

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

INSIDE

The Palestinian struggle
for self-determination

— PAGES 8-10

VOL. 64/NO.41 OCTOBER 30, 2000

Palestinian people resist Israeli brutality

Washington sends warships with 2,100 Marines to Yemen

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

Three weeks into a brutal crackdown and a siege over Palestinian areas by the Israeli regime, the Clinton administration orchestrated a summit meeting in Cairo, Egypt, with the aim of getting the Palestine National Authority, headed by Yasir Arafat, to agree to police the Palestinians in exchange for Tel Aviv easing its clampdown.

The Zionist regimes maintains a closure between Israel and the Palestinian areas, barring tens of thousands of Palestinian workers from their jobs. Protests by Palestinians continue through the region.

At the same time, Washington launched an "antiterrorist" campaign against supporters of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination. It seized on an October 12 explosion that damaged the U.S. destroyer *USS Cole* and killed 17 U.S. troops in the Yemeni port of Aden.

The Israeli military closed off the West Bank and Gaza October 13 after the deaths of two Israeli reservists in Ramallah, barring residents from entering Israel. The military roadblocks prevented Palestinians in the West Bank from traveling outside their home areas. In the West Bank city of Hebron they clamped a round-the-clock curfew on Palestinians who live near a handful of Zionist activists who have established a settlement.

Some 30,000 workers in Gaza, home to 1 million people, have been kept from their jobs in Israel. The 500 trucks that drive in and out of that area each day with vital goods are unable to move. The last time the Israeli military imposed such a siege was in 1997.

At the same time, using the deaths of the reservists as a justification, Israeli military

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Palestinians protest in late September at funeral of man slain by Israeli military. Washington has launched "antiterror" campaign to justify attacks in Mideast and at home.

Harris condemns Israeli aggression

The following statement was issued October 18 by James Harris, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. president.

I urge working people and all who oppose national oppression to join protests, rallies,

and forums to demand self-determination for the Palestinian people! For Washington to break all ties with the Israeli regime! For an end to the brutal violence against the Palestinian and Arab peoples! Our campaign gives

Continued on Page 14

Workers in Yugoslavia press fight for rights

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

"I can now say I am proud to be a Yugoslav because of what we students and working people did," said Bojan Boskovic. "After 10 years of struggle we got back our

self-confidence that ordinary people can change things, can make a revolution."

Boskovic, a technical science student at the University of Novi Sad, spoke to *Militant* reporters in an October 18 telephone

interview. His comment was typical of the views that a number of youth and working people have expressed since October 5. That's when a general political strike and mass revolt forced Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic to resign and concede victory to opposition candidate Vojislav Kostunica.

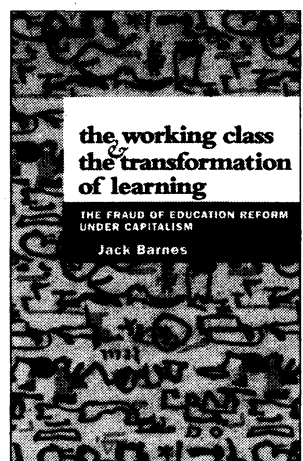
Kostunica was sworn in as Yugoslavia's president October 7 and has been trying to

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'Militant' reporting team going to Yugoslavia

An international team of worker-correspondents for the *Militant* is heading for Yugoslavia. They will interview workers, students, and others who were involved in the general political strike and mass street actions that forced Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic out of power, and who are now seeking to use their newly won political space to fight for their social and democratic rights.

Contributions to finance this reporting trip are needed now. They can be made to the *Militant/Perspectiva Mundial* Fund; checks can be made out to the *Militant* (see page 4 article).

Miners in Illinois defend health care

BY J. ROSE

BENTON, Illinois—Nearly 500 people, mostly retired members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and their wives, attended a meeting here October 13 to demand the U.S. government keep its promise to coal miners to provide cradle-to-grave health-care benefits. A big banner in front of the meeting hall declared "Keep the Promise, Save the Coal Act."

Cecil Roberts, International president of the UMWA, was the featured speaker. Also speaking briefly were UMWA officials from District 12 and several Democratic Party politicians from Illinois, including some who are UMWA members.

The meeting highlighted the ongoing crisis in the Coal Industry Retiree Health Benefit Act (Coal Act), which was supposed to shore up depleted funds needed to cover coal miners' lifetime health care. The Coal Act, also known as the Rockefeller bill, was signed into law by former President George Bush in 1992.

The Coal Act requires all companies that have ever signed a UMWA contract—reaching back 30 years—to pay lifetime health benefits to their retirees. Since passage of the 1992 legislation, there have been more than 60 challenges to it in court by the coal companies.

In a case brought by Eastern Associated (now a subsidiary of Peabody Co.) "the U.S. Continued on Page 7

80,000 march for women's equality in Canada

BY ROSEMARY RAY

MONTREAL—Some 30,000 people rallied here October 14 as part of the World Women's March. In Ottawa, Ontario, the federal capital of Canada, another 50,000 participated. Workers in official union contingents were a large part of these actions.

People gathered in Montreal from all across Quebec, including those who had started marching toward this city on October 9. Many were organized by women's rights organizations and women's centers. There were contingents from the Quebec Federation of Labor, Confederation of National Trade Unions, Quebec Trade Union Central, Quebec Federation of Nurses, and the Farmers Union.

A popular chant was "So, so, solidarité avec les femmes du monde entier" (Solidarity with women of the entire world).

La Presse, a major French-language daily here, ran an editorial column criticizing the marchers. Justifying the government's refusal to consider many of the demands of the demonstration, it dismissed them as a "long shopping list" that didn't take into account present-day economic "reality."

In response to the demand to raise the minimum wage to \$8.70 an hour, the Quebec government announced it would raise it by 10 cents—from \$6.90 to \$7.00. Jean

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Los Angeles bus drivers win strike settlement — page 12

80,000 join women's rights marches in Montreal, Ottawa

Continued from front page

Charest, leader of the opposition Quebec Liberal Party, declared his opposition to even this measly increase, saying that if it is enacted, businesses in Quebec would not be competitive with those in other states.

The Quebec Federation of Women described this move as "a slap in the face," and called for a large turnout at the October actions. Some of the marchers taped dimes to their cheeks to express their disgust with the government's proposal.

One of the liveliest contingents came in solidarity with the Palestinian struggle for self-determination and against the Israeli regime's military repression. Rawda Harb, who helped carry a huge Palestinian flag, said she was marching because "I'm a Palestinian woman and I'm in solidarity with the women of Quebec. I also want to tell them about the struggle of Palestinian women and the fact that there is a massacre taking place."

Around 15,000 more Quebec supporters of the fight for women's equality crossed the bridge from Hull to join the march in Ottawa, to be greeted by shouts of "Bonjour" and "Bienvenue."

When march organizers in Ottawa announced from the stage that the crowd had swelled to 50,000, making it the largest march for women's rights in the country's history, chants of "So, so, so, solidarité" rang out across the huge square.

As participants stepped off from the hundreds of buses that rolled into Ottawa and marched up parliament hill, they chanted, "Not the church, not the state—Women will control their fate." Some of the largest union contingents on the march included United Steelworkers of America members, who wore bright orange T-shirts marked with "World March of Women 2000."

The Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) contingent carried huge balloons with "Up with women's wages" printed on them. CUPE members dressed up a van to look like an ambulance. With an emergency siren blaring they protested government cuts to health care. Elementary

Teachers Federation members wore red T-shirts and carried banners protesting reductions in government spending on education.

Lisa Hari, the march coordinator for the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), reported that 20,000 people had come on buses. While the majority were full of union members, they also included buses organized by women's rape crisis centers, abortion clinic staffers, and others. The CLC paid for six of the eight buses organized by the World March of Women Coalition from Toronto.

Upwards of 250 came from New Brunswick, protesting the low minimum wage in that province. Banners from women's groups from Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, Quebec, and Ontario covered parliament hill. Contingents from British Columbia, Saskatchewan, and Alberta also attended.

Many had traveled long distances to attend. A busload of women from the Canadian Autoworkers union at the Bombardier plant in Thunder Bay, Ontario, traveled 18 hours. This reporter and other members of the Toronto coalition traveled in an eight-bus convoy. As the union buses passed us on the highway they honked in solidarity.

Hundreds of university and college students marched in a Canadian Federation of Students contingent with signs that said, "Education is a right."



Militant/Colin McKay

Women march in Montreal October 14. Marches in Quebec and Ontario were joined by many union contingents, including from national and provincial federations.

Speakers at the march included Terri Brown, president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, who said that one in every six women in Canada lives in poverty. Brown told the crowd, "Women in this country are second class citizens and it's time to change that now." The crowd repeatedly interrupted Brown with chants of "Shame, shame" as she listed government policies that discriminate against women.

Brown also blasted the government for its racist immigration policies that charge \$1,000 head tax for new immigrants enter-

ing the country. She drew loud applause when she demanded that the federal immigration department drop its proposed plan to deny entry into Canada to anyone who is HIV positive or has AIDS.

In the middle of the crowd on parliament hill, a handful of people representing the anti-woman organization Campaign Life held an antiabortion banner that said, "Stop Violence from the Womb to the Tomb." An airplane organized by the same group circled above with the same message. Pro-choice supporters surrounded their banner and chanted, "We are the majority."

Women's rights supporters march in D.C.

BY SAM MANUEL AND ELENA TATE

WASHINGTON—Chanting, singing, and blowing horns and whistles, several thousand supporters of women's rights marched here October 15. They chanted, "Hey Hey what do you say! Women's rights are here to stay!" and "Keep your laws off my body!" Many hand-painted signs throughout the march demanded, "Equal

Pay for Equal Work!" and "Keep Abortion Safe and Legal!"

The chants grew louder and more militant as the demonstrators confronted a small group of hecklers along the march route carrying signs opposing women's rights.

Ashley Doyle, 15, and Will Bonner, 20, who came with a van load of friends from Richmond, Virginia, were among the many young women who participated. "I have been active in some meetings and protests back home but this is the first time I have been to a large march of women like this," said Doyle. Her friend added, "We need more protests like this to get more rights for women."

Meghan Elliot, 19, of the Michigan State University Women's Council, came with 16 other students. "We are all passionate about fighting for women's rights, and are involved on campus. The equal rights amendment, equal pay, and lesbian rights are issues that are being overlooked and denied."

"We still don't have the Equal Rights Amendment," said Sharlene Kerry, 27. "It's been dead for a couple of decades. Things become stagnant—or get rolled back—if people stop fighting for them."

The National Organization for Women sponsored the march. NOW president Patricia Ireland told the crowd that the event was part of similar protest actions around the world. She demanded that various capitalist governments and financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund adopt policies aimed at ending poverty and violence against women.

Most speakers urged participants to "get out the vote in November."

Delegations of women from Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia participated in the event. World political events spilled into the rally when the speaker from Jordan called upon participants to support the struggle of the Palestinian people and to denounce the brutal military crackdown by the Israeli regime. She also reported that a delegation of women from Cuba had been denied visas to participate in the rally.

Marleine Bastien, president of the Haitian Women of Miami, blasted the treatment of Haitian refugees. "We are not automatically given residency. Many of our people languish in detention camps in Miami. But the Haitian people and Haitian women will not be denied our rights."

THE MILITANT

Koreans fight to reunify nation

The fight for reunification of Korea has mass support across the peninsula, five decades after the U.S.-led partition of the country. With 37,000 troops in the south, Washington is hostile to this demand and to the workers state in the north. The 'Militant' covers the class struggle in Korea and the growing fight for reunification. Don't miss an issue.



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Social crisis sharpens polarization in Europe

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

A sharpening of political polarization, reflected in electoral gains of right-wing parties in several countries, has marked Europe over the past months. The latest gains came on October 8 in Belgium, where the ultrarightist Flemish Bloc won 20 of 55 seats on Antwerp's city council.

The Swiss People's Party and the Danish People's Party have also taken initiatives around referendums pushing reactionary and nationalist campaigns against immigrants and in opposition to adopting the European currency, the euro. Spain has been the scene of stepped-up attacks on immigrants from north Africa who, in increasing numbers, toil in the fields and factories across the country. In Italy, the rightist Northern League is seeking to increase its electoral gains with the slogan, "One more vote for the League, one Albanian fewer in Milan."

The German government has seized on a growing number of racist and right-wing assaults and murders to push for a ban on the fascist National Democratic Party, founded by Udo Voigt, a former West German army officer, and Michael Nier, a longtime member of the former communist party in East Germany. "Our course of action now is to represent the frustrated German worker," Voigt said in a recent interview. "The Social Democrats have deserted the worker for foreign capitalist interests. Yet poverty is growing. Ours will be a new German Socialism."

Immigrants 'must live like Belgians'

In the Belgium vote, the dramatic advances by the ultranationalist Vlaams Blok, or Flemish Bloc, in the port city of Antwerp and the northern Dutch-speaking half of the country were based on the Bloc's campaign blaming "'fat cat' Eurocrats for soaring house prices in Brussels" and accusing immigrants of "imposing a financial burden," according to the *Financial Times*. Its leaders say immigrants are welcome to stay in Belgium "provided they learn to speak Dutch and live like Belgians," the *International Herald Tribune* reported October 10.

The Bloc calls for the independence of Dutch-speaking Flanders, while stoking middle-class economic insecurities and exaggerated fears about crime. Besides the Vlaams Bloc's success in Antwerp, it also won more than a fifth of the ballots in Ghent and Mechelen, and doubled its share of the vote in Brussels to about 9 percent in several districts.

At the end of September the right-wing Danish People's Party spearheaded the defeat of a referendum on whether Denmark should adopt the euro. The "no" vote won by a 53.1 percent margin. Under the guise of protecting a small country against the big European powers, People's Party leader Pia Kjaersgaard said, "The EU wants to close Denmark down as a nation," adding that the "no" vote on the euro was "a great victory for democracy in Denmark." The Danish People's Party won 7 percent of the vote in the last general election and is now at 12 percent in opinion polls, according to the September 23 *Economist*.

Austrian Finance Minister Karl-Heinz Grasser, a member of the fascist Freedom Party, said the Danish vote came in part as a reaction to the EU's imposition of sanctions on Austria for inclusion of the Freedom Party in the governing coalition. The rejection of the euro was "an expression of the worries and concerns of the people over the role of smaller countries in making deci-

sions," he claimed.

In order to compete with U.S. imperialism, European capitalists and their respective governments have carried out belt-tightening measures and are demanding that working people accept less in wage increases and social benefits. Despite the drive to establish the euro as a common currency, economic and political conflicts between nation-states are on the rise as each rival

"common man" against a European bureaucracy.

The euro's rejection in Denmark was a slap in the face for Prime Minister Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, who had campaigned for joining the currency union as a way for Copenhagen to assert its political influence in Europe. He and other supporters insisted this would also enable Denmark to have a seat at the European Central Bank, which sets



Opponents of racist violence rally late July in Eisenach, Germany, against rightist attacks on immigrants following assault on two Africans by nazis.

capitalist class competes for a better spot in the pecking order.

Rightists have sought to play on these conflicts, and anxieties about "crime" and economic uncertainties among middle class people and sections of the working class, which still faces persistently high unemployment. Pushing a reactionary campaign of nationalism, these forces especially target the growing population of immigrant workers as scapegoats for these problems, and portray themselves as champions of the

monetary policy for the common currency.

