facility. "The Navy and Clinton have been immobilized," said Pesquera. "The morale of the Navy is very low."

If Clinton does try to reopen the bombing range, Pesquera said, he will encounter the Puerto Rican people in struggle. Pesquera said his organization and others plan to send waves of people to Vieques to replace the people arrested at the camps. If transportation to Vieques is blocked, then the protests will shift to military installations on Puerto Rico.

Since World War II, the presence of the Navy on two-thirds of the land of Vieques has stunted the economic development of the island. Many young people moved to the nearest island that had work. About 30 miles southeast of Vieques is St. Croix, in the US Virgin Islands. With an oil refinery and an aluminum smelter, St. Croix had more work available than Vieques. Angel Parrilla left Vieques in 1958 and is now a supervisor with the Virgin Islands Port Authority. He estimated that between 20 and 25 percent of the 50,000 people who live on St. Croix are Puerto Rican.

"When I retire" said Parrilla "I will go to Vieques to join the struggle to remove the Navy from there, if this had not yet happened."

On Nov. 14, 1493, on his second voyage to the Americas, Christopher Columbus arrived in Puerto Rico. That date is a holiday here. The night before "Discovery Day" is celebrated at schools all across the island with an outpouring of folkloric pageants that stress national identity. Noche Puertorriqueña is even celebrated at schools on U.S. military bases in Puerto Rico.



Members of the Congreso Nacional Hostos held a sit-down protest for several hours November 21 at Camp García in Vieques, demanding the U.S. Navy get off the island.

This year the date was chosen for coordinated protests in many cities in the United States in solidarity with the struggle to get the U.S. Navy out of Vieques. About 25 people picketed a new Navy recruiting station in a working-class neighborhood south of Minneapolis that day; 75 rallied at the federal building in Hartford, Connecticut; and more than 300 demonstrated in New York City (see article on page 4).

— **CALENDAR** —
March to demand
U.S. Navy Out Of VIEQUES!
Hartford, Connecticut
Sunday December 4
Beginning 10 a.m.
Corner of Main and Park

Protests greet Clinton in Greece

Continued from Page 16
imperialism's intervention in the Balkans.

Greek troops are part of the U.S.-organized NATO occupation forces in Bosnia and Kosovo. During Washington's bombing campaign against working people of Yugoslavia, thousands of NATO troops and tanks passed through the port of Thessaloniki heading for Kosovo.

Although they are allies, Greek capitalists also have conflicting interests with Washington in this region. "In spite of our differences, I want to thank the Greek government for staying with NATO allies during a crisis which was far harder on you than on any other country in our alliance," Clinton said at a conference with Greek politicians and bosses, referring to Athens's close relations with the re-

gime of Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia.

Thessaloniki, Clinton continued, "is becoming known as the commercial hub of the Balkans." He announced that the U.S. government will open "an office for Balkan reconstruction" in that city. Clinton also affirmed that Washington will continue to be Athens' main supplier of advanced weaponry.

Clinton expressed support for the demand of the Simitis government that the conflict between the Turkish and Greek governments over rights to the Aegean territory be referred to the International Court of Justice in the Hague.

The PASOK government insists on expending its territory from 6 to 12 miles, which would give Greek capitalists exclusive right to exploit the Aegean and its mineral resources.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

GEORGIA

Atlanta
For International Solidarity, Not the Trap of 'Free Trade' vs 'Protectionism.' Speaker: Arlene Rubinstein, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 3, 7:30 p.m. 230 Auburn Ave. (corner of Butler). Donation: \$4, strikers and unemployed \$1. Tel: (404) 577-7976.

ILLINOIS

Chicago
Education, Zero Tolerance Policies, and the Criminalization of Youth. Hear a panel of students and workers. Sat., Dec. 4, 7 p.m. 1223 N. Milwaukee Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (773) 342-1780.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston
World Trade Organization: Why Protectionist Protests Are a Trap for Labor Movement. Speaker: Andrea Morell, Socialist Workers Party and member United Transportation Union. Fri., Dec. 3, 7:30 p.m. Pathfinder Codman Square Bookstore, 683 Washington St., Dorchester. Donation: \$4. Tel: (617) 282-2254.

NEW JERSEY

Newark
No to U.S. Intervention in Colombia! Speaker: Andy Buchanan, Socialist Workers Party, member of Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees. Sat., Dec. 4, 7:30 p.m. 87a Halsey St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (973) 643-3341.

CANADA

Toronto
Washington, Ottawa Back Moscow's Brutal Assault on Chechen People. Support the Right of National Self-Determination for Chechnya. Fri., Dec. 3, 7:30 p.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, 851 Bloor St. W., (Ossington Subway). Donation: \$5. Tel: (416) 533-4324.

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Buchanan campaign shows sharpening polarization

The following description of the political trajectory of Patrick Buchanan is excerpted from "Capitalism's Deadly World Disorder," a 1993 talk by Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes. It was presented and discussed at regional socialist conferences in North Carolina and Iowa. The full speech appears in *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium*. The book is copyright © 1999 by Pathfinder Press, and reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY JACK BARNES

It is wrong to think of fascism as an extension of bourgeois conservatism. Fascist currents do originate, in part, within the right wing of existing bourgeois parties under crisis conditions, but they are not simply an extension of two-party politics as we have known it for

from the pages of Capitalism's World Disorder

the past few decades. They are radical movements that base themselves on the popular grievances of increasingly economically insecure and devastated small business people, other middle-class and professional layers, and sections of the working class. They are street action movements in their trajectories.