While the government has pegged its currency to the euro, the Danish krone's decline against the U.S. dollar matches the euro's descent. The euro has plummeted in value by some 25 percent relative to the U.S. dollar since the 11 countries in the European Union adopted it as their currency in January 1999. The decline of the euro "has generated widespread unease in Germany and some of the other euro countries," bolstering sentiments against it in Denmark, the

Capitalist politicians push 'school vouchers'

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Leading up to the November 7 elections, capitalist politicians have been presenting their plans to "reform" the education system. In fact, voters this year will be asked to consider a record number of education questions that have been placed on state ballots next month. Among them are proposals to approve the use of school vouchers and whether to maintain bilingual education programs.

In California, Proposition 38, a ballot proposal, seeks to create the nation's largest school voucher program. It calls for providing parents of the state's 6.5 million public- and private-school students with \$4,000 per pupil to be used to pay tuition at any private or religious school.

A proposal to be voted on in Michigan would offer a voucher of about \$3,300 to each student in a school district in which fewer than two-thirds of all high school students graduate within four years. Supporters of this plan euphemistically call themselves "Kids First! Yes!"

In Arizona, voters will be asked to decide whether to end bilingual education in that state. A similar measure passed in California two years ago.

In early October, an appeals court in Florida upheld that state's voucher plan,

after a lower court seven months earlier had ruled that the program violated the state constitution. Teachers' unions have announced plans to appeal this to the Florida Supreme Court.

The California initiative is being promoted and largely funded by Silicon Valley capitalist Timothy Draper, who has put close to \$20 million of his own money into backing this proposal. Among those supporting the initiative is former Republican presidential candidate John McCain. Both Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush and Democratic candidate Albert Gore have shied away from taking a specific public position on the California initiative.

The National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers have been spearheading the fight against this initiative, explaining that vouchers siphon money from public schools. Draper and his supporters claim that vouchers will save the public money and provide parents with "freedom of choice."

This is the first time that vouchers have been on the ballot in California since 1993, when a similar measure that would have given parents a \$2,600 voucher was defeated by a large margin. Similar initiatives in Colorado and Washington had also previously gone down to defeat. Last year nearly 12,000 children in Milwaukee, Cleveland, and Florida attended private schools using vouchers.

Through his election campaign Bush advocates a federal voucher program that he describes as "opportunity scholarships." He promises to take federal aid from poorly performing public schools and instead give \$1,500 per child to parents with low incomes to apply toward private-school tuition or tutoring. In the first presidential debate, he demagogically argued, "I believe that if we find poor children trapped in schools that won't teach, we need to free the parents."

Gore countered by hailing the "great role" played by private schools "in our society." He then added, "But I don't think private schools should have the right to take taxpayer money away from public schools." The Democratic presidential candidate, however, has been a vigorous supporter of the drive by the Clinton administration to

International Herald Tribune reported.

The ruling Social Democrats and other capitalist politicians in Denmark have attempted to use their campaign for adopting the euro as a probe to press for cuts in social spending, prompting opposition to the common currency among working people there.

"What happened in Austria was a scandal and that is why I voted 'no,'" said Louisa Jacobsen, an attorney, who said she supported Denmark joining the currency union but was outraged by the EU's punishment of a small country like Austria. Denmark's population of 5.3 million is similar to that of Austria, which has some 8 million people.

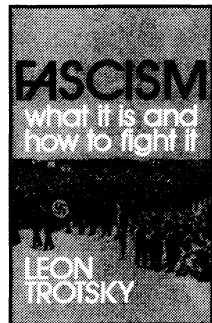
Rightists gain in Switzerland

A recent anti-immigrant campaign in Switzerland was defeated when more than 63 percent of voters rejected a measure to limit the number of immigrants to 18 percent of the country's 7.2 million people. Members of the conservative Radical Party, which organized the anti-immigrant proposal, claimed much of its support came from working people who feared losing their jobs. The September 24 balloting was the seventh time since 1964 that a referendum was conducted to restrict the number foreigners there. The Swiss government has already proposed new laws that would limit the number of workers from countries outside the European Union.

The referendum came on the heels of elections last October in which the Swiss People's Party consolidated support from smaller rightist parties as it led a campaign against immigrant workers, accusing them of causing an increase in crime, drug dealing, and of stealing jobs from native-born Swiss workers.

Some 25 percent of the workforce in the country is immigrant. About 50,000 Albanian refugees fled from Kosova into Switzerland last year as the U.S.-led NATO bombing campaign devastated Yugoslavia. This was the largest influx of refugees into the country since World War II.

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NY plan undermines bilingual education

BY GREG McCARTAN

NEW YORK—A mayoral task force on bilingual education here has proposed giving students who do not speak English an option of "English immersion." The move "would most likely curtail many of the city's long-running bilingual programs," stated the *New York Times*.

At the first public hearing on the recommendation, held October 17 at City Hall, the task force invited Ron Unz to testify. Unz spearheaded a ballot initiative in California to defeat bilingual education, spending \$800,000 of his own money to back this attack on democratic rights. Mayor Rudolph Giuliani said that students should be barred from bilingual programs after two years, citing one study indicating that some students remain in the program for up to eight years. The task force proposed that students be allowed a maximum of three years to achieve proficiency in English.

In New York's public schools, one in every five students is enrolled in English as a second language program.

Juan Figueroa, president and general counsel for the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, an organization involved in shaping the current bilingual programs three decades ago, voiced concern that under the guise of "English immersion" the city would move to end all education of children in their native languages.



Chicano high school students walk out of East Los Angeles schools in spring of 1968. More than 15,000 students participated in the "blowout" that started a chain reaction in barrios through the Southwest. These actions were part of the struggles that led to winning demands for bilingual education.

Demand in anti-discrimination struggles

Bilingual and bicultural education has been a central demand raised in the struggles of oppressed nationalities and national minorities in the United States. In 1974 the Supreme Court ruled that the failure to provide bilingual programs to students with little or no proficiency in English is a denial of equal educational opportunity under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The decision was based on a suit by Chinese parents in San Francisco. New York City, with a large and diverse

population whose first language is not English, has been the arena of struggles to win and defend bilingual education—like the one waged for Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese community control over the schools in District One in the mid-1970s. Currently students can choose to learn academic subjects in their own language and to study English in separate classes, or to be placed in English as a second language classes while taking their subject classes in English. The right of students to take bilingual programs rather than English as

a second language courses is written into New York state law.

One example of English-language immersion used in California requires teachers to instruct students in English, and to only use a student's native language if they do not understand a word or phrase after the teacher has repeated it three times.

Opponents of bilingual education play on dissatisfaction with the public school system and its failures in teaching English in their efforts to gain a hearing for steps to undermine previous gains.

But the proposal has run into some resistance here. The *Times* reported that Unz was frequently booed and occasionally heckled at the October 17 hearing. Norma Flores, a native of Mexico whose nine-year-old son attends a bilingual school in East Harlem, said that she came to the meeting "not because I want to eliminate bilingual programs but rather to express my concern about public schools." Flores, like many other working people attending the hearing, argued that classes to learn English should be improved by such measures as increased funding and the hiring of more qualified teachers.

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Detroit	3,750	1,410	38%
Washington	3,000	1,045	35%
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Montreal	1,340	228	17%
Vancouver	1,005	352	35%
Canada Total	5,000	580	12%
France		320	
Int'l Total	\$106,490	\$50,935	48%
Goal/Should be	\$110,000/\$66,000	60%	
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Fund meetings boost collections and pledges

BY EMILY FITZSIMMONS

"Supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* Fund in St. Louis have decided to raise our goal to \$2,000," wrote St. Louis fund director Jay Ressler in a note following a successful meeting there that collected more than \$600 for the fund. "This included \$225 in new pledges and \$393 in higher pledges. At this point we have \$1,960 pledged to the fund in St. Louis," said Ressler.

The topic of the St. Louis meeting focused on the Israeli campaign of repression and the Palestinian fight for national self-determination today.

Presentations were given by a meat packer from Chicago and Ron Romaha of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee and the Islamic League of St. Louis.

In addition, Lewis Fitch, president of the National Black Lung Association, sent a message to the meeting. "I'll tell you what I think of the *Militant*," wrote Fitch. "It is one of the most informative papers for the working person that I have ever read. It has a wide range of articles from all over the country. I am ashamed that other papers do not have this kind of coverage. For a little paper, I don't see how you can cover so much of importance to workers. Keep up the good work, and I hope you have a successful meeting."

The fund-raising event held recently in Atlanta received comments by Gladys Williams, an activist in the fight to defend family farmers and a member of the People's Tribunal, an organization in Valdosta, Georgia, fighting police brutality. "The *Militant* informs the working-class people of the struggles we are all involved in individually and collectively. Otherwise we would be at the mercy of the papers we read every day, that don't give the real story—that there are fights going on all over the world. The farmers' situation is one of a never-ending fight. The *Militant* gives us an understanding of the source of the problems we have and what some of the solutions can be," wrote Williams.

Supporters of the *Militant* in Upper Manhattan sponsored a meeting October 14 that featured *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* editor Martin Koppel, who took up issues in the class struggle today from the successful revolt by working people in Yugoslavia to

the U.S. rulers' efforts to curtail democratic rights at home through their current "anti-terrorist" campaign over the explosion on a U.S. warship in Yemen.

"Our goal going into the weekend was to get ourselves on schedule in payments to the fund," said Don Mackle, one of the organizers of the local fund effort in Upper Manhattan. "We did that by collecting more than \$700 at the meeting itself. We also got an additional \$195 in pledges leading up to the meeting and have more people to call about making pledges."

The fund serves not only to cover the socialist publications' normal operating expenses but to make possible special reporting teams to cover the class struggle

worldwide.

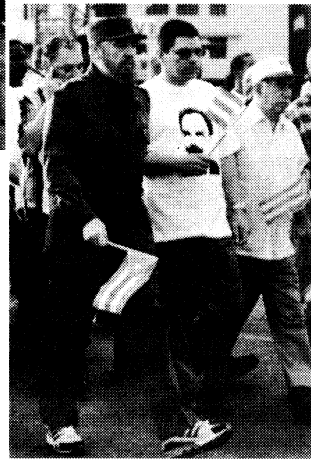
Right now an international *Militant* reporting team is heading to Yugoslavia. The team will interview workers, farmers, students, and others on their role in the successful political strike that ousted the hated regime of Slobodan Milosevic and the steps they are taking now to assert their rights. This is one more good reason many working-class fighters and politically minded youth will be interested in contributing to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* Fund.

With four weeks to go in the fund drive, both working hard to bridge the gap in pledges to reach the \$110,000 goal and accelerating the fund payments will be crucial to making the drive a success.

800,000 in Havana protest U.S. embargo



"End the U.S. blockade" was the chant of 800,000 people who marched in Havana October 18. The marchers condemned legislation passed by the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate that reinforces the U.S. trade and travel restrictions on Cuba, attacking Cuba and the rights of working people in the United States, while allowing U.S. agribusiness to pocket billions at the expense of small farmers (see statement by Socialist Workers presidential candidate James Harris on page 6.) Cuban president Fidel Castro (right) led the march along the waterfront to the U.S. Interests Section.



Palestinians snap up 'Militant' subs at political events

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

"We sold 10 subscriptions to the socialist press at protests during the week of October 7-14," reports Cindy Jacquith from Miami. "At a demonstration in front of the Israeli consulate October 7, activists bought three subscriptions to the *Militant* and one to *Perspectiva Mundial*. One man purchased the Pathfinder book *Che Guevara Talks to Young People*, and two people bought the pamphlet *Palestine and the Arabs' Fight for Liberation*.

Jacquith said that at a Militant Labor Forum in Miami on the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, two Palestinians bought *Militant* subscriptions.

"The next day, at another protest in front of the Israeli consulate here, four demonstrators bought *Militant* subscriptions," she said. "We also sold copies of the *Join the Young Socialists* brochure, and several Pathfinder titles, including *The Jewish Question*, two copies each of *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning*, and *How Can the Jews Survive?*, *New International no. 7*, and issue 5 of the French-language *Nouvelle Internationale*. Our supply of these books is almost zero now—they have been snapped up every time we have set up a table at a demonstration against Israeli repression."

Jacquith said the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, Argiris Malapanis, who is a meat packer, joined the demonstration. A number of demonstrators came up to his campaign table to ask about the socialist candidates in the election, having heard that they advocate ending all U.S. aid to Israel and support Palestinian self-determination.

Mike Italie from Miami wrote a quick note to the *Militant*. "Today I sold a subscription to the *PM* combined with the new Pathfinder pamphlet to one of my co-workers in a garment plant where I work. He was very interested in the pamphlet. He had participated in the literacy campaign in the early years of the Nicaraguan revolution. He promised to show me some literature he has from the time of the literacy campaign."

The October 15 World March of Women in Washington was a good opportunity to meet defenders of women's rights who are open to discussing broad political questions.

Supporters of the *Militant* and *PM* who staffed a literature table at the event report they sold 13 subscriptions to the *Militant*, 81 copies of the paper, and 23 copies of *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning*. Demonstrators also purchased more than \$100 worth of Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

Step up daily sales for next four weeks

With four weeks remaining in the drive, campaigners for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* need to sell a weekly average of almost 140 *Militant* subscriptions, in addition to *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions and copies of the new Pathfinder pamphlet, to make the international goals.

While the circulation drive has fallen somewhat behind, a big push by all—areas that are doing well and those fighting to catch up—can put the campaign over the top. What is necessary in every local area is a carefully organized plan—day by day—that can take advantage of every supporter of the socialist publications, organizing them to go out and get this literature into the hands of those who need it.

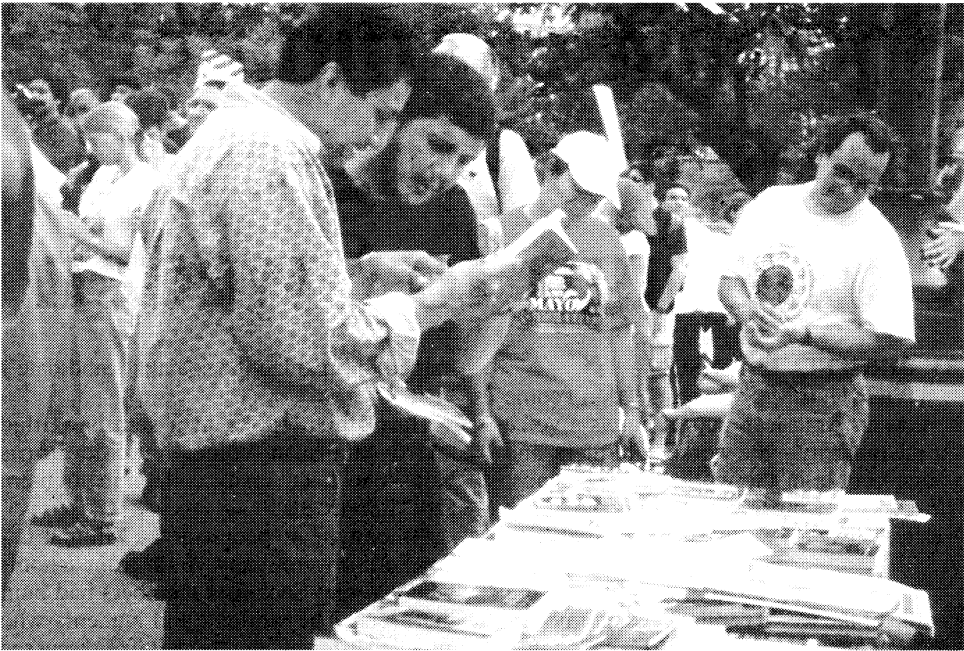
They can take advantage of the heightened public attention on the November elections to use the *Militant* and *PM* to campaign aggressively for the socialist alternative. In this way they can join the class issues involved in the wide-ranging debates that are taking place among working people on everything from bilingual education to the toppling of the Milosevic regime by workers and farmers in Yugoslavia.

Feature on Palestinian struggle

Many workers and young people coming into politics will want to subscribe to the *Militant* after reading this week's centerspread featuring documents from the working-class political arsenal that explain the character of the colonial-settler state of Israel, the role of imperialism in creating and sustaining it, the need to oppose Zionism as well as anti-Semitism, and why in today's world being a revolutionary means more and more being a communist.

"We are receiving more response to the *Militant* on campuses in this area," said Kathie Fitzgerald from Pittsburgh. "Last week we sold five subs after setting up literature tables on two campuses. We sold a paper to a young man on his way to hear capitalist politician Ralph Nader. He never made it inside but did come to hear SWP vice-presidential candidate Margaret Trowe the next evening. He and another student came to a class organized by the Young Socialists, and both bought subscriptions to the *Militant*."

Fitzgerald said another sales team of socialist workers met a student who also bought a copy of the paper and then came with a friend to a Militant Labor Forum on the Palestinian fight for national rights. "She decided to buy a *Militant* sub and the pamphlet, and her friend is planning to pick up a subscription when they come back for the next forum on Yugoslavia," she said.



Activists check out *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial* and Pathfinder titles at October 14 demonstration in Austin, Texas, to demand amnesty for undocumented immigrants.

Where we stand at week 5

Mil	PM	Pamphlet
Week 9		
Week 8		
Week 7		
Week 6		
Week 5		
Week 4		
Week 3		
Week 2		
Week 1		

Subscription campaign to win new readers: September 9–November 12

Country	Militant			PM		Pamphlet	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
Sweden	12	8	67%	5	3	15	8
Australia	15	7	47%	3		25	14
United Kingdom	30	13	43%	10	4	60	27
United States							
Tucson	5	4	80%	3	3	8	8
Atlanta*	25	18	72%	12	8	40	24
Miami	30	20	67%	15	4	60	37
Washington	30	20	67%	10	7	80	66
N.Y. Garment Dist.	65	39	60%	35	24	150	110
San Francisco	35	20	57%	20	8	75	30
Boston	25	14	56%	8	1	50	46
Allentown	18	10	56%	3		35	21
Houston	50	24	48%	20	9	75	39
Chippewa Falls	15	7	47%	10	9	20	11
Upper Manhattan	67	30	45%	25	29	140	82
Los Angeles	40	17	43%	20	12	60	38
Chicago	45	19	42%	15	9	50	20
Newark	55	23	42%	25	22	85	70
Charlotte	15	6	40%	5		50	18
Fresno	10	4	40%	6	3	6	3
St. Louis	25	10	40%	9	2	45	15
Des Moines	35	13	37%	20	6	50	29
Pittsburgh	35	13	37%	2		50	27
Seattle	30	11	37%	10	9	75	56
Cleveland	30	9	30%	6		50	30
Fort Collins	20	6	30%	1		20	13
Twin Cities	55	16	29%	25	19	110	16
Brooklyn	60	17	28%	30	25	120	55
Philadelphia	25	6	24%	5	2	50	17
Birmingham	35	8	23%	2	2	50	10
Detroit	20	4	20%	5	1	35	9
Tampa	10	1	10%	5		15	
Other		2					
U.S. total	910	391	43%	352	214	1654	900
New Zealand							
Auckland	15	7	47%	1		20	8
Christchurch	8	1	13%	1		10	3
N.Z. total	23	8	35%	2		30	11
Canada							
Vancouver	30	14	47%	5	1	40	17
Montreal	15	4	27%	5	1	30	28
Toronto	25	6	24%	6		35	19
Canada total	70	24	34%	16		105	64
Iceland	8	2	25%	1		12	7
Int'l totals	1068	453	45%	389	221	1901	1031
Goal/Should be	1000	560	56%	350	196	2000	1120
In the unions							
United States							
UMWA	18	7	39%			18	12
UNITE	30	11	37%	20	4	60	39
UFCW	55	6	11%	70	7	85	14
U.S. total	103	24	23%	90	11	163	65
Canada							
UFCW	12	1	8%	2	0	15	2
Australia							
MUA	2		0%			3	1
TCFUA	1						
Australia total	3		0%				1
New Zealand							
NDU	1		0%				
raised goal*							

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Socialist Workers Election Campaign Rally

Featuring

James Harris for U.S. president

Margaret Trowe for vice president



New York Sunday, November 5 Reception 1:30 p.m.



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Socialist candidate takes working-class campaign to Sweden

BY BIRGITTA ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden—"I don't come here as an American patriot but as a voice for the majority—the workers, farmers, and young people in the world," said Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate James Harris during a visit to Sweden October 6-7.

"The devastating impact on working people of the world capitalist economic crisis is not just a problem in the United States, but a world problem," continued Harris, speaking at a meeting of nearly 50 people at the Militant Labor Forum here. "The multibillionaire families, the capitalists, are a tiny minority, but they hold economic and state power. They control the governments, the media, the education, and the armies.

"The perspectives advanced by the socialist campaign are reasonable and understandable," the socialist candidate emphasized, "but that doesn't determine politics. Real social change, and real politics, involves tens of millions. Look at the capacities of the Palestinian fighters, whose demands for self-determination and national liberation our campaign supports 100 percent.

"Look at Yugoslavia these past few days," Harris said. "The vote didn't make the change. The change came when working people and others took to the streets. It came when miners and other industrial workers stopped work and started marching. That made the difference—a difference that could have come sooner without the brutal war and bombing by the United States government and its allies last year."

Harris also visited Södertälje, a city south of Stockholm, where he spoke to two high school classes. He explained to students about the worsening conditions workers and small farmers face in the United States, and their growing resistance to the assaults by the employers and the government.

One student asked about the employers' use of prison labor.

"A lot of prisoners who want to work are not allowed to," said Harris. "And a lot are forced to work. I have worked in plants with prisoners as my co-workers. They can't join the union. They have to go back to prison at night so they can't get together with fellow workers to discuss the conditions we face. They never get their full pay. This is increasing at the same time that police brutality and the death penalty are on the rise."

After one of the classes a number of students gathered around Harris for more discussion. Several signed up for more information on the Young Socialists, which

helped to organize the socialist candidate's visit.

Harris also spoke at a seminar titled "Afro-American Voices" at Södertörns Högskola, a university college in southern Stockholm.

Among the 46 people at the Militant Labor Forum were many youth from schools where Young Socialists members had built the event. The workers and students who attended listened intently as Harris discussed the realities of class exploitation and oppression, and resistance by workers and working farmers in the United States.

"Two million people are in U.S. prisons today, proportionally the highest rate in the world," Harris said. "There is a real class struggle where working people are fighting extending work hours, extensive overtime, and enormous speedup at work. This intensification of labor is where the economic upturn comes from, not from technology, computers, or 'knowledge expansion' as a professor said, pointing to his head, at the seminar I participated in yesterday. There are thousands of sweatshops in major cities in the United States. Some 150,000 children work as agricultural laborers in the fields at or below minimum wage.

"How can we fight for a world where human needs, not profits, are what guide social priorities?" the socialist candidate asked. He pointed to Cuba, where workers and peasants made a socialist revolution. As a result of that fundamental transformation, "farmers can't lose their land like they can in any capitalist country."

Social relations have changed in Cuba, he said, relating a story of a doctor he met during a recent visit there with a group of working farmers. The doctor was asked why he didn't find better-paying work in the tourist industry. "He answered, 'I became a doctor to make people well, not to make money.' It took a revolution to make this change.

"Our chief problem today is leadership," Harris said. "That's what the socialist campaign is part of building."

One participant asked what Harris and his party "can do about poverty. The United States is, after all, among the richest countries in the world."

"The existence of poverty has to do with how the capitalist system works," Harris replied. "Through struggle, the working class can make temporary gains, but poverty is on the increase in the world. We have to get rid of capitalism. It is a hard thing. Part of that process is to find those who want to join the fights. As an individual who has

Trowe joins NY immigrant rights action



Militant Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate Margaret Trowe speaks at October 14 rally at the United Nations in New York demanding legal rights for immigrants. Trowe also participated in demonstrations to defend women's rights in Washington the following day (see article on page 2) and in New York October 17.

decided to join the fight you make a difference. Our campaign is not about utopian ideas. We aim to strengthen fighting capacities of working people and expand our world and historical perspectives as part of the resistance and struggles today."

Birgitta Isacson is a member of the metal workers union. Johan Nilsson contributed to this article.

Harris meets fighter for justice

BY DAG TIRSEN

STOCKHOLM, Sweden—At his reception here James Harris met Adonis Hocheimy, who is paralyzed from the waist down after being beaten and nearly killed by two subway security guards. He told Harris how the guards beat him with a baton and dragged him up some stairs, in the process breaking his neck.

Hocheimy's "crime" was allegedly that of neglecting to pay the subway fare. In a series of similar attacks, he explained, few guards have been charged, and none have

been convicted.

Public outrage forced the high prosecutor in Stockholm to reopen the case after an initial refusal to charge the perpetrators. On July 18 he stated his finding that Adonis caused the injury "by throwing himself to the ground."

Around 250 people joined a protest in the center of Stockholm on the case. Speakers condemned the beating, and raised the issue of racism. Hocheimy is Black.

Hocheimy told Harris that many workers and others in Stockholm are convinced that a terrible crime has been committed.

On the other hand, he said, right wing forces are also reacting—including by posting a petition backing the guards on the Internet.

"I can't hide, I have to fight," said Adonis to the Socialist Workers candidate. "Many have been beaten, and the cases are always dropped."

"Yes, and there is a change. More people are beginning to fight. And many are interested in hearing about other cases in the world," said Harris, pledging to build support for Hocheimy's fight for justice.

Harris addresses Palestinian activists

BY CAPPY KIDD

CHICAGO—Speaking at an October 14 campaign forum attended by farmers, garment and meat packing workers, Palestinian activists, and others, socialist candidate for U.S. president James Harris said, "We're not taught to look at the working class as people who can think and act. Once you look at it that way you begin to realize that you can make a difference, especially when you join up with others."

The forum concluded a three-day tour in which Harris and campaign supporters acted on this theme of involvement in these struggles. The previous day he joined a rally of 1,500 supporters of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination and against the repression of Israel regime. Supporters of the Harris campaign distributed 1,000 copies of his statement condemning Israel and calling for an end to Washington's backing of the Zionist state, which hundreds of protesters eagerly read and discussed with the socialist presidential candidate.

Later that evening, Harris was invited to make a short presentation at a Palestinian community leadership council attended by about 100 people. Following the comments of a Palestinian activist who evoked the movement against the Vietnam War and said we can reach out to the American people, Harris told the audience, "There is more sympathy for the Palestinians among broad layers of the U.S. population than ever before. When they see your people picking up

stones against helicopters and tanks, the truth begins to get out."

The following day, Harris took his campaign to an immigrant rights rally of about 2,000 people. The regional protest drew farm workers from Minnesota, members of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee in Ohio, members of the Teamsters union, and a number of community groups and churches. Five members of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees, who work at a large garment shop here, stopped by the campaign table to meet Harris.

One worker asked if marches can have an impact on winning amnesty for immigrants. Harris said the marches are crucial because they answer anti-immigrant violence, place demands on the government to uphold the rights of all, and help show "how strong the working class is. They increase our confidence in our capacity to fight." A number of the workers then marched with Harris and his campaign banner, which read "Amnistia Ahora—for a world without borders." Palestinian activists who were part of the march also distributed hundreds of Spanish language leaflets explaining their fight.

Over the course of the three days, several radio stations interviewed Harris, including Voice of Guatemala, Radio Arte (the youth initiative radio station of the Mexican Fine Arts Museum), and the Shadow Broadcast's Metro Desk which distributes news spots to other radio stations.

James Harris: Cuba trade bill is attack on rights of working people

The following statement was issued October 13 by James Harris, Socialist Workers candidate for president of the United States.

An \$80 billion agricultural appropriations bill was adopted by a large bipartisan majority in the U.S. House of Representatives this week. Expected to be approved by the Senate and signed into law by the Clinton administration, it not only pours billions into the pockets of wealthy agricultural interests at the expense of working farmers, but a rider attached to it also deals another blow to the rights of working people in the United States and intensifies Washington's economic war on the working people of Cuba.

An amendment backed by both Democrats and Republicans in Congress codifies into federal law the existing Treasury Department regulations preventing the large majority of U.S. residents from traveling to Cuba. The rider purports to be a humanitarian gesture to ease trade restrictions on food and medicine. In fact, by singling out Cuba to deny it any U.S. government or commercial credit to purchase these items, it continues to punish

the Cuban people for their unrelenting resistance to Washington's determination to destroy the example set by the first free territory of the Americas.

The Clinton administration's announcement that it will sign this legislation is consistent with its eight-year record not only of tightening its brutal squeeze on the Cuban people but also pressing forward its assault on the rights and social conditions of workers and farmers. Working people in the United States who are increasingly resisting the economic and social conditions being imposed on them by the capitalist rulers are increasingly open to the need for human solidarity with workers and farmers the world over confronting attacks by the same propertied interests who rule this country.

The Socialist Workers campaign demands the immediate extension of federally-funded cheap credit to all working farmers, and a halt to all foreclosures on their land and equipment. We demand that the U.S. government immediately end its economic warfare against Cuba and its ban on travel there, with no conditions.

U.S. gov't escalates 'antiterror' campaign, intervention in Mideast

Continued from front page

helicopters launched attacks on sites in the West Bank, as well as on a police headquarters, a power station, and a guard post just 150 yards from Yasir Arafat's headquarters in Gaza.

Tel Aviv's forces, using automatic rifles, rocket launchers, and helicopter gunships, have killed more than 100 Palestinians and wounded countless more since the latest wave of repression began in late September. Seven Israelis have died in the fighting, including several soldiers.

Militias associated with Arafat's Al Fatah organization and other political organizations have been active in Palestinian protests confronting Israeli forces. On October 16, following a funeral procession in Ramallah, militia members fired at Israeli soldiers as protesters marched toward an army checkpoint, drawing deadly return fire.

Explosion on U.S. warship in Yemen

The U.S. government is utilizing the explosion that hit a Navy warship, the *USS Cole*, to step up its military presence in the Mideast. U.S. officials told the *New York Times* they are trying to build a case that "a team of suicide bombers, possibly belonging to an Islamic terrorist group, attacked the destroyer." They cited a wide range of organizations they might target, from the Palestinian group Hamas to "cells linked to Osama Bin Laden." Washington used the August 1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in

Kenya and Tanzania, which it blamed on Bin Laden, to launch missile strikes in Afghanistan and Khartoum, the capital of Sudan.

Announcing it would launch an investigation into the explosion and threatening retaliation, the U.S. government has sent several hundred FBI and CIA agents, Navy officers, and other so-called "antiterrorist experts" to Aden. Washington hopes to capture some individuals and put them on trial in the United States. The FBI has assigned its New York bureau to lead the investigation, raising the possibility that the prosecution might be handled by the U.S. attorney's office in that city, "whose prosecutors have vast experience in terrorism cases," as the *New York Times* put it.

Under heavy U.S. pressure, including the threat of a cutoff of U.S. funds, the Yemeni government has agreed to cooperate with Washington, despite initial reluctance. The regime of President Ali Abdullah Salleh has been seeking closer relations with Washington. The Yemen police carried out a sweep in Aden October 16, interrogating at least 1,500 people. Targets included most workers in Aden harbor as well as citizens of other Mideast countries that Washington has on its blacklist.