Sometime in 1990, Patrick Buchanan—a former speech writer and aide in the Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan White Houses, and a newspaper columnist and talk-show host—had issued a second edition of his autobiographical political tract, *Right from the Beginning*. I had picked up a copy of the book and started reading it, and I brought a copy with me to the [SWP] convention that year. That was very much on my mind as I took some time in the report to begin raising the connection between the deepening social crisis we had been living through, the opening guns of renewed inter-imperialist conflicts, and the inevitable emergence of incipient fascist currents and demagogues in the United States and other imperialist countries.

I had been struck in particular by a chapter in Buchanan's book entitled, "As We Remember Joe," a nostalgic account of why his father had held Senator Joseph McCarthy in such high esteem. Among the other family heroes, Buchanan explains, were General Francisco Franco, leader of the fascist forces during the Spanish civil war in the late 1930s, and right-wing U.S. general Douglas MacArthur. MacArthur was the commander of U.S. forces in Korea who pressed for an invasion of China even after the U.S. rulers, despite their initial plans, concluded in their majority that this would be a fiasco. To understand why people such as his father admired these ultrarightist figures, Buchanan wrote, "is to begin to un-

derstand not only his generation but ours."

In the early 1950s, Buchanan said, America was "ready for Joe McCarthy's boisterous, belabored call for the overthrow of its reigning establishment." The "war of legitimacy that Joe launched had undertones... of class warfare," Buchanan said. Behind the controversy around McCarthy "were warring concepts of morality, of legitimacy, of patriotism," he said. "Who is the legitimate moral authority in America? Who, by conviction, background, character, and belief, should rightly determine the destiny of the Republic, and which is the illegitimate usurper, incompetent to identify and protect America's true interests from her real enemies?"¹ (Notice how "communists" are absent here as direct targets!)

Buchanan campaign not a sideshow

In November 1991 Buchanan announced his intention to wrest the Republican nomination for president from George Bush. We immediately began campaigning to explain the true political significance of Buchanan's announcement. What most of the big-business media was initially treating as a sideshow inside the Republican Party, we said, was not at all funny. It was not idiosyncratic. Instead, it marked a revival for the first time since McCarthy of a demagogic ultrarightist strand in bourgeois politics in the United States—a strand that would eventually spill over into the streets, and that would not go away until the fate of humanity was decided in struggle in those same streets.

By early 1992 a few bourgeois commentators were beginning to take seriously what Buchanan was setting out to do. One example was an article by conservative columnist Charles Krauthammer that had been run in the March 1 issue of the *Washington Post* and syndicated in daily papers throughout the United States. He had written that the central problem with Buchanan is not his anti-Semitism—which several other commentators had accurately pointed to—nor various other of his particular reactionary views. (Krauthammer cataloged some of these: Buchanan's exhortations against "a morally cancerous welfare state"; his racist alarm bells about the "Flood tide of immigration"; his warning that "white Americans will be a minority by 2050"; his question, "Who speaks for the Euro-Americans?"; his hero-worship of Franco and the butcher of Chile, Gen. Augusto Pinochet; and his euphemistic reference to the apartheid regime in South Africa as "the Boer republic.")

"The real problem with Buchanan," Krauthammer wrote, is that his views are "in various and distinct ways, fascist."

That bald characterization of the Buchanan campaign marked a new departure in the respectable daily press in the United States. Until then, the big-business media had been doing their best to slide over the fact that a fascist

program was being advanced as a "legitimate" perspective within the two-party system by one of the leading contenders in the 1992 presidential primaries. But Krauthammer's characterization was correct, as far as it went. Buchanan's "America First" demagoguery is indeed not only a variety of an incipient American fascism, but the most prominent organizing center for it today.²

Emotional, demagogic appeal

But fascism is a special kind of extreme nationalist movement, something that Krauthammer, as an apologist for capitalism, did not and could not explain. A fascist movement above all seeks to mobilize the emotional energies of masses of people who hate the liberal capitalist democracy that is failing so horribly but can find no way forward to replace it with something historically progressive.

We called this new development in U.S. politics "Buchananism." And we printed a special issue of the *International Socialist Review* supplement to the *Militant*, headlined, "Buchananism: What It Is and How to Fight It," that supporters of the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of James Warren and Estelle DeBates sold thousands of copies of last year as a central piece of campaign literature. We joined with others around the country in picketing events where Buchanan was proselytizing for his reactionary cause.

Incipient fascist movements, demagogic "popular" ultrarightist movements, are often identified with an individual: McCarthyism ("Nixonism" would have served as well at the time), Huey Longism, Father Coughlinism, and there are many more examples from the United States and other countries.³ It is useful to note this fact, to show the variety of forms rightist move-

2. In an interview in the July 17, 1995, issue of the *New Yorker* magazine, the conservative Republican politician and former Bush administration official William Bennett warned that Buchanan is "flirting with" fascism. "This Forrester America stuff, this You the People stuff—I think it's tricky." Bennett is, like Buchanan, a Republican, a Roman Catholic, and a prominent bourgeois campaigner for "family values" and around many of the themes at the center of Buchanan's "culture war." Also like Buchanan, Bennett's family roots are not in the ruling class or its exclusive private prep schools.

3. As a young U.S. congressman from California, Richard Nixon was the most prominent other U.S. political figure in the leadership of the incipient fascist current associated with McCarthy. Father Charles Coughlin, the so-called radio priest, led the fascist "Social Justice" movement, which began to gain momentum in the

United States during the renewed sharpening of the Great Depression in 1937-38. Huey Long, governor and later U.S. senator from Louisiana, built a base for his Bonapartist control of state politics in the late 1920s and early 1930s under the demagogic slogan, "Share the Wealth."

4. For a discussion of the 1964 Republican presidential campaign of Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater, see "What Goldwater Represents" by Joseph Hansen in the July 31, 1964, issue of *World Outlook* magazine. Given the capitalist boom at the time, and the impact on U.S. politics of the Black rights struggle and colonial revolution, Hansen wrote, "America is not ripe for a fascist takeover. On the contrary, the ground is being prepared for an enormous push in the opposite direction." George Wallace gained national prominence as governor of Alabama in the early 1960s as a demagogic defender of Jim Crow segregation and "states' rights." In 1968 he ran for president on the American Independent Party (AIP) ticket on a platform aimed at rolling back the conquests of the mass civil rights movement. Wallace received 13 percent of the popular vote. The AIP disappeared shortly following the election.

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1. Patrick Buchanan, *Right from the Beginning* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Gateway, 1990), pp. 91-95.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO



December 6, 1974

The 120,000 soft-coal miners in the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), on strike since Nov. 12, are going to the ballot boxes this week to vote on a new contract.

On Nov. 26, the UMWA bargaining council, made up of union officials from around the country, voted 22 to 15 to send a tentative strike settlement on to the rank and file for a vote. The membership will be holding discussion meetings on the contract in each district prior to voting.

The proposed contract is a revised one, worked out by UMWA President Arnold Miller, the coal operators, and government mediators at an emergency meeting on Nov. 24. The bargaining council had refused to approve the first offer Miller brought them from the bargaining table on Nov. 13.

As the *Times* pointed out in its objections to a renewal of contract talks, "Miller...has repeatedly asserted that the Nov. 13 agreement represented the most that the industry could give and was 'the best contract in the history of the labor movement....'"

The operators naturally want to get away with giving the miners as little as possible. They apparently hoped that if their first offer received bargaining council approval, the ranks of the union would accept it. And if they didn't vote for it, the bosses were—and still are—relying on government intervention to force the miners back to work.



December 5, 1949

The witch-hunt against academic freedom in New York State public education received a judicial setback on Nov. 28 when State Supreme Court Justice Harry E. Schirick, in a test case, ruled that the Feinberg Law violates the state and federal constitutions.

This law, which Justice Schirick branded a "resort to witch-hunting" and a "dragnet which may enmesh anyone who agitates for a change of government," directs the State Board of Regents to compile a list of "subversive" organizations, membership in which would constitute "prima facie evidence of disqualification for appointment to or retention in any office or position in the public schools of the state."

There is grave danger that the rulings of individual judges may be reversed. State officials are pressing for speedy action by appeals courts to uphold these laws. This means there can be no relaxation in the fight against them.

Teachers unions, civil rights groups and minority political organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party, actively fought the Feinberg Law. At a Board of Regents hearing, SWP National Chairman F. Dobbs was a principal speaker against the Board's proposed blacklist, based on the list of "subversive" organizations issued by former Attorney General Tom Clark as part of Truman's "loyalty" purge of government employees.

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in *New International* no. 10

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by Jack Barnes

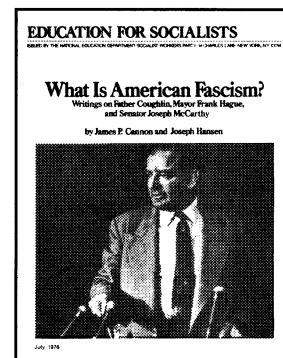
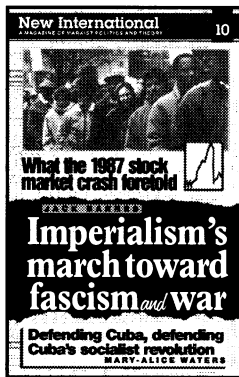
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Int'l solidarity, not chauvinism

Continued from front page

struggles—and others seeking to resist the evils of capitalism—the political tools that point to the root of the problems working people are confronting. Socialist youth and workers are centralizing this effort through the promotion of *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium*. They are organizing to sell the book to workers and youth in struggle and to place it in stores and libraries where working people look for books.

Issue no. 11 of the Marxist magazine *New International*, featuring "U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War," and the newly published book *Making History: Interviews with Four Generals of Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces* are also recommended reading (see ads elsewhere in this issue). All three titles point to the need to build a communist movement capable of leading the fight by working people to take power out of the hands of the capitalist exploiters and begin to construct a new, socialist society.

This is the road to consider for workers and young people who want to combat the injustices they see about them—from racism, to police brutality, to attacks on social welfare, to the capitalists' wanton disregard for the environment.

This road requires starting with the international interests of working people. The nationalism—albeit with a "progressive" gloss—of the union officials and others who are leading the protests in Seattle against the World Trade Organization (WTO) points away from any perspective of international working-class solidarity. It plays into the America First demagoguery of ultrarightists such as Patrick Buchanan. It provides a liberal, "white man's burden" veneer to Washington's drive to justify aggressive postures and missile buildups, especially against China and other workers states.

There is plenty of fresh evidence before us of the world disorder of capitalism. The facts confirm that the world is entering not an ascending era of global peace and prosperity but one of deepening instability and crisis. The preparations by the European and North American powers for the WTO negotiations are marked by this capitalist disorder. A number of governments are threatening to boycott the meeting, and many trade disputes remain unresolved.

Whatever the outcome of the trade round that the meeting is supposed to initiate, the imperialist powers will continue to wrestle each other over domination of the markets and labor in the Third World and over their competing interests, such as the current dispute between Washington and Paris over agricultural exports. Bodies such as the WTO are imperialist tools that have meaning only when they serve these exploiting powers, including as an arena for their disputes. They have no existence independent of the nation-states that make them up—most importantly, the major capitalist powers that dominate them.

The idea that the WTO tramples on U.S. sovereignty, promoted by many of the protest leaders in Seattle, is worse than ludicrous. It ties workers behind the bandwagon of "our own" bourgeoisie, calling on unionists and other working people to support Washington in its trade conflicts with the workers states, Third World countries, and other imperialist powers.