The Clinton administration has sent three more warships with 2,100 marines to Yemen.

The U.S. rulers have also used the antiterrorist campaign to increase the police presence in New York and other U.S. cities.



Militant/Joanne Kuniansky

October 8 protest of some 3,000 people in Sydney, Australia, against Israeli military assault on Palestinians. Another demonstration of 1,500 took place the following week.

Shortly after the latest flare-up of the Mideast conflict at the end of September, the New York city administration stepped up police patrols in areas such as the Sunset Park neighborhood of Brooklyn, seizing on reports of two assaults on Jewish people and vandal attacks at a synagogue and a Jewish cemetery.

"We're being singled out," Gadeer Abdullah, an 18-year-old Palestinian woman, told reporters. "The police, they keep coming to our houses, asking us questions like we know what's going on, just because we're Palestinians. We lived our whole lives in this community together without hating."

Meanwhile, an October 16-17 summit took place in Cairo, Egypt. Formally chaired by Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak, the summit was dominated by the presence of U.S. president William Clinton, who convened the meeting, and U.S. secretary of

state Madeleine Albright. The White House has from the beginning backed the Israeli government, blaming Palestinians for the conflict and seeking to extract the maximum concessions from the Palestinian leadership.

Washington has also pressed the Israeli regime to negotiate a settlement that would advance the U.S. rulers' efforts to maintain and reinforce its domination of the region.

At the summit, Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak and Palestinian National Authority president Yasir Arafat "agreed to issue public statements unequivocally calling for an end of violence," Clinton announced at the end of the meeting. Israeli military officials said the army would lift its ban on travel between major Palestinian cities and reopen the border between Egypt and Gaza. But Tel Aviv warned it would not withdraw its forces from major points of conflict or reopen the crossing between Israel and the occupied territories unless the Palestine National Authority first took steps to crack down on Palestinians.

Asked if Arafat was capable of doing so, Albright said, "He may not be totally in control of everything but he has the authority."

Protests against Israeli repression

Protests against the murderous Israeli crackdown and in solidarity with the Palestinian fight for self-determination have taken place in many countries around the Middle East, from Lebanon to Egypt.

Demonstrations have been organized over the past few weeks in cities around the United States. In New York, 15,000 people—most of them Palestinians and other Arab immigrants—marched to the United Nations October 13 to condemn the Israeli repression and the U.S. government support it receives.

The previous day, backers of the Zionist regime held a demonstration of similar size in New York. Among the speakers were New York governor George Pataki, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, and two Senatorial candidates in the state, Democrat Hillary Clinton and Republican Richard Lazio.

Demonstrations ranging from several thousand to a few hundred have taken place in Los Angeles, Miami, Atlanta, Chicago, and Birmingham, Alabama, among other cities. Similar protests have been held in London; Montreal and Toronto, Canada; Reykjavik, Iceland; Auckland and Christchurch, New Zealand; and other countries.

Workers strike Goodyear plant in Texas

BY DAVID FERGUSON
AND JACQUIE HENDERSON

HOUSTON—"Goodyear doesn't care about our future," said Greg Van Eve, on the picket line here. "They proposed cutting jobs in the area where safety counts the most. This is a hazardous place. An old plant with old equipment. We work hard to keep it safe."

Van Eve is among the 350 members of Local 347 of the International Union of Operating Engineers who went on strike October 10 against Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co.'s chemical plant here. After negotiations broke down that day, 300 workers poured out of the plant. "It was quite a scene," said James Baca, a picket captain.

Goodyear wants to contract out the work of up to 150 union members. "The employees scheduled for elimination earn about \$20 an hour and receive a wide array of benefits, such as health insurance, pensions, 401(k), and holiday pay," the union's business manager Ben Harrison told the *Houston Chronicle*. "Goodyear wants to contract out those jobs for \$10 to \$12 an hour without paying benefits," he said.

Goodyear is also demanding a 20 percent pay cut for operators whose jobs would not be eliminated. The union officials offered a wage cut in exchange for keeping the jobs. This included a 25 percent reduction for those in jobs that are slated to be contracted out, and 5 percent for operators, a proposal rejected by the company.

"We're out here because the company didn't give us any choice," said Ernest Flores, who has worked for 23 years on the polymerization side of the chemical plant. Company cutbacks over the last three contracts include cuts in the medical plan. "That's important here because we work with carcinogens," he said. "We should get hazard work pay. This time they wanted more than we could give back. They want to break us. The company has the attitude of divide and conquer."

Striker Larry Carter explained the union gave the company "every chance to propose a contract we could accept. We even gave them an extension after the contract expired. It is another case of company greed," he said. Referring to Firestone, he pointed out that Goodyear was making a lot of money off the Firestone tire recall scandal. "They are the number one tire maker in the world and they tell us they can't give us fair wages," said Baca.

"There have been three injuries inside the



Militant/Jacque Henderson

Strikers walk picket line October 13 at Goodyear plant in Houston

plant in the four days we have been out here," said Carter, who pointed out that the company is bringing in nonunion workers from their Beaumont, Texas, plant to continue operations, working alongside managers.

"Safety is our number one concern," said picket captain Baca. "We work with pure

ammonia. If there was a major leak they would have to evacuate a five-mile area. We are concerned with the community; we live here with our families. The company wants to bust the union. They want the union out. Nothing else can explain why they push so hard. But we won't take it."

Illinois miners discuss fight for health care

Continued from front page

Supreme Court voted against the union and for the coal companies and the billionaires," declared Roberts.

The UMW maintains the Combined Benefit Fund (CBF), which was established under the Coal Act and provides benefits for about 70,000 retired miners and their families. It is the largest of five pension and benefit funds run by the union. About 23,000 people in West Virginia and 15,500 in Pennsylvania rely on the CBF, and smaller numbers in 18 other states.

The CBF is funded by some 300 coal operatives, both current and former coal bosses, and pays out an estimated \$31 million a month. It faces huge deficits in the coming years.

In the days leading up to the meeting, the U.S. Congress adopted an emergency \$94.5 million appropriations bill, initiated by Sen. Robert Byrd from West Virginia, to fund health care for miners. President Clinton

signed it October 11, two days before the meeting. The funds are "only enough to last for a year," Roberts warned.

The gathering here was one of a number held in the coalfields that Roberts addressed over the past several days. These included a meeting of 250 that morning in Madisonville, Kentucky, as well as others in Pennsylvania and West Virginia. At the meeting here, Roberts reminded the audience that when coal miners went on strike in 1946 President Harry Truman took over all the coal mines in the country. To settle the strike Truman guaranteed miners pensions and health care benefits for life. Coal miners, who had a higher rate of death and dismemberment than soldiers fighting in World War II, had neither health benefits nor federal mine safety regulations at the time.

Roberts said that this "wasn't a promise for two years, for three years, or five years. It wasn't something that could be changed with a contract. It was for life." Nearly half

the audience raised their hands when Roberts asked how many had been actively mining in the 1940s.

The next day in Herrin, Illinois, some 350 people attended the dedication of a memorial to mine workers. Behind a bronze statue of a miner returning home from work, a wall bears the names of hundreds of southern Illinois coal miners, many of whom died working in the mines. Several speakers eulogized the 119 miners killed in a 1951 mine blast in nearby West Frankfort. Among those attending the event were a number of active miners and their relatives. That evening several hundred people gathered in Springfield, the state capital, to honor the memory of Mother Jones, a mine workers organizer and union fighter, and to discuss some of the lessons of the fights she led on behalf of coal miners.

J. Rose is a meat packer in St. Louis and a former coal miner in southern Illinois.

The Palestinian struggle for self-d

Documents discuss fight against Israeli colonial settler-state and the revolutionary ro

Reprinted below are excerpts from two documents that explain key political questions in the Palestinian struggle for self-determination. The first section is taken from "Israel and the Arab Revolution," a resolution adopted by Socialist Workers Party at its 1971 national convention. The complete text can be found in the Education for Socialists booklet entitled *Israel and the Arab Revolution: Fundamental Principles of Revolutionary Marxism*.

The second section is from the lead article in *New International* no. 7, "The Opening Guns of World III: Washington's Assault on Iraq," by Jack Barnes, who is national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. The issue was published a few months after the end of the 1990-91 Gulf War.

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From "Israel and the Arab Revolution"

1. The Socialist Workers Party gives unconditional support to the national liberation struggles of the Arab peoples against imperialism, that is, we support all these struggles regardless of their current leaderships. Our foremost task in implementing such support is to educate and mobilize the American people against U.S. imperialist actions in the Mideast.

2. Israel, created in accordance with the Zionist goal of establishing a Jewish state, could be set up in the Arab East only at the expense of the indigenous peoples of the area. Such a state could come into existence and maintain itself only by relying upon imperialism. Israel is a settler-colonialist and expansionist capitalist state maintained principally by American imperialism, hostile to the surrounding Arab peoples. It is an imperialist beachhead in the Arab world that serves as the spearhead of imperialism's fight against the Arab revolution. We unconditionally support the struggles of the Arab peoples against the state of Israel.

3. The principal victims of the creation of Israel were the Palestinians—i.e., the Arabs who inhabited the region where Israel was established, who have been driven from their homes or placed in subjugation within Israel and the newly occupied territories. The Palestinians are a part of the Arab peoples, but they also form a distinct national grouping, with its own history of struggle against imperialism. There were Palestinian uprisings in 1921, 1929, and

during the 1930s, reaching a high point in 1936-1939. At the height of the 1936 rebellion, the Palestinians conducted a six-month general strike. Expulsion from their homeland through the creation of Israel greatly intensified national consciousness among the Palestinians. The upsurge of Palestinian nationalism in the recent period, especially after the 1967 war, was particularly marked in the refugee camps and

cultural, and religious rights for all nationalities in the Mideast, including the Israeli Jews. The major Palestinian liberation organizations also advance this concept and view it as essential to their attempt to win the Israeli Jewish masses away from support to Israel.

4. Our revolutionary socialist opposition to Zionism and the Israeli state has nothing in common with anti-Semitism, as the

liberation movement. Zionism is a political movement that developed for the purpose of establishing a settler-colonialist state in Palestine and that rules the bourgeois society headed by the Israeli state today in alliance with world imperialism.

Zionism does not represent or promote the interests of the Jewish people. Within Israel, the Zionists lead the Jewish masses into the trap of opposing the national liberation struggle of the Arab peoples, a just and democratic struggle that will ultimately be victorious.

The racist oppression of the Israeli state against the Arabs is paralleled by racist oppression within Israel against Jews who come from the Arab countries and other colonial and semicolonial countries. Israeli capitalism exploits the Jewish workers in addition to superexploiting the Arab workers. Police repression against Arabs carries over to increasing repression against those Jews who oppose Zionism. Clerical restrictions on civil liberties affect Jews, and Arabs even more.

The Zionists promulgate the lie that to be Jewish is to be a Zionist, and therefore a supporter of Israel and imperialism. They thus make it easier for racist demagogues in other countries to foster anti-Semitism among the masses. The Zionists and their imperialist allies, who were incapable of fighting for the salvation of the Jews against Nazism, are incapable today of defending the interests of Jews where they are oppressed.

Cynically utilizing the crimes of the Nazis as a pretext, and with the complicity of the Soviet bureaucracy and the Stalinist movement, the imperialists and Zionists created the state of Israel at the expense of the Palestinians, who had nothing whatsoever to do with the Nazi crimes. Portraying the victim as the criminal, imperialist and Zionist propaganda now attempts to equate the Palestinian goal of national liberation with the barbaric genocidal actions of the Nazis. One of the factors enabling the imperialists and Zionists to make this false comparison is the widespread racism against the Arab peoples that exists in Europe, North America, and Israel.

The imperialists and Zionists to the contrary, the basic interests of the Jewish masses of Israel reside in alliance with the Palestinian liberation struggle and support of the goal of a democratic Palestine. We have incessantly warned Jews throughout the world: Zionism leads you into conflict with your potential allies—the oppressed of the world—and has led you to ally with your worst enemy, imperialism. Imperialism in its death agony has already led to one holocaust against European Jewry; it can inflict similar catastrophes again unless it is overthrown in time by the mass force of the socialist revolution....

8. Although one of the goals of the Arab revolution will be the unity of the Arab peoples, we cannot approach this perspective schematically or formally. Historical developments, not least the divisive role of imperialism, have created separate Arab states and differences among the Arab peoples. The revolution will therefore unfold in an uneven way throughout the region, and can leap ahead or suffer setbacks in one or another of the Arab states or Palestine. We envisage the establishment of a united socialist Middle East. But such a political formation will not issue from a simultaneous and uniform revolution throughout the area....

It would be wrong to attempt to draw a blueprint for the exact juridical and governmental forms of a democratic Palestine or a united socialist Middle East. We cannot predict the length, severity, or the vicissitudes of the revolutionary struggles in the Middle East or provide a recipe for the tactics that will be employed. All of this depends upon many factors, including the development of the revolutionary struggle in the imperialist countries and the workers states, the pace of development of Leninist parties in the Middle East, and the extent to which the Is-



Palestinians march in West Bank in December 1988 to celebrate anniversary of beginning of *intifada*, or uprising. Class-conscious workers "give unconditional support to the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination," states 1971 Socialist Workers Party resolution.

newly occupied territories as a result of the direct oppression these people have suffered at the hands of Israel. The September 1970 civil war in Jordan further intensified Palestinian national consciousness.

A democratic, secular Palestine

The struggle of the Palestinian people against their oppression and for self-determination has taken the form of a struggle to destroy the state of Israel. The currently expressed goal of this struggle is the establishment of a democratic, secular Palestine. We give unconditional support to this struggle of the Palestinians for self-determination.

An integral part of our program for the Palestinian revolution and the Arab revolution as a whole is support of full civil,

pro-Zionist propagandists maliciously and falsely assert. Anti-Semitism is anti-Jewish racism used to justify and reinforce oppression of the Jewish people. Marxists have been and remain the most militant and uncompromising fighters against anti-Semitism and the oppression of Jews.

The source of the oppression of the Jewish people in this era is the capitalist system, which in its period of decay carries all forms of racist oppression to the most barbarous extremes. This was horribly illustrated in the holocaust directed against the Jews of Europe by German imperialism under the Nazi regime. Today, anti-Semitism remains widespread in all of the Western imperialist countries. Until the capitalist system is abolished in these countries there is the ever-present danger that a new variety of virulent anti-Semitism can arise.

In the Soviet Union and the workers states of Eastern Europe the privileged Stalinist bureaucracies perpetuate and reinforce many forms of racism and national oppression inherited from the previous capitalist era, including anti-Semitism and oppression of Jews. In these countries a political revolution is needed to sweep away the reactionary bureaucracies and institute the norms of proletarian democracy, equality, and internationalism.

In the colonial and semicolonial countries, including those in the Arab world, the bourgeois regimes perpetuate and foster racism and oppression against national minorities, including the indigenous Jewish population. Only when the colonial and semicolonial countries win complete national liberation, through the process of permanent revolution culminating in a socialist revolution, can the oppression of these national minorities be ended.

Opposition to anti-Semitism

The struggle against anti-Semitism and the oppression of Jews is part of the struggle to abolish all forms of racism and national oppression. This struggle can be fully and finally won only in alliance with all the oppressed of the world.

Zionism is not, as it claims, a national

FROM *Pathfinder*

Israel and the Arab Revolution

Fundamental Principles of Revolutionary Marxism

In response to the upsurge in the national liberation struggles in the Mideast in the 1960s and growing solidarity with the struggles of workers and peasants in the region, the Socialist Workers Party adopted the resolution *Israel and the Arab Revolution*. This Education for Socialists bulletin contains the full text of the resolution, and other documents written to guide revolutionary workers and farmers in the struggle against imperialist exploitation and Zionist rule. **\$7.00**

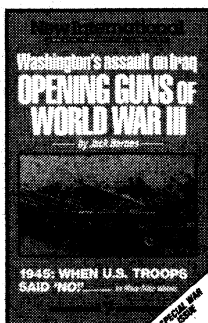


Opening Guns of World War III

Washington's Assault on Iraq

Jack Barnes

The U.S. government's murderous assault on Iraq heralded increasingly sharp conflicts among imperialist powers, the rise of rightist and fascist forces, growing instability of international capitalism, and more wars. In *New International* no. 7. Also includes "Communist Policy in Wartime as well as in Peacetime" by Mary-Alice Waters. **\$12.00**



Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12.

etermination

ad for all working people in region

raeli Jewish masses can be won away from adherence to the Israeli state to active support of the Palestinian and general Arab liberation movements.

Zionism against interests of Jewish people

Our program for the Palestinian revolution and the Arab revolution as a whole includes support of full civil, cultural, and religious rights for all nationalities in the Mideast, including the Israeli Jews. But, while we support the right of the Israeli Jews to pursue their national culture within the framework of a democratic Palestine, we are opposed to the Israeli state.

Two of the key arguments used by Zionists in defending the Israeli state are: (1) The Jewish people, an oppressed nationality throughout the world, have a right to self-determination. The existence of the Israeli state is the realization of that right. Because of the historical oppression of the Jewish people, the right to maintain the Israeli state supersedes the national rights of the Palestinian Arabs; (2) However one may disagree with the present policies of the Israeli state or the manner of its creation, the Israeli state must be defended against the Arab peoples, because a victory for the Arab revolution and the destruction of the Israeli state would result in genocide, mass expulsion, or the oppression of the Jews presently living in Israel.

Both of these arguments are false to the core.

The situation of the Israeli Jews is essentially different from that of Jews in other parts of the world. The struggle against anti-Semitism and the oppression of Jews in other countries is a progressive struggle directed against their oppressors. In some circumstances the demand for self-determination for oppressed Jews, directed against the oppressor nation, could become appropriate. Thus the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky recognized the right of the Jews in Russia to set up a state on their own territory, if they wished.

However, the oppression of Jews in other countries does not justify the creation and maintenance of the existing Israeli state at the expense of the Palestinians, who were not and are not responsible for the oppression of the Jews. There, the situation is the reverse. The Israeli Jews form an oppressor nationality of a settler-colonial character vis-a-vis the Arab peoples. The Israeli state is the means by which this oppression is maintained.

From the point of view of the Leninist concept of the right of nations to self-determination, the key fact is whether the given nationality is an oppressed nationality or an oppressor nationality. Revolutionists call for the right of self-determination for oppressed nationalities, those that are being denied their democratic rights through national oppression. This demand means that the oppressed nationalities have the right to decide to form a separate state, or to exist in a unitary or federated state alongside a former oppressor nationality, or to adopt some other form of self-determination, as the oppressed nationality so chooses. The oppressor nationality has no right to decide this question. The purpose of fighting for the right of self-determination for oppressed nationalities is to guarantee them whatever state forms they believe are necessary to end their oppression. In the epoch of imperialism, the national liberation struggles of oppressed nationalities tend to merge with the world socialist revolution against imperialism through the process of permanent revolution.

This revolutionary dynamic is entirely missing from the concept that the Israeli Jews—an oppressor nationality vis-a-vis

the Arab peoples—have a right to a separate state. Proletarian internationalism includes the recognition that the struggles of the oppressed nationality and the toiling masses in the oppressor nationality have the same enemy. But it does not at all endorse the concept that oppressed nationalities must support the right of self-determination of the oppressor nationality.

The burden for forging a fighting internationalist alliance rests on the proletarian movement of the oppressor nationality or country. It must prove in deeds that it is opposed to its own bourgeoisie on this question by fighting side by side with the oppressed nationalities and supporting their right to self-determination.

There is no equation between the demand for self-determination for the Vietnamese, which is directed against imperialism and its lackeys in Saigon, or for the Palestinians, which is directed against their imperialist and Israeli oppressors, and the demand to support the Israeli state. The latter is directed on behalf of the imperialists against the Arabs, primarily the Palestinians. In the current situation, this demand mobilizes the Israeli Jews against the Arabs, who are oppressed by Israel.

The second argument of the Zionists is equally false. It is not justifiable to assume that a likely development of the Arab revolution will be the future oppression of the Israeli Jews. There is no reason to believe that the Arab liberation movement—contrary to the dynamic of such struggles everywhere else, contrary to the basic principles being put forward by its most advanced components (the Palestinian liberation fighters)—will institute a system of national oppression against the Israeli Jews. To consider that the Arab revolution will necessarily threaten the national oppression of the Israeli Jews is an unfounded fear of the revolution itself, a fear which is incited for counterrevolutionary reasons by the



Israeli tank outside Ramallah, West Bank, in October. "Israel is a settler-colonialist and expansionist capitalist state maintained by U.S. imperialism" that must be overthrown to be replaced by a democratic, secular Palestine.

imperialists and Zionists.

Of course, the possibility of future oppression of the Israeli Jews cannot be theoretically excluded. A bureaucratic deformation or degeneration of the state power issuing after a successful revolution in Palestine could conceivably result in systematic oppression of the Jews. Under such circumstances, the demand for their right to self-determination could become appropriate. But this unlikely future possibility does not justify the existing oppression of the Arab peoples through the maintenance of the Israeli state.

In contrast to this speculative future danger, there are real problems which will definitely have to be surmounted after the victory of the Arab revolution. Even under the most favorable conditions in which the socialist revolution in the Middle East can take place, many vestiges of national oppression suffered by the Arab peoples will still remain for a time. The revolutionary policy is to give preferential treatment to the formerly



Palestinian women protest in 1968 against Israel Independence Day celebration in Jerusalem. After 1967 war in which Israeli regime defeated armies of Arab countries and occupied new territory, Palestinians looked more to their own mobilization to win freedom.

oppressed nationalities as the only means by which they can overcome all the economic, social, and cultural deprivations that they have suffered at the hands of Israel and the imperialist countries....

We explain to the Israeli Jews, as we have in the past, that their future lies only in aligning themselves with the Palestinian and general Arab liberation movements, wholeheartedly and without any reservation whatever. It will be to the extent that they do this that they can escape from the trap that Zionism and imperialism have set for them in the Mideast....

Washington: chief oppressor in Mideast

The fact that the United States is the chief imperialist power involved in the Mideast makes opposition to Washington's aims and actions there our central task in defending the Arab revolution. During the 1967 war itself, the SWP was the only major organization on the left to rally to an internationalist defense of the Arab revolution. Since then, as the importance of this sector of the world revolution has increased, defense of the Arab revolution has been an increasing part of the SWP's political activity. During the 1970 civil war in Jordan, the SWP campaigned against the threat of direct U. S. military intervention.

The SWP's political work in this area has centered on an educational campaign to counter imperialist and Zionist propaganda against the Arab revolution. Continuing this campaign remains the central focus of our political activity in defense of the Arab revolution. This campaign takes the form of thorough press coverage of developments in the Mideast, expanded publication of literature, participation in debates, teach-ins, organizing speaking tours, and other means of educating the newly radicalizing forces to an internationalist position on this question.

From "The Opening Guns of World War III"

BY JACK BARNES

Communists have no trouble in recognizing the need for unconditional solidarity with an oppressed nation against imperialist attack, regardless of the class character of its government, as we've proven once again during the Gulf war. At the same time, communists and other vanguard fighters for true national independence and sovereignty—whether in Iraq or anywhere else in the region—must recognize and act on the fact that there are conflicting classes within these oppressed nations.

The Palestinians are among the biggest victims of the fakery of the bourgeois governments in the region, all of which falsely claim to speak and act in their interests. These blows were dealt to the Palestinians not just by the treacherous Egyptian, Syrian, and Saudi regimes—or by the desperate King Hussein of Jordan, who will turn

In September 1970, King Hussein's army, with the support of Tel Aviv and Washington, launched an all-out attack on Palestinian refugee camps and communities in Jordan, aiming to blunt the growing militancy of the Palestinian freedom fighters and maintain stable relations with Israel. More than eight thousand Palestinians were killed in the assault, a massacre that has become known as "Black September."

his guns on the Palestinians again, if he finds it expedient, just as he did in September 1970.¹ No less damage was done by the reactionary demagoguery of Baghdad, which postured as the champion of the Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim peoples, while in practice it sapped their capacity for anti-imperialist struggle. Baghdad cynically called for "linkage" of Iraq's partial withdrawal from Kuwait with the Palestinians' demands for national self-determination.

The leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization also did great harm to the Palestinian struggle by endorsing this demagogic, after-the-fact linkage. This tailing after Baghdad left PLO leaders politically disarmed to explain the *real linkage* that does exist with the Palestinian struggle; the pressing need for *action* in solidarity with Iraq in the face of imperialist assault; the reactionary character of Baghdad's brutal invasion of Kuwait; and the fight against imperialism throughout the region and the world.

Bourgeoisification of PLO

The failure of the PLO to chart such a revolutionary course is a reflection of its growing bourgeoisification. This evolution was *revealed* more clearly by the U.S. aggression in the Gulf, but it was not *caused* by the war. The political retreat by the central PLO leadership has been under way for some time.

A political toll has been taken over the past ten or fifteen years by the continued dispersion of the Palestinian people. A whole layer of Palestinian youth have grown up outside the historic lands of Palestine. A PLO apparatus has been built up throughout countries in the Middle East and North Africa hosted and financed by the bourgeois regimes in the region. A few factions of the PLO have become willing tools in the hands of these governments. The blows dealt to the PLO forces in Lebanon over the past decade by the Israeli regime, by the Syrian regime, and by the various Lebanese bourgeois political forces—these have had an additional disorienting and demoralizing impact on layers of the leadership, turning their eyes further away from the ranks of the Palestinian masses inside and outside Israel. The gap has grown between the PLO apparatus and the young Palestinian fighters inside the borders of "Greater Israel," where the liberation fight has been centered more and more.

But this is not a finished process. The PLO remains a revolutionary-nationalist movement with a predominantly petty-bourgeois leadership. The outcome of the PLO's political evolution remains intertwined with the living struggle of the Palestinian people, who have not been cowed or defeated. More of the leadership of the Palestinian movement has shifted to the occupied West Bank, to Gaza, to Jerusalem, and to inside Israel's pre-1967 borders—especially since the beginning of the intifada more than three years ago. More of the leadership is being taken by those who are pressing forward the fight for land, for equality, for national self-determination, for a fully sovereign Palestinian state, and who in doing so are helping to change the world....

The battle for national liberation has gone through a particular evolution and important changes as the twentieth century has unfolded. These cumulative developments

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have altered the class character and caliber of the leadership necessary to take the next steps in the struggle against imperialist domination, semifeudal oppression, and capitalist exploitation.

Only fifty years ago, with the outbreak of World War II, a great movement for decolonization began to sweep the world. At the opening of that war, the vast majority of what are today independent countries were colonies. When the United Nations was launched at the close of the war in late 1945, it initially had only 51 members; today there are 159.

This political independence was not granted by the imperialist colonizers out of the goodness of their hearts. Independence was conquered through struggle—by the peoples of India and Iraq to throw off British rule; by the Indochinese, Algerian, and Syrian peoples against French rule; by the Filipino people against U.S. colonial rule; by the Indonesian people against Dutch imperialism; by the Congolese people against Belgian colonialism; by the peoples of Angola and Mozambique against Portuguese rule; and many others.

If you don't count Hong Kong as a colony—and I don't anymore; its rapid integration into China is not only a foregone conclusion, but actually running ahead of

counterposed social interests, carried substantial weight in these battles.

Independence struggles were fought and led to victory under leaderships that were often bourgeois or petty bourgeois both in program and social composition. The workers and peasants were the most self-sacrificing fighters, the courageous battalions without whom the battle could not have been won. But the dominant political leaderships were not proletarian or communist in the vast majority of cases. Most of the regimes that came to power were bourgeois, not workers' and peasants' governments.

Exhaustion of nonproletarian leaderships

The victories of the decolonization movement gave an impulse to a second set of conquests in the struggle for national liberation—ones that were often intertwined with the anticolonial fight itself. This was the struggle to wrest back from direct ownership by imperialist interests the most basic resources and infrastructure—the national patrimony—of countries in the Third World. These struggles marked much of the 1950s and '60s, and continued even into the late 1970s with the Iranian revolution.

In 1956 the Egyptian government headed by Gamal Abdel Nasser took back the Suez Canal from British and French finance capital, for example. Regimes throughout the Middle East, Latin America, and elsewhere nationalized oil fields and mineral rights. Class lines in these battles were drawn more sharply than in the decolonization battles themselves, since layers of native exploiters had economic interests that were directly tied to major imperialist-owned banks and monopolies. Workers and peasants often took advantage of these confrontations with imperialism to press demands on the neocolonial regimes for land reform and labor rights, and in the process won some greater space to organize and practice politics.

But in the big majority of cases these resources taken from the direct domination and

exploitation of the imperialists were transferred to the domination of local, rising capitalist classes, either directly to private owners or indirectly through the neocolonial regimes they controlled. Once again, the conflicts that culminated in the nationalization of these former imperialist properties were carried through largely by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaderships and without the establishment of workers' and peasants' regimes.

The most pressing tasks that confront workers and peasants in most of the Third World today, however, require a different class character and caliber of leadership if they are to succeed. The tasks of national liberation, of carrying through to the end



Palestinians and Jews demonstrate in Tel Aviv against occupation of West Bank and Gaza Strip by Israeli forces, begun in 1967. Socialists "explain to the Israeli Jews that their future lies in aligning themselves with the Palestinian and general Arab liberation movements" against the Zionist regime and U.S. imperialism.

the liberation of the toilers from imperialist domination and superexploitation, cannot be advanced short of a struggle against the local capitalist and landlord classes, whose interests are completely intertwined with those of the imperialists. Thus, the political challenges before national liberation movements in tackling this next set of historic tasks require greater political clarity and working-class leadership.

That's the road forward to lasting economic and social development. That's how to rid these countries of social structures and institutions that ensure their permanent subjugation to imperialism. That's the only way to prevent the gains from even limited economic and social development from ending up in the hands of a thin layer of capitalists, the government bureaucracy, and the military officer corps, while the vast majority of workers and peasants are driven into deeper impoverishment and brutally repressed when they resist. That's the only way to carry through land reforms that are thoroughgoing and that don't—through the mechanism of the capitalist rents and mortgages system, and domination over credit, marketing arrangements, and sources of agricultural equipment and supplies—simply end up reproducing massive landlessness and class differentiation in the countryside.

Need for working-class leadership

These pressing tasks confronting anti-imperialist fighters in most semicolonial countries today are the product of the crisis of the imperialist system itself, of the failure of capitalism. It is capitalism that has robbed workers and peasants the world over who fought courageously—and at great sacrifice—for their national independence, only to find themselves today the debt slaves of imperialist banks. Only to find themselves still subject to the dictates of the great oil cartels, the giant merchants of grain, and other imperialist interests.

The imperialist enemy can no longer be fought successfully in the same ways as in past decades. Colonial independence has

been achieved in most countries. The national patrimony of land and other mineral resources has been nationalized in many cases.