In most imperialist countries today, liberal and social democratic governments are in office. All are preparing for more military and other conflicts, and all try to use their "progressive" veneer to pull in working people behind this course. They don't openly declare their predatory interests. They claim to be for progressive causes—in other countries—whether the causes be labor and human rights, or environmental protection.

But the number one enemy of workers in the imperialist powers is the ruling class in our own country; in the United States workers' enemy is Washington.

Socialist workers and Young Socialists members will be campaigning for communism in Seattle during the WTO meetings. They will intervene politically in the events surrounding it, from street rallies to forums, arguing against the economic nationalism of the liberals, labor bureaucrats, and other petty-bourgeois misleaders. In doing so they will seek out those young people and workers who are open to revolutionary ideas but have stumbled into this political morass. Above all, they will seek to win such forces to join the Young Socialists, the Socialist Workers Party in the United States, and communist leagues in other countries.

U.S. gov't is forced to retreat from anti-Muslim campaign over airline crash

Continued from front page

Moneim, an accountant.

"Cairo's indignation over the theory that one of its pilots could have been responsible for the crash comes against a background in which Egyptians and others in the Muslim world believe that Westerners can be insufficiently sensitive to the subtleties of Islam and too eager to attribute deadly events to Islamic extremism," the November 18 *New York Times* reported.

The statement attributed to Batouti, "I made my decision now—I put my faith in God's hands," was widely circulated by the media. But investigators now deny that the first five words are an accurate description of what's on the cockpit voice recorder. Justice Department officials have retracted their claims that Batouti made the alleged comments.

Earlier coverage of the disaster implied that a struggle may have occurred in the cockpit and that Batouti "resisted his captain's urgent pleadings to help him take the plane out of its death dive," the *Washington Post* reported November 18.

Several days later an article in the *Washington Post* stated, "Investigators believed they had a good idea who was in the cockpit at the time of the crash, but now are less certain. Sources close to the investigation point out that at least eight people aboard the plane could have flown it—four flight crew members and four pilots who were riding in the cabin as passengers." On long flights pilots are added to allow them to have some rest.

No evidence has been presented that indicates any physical struggle took place in the flight deck.

Earlier the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB) decided to pass the investigation to the FBI for a criminal inquiry, saying "the plane's voice and data recorders, plus radar data, would probably be sufficient to determine a cause," but beat a hasty retreat when the Egyptian government objected to such a quick determination.

"We don't feel there is enough evidence to warrant turning it over to the FBI," stated an Arab official in Washington, after stressing that there is no conflict between Egypt and the United States.

NTSB chairman Jim Hall declared, "After consultations among the Egyptian authorities, the safety board and the FBI, we agreed more work needs to be done." He said the *Smit Pioneer*, a huge salvage ship, would arrive at the crash site by December 1 to bring up pieces of the aircraft wreckage and human remains from the ocean floor to determine the cause of the catastrophe.

The suicide theory, like earlier unsubstantiated news coverage about terrorism in the skies or possible sabotage by workers at Boeing, downplayed the disregard of the airline bosses and aerospace manufacturers for air safety. It also opened up a new round of attacks on the democratic rights of workers in the industry and passengers.

Boeing chairman and CEO Phil Condit appeared on CNN's Larry King Live November 18 commenting on the fact that the aircraft of Flight 990 was built at the same time as another Boeing 767 that crashed in 1991. A November 5 newsletter issued by Boeing urged workers not to speak directly to the "media, public, regulatory agency, or governmental personnel, requesting information." Demanding adherence to company policy, the bosses mandated, "If the media or public calls you directly, please do not answer any questions but instead refer them to Boeing Public Relations." With these gag rules Boeing attempts to handcuff workers at its plants from weighing in on the side of safety.

Muhammad Al-Qudhaieen and Hamdan Alshalawi, both graduate students at Arizona State University, were detained for almost eight hours, including two hours handcuffed in a police car, at the Columbus, Ohio, airport November 19. They were held after an America West pilot ordered an emergency runway evacuation when the plane landed at Port Columbus International Airport.

At a press briefing on Capitol Hill, Nihad Awed, executive director of the Council on American-Islamic Relations, said that the two were innocent victims of "racial and religious profiling." The group said the incident might have been a result of tensions surrounding the investigation of the recent crash of EgptAir Flight 990.

They are guilty of asking questions about their itinerary, speaking in Arabic, and trying to use the rest room. In 1997 the White House Commission on Aviation Security urged the implementation of a process for spotting what they considered potential terrorists. Government officials say that it doesn't target racial, religious, or ethnic groups, but has never given details of the profile.

Anti-China campaign at WTO protests

Continued from Page 7

U.S. rulers wrested agreement from the Mexican government to deposit the country's oil export revenues in the Federal Reserve Bank of New York before being transferred to Mexico—or seized in the event of a loan default. The U.S. Treasury took a whopping \$580 million in interest payments from the Mexican government in just two years.

A much larger international organization, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) military pact, is also "not an organization" so much as "the registration of a certain relationship of class forces," says Barnes in *Capitalism's World Disorder*, discussing the "diverging interests" of NATO's members.

In Seattle, the imperialists will jockey for advantage against the Third World and against each other. When it suits them in their trade tussles, they will wave alternatively the banners of "free trade" or "fair trade," labor rights, and the environment.

Opposing 'sweatshops' abroad and at home

Many of those leading the protests urge Washington to place restrictions on trade with countries where there is a substantial level of child labor or where wages are particularly low. Leaders of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) have led a campaign targeting sweatshops in other countries. At the same time, they do nothing to counter the proliferation of sweatshop conditions in the garment and other industries in the United States itself.