In the most direct and immediate sense, the problem for the toilers is not that the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties and organizations are ineffective as instruments in the struggle for socialism; that's always true. But the social reality that above all poses the demand for working-class leadership is that the bourgeois ruling classes have become the main prop of imperialist domination of these countries at this point in history, even if in great conflict with this or that imperialist power for periods of time. So it is impossible to carry through to completion the struggle for national liberation under their leadership; they have to be fought against and replaced.

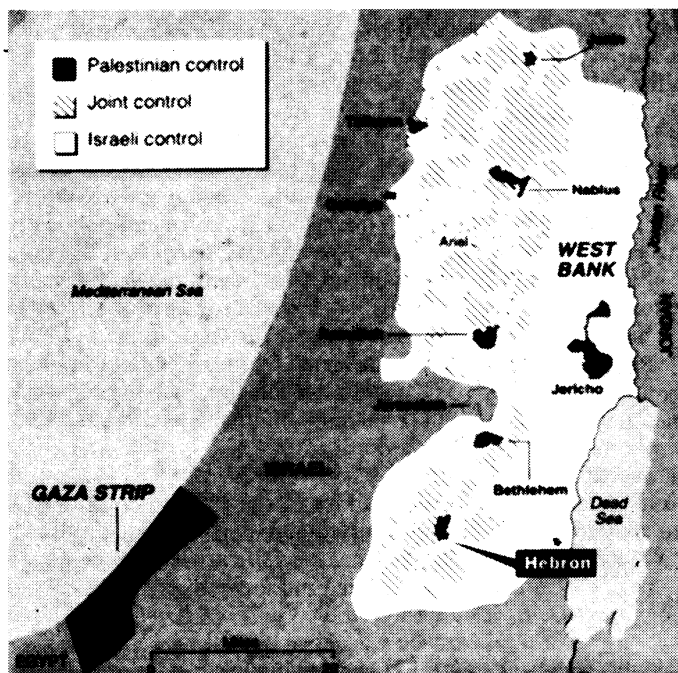
Just look at the utter incapacity of any of these bourgeois leaderships even to take a united stand against the imperialist banks and say: "No! We're not going to pay one more cent on the interest payments that are devastating our countries. Cancel the debt!" In 1985 Cuban president Fidel Castro launched an international effort to convince not only popular movements and labor unions but the heads of state of various Latin American and other Third World governments to join together in a campaign to press for this demand. There were no preconditions, no pressure to bring in other questions—just a collective stand to refuse to pay the foreign debt that was strangling these countries.

But Castro did not find even a single taker. And, as he sharply underlined several years later, a historic opportunity to confront imperialism when it was vulnerable was lost. The neocolonial ruling classes cannot and will not help lead a fight to cancel the debt, because such a campaign endangers the very mechanisms of capitalist banking and credit that these local exploiters themselves benefit from and depend on.

The kind of struggle necessary to take on the next tasks of national liberation requires the organization of the workers and peasants politically independent of the capitalists and landlords, who block the progress and development of the nation. It requires a strong worker-peasant alliance. It requires the fight for political space to organize and engage in struggles.

It requires an internationalist orientation toward the battles of other toilers, not only elsewhere in the Third World but in the imperialist countries and throughout Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. It requires an anticapitalist program and proletarian leadership. And it requires the fight to replace the current neocolonial bourgeois regimes with workers' and peasants' governments.

This is why we are convinced (1) that struggles to carry through national liberation to the end will be a stronger, not a weaker, force in world politics in coming years; and (2) that in the great majority of these countries, to be an effective revolutionist today and tomorrow is to be a communist. Over the past three decades we have seen how such leadership can and will develop in the course of revolutionary struggles against national oppression.



Areas of West Bank and Gaza that were granted limited Palestinian autonomy under 1996 Oslo accords.

the scheduled 1997 formalities—then the largest colony left in the world today is Puerto Rico. If anything, this fact increases the importance of the anticolonial struggles that remain to be settled, particularly of numerous islands in the Caribbean, the Pacific, the Indian Ocean, and so on. But the scope of the post-World War II decolonization conquests is impressive.

While in each case there were landlords, merchant capitalists, and other indigenous exploiters who collaborated with the colonial powers to the bitter end, the decolonization movements nonetheless mobilized broad united fronts behind the fight for national independence. Representatives of different classes, with directly

Further reading

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Workers in Yugoslavia press fight for rights

Continued from front page

form a new federal government since.

Meanwhile, workers in thousands of factories, hospitals, banks, hotels, transportation centers, and other workplaces have been replacing company directors and other managers hated because of their subservience to the deposed regime.

Boskovic said this process, which started right after Milosevic's resignation, "has only just begun."

One of the latest examples is action by workers in the largest state-owned oil company. The top managers there had initially refused to step down but resigned in mid-October. "Engineers and production workers have now formed a commission of inquiry to look into the practices of the old management," Boskovic said. "If they find any evidence of embezzlement or other pilfering of company resources, the commission will bring charges against those directors and they will be prosecuted."

This is beginning to spread to other industries as many workers seek to hold accountable the former officials for widespread corruption and mismanagement.

Working people detest the gulf in living standards between most of Serbia's citizens and those of the bureaucrats who used their privileged positions to enrich themselves. Millions have also begun to see through the "pro-worker" demagoguery and lies of these parasitic layers that wore the mantle of socialism to disguise their bourgeois values and lifestyles.

In an October 12 phone interview, Branislav Canak, president of the trade union federation Nezavisnost (Independence), talked of the central role of workers in the October 5 revolt and the strikes and other street actions that preceded it.

Nezavisnost is the union federation that is independent of control by the former Milosevic regime. It campaigned against the U.S.-NATO bombing last year, and many of its leaders rejected the chauvinist campaign of the regime against Albanians in Kosovo.

In addition to joining in the call for the October 5 general strike, Nezavisnost helped organize other walkouts in the first week of October demanding Milosevic step down. "We organized strikes in the copper industry, where Milosevic was securing cash for years before," Canak said.

Workers stop 'diversion' of products

Nezavisnost members also took effective action in the vegetable oil industry. While workers at these factories received very low pay, managers organized in the last decade for most production to be diverted to the black market, where company officials and middlemen made a bundle from exorbitant prices.

As part of the rebellion, workers guards formed in these factories to stop this "diversion" of products, which many expected to intensify as Milosevic cronies began to see the end of their reign.

"From Monday, October 2, although the production was not stopped, our workers guards did not allow a single bottle to go out of the factory," Canak said. "We also organized strikes in the military industry to prevent production of ammunition that could have been used against the protesters."

Even the union federation that had ties to the Milosevic regime joined the call for him to step down days before his downfall.

"For the first time since I can remember, all trade unions seem to be doing what they are supposed to do—defend the workers," said Branislav Cale, a mathematics student at the University of Belgrade, in an October 17 telephone interview.

Canak said that in his personal view it's too late for the leadership of the former pro-government trade union federation to become a legitimate part of a transformed labor movement. "There are massive disaffiliations from that federation and thousands of new members are joining Nezavisnost."

Kostunica sets deal with Socialist Party

In other actions, students have organized repeated protests in Belgrade and other cities demanding the former regime's law regulating university affairs be repealed. "We are not there yet, but that law will be history soon," Branislav Cale said. That legislation did away with all university autonomy and gave absolute power of hiring, firing, budget allocation, and other college policies to government-appointed rectors.

Meanwhile, Kostunica and the Democratic



Tens of thousands of working people converged on Belgrade to join October 5 mobilization that together with general strike toppled hated Milosevic regime.

Opposition of Serbia (DOS), the 18-party coalition that backed him in the presidential elections, are making deals with the former ruling Socialist Party of Serbia about a transition in government. While Kostunica won the federal presidency and DOS has a majority in the federal parliament, Milosevic's Socialist Party still controls the parliament of Serbia. Montenegro and Serbia are the two republics of the current Yugoslavia.

On October 16, elections for the Serbian legislature were set for December 23, nearly a year ahead of schedule. At the same time, the Socialist Party will keep the office of prime minister of Serbia, with the constraint that decisions at that level can be made by consensus with two deputy prime ministers—one from Kostunica's Democratic Party and the other from the Serbian Renewal Movement.

Milosevic's Socialist Party also agreed to share Serbia's ministries of police, information, justice, and finance among three appointees with the main opposition parties.

In his first visit to Montenegro October 17, Kostunica also tried to convince the government of Milo Djukanovic in that republic to join his federal coalition regime. Djukanovic declined, however, reiterating demands for a looser Yugoslav federation and more autonomy for Montenegro, including for its armed forces. Djukanovic boycotted the

Yugoslav presidential elections. Only the Socialist Party of Montenegro, the main opposition party in that republic, took part, thus winning all seats in the federal parliament allotted to Montenegro.

Kostunica had angered the Djukanovic administration when he earlier invited the SP deputies from Montenegro to join his governmental coalition in formation.

In a display of his Serb nationalism, Kostunica accepted the invitation by chauvinist Bosnian Serb leaders to go to Bosnia next month for the rebuff of a Bosnian Serb poet. The Bosnian government protested the move, saying it showed a lack of sensitivity. Milosevic backers waged a three-year war in Bosnia with the goal of "ethnically cleansing" part of it from Croats, Muslims, and other non-Serb nationalities and annexing it to a "Greater Serbia" in order to maximize land and resources under their control to sustain their parasitic way of living.

This gave Washington and other imperialist powers a golden opportunity to intervene militarily. Bosnia is today partitioned and under the control of imperialist armies under NATO's command.

Imperialists press for 'market reforms'

Imperialist powers, especially in the European Union (EU), have praised the new regime in Belgrade, announced the lifting

of EU sanctions against Yugoslavia, and promised up to \$2 billion in aid as long as Kostunica carries out his promised "pro-democracy" changes and market reforms. These are code words for integrating Yugoslavia more into the capitalist world and preparing the way for the central aim of these capitalist powers, which is to overthrow the workers state in Yugoslavia.

To do so, however, Washington and its imperialist allies in Europe will have to confront more directly the working class of Yugoslavia, which has opened up greater political space through its actions in the last two weeks and has gained self-confidence.

"[Kostunica's] economic program is seriously neo-liberal and I think, if nothing else, that would put workers and Nezavisnost in a confrontational position against him sooner or later," said Branislav Canak. "We will warn him first and then we will start behaving as unions are supposed to behave when their basic interests are in danger."

Others made similar points. During earlier protests for democratic rights in 1996 and 1997, which were dominated by students and professional layers, "we had become accustomed to 'saloon' demonstrations," said Branislav Cale. "But now we had our own 'October revolution,'" he added, making a parallel—in a semi-joking, semi-serious way—between the recent uprising in Serbia and the October 1917 Russian revolution led by the Bolsheviks.

"It is the power of workers in action that all the politicians are afraid of," Cale stated.

Bojan Boskovic answered continued allegations by the remaining supporters of the former Milosevic regime in Yugoslavia and other fellow travelers around the world that Kostunica's electoral victory and subsequent street actions and strikes were "a CIA plot."

"This is ridiculous," he said. "This bloodless revolution was organized by the people, not DOS. In Novi Sad where I live, the opposition parties continued to talk about peaceful protests and holding on for another day. It was only when factory workers and farmers came to Belgrade from throughout Serbia that things changed. And remember, Milosevic and [former Croatian president Franjo] Tudjman were responsible for the deadly wars that broke up our country, and the U.S. and Europe backed them along that way. Now the politicians know that if something goes wrong with Kostunica, we'll take to the streets again the new way."

Argiris Malapanis is a meat packer in Miami.

Workers 'crisis committees' defend state property

BY GEORGE SKORIC

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia—It didn't take long for the forces led by new president Vojislav Kostunica, and the Socialist Party of former president Slobodan Milosevic to find one thing on which they can both agree. "Chaos" and "anarchy" are the words most often used by these politicians to describe the state of the country since the October 5 revolt that forced Milosevic out of power.

They are referring mostly to the present situation in the factories, banks, schools, and other institutions. Inspired by the mass uprising, working people all over Serbia are getting rid of the old managers and directors placed by Milosevic in most state-owned companies. Workers and their unions are creating "crisis committees" to press their demands in the workplaces, putting the newly elected president in a difficult situation.

The petty-bourgeois anti-Milosevic coalition had never bothered to establish strong ties with the unions in the past. As a result, they have little control over this process at the moment. Many of these "crisis committees" are openly sympathetic to the forces that are in the new government. Many, however, have declared themselves "neutral," and state that their only interest is the "well-being of the collective."

Workers protect state-owned property

The committees have been formed largely under this banner: "To protect the state-owned property from robbery by the ousted criminal bureaucrats."

Kostunica has expressed worries about this process of restructuring "from the bottom up." He has insisted that a change must come through the institutions of the system, and after the new "transitional government" is created. Otherwise, he and his allies ar-

gue, things might get "out of control" and the country will be in chaos. The transitional government, including ministers belonging to different parties, would hold office until the new elections for the state parliament planned for December.

Indeed, many capitalist-minded politicians are expressing "concern" that this phenomenon is spreading fear through the media. Union bureaucrats have joined this campaign, stating that the unions mustn't be "politicized and abused."

There are few things in Yugoslavia today that are not politicized, though. The students are marching through Belgrade once again, this time insisting that the infamous "university law," which was passed by Milosevic in order to stop the frequent student strikes, must be overturned.

Two soccer games were interrupted in Belgrade recently. The fans of a popular local soccer club ran onto the field and smashed some seats. Apparently, they are not satisfied with the way the club officials are treating them, so the usual soccer songs got replaced by chants of "Management out!"

It's not surprising that the new forces in the government are insisting on control of the crucial ministry of internal affairs—including the police. Kostunica has also conducted many meetings with the army generals.

Given the actions by workers today to assert their rights, one cannot help but imagine the working-class resistance that will be generated when the new government establishes itself and starts to conduct its "economic reform program," which consists of rapid and massive privatization of the state-owned companies.

Milosevic's Socialist Party is in disarray, with many purges and local chapters ask-

ing for "reform." There are many instances of Socialist Party officials trying to change sides at the last moment.

Not a coherent force

At the same time, the "united opposition" that is now in the government is not in much better shape. Formed by a number of different petty-bourgeois parties and currents, the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) is everything but a coherent political force. Everything still looks calm on the outside, but now that Milosevic has been overthrown they do not have much in common, and it is only a matter of time before their coalition fractures.

Kostunica is already complaining to foreign journalists that "certain members of the Democratic Opposition are compromising my authority." The mass anti-Milosevic youth organization, "the Resistance," issued a statement claiming that they "still support the opposition," but are "keeping their eyes wide open." They reminded the leaders of the new regime that the people supported them mainly because they were opposed to Milosevic, not because of their political program.

Another proclamation recently came from the minister of science, who is also a member of the Socialist Party's Central Committee. He explicitly states that no decisions made by the crisis committees will be respected.

Indicating the worries expressed by the forces in the new government about the restlessness of working people and others aspiring for real change for the better, Kostunica recently declared, "On the surface we have a calm democratic transition, but under the surface we still have some kind of unpredictable volcano."

Los Angeles bus workers settle 32-day strike

BY NAN BAILEY
AND ROBERT REYNA

LOS ANGELES—United Transportation Union bus drivers employed by the Metropolitan Transportation Authority here have voted to end their 32-day strike and ratify a contract. More than 3,000 drivers met at the Los Angeles Convention Center October 17 to review a summary of the contract settlement that union officials urged them to approve.

"We got less than what we should have gotten, but better than what they wanted to give us," said Brian Crockett, a bus operator for 12 years, expressing his opinion of the contract settlement following the union meeting. "It was worth striking for."

"The MTA tried to take \$23 million off our backs," said driver Michele Bryant. "I'm especially glad about article 2," he said, referring to the clause providing for straight 10-hour days instead of the demand for 12- or 13-hour availability for 10 hours pay, as originally proposed by the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA). "I think we got what we wanted and the fight is over. I'm behind on my bills, but I'm happy."

While full details of the settlement have not been made public, the summary outlined by union officials included the stipulation that any additional bus lines contracted out by the MTA to private companies would have to honor the current union contract. The settlement referred to the language outlined in State Senate Bill 1101, which became a law in California when Gov. Gray Davis signed it September 30 in the midst of the bus drivers' strike.

The settlement provides for 55 additional assignments of drivers to work schedules of four days, 10 hours, with three days off a week. This replaces the MTA's initial proposal of 400 additional assignments demanding four-day workweeks and requiring drivers to be on duty for more hours than they would be paid for.

Drivers on regular schedules (not those on the four-day, 10-hour schedule) will continue to receive overtime pay for time worked beyond eight hours, something the MTA sought to undermine.

The new contract provides for 330 part-time drivers to be hired by the MTA over the course of the three-year contract. Union officials noted this was a concession. "My main concern was the part-timers," said driver Robert Gonzalez. "If the MTA had gotten what they wanted on that, it would have given them the upper hand. They started out wanting to make 1,400 of our jobs part-time, so this was better than that. This contract saved jobs that some of the political people in the city of Los Angeles wanted to take away from us."

The new contract also maintains the current health benefits plan of the union and provides for an increase in the MTA's contribution to the union pension plan. The MTA initially demanded an increase in the union's contributions to both.

The final settlement was a contrast to what the MTA had dubbed its, "last, best, and final offer," announced on October 10. When the UTU negotiating committee rejected that offer, MTA officials announced that they would appeal to bus drivers directly to approve the contract offer. They mailed the proposal and a ballot to the 4,400 bus operators. Many angry UTU members de-

nounced this as another union-busting move.

In response, union officials called a meeting October 13 to discuss the proposal and urge the bus operators to reject it. The rejection by voice vote of 2,500 drivers who attended that union meeting was unanimous.

In the settlement, the MTA backed away from some of those demands. These included the work rule requiring 12-13 hour availability with only 10 hours pay, a new and lower wage tier for part-time workers, and increased payments from union members for health benefits.

UTU president James Williams opened the October 17 union meeting stating, "The MTA wanted to use these negotiations to create a company of part-timers at \$10 an hour. This was union-busting at its best, with millions of dollars to pull it off and we stayed the course. That is why we've been on strike for 32 days. I know we've suffered. But you have to do what you have to do. The MTA set out to divide and conquer. They got a little bit and we got a little bit. But I say we won and it's time to get the busses rolling."

The keynote speaker of the evening, introduced by Williams, was Democratic politician Jesse Jackson, who sat in on the last few days of the contract talks. Jackson declared both sides winners in the settlement, told the workers to "forgive, redeem, move on," and urged a vote for Democratic presidential candidate Albert Gore.

Several days before the settlement of the UTU strike, leaders of Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 660, which organizes 47,000 county workers, announced that they would honor the request of Cardinal Roger Mahoney that union members return to work while bargaining for a contract continues. Local 660 had organized day-long rolling strikes that culminated in a countywide one-day strike on October 11. Almost all of the county workers returned to the job on October 12.

Over the course of the month-long bus drivers' strike, the confrontation between the drivers and the MTA was the topic of discussion all around the Los Angeles area.

A farm worker who marched with 200 others in Fresno on October 14 to demand rights for immigrants said he had heard about the bus operators strike in Los Angeles. "Yes, they're doing pretty good aren't they?" he said. He was impressed by the



Bus workers picket the Metropolitan Transportation Authority during the strike

length of the strike.

Support for the strikers was strong among students at East Los Angeles College, one of the students told the *Militant*. Many students at the college depend on public trans-

portation to get to school.

Irma, a worker at a local meatpacking plant who also rides the bus, said, "Sure they should get paid what they're asking for, after working all those hours."

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Socialist Workers Party Campaign Rally. Speaker: James Harris, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. president. 3926 Mission St. Sat., Oct. 28, 7:00 p.m. Reception: 6:00 p.m. For more information, call: (415) 584-2135.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Behind the Toppling of the Yugoslav Regime: Workers' Street Actions, Strikes Open Political Space. Sat., Oct. 28, 7:00 p.m. 1212 N. Ashland, 2nd floor. Donation: \$4. Tel: (773) 342-1780.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

The Fight for Women's Rights Today. Speaker: Sarah Ullman, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Oct. 22, 5:00 p.m. 683 Washington St. Dorchester. Donation: \$4. Tel: (617) 282-2254.

Struggles for Dignity, Rights, and Solidarity: Working People Confront Growing Brutality and Political Polarization of Capitalism Today. A Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Fund event. Speaker: Luis Madrid, editorial staff of Pathfinder Press. Sat., Oct. 28, 7:30 p.m. Reception: 6:30 p.m. Codman Square, 683 Washington St., Dorchester. Donation: \$5. Tel: (617) 282-2254.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Speak Out Against Police Brutality. Speaker: Representative, Justice for Prince Jones Committee. Fri., Oct. 27, 7:30 p.m. Dinner: 6:30 p.m. 3541 14th St. NW (at Perry Pl.). Donation: \$4. Dinner: \$5. Tel: (202) 722-6221.

BRITAIN

London

Yugoslavia: Workers Lead Revolt to Topple Milosevic Regime. Speaker: Anne Howie, Communist League. Fri., Oct. 27, 7:00 p.m. 47, The Cut. Donation: £2. Tel: 020-7928-7993.

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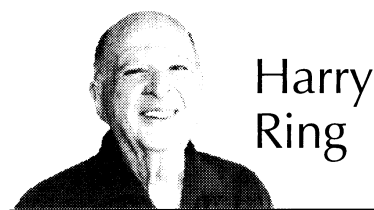
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Militant sub, anyone?—A Los Angeles *Times* headline on the solid



Harry Ring

bus drivers strike said: "Why aren't buses missed? Simple: Everybody drives." Well, almost everybody, the

paper concedes. About 450,000 people, overwhelmingly low-wage workers, use the transit system daily. Could it be that the *Times* is p.o.'d because it's been unable to whip up an anti-strike outcry among these workers?

Read-it-and-retch dep't—WASHINGTON —A bill to compensate thousands of nuclear workers who suffer from radiation-related diseases may fail to pass Congress this year because of disagreements over the \$938 million

cost."—News item.

Keep calm, no big deal—Pollution from a Kentucky uranium processing plant is proving greater than expected. The highly radioactive material is turning up in the soil and water bordering the plant's property. Pollution is being found in the Ohio River, two miles away. In some areas near the plant, the poisonous levels are as high as 1,600 times "normal."

A gov't of big business? Non-

sense—"Warning issued on faulty furnaces—U.S. agency's action comes years after it learned of product defect that has been blamed for scores of fires."

Plus or minus—Last month in the United Kingdom, disciplinary charges, including misconduct and lying, were brought against police superintendent Ray Mallon, who has been suspended for the past three years—with full pay. He's the daddy of England's "zero tolerance" policing.

So is capitalism—The *Times* of London reports that more than a third of lifesaving National Health Service medical equipment is "old and dangerous."

Safety first—"The toll from defective Firestone tires mounted on Ford Explorers has largely been measured by the 101 deaths counted so far, but as investigators delve into about 400 injury cases they are finding horrific tragedies that have left some victims paraplegics or quadriplegics."—News item.

Workers state stronger than bureaucratic caste

Printed below are excerpts from *The Revolution Betrayed: What is the Soviet Union and where is it going?* by Leon Trotsky. Copyright © 1937 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.

BY LEON TROTSKY

As a conscious political force the bureaucracy has betrayed the revolution. But a victorious revolution is fortunately not only a program and a banner, not only political institutions, but also a system of social relations. To betray it is not enough. You have to overthrow it. The October revolution has been betrayed by the ruling stratum, but not yet overthrown. It has a great power of resistance, coinciding with the established property relations, with the living force of the proletariat, the consciousness of its best elements, the impasse of world capitalism, and the inevitability of world revolution....

To define the Soviet regime as transitional, or intermediate, means to abandon such finished social categories as *capitalism* (and therewith "state capitalism") and also *socialism*. But besides being completely

finished definition to an unfinished process, but to follow all its stages, separate its progressive from its reactionary tendencies, expose their mutual relations, foresee possible variants of development, and find in this foresight a basis for action....

The revolution which the bureaucracy is preparing against itself will not be social, like the October revolution of 1917. It is not a question this time of changing the economic foundations of society, of replacing certain forms of property with other forms. History has known elsewhere not only social revolutions which substituted the bourgeois for the feudal regime, but also political revolutions which, without destroying the economic foundations of society, swept out an old ruling upper crust (1830 and 1848 in France, February 1917 in Russia, etc.). The overthrow of the Bonapartist caste will, of course, have deep social consequences, but in itself it will be confined within the limits of political revolution.

This is the first time in history that a state resulting from a workers' revolution has existed. The stages through which it must go are nowhere written down. It is true that the theoreticians and creators of the Soviet Union hoped that the completely transparent and flexible Soviet system would permit the state peacefully to transform itself, dissolve, and die away, in correspondence with the stages of the economic and cultural evolution of society. Here again, however, life proved more complicated than theory anticipated. The proletariat of a backward country was fated to accomplish the first socialist revolution. For this historic privilege, it must, according to all evidences, pay with a second supplementary revolution—against bureaucratic absolutism. The program of the new revolution depends to a great extent upon the moment when it breaks out, upon the level which the country has then attained, and to a great degree upon the international situation. The fundamental elements of the program are already clear, and have been given throughout the course of this book as an objective inference from an analysis of the contradictions of the Soviet regime.

It is not a question of substituting one ruling clique for another, but of changing the very methods of administering the economy and guiding the culture of the country. Bureaucratic autocracy must give place to Soviet democracy. A restoration of the right of criticism, and a genuine freedom of elections, are necessary conditions for the further development of the country. This assumes a revival of freedom of Soviet parties, beginning with the party of Bolsheviks, and a resurrection of the trade unions. The bringing of democracy into industry means a radical revision of plans in the interests of the toilers. Free discussion of economic problems will decrease the overhead expense of bureaucratic mistakes and zigzags. Expensive playthings—palaces of the Soviets, new theaters, show-off subways—will be crowded out in favor of workers' dwellings. "Bourgeois norms of distribution" will be confined within the limits of strict necessity, and, in step with the growth of social wealth, will give way to socialist equality. Ranks will be immediately abolished. The tinsel of decorations will go into the melting pot. The youth will receive the opportunity to breathe freely, criticize, make mistakes, and grow up. Science and art will be freed of their chains. And, finally, foreign policy will return to the traditions of revolutionary internationalism.

More than ever the fate of the October revolution is bound up now with the fate of Europe and of the whole world. The problems of the Soviet Union are now being de-



Russian power plant workers demonstrate to demand four months of back wages owed to them. "The social revolution, betrayed by the ruling party," Trotsky explained in 1936, "still exists in property relations and in the consciousness of the toiling masses."

cided on the Spanish peninsula, in France, in Belgium. At the moment when this book appears the situation will be incomparably more clear than today, when civil war is in progress under the walls of Madrid. If the Soviet bureaucracy succeeds, with its treacherous policy of "people's fronts," in insuring the victory of reaction in Spain and France—and the Communist International is doing all it can in that direction—the Soviet Union will find itself on the edge of ruin. A bourgeois counterrevolution rather than an insurrection of the workers against the bureaucracy will be on the order of the day. If, in spite of the

united sabotage of reformists and "Communist" leaders, the proletariat of western Europe finds the road to power, a new chapter will open in the history of the Soviet Union. The first victory of a revolution in Europe would pass like an electric shock through the Soviet masses, straighten them up, raise their spirit of independence, awaken the traditions of 1905 and 1917, undermine the position of the Bonapartist bureaucracy, and acquire for the Fourth International no less significance than the October revolution possessed for the Third. Only in that way can the first Workers' State be saved for the socialist future.

BOOK OF THE WEEK

inadequate in itself, such a definition is capable of producing the mistaken idea that from the present Soviet regime *only* a transition to socialism is possible. In reality a backslide to capitalism is wholly possible. A more complete definition will of necessity be complicated and ponderous.

The Soviet Union is a contradictory society halfway between capitalism and socialism, in which: (a) the productive forces are still far from adequate to give the state property a socialist character; (b) the tendency toward primitive accumulation created by want breaks out through innumerable pores of the planned economy; (c) norms of distribution preserving a bourgeois character lie at the basis of a new differentiation of society; (d) the economic growth, while slowly bettering the situation of the toilers, promotes a swift formation of privileged strata; (e) exploiting the social antagonisms, a bureaucracy has converted itself into an uncontrolled caste alien to socialism; (f) the social revolution, betrayed by the ruling party, still exists in property relations and in the consciousness of the toiling masses; (g) a further development of the accumulating contradictions can as well lead to socialism as back to capitalism; (h) on the road to capitalism the counterrevolution would have to break the resistance of the workers; (i) on the road to socialism the workers would have to overthrow the bureaucracy. In the last analysis, the question will be decided by a struggle of living social forces, both on the national and the world arena.

Doctrinaires will doubtless not be satisfied with this hypothetical definition. They would like categorical formulae: yes—yes, and no—no. Sociological problems would certainly be simpler, if social phenomena had always a finished character. There is nothing more dangerous, however, than to throw out of reality, for the sake of logical completeness, elements which today violate your scheme and tomorrow may wholly overturn it. In our analysis, we have above all avoided doing violence to dynamic social formations which have had no precedent and have no analogies. The scientific task, as well as the political, is not to give a

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



October 31, 1975

TRENTON, N.J.—On Friday, October 17, 2,000 people marched to the New Jersey Statehouse here to demand that Gov. Brendan Byrne free Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis.

In 1967, Carter and Artis were convicted by an all-white jury of murdering three white men in a Paterson, New Jersey, tavern. At the time of his arrest, Carter was a leading contender for the world middleweight boxing title. Both he and Artis were sentenced to life imprisonment and have already served more than eight years.

Last year the prosecution's two key witnesses, Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley, confessed to newsmen that they had lied during the trial because of pressure from the prosecutor and police. Nonetheless, Judge Samuel Lerner, who presided over the original trial, rejected an appeal by Carter and Artis for a retrial, ruling that the two recantations lacked "the ring of truth."

Judge Lerner's widely publicized decision aroused growing public outrage against the frame-up, forcing Democratic Governor Byrne, at the end of September, to ask Black State Assemblyman Eldridge Hawkins to come up with a recommendation on whether a retrial or pardon should be granted.

Organizers of the October 17 march accused the governor of stalling. Marchers carried picket signs reading, "Not one more day, not one more minute," "Governor Byrne, the whole world is watching," and "They pardoned Nixon, and he was guilty."

The demonstration received extensive media coverage and was reported by all

three network news programs that night.



October 30, 1950

FLINT, Oct. 16—A seven-man Chevrolet union trial committee flatly rejected charges of subversiveness and conduct unbecoming a union member brought against Theodore Karpel by 116 workers in Chevrolet UAW Local 659. The trial committee accused the company of participation in this action to expel a union member on trumped-up charges, and vigorously denounced the entire witch-hunt.

In a month-long investigation that was open to all local union members, the evidence demonstrated that a few misguided and bigoted workers had been duped by forces outside of the union to set in motion a purge of all workers with radical beliefs.