Their anti-sweatshop campaign runs completely counter to the necessary work of organizing and leading the struggle of workers, whatever country they happen to be living in. UNITE policy director Mark Levinson said November 17 that the trade pact taking Beijing a step closer to WTO membership was "an outrage.... Once a country as big as China is in the WTO that may forever doom the WTO as a forum where progress can be made on labor rights."

The officials organize campaigns against sweatshops abroad not as part of organizing workers in struggle, but in an appeal to capitalists and their paid politicians to implement protectionist measures they hope will preserve the jobs of their dues-paying members.

The anti-sweatshop campaign has gained the approval of Thomas Friedman, a senior columnist in the *New York Times* who in March announced in a major feature in the newspaper's

Sunday magazine a key lesson for the imperialists of their experiences in Russia and Eastern Europe in the post-Cold War years. "The hidden hand of the market will never work without a hidden fist.... called the United States Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps," he wrote.

In his column on November 21, Friedman claimed that working conditions in Sri Lanka textile plants will improve because "in today's global economy Sri Lanka must tie itself to Western retailers to survive.... There are still plenty of sweatshops [in Sri Lanka]," wrote Friedman, "and the Seattle protesters should go after them."

The Teamsters union officialdom is running a similar campaign against the supposed "NAFTA threat to highway safety." The North American Free Trade Agreement, like the WTO, has aroused protests from union officials and others. Washington has used the pact to increase the exploitation of Mexico's labor and national patrimony. The Teamsters officials' campaign opposes the "border [being] open to unsafe Mexican trucks and unqualified drivers."

These campaigns against sweatshops abroad and unsafe trucks, and to defend the environment, provide grist for the mill of Washington's foreign policy. They are examples of economic nationalism.

The opposition to a "powerful and secretive" WTO strikes themes similar to the politics of figures on the ultranationalist right, like Patrick Buchanan. "By bringing China into the WTO," wrote Buchanan after the announcement of the trade pact, "the President ... turned his trade portfolio over to global bureaucrats."

The opposition of such rightists to bodies like the WTO reeks of international conspiracy theories, in which anti-Semitism plays a key role. Such "theories" have been used to inspire reactionary gangs unleashing violence against workers organizations. In the case of the fascist movements of Italy and Germany, to name two examples, the organized workers movement suffered terrible defeats.

"Labor needs to chart an independent working-class course," argued Chris Rayson, Socialist Workers candidate for the November 2 election for the Port Commissioner of Seattle, in an October 26 article published in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*. "Instead of... protests against the WTO, it must champion international solidarity and back working-class struggles against U.S. bosses." Rayson called for the cancellation of the imperialist-held "debt of third world nations that is squeezing workers and peasants, destroying any chance for progress."

Skychefs workers mark one year on strike

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON—Two hundred strikers and supporters assembled in a mass picket at the struck LSG Skychefs plant at London's Heathrow airport November 20 to mark the first anniversary of the strike.

A year ago, 270 members of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) at the world's largest airline catering company were fired after taking 24-hour strike action in response to company demands for intensified and "flexible" work schedules. At a mass meeting the following day, the workers refused a company offer that they return to work on the company's terms—effectively without a union—and voted unanimously to stay on strike. Since then the fight over union rights by the predominantly Asian workforce has become the most important labor battle in the United Kingdom.

"We're not giving up," said strike leader Surinder Kaur. "We're strong and we're fighting to win. Our fight is important for all unions. If LSG can get away with this attack on us, other employers will go after union rights. Union rights are human rights. We're fighting for reinstatement but we'll shut the firm down if we have to."

Kaur was one of a group of women who led picket line chants of "Victory to Skychefs strikers!", "Scabs out, workers in!", "Don't be quiet, fight for your rights!" and "Tim Otteridge—out, out!" Otteridge, the general manager of the London operation, has become personally identified with the union-busting operation at Heathrow. Three weeks ago, 30 strikers mounted a protest outside his personal residence.

The November 20 picket was the first major action at the plant in more than six months. In the intervening period, the strikers have maintained their 24-hour picket at the factory gate and mounted daily protests in central London at the offices of Lufthansa, the parent company of LSG Skychefs.

The police have acted to limit picketing, forcing dozens of strikers to stand across the road from the factory entrance. "The police threatened me just for crossing the road to where I've been picketing for 12 months," said striker Jaswinder Pal. Asked what had kept him going for a year, Pal replied, "We want respect, not threats at work; safety and fairness, not slavery. We want human rights. This is a strike for every worker because things in this country are getting worse. It claims to be the mother of democracy but it's fast becoming the father of dictatorship. The press is not free. It's the mouthpiece of the bosses and politicians who talk about child labor in other countries while they're exploiting labor here in slave labor conditions."

Also on the picket were husband and wife, B.S. and Karpal Dari. Both are strikers. "They sacked me even though it was my day off and I wasn't on strike," said Karpal. "In fact at the time I wasn't even in the union! It's been hard trying to live on the strike pay for a year but we have to keep going" she said.

"We must be reinstated," B.S. Dari added. "What the company has offered is an insult." When negotiations with the company broke down in September, the company offered the union to reinstate six of the strikers; the rest would have to apply for jobs as vacan-



Militant/Philip Waterhouse

Skychefs workers and supporters during rally and picket of November 20 in London

cies came up. Those not reinstated would be compensated by payments of £220 (\$356) for each year of employment.

Clusters of other trade unionists, mainly from the TGWU, joined the picket. Brian Wilson came 100 miles from Great Witchingham in Norfolk, where he's a shop steward at Bernard Matthews, the main turkey processing company in Britain. TGWU members at Bernard Matthews plants in Norfolk and Suffolk are currently voting over industrial action to demand wages of £5 per hour (up from £4.78) and a reduc-

tion in the working week from 39 to 38 hours. "I'm here to support the Skychefs strikers," Wilson said. "It's about solidarity. We have to help each other out. If we take action at Bernard Matthews we'd hope people would help us out too."

Other supporters included airport workers from Heathrow; car workers from Austin Rover at Cowley and Vauxhall at Ellesmere Port; and bus workers from London. Ricky Barber, a young worker from Dartford, came as part of a delegation of five workers from GlaxoWellcome, a phar-

maceutical giant that last month announced that it was shedding 1,500 jobs. Barber said the Skychefs strike had taught him that "it could happen to anyone. Especially with scabs coming in and out."

Before the picket, the TGWU leadership had organized a solidarity rally at Hammersmith Town Hall, about 10 miles from the factory. Speakers at the rally included TGWU general secretary Bill Morris and Labour Member of Parliament Ken Livingstone, who is campaigning to become the Labour Party's candidate for mayor of London. Livingstone, Morris, and other TGWU officials urged rally participants to promote the union's "Don't fly Lufthansa" campaign.

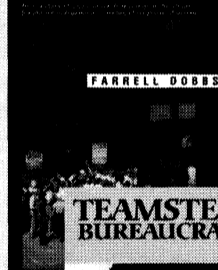
Also present at the rally were representatives of the International Transport Federation from France, Denmark, Spain, Ireland, and the United States. The French and Spanish delegations included union representatives from Skychefs kitchens in Paris and Madrid. From Denmark Ken Fischer, a shop steward at Gate Gourmet in Copenhagen, reported that LSG has obtained the SAS contract at Copenhagen airport but has reneged on promises to enter negotiations with the unions at Gate Gourmet, where large numbers of workers will lose their jobs as a result.

Strike leader Javed Upadaya was also on the platform of the rally. "We've stuck together," Upadaya said. "We're going to fight to the end. One thing I've learnt is that these Asian men and women will not back down. With support from the UK, with international support, we'll win."

Jonathan Silberman is a member of the TGWU at GlaxoWellcome. Celia Pugh and Frances Rogan contributed to the article.

FROM PATHFINDER

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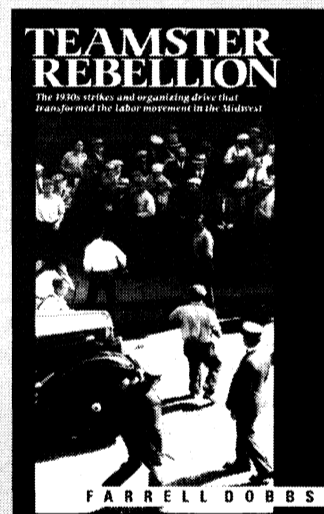
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LETTERS

Headline accuracy

The article by Olga Rodríguez on the recent EgyptAir plane crash into the Atlantic Ocean (*Militant*, November 15) points out several parallels between the EgyptAir crash and press coverage and allegations concerning the crash of TWA Flight 800 in 1996—now proven to be the result of mechanical malfunction. It seems likely that the EgyptAir crash, too, will prove to be the result of mechanical malfunction rather than a bomb or terrorist attack.

However, nothing in the article points to the precise cause of the crash nor (three weeks now after the crash) does anyone yet know exactly what happened.

It's quite a leap, therefore, to jump from what the article says about the crash to the article's headline: "Air crash shows bosses' dis-

regard of safety." Disregard of safety is of course true about capitalist airplane manufacturers in general and Boeing in particular; it is probably the case for EgyptAir (though I know nothing about this particular airline); it might even prove to be what lies behind the crash of this particular airplane.

However, the content of the article does not back up the headline.

Overstating one's case—especially in a page one headline—weakens the impact of the story. Bob Braxton
Hapeville, Georgia

History of Ireland

The selection from *Capitalism's World Disorder* in the November 29 issue of the *Militant* states that "Today's Irish Republic had been established that year [1920] follow-

ing a national-democratic revolution, but bourgeois forces in the Republican movement acquiesced in Britain's retention of the Six Counties of Northern Ireland."

The reality of Irish history is far more complex. The Treaty signed by Irish negotiators in 1921 resulted in a "Free State," not a republic. The debate on whether to accept the Treaty focused on the oath to the British Crown that members of the Irish Dail (parliament) would have to take; both sides formally opposing partition amid the anti-Catholic pogroms that accompanied it.

The Dail ratified the Treaty in 1922 by a small majority. Those who opposed the Treaty (Republicans) established a headquarters with their own armed forces. The Free Staters ended the economic boycott against Northern Ireland, without any guarantees for the

Catholic minority. Both Free State and Republican forces continued to send arms to the Irish Republican Army in the North for defensive purposes. But Republicans continued the boycott, and began preparations for military raids against British forces in Northern Ireland. Under pressure from Britain, and with artillery borrowed from them, Free State forces attacked the Republican headquarters, starting a civil war.

Still, the oath to the Crown, and not partition was seen by participants as the major issue in the civil war. Behind this lay the different class forces represented by the opposing armies, and the unsolved agrarian question.

The defeated Republicans called a cease-fire in 1923. In 1925 a Tripartite Agreement between the Free State government, Northern Ire-

land, and Britain further consolidated partition.

The 26-county government was declared a republic only in 1949, but Republicans generally still refer to it as the Free State, viewing an end to British rule in the North and reunification as the minimum program for an Irish Republic.

Marc Lichtman
Brooklyn, New York

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Republicans take the initiative in talks over Northern Ireland Assembly

Pro-British forces are divided, unable to quell freedom struggle

BY PAUL DAVIES

MANCHESTER, England—An initiative by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) has thrown the spotlight back onto the refusal of the pro-British Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) to sit with Sinn Fein in the newly elected executive of the Northern Ireland Assembly. Sinn Fein is the leading party in the struggle for a united Ireland free of British domination.

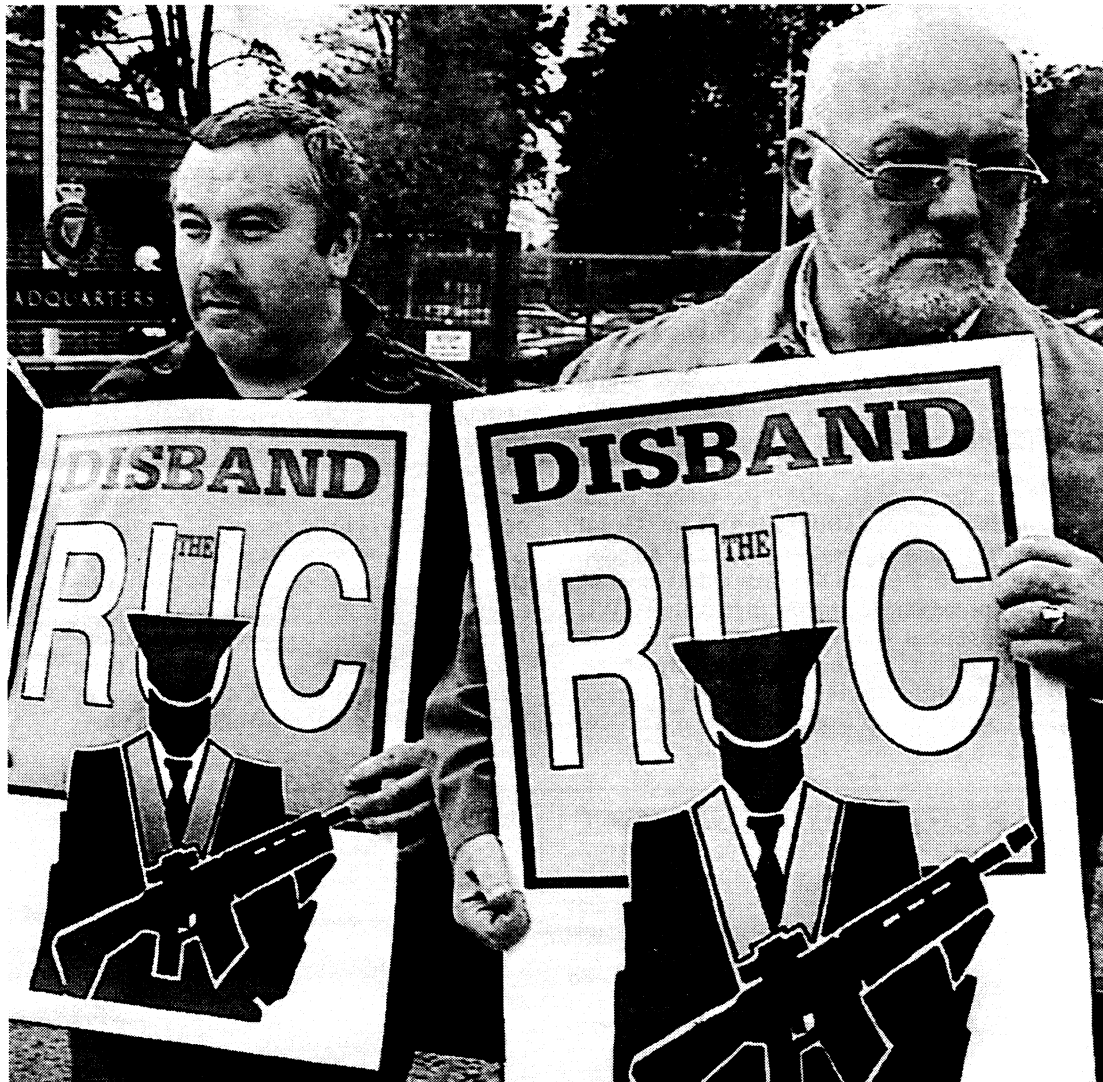
Unionists—those who favor the continued “union” of the six counties of Northern Ireland with the United Kingdom—have been stalling on convening the Northern Ireland executive by demanding that the IRA “decommission” its weapons first.

In a statement issued November 17, the IRA announced that it backed Sinn Fein’s leadership in the past several years of its negotiations with the British government, and announced that it would appoint a representative to discuss with the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning. Sinn Fein also issued a statement, indicating it believes that any IRA “decommissioning can only come about on a voluntary basis.”

Since the IRA statement, UUP leader David Trimble, the first minister of the Northern Ireland Assembly, has indicated he can no longer stall the process of political change, after a year of refusing to convene an executive that includes Sinn Fein. The new assembly was established following an agreement signed between the British and Irish governments and a range of political parties in Northern Ireland, in the face of the British forces’ failure to break the resistance of the Irish nationalists to British rule.

Trimble is seeking to win the Ulster Unionist Council, his party’s leading body, to accept that the new government executive, including Sinn Fein, will be established on December 3. Trimble’s decision registers the failure of the campaign to browbeat the IRA into surrendering its arms as a precondition for Sinn Fein to be allowed into the executive. The British government and its backers have been unable to force the surrender of weapons from those they have not defeated, and they cannot prevent the continuing struggle against the caste-like oppression of the Catholic population in the north.

The staunchly pro-British *Belfast Telegraph* welcomed Trimble’s decision to back off, arguing that “instant decommissioning [of IRA weapons] is not practical.” The decision was also heralded by U.S. president William Clinton and British prime minister Anthony Blair.



Picket for the disbandment of the RUC at its headquarters in Knock, East Belfast.

It has led to deepening divisions amongst Unionist forces in the north of Ireland, however. UUP member of Parliament Jeffrey

Donaldson slammed Trimble’s decision, saying that the IRA statement had “no timetable, no declaration that the war is over, absolutely

no guarantee that decommissioning will ever happen. It doesn’t give anything like the commitment Unionists need.”

Peter Mandelson, the British secretary of state for Northern Ireland, has joined Trimble in trying to pressure the UUP into accepting the proposals, insisting they have no alternative.

The British government hopes that the establishment of the executive will stabilize its rule in Northern Ireland and to head off recent advances in the struggle for Irish unity and independence. It hopes that the new institutions can be used to weaken Irish republicans and press them into giving up their weapons.

Mandelson has promised Unionists that the new executive will be closed if there is no IRA decommissioning, but he has not established a legally binding deadline for when that would take place.

Martin McGuinness, Sinn Fein’s chief negotiator, opposed Mandelson’s threat to collapse the new executive if there is no decommissioning. “The default scenario presented by the British government is clearly outside the terms of the Agreement,” McGuinness said. “Sinn Fein is opposed to any such mechanism.”

In reference to Trimble’s failure to establish the executive following the election of the assembly, McGuinness noted, “For 18 months the... Agreement was in default and no sanctions were imposed.”

In further attempts to bolster their claims about the necessity of IRA decommissioning, British police have announced a “security alert” and put more cops on the city streets, following claims of alleged republican terrorist attacks on British cities.

Protesters condemn Clinton in Greece

BY BOBBIS MISAILIDES

ATHENS, Greece—About 15,000 people participated in three rallies here November 19 protesting the visit of U.S. president William Clinton.

The rally at Syntagma Square in central Athens was by far the largest. Many workers came there in organized union contingents, including from the Construction Workers Union and the Metal Workers Union.

Thousands of youth were visible as well,

many of them high school and university students. The main organizers of the rally at Syntagma were the All-Workers Front (PAME), which is composed of several local labor unions, and the Greek Committee for Detente and Peace (EEDYE). Both PAME and EEDYE are led by the Stalinist Communist Party of Greece (KKE).

Chants there included, “Clinton butcher of the Balkans,” “NATO out of the Balkans,” and “Americans, murderers of the peoples.”

A much smaller rally at Kaningos Square was organized by the General Confederation of Labor, the teachers federation (OLME) and youth organizations, including the governing party’s Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) youth group. Hundreds of people also participated in a third rally organized by several extra-parliamentary left groups and anarchists.

For two days the capitalist PASOK government shut down much of this city as part of “security” measures for Clinton’s visit. All traffic was kept out of central Athens and police were placed on almost every street corner.

All public, open-air gatherings or marches were banned in a large area around the U.S. embassy. Participants in any protest within this zone faced a jail sentence of up to one year.

Clinton postponed his visit to Athens for six days when the PASOK government gave permission for a protest march scheduled for Clinton’s arrival on November 13 to reach the U.S. embassy. On that day, about 6,000 people participated at a march to the embassy chanting “Greece is not a protectorate, take your bases and go,” referring to the NATO military bases in Greece.

More than 15,000 people marched again to the U.S. Embassy November 17 in commemoration of a student uprising at the Athens Polytechnic Institute on that date in 1973, which led to the overthrow of a U.S.-backed military dictatorship. In Thessaloniki, Greece’s second largest city, 6,000 people also marched to the U.S. consulate denouncing the U.S.-led NATO bombing of Yugoslavia earlier this year.

Participants from the three rallies held on November 19 converged at Syntagma Square. They were responding to a call by PAME and EEDYE to exercise their democratic right to march to the U.S. embassy despite the government’s ban. The march was led by metal and construction workers.

As witnessed by this reporter, when the march reached the first police road block the cops—unprovoked—attacked the protesters with tear gas and chemical spray. Amid clouds of choking fumes, special riot police wearing gas masks chased workers and youth through the streets and alleys.

Since there was no organized retreat, the cops easily and quickly dispersed the participants in the march.

Dozens of protesters were injured in the police attack, and about 40 were arrested. While the cops were attacking and dispersing the march, small numbers of anarchist youth smashed the windows of banks and shops and lit fires while the police stood by.

Stalinist leaders of PAME and EEDYE who spoke at the rally in Syntagma presented a bourgeois nationalist perspective. They denounced Greek prime minister Constantinos Simitis for “bowing to the Americans,” while not mentioning a word about Greek

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Sinn Fein leader speaks in Philadelphia

BY CANDACE WAGNER

PHILADELPHIA—“We are optimistic that we will have the opportunity to approach politically our goal of a united Ireland,” Sinn Fein vice president Pat Doherty told a crowd of 100 people here November 19. “But it will be a battle every day.”

The Sinn Fein leader outlined the history of progress toward implementation of the “Good Friday” agreement signed in April 1998 by his party and several Unionist parties. Since the signing, the Unionists have attempted to put the demand for a decommissioning of arms by the Irish Republican Army before all other stages in the agreement.

The Unionists’ refusal to implement the agreement was never about disarming by the IRA, Doherty said. “It is the establishment of equality for Catholics

and the all-Ireland concept that is terrifying to the Unionists.”

A meeting participant asked Doherty about a report on the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) issued from the agreement. The report is unclear on the future of the pro-British police force, Doherty reported. “At the end of the day, does this report disband the RUC? If it does, it’s a good report. If not, it’s worthless.” This is a fundamental issue, he emphasized. “Every single nationalist in Northern Ireland can tell you personal stories of dealings with the RUC. This force has to be got rid of.”

The nationalist leader described the many potential pitfalls for process in the next several months. But he predicted that the Unionists will have no choice but to move to change their party policy of “no guns, no government.”