Karpel had been accused of violating shop rules, getting into fist fights, eviction from his apartment, exhibiting a "subversive" film (Native Land) in the YMCA, distributing "subversive" literature to high school students, etc. His accusers did not attempt to link him with any political party.

In spite of careful investigation the committee was unable to find a single person who would admit authorship of the charges. Many had never read the charges before signing. Many did not know what they were putting their signatures to when questioned by the committee. Even before the trial committee started to investigate the issue, 96 workers withdrew their names from the petition when they became aware of its significance.

Bilingual education is a right

One avenue of the assault on working people in the United States by the employers, their government, and rightist organizations is the attempt to foster chauvinist sentiments within the middle class and among layers of working people. They hope to sow divisions in the working class, reinforce the national oppression of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos, and maintain discrimination against immigrant workers.

The employers know that self-confidence among superexploited sections of the working class means people standing up for their rights, organizing unions, and taking political action in their own interests. It breaks down carefully cultivated prejudices and fears perpetuated in class society and heads toward united action by broad masses of workers and farmers.

This is what is behind the initial testing of the waters to push back bilingual education in New York, rightist attacks against immigrant workers in Long Island, president William Clinton's federal legislation targeting immigrants, and Reform Party presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan's campaign to "emphasize the English language and start trying to pull this country back together."

And Buchanan has a point. What the superwealthy ruling capitalist class "put together" as foundation stones of the most powerful imperialist power the world has ever seen included Jim Crow segregation, terror against Mexican immigrants, the oppression of the Chicano people, and the second-class status of women. This setup has been coming apart for some time. The working class in the United States has become stronger over the past decades as the civil rights movement, struggles for women's equality, and battles for Puerto Rican rights and Chicano liberation broke down divisions among working people.

These massive struggles sought to change racist and discriminatory practices in government institutions and public facilities that perpetuated and reinforced national oppression, such as in the schools, courts, hospitals, public transportation, and even rest rooms. National minorities whose first language is not English fought for the right to bilingual programs that teach all basic subjects in their primary language with teachers who are bilingual and who respect the culture and heritage of the students, and administrative staffs that are responsive to the needs of oppressed nationalities and national minorities.

Millions of people who are drawn into the working class in the United States from around the world face big social obstacles in trying to learn English and function on an

equal basis in this capitalist society. In fact, the employers prefer workers to only learn words in English necessary for them to be productive workers. This helps keep sections of the working class isolated and unable to communicate with others.

Despite long hours on the job and arduous labor, it is not uncommon to find garment workers, meat packers, janitors, and others spending hard-earned money to attend English classes in order to break down these barriers and increase the possibilities for common struggle. They also want their children to both get a good education and to be proficient in English, for which bilingual education is a prerequisite.

These are reasons why thousands of people will find the pamphlet, *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning: The Fraud of Education Reform under Capitalism* by Jack Barnes, an valuable tool in this struggle. It helps pose questions such as why the defense of bilingual education is a social issue for the entire working class. Rather than accepting the government's framework of narrowing bilingual education to a few years in the school system, we must fight for the right to bilingual education for all, for open classes with qualified teaching of English, for bilingual service exams and bilingual ballots; for the right to personnel in public facilities like hospitals and libraries who speak languages other than English; and the right to be able to conduct legal proceedings in those languages as well. These are fundamental democratic rights.

The pamphlet helps reject pressures in capitalist society for working people to try to find individual solutions, and points to the possibilities to fight for a society where there "would be continual education. There would be a continual connection between work and education, between work and creativity, between work and works of art. Work would not be organized around competition to sell the labor power of our muscle and brains for eight hours a day to one of the highest bidders. And the greatest reward from work would be increased human solidarity, the pleasure and celebration that come from what we have accomplished together. That is why the working class has such a stake in getting rid of the notion that education is a children's question instead of a social question."

That is also why the Democratic administration in Washington, New York mayor Rudolph Giuliani and his task force on bilingual education, the rightist thugs in Long Island, and Patrick Buchanan drive in the opposite direction.

Imperialist hypocrisy on Korea

The *New York Times*, a leading voice for the billionaires who rule the United States, hailed the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Kim Dae Jung, president of south Korea. The Norwegian Nobel Committee cited Kim for supposedly contributing to "democracy and human rights in South Korea" and to "peace and reconciliation with North Korea." Gushing with praise for this capitalist politician, the *Times* editors went on to suggest that U.S. president William Clinton "deserves some of the credit."

Nothing could be a more hypocritical or more self-serving coverup of the U.S. government's aggressive aims in Korea.

Of course, this is the primary function of the Nobel Peace Prize. With a few notable exceptions, it has been awarded to representatives of brutal capitalist governments—from Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson to Menachem Begin of Israel and F.W. de Klerk of South Africa—and apologists for the "peaceful" maintenance of imperialist domination. Kim's prize is par for the course.

The Nobel committee added a twist by awarding the peace prize to the president of south Korea but not to the president of north Korea, Kim Jong Il, both of whom met in June and agreed on steps toward closer economic cooperation and eventual reunification.

Kim Dae Jung is Washington's man in south Korea. Since his election in 1997, his job has been to keep working people there in check and to defend the interests of south Korean capitalists as well as those of his mentors in Washington and Wall Street. He serves this role effectively by playing on his credentials as a former political prisoner of the previous U.S.-backed military dictatorship there. While talking about human rights and democracy, Kim's regime has unleashed baton-wielding cops against auto workers and others protesting mass layoffs and other austerity measures demanded by imperialist bankers.

As for Clinton, far from contributing to peace, his eight-year record is that of a war president.

In a message addressed to Kim Jong Il on the occasion of the founding of the Workers Party of Korea, a national

holiday of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), U.S. Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes explained that under Clinton's administration, Washington has "restated its intention to keep tens of thousands of U.S. troops on Korean soil. It continues to conduct military exercises on Korean territory, in defiance of protests such as those by the peasants of Maehyang Ri. And the Clinton administration, with bipartisan backing, continues its drive to establish a National Missile Defense system, rationalized on the basis of the lie that there is a 'real and growing threat from Iraq and North Korea.' The truth is that the U.S. rulers are driving to establish a nuclear first-strike capacity for the first time in the nuclear age."

It's the U.S. government that, through its brutal war against the Korean people in 1950-53, partitioned the nation and continues to enforce its division despite overwhelming support among the Korean people for reunification.

In his letter to the president of the DPRK, Barnes saluted "the decades-long resistance of the Korean people to the heinous assaults of U.S. and Japanese imperialism and this people's determination to continue to fight for the reunification of your country. We welcome the fact that over the past year the working people of north Korea have begun to emerge from the worst effects of a half decade of flooding and other natural disasters, exacerbated by Washington's relentless economic sanctions and brutal use of the food weapon. These are among the factors that have forced the government in south Korea this year to sit down with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for historic talks."

Working people in the United States have a particular responsibility to point to Washington as the source of war threats, including nuclear war, and brutalization of working people in Korea. We should demand the withdrawal of all U.S. troops and weapons from Korea, the immediate normalization of diplomatic and trade relations between Washington and Pyongyang, and unconditional and massive food aid for north Korea.

Harris calls for self-determination for Palestinians

Continued from front page

unconditional support to the struggle of the Palestinian people against the Israeli state, which owes its existence to imperialism, chiefly Washington.

Our campaign also demands that Washington, instead of deepening its massive military presence in the Mideast, withdraw its warplanes, battle ships, and troops now. The U.S. government must cease its harassment of Palestinian rights activists and others of Middle Eastern descent under the guise of its "antiterrorist" campaign.

There will be no peace until the Palestinian people achieve self-determination and national liberation. Testimony to this fact is the tenacious resistance of the Palestinian people, their refusal to be cowed into submission, and their determination to maintain their national consciousness even though uprooted from their land, dispersed throughout the Mideast, and turned into a stateless people. Every person around the world fighting for dignity, against exploitation, and for democratic rights can salute and draw inspiration from the courage of Palestinian workers, farmers, and youth who are standing up against tremendous odds against a state with overwhelming firepower.

It is with the utmost hypocrisy that U.S. president William Clinton poses as a peacemaker in this conflict. The Clinton administration has supported the Zionist regime as have all its predecessors dating back to Harry Truman, who in 1948 backed the creation of the state of Israel at the expense of the Palestinian people. Despite some partisan bickering heading into the elections, both George W. Bush and Albert Gore stand behind Washington's course. It is Washington that has armed the Israeli colonial-settler regime to the teeth and has used it as a military garrison to strike against the Arab peoples. The one and only contribution U.S. imperialism can make to peace in the region is to end all military, economic, and political ties with Israel now.

Washington is seeking to enlist the support and backing of as many capitalist Arab governments as possible to pressure the Palestinian people to stop their struggle, but the violence and the daily realities of oppression by the Israeli government cannot be so easily ignored by hundreds of thousand of Palestinians.

Israel was established through the dispossession of the Palestinian people and the denial of the most basic rights of those living within its self-defined borders. Israeli capitalists have benefited from the superexploitation of Palestinian labor, as well as the exploitation of workers who are Jewish. The Zionist state has been since its founding not only a violent bulwark denying national self-determination for the Palestinians but also the greatest threat to Israeli Jews, who have been turned into an oppressor nationality. It poses a giant obstacle to the alliance of the Arab peoples and Jewish workers and farmers against a common enemy: the capitalist state of Israel and its imperialist backers.

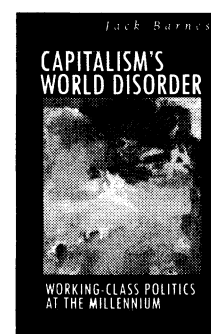
Washington is also using the bombing of the U.S. warship Cole, a guided missile destroyer docked in the Yemeni port of Aden, to criminalize working people. It has prodded the government of Yemen to interrogate nearly every port worker. U.S. officials are telling the media that "a significant number of people were involved," including the harbor pilot, people on the piers, and others. It has assigned the New York bureau of the FBI to the case, one with a long record of sweeps of whole neighborhoods, detentions, arrests, and other actions against Arabs and Arab-Americans in that city. Washington's assaults abroad are always combined with attempts to restrict rights of working people at home.

This brutality, exploitation, and national oppression is what capitalism and the imperialists have to offer working people around the world. Joining with and defending the Palestinian people will help deepen the struggle to win national liberation and fight to overturn capitalism itself. It will help take a step in forging an uncompromising working-class leadership. That road, not emergency summits called by the imperialists to bring "peace," is what is urgently needed today.

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Jack Barnes

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Regular price: \$23.95

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12

SWP supporters press campaign to raise monthly contributions

BY STUART CROME

SEATTLE—Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party are on a campaign to raise their monthly contributions to the party to \$250,000 annually by the end of December. Contributions by supporters are an important component of the party's national finances. They are collected on a monthly basis in each area where supporters reside and are sent to the SWP national office in New York.

Sara Gates, a party supporter here who is a member of the steering committee that organizes supporters' finances nationally, addressed the final session of the Active Workers Conference held in Oberlin, Ohio, in July.

In her remarks she noted that Jack Barnes, the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, had announced at the end of a 1999 Active Workers Conference that, for the first time in its history, the party would count on supporters' contributions as part of its operating budget.

"This means the party relies on supporters' pledges to help pay regular monthly expenses," Gates explained. "It means the party can make the politically bold and necessary moves, like setting up branch organizing committees, with a little less concern for the financial implications. We are making it easier for the party to make the decisions that are politically necessary. Supporters have responded to the party's confidence in us."

Much progress has been made in contributions from supporters over the past year. In May of last year, 180 supporters contributed \$138,000 per year. A campaign was launched at the 1999 Active Workers Conference to raise the supporters' contributions.

By June of this year, 270 supporters were contributing a total of \$234,888 per year. The campaign to bring these contributions up to \$250,000 per year means raising the monthly pledge level by \$1,260—to \$20,384 per month.

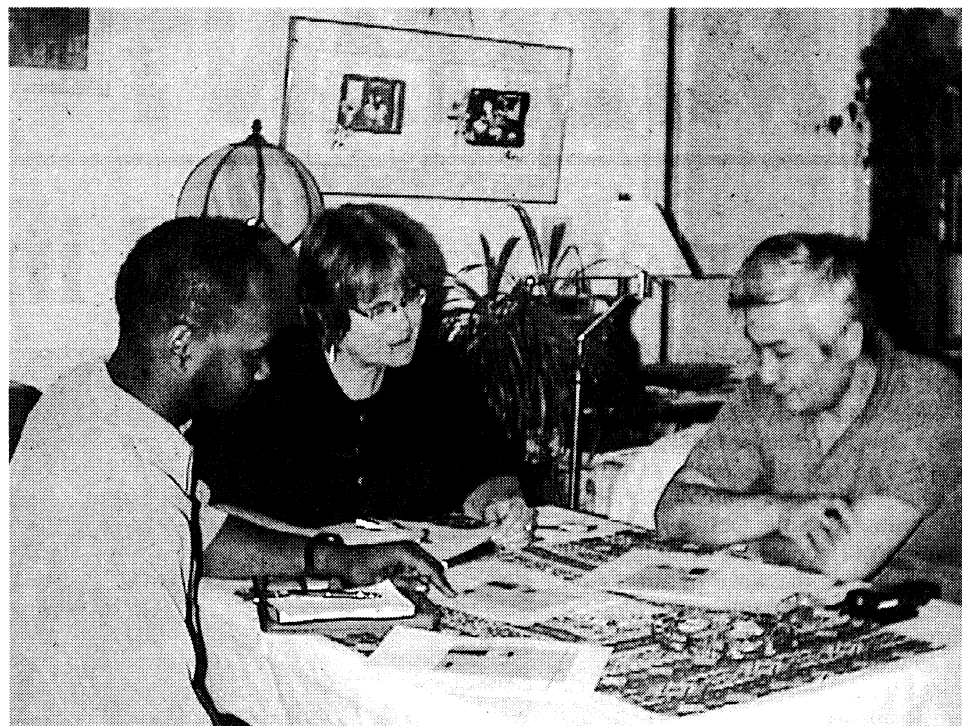
A second goal of this campaign is for

every area to send in their pledge every month in full and on time.

A steering committee, whose members include Stuart Crome, Sara Gates, and Ken Kawakubo, meets every month and sends out a mailing that summarizes the financial picture, passes on ideas, and includes a four-month chart of each area's contributions.

September's mailing included a letter to supporters that gives a progress report on the campaign. It states, "We have some good progress to tell you about. Several areas have taken goals and other areas report additional pledges in hand. Seattle, San Francisco, and Chicago have agreed to raise \$565 more; Houston, D.C., and Fort Collins report \$170 more already coming in."

"That is \$735, with \$525 left to go. [Since the mailing went out there has been a \$155 increase from six supporters, leaving \$370 needed to reach the goal of \$1,260 in raises.] We are attaching a thermometer chart that will help us track the progress of the campaign. We are proposing that all areas who have not done so discuss a goal



Militant

Socialist Workers Party supporters in Seattle (from left) Stuart Crome, Sara Gates, and Ken Kawakubo discuss financial contributions from party supporters nationally.

to take on and report to us by October 31."

This campaign looks at the increased combativity of working people and the opportunities it poses. The letter states, "Our unshakable confidence in the working class is less abstract and more based on actual participation in real fightbacks than at any time in the political lives of most of us."

The party needs our help to sustain it during this critical period of linking up with the emerging vanguard."

Organizers of the campaign welcome new contributors to help make the \$250,000 goal. If you would like to become a monthly contributor, contact Sara Gates via e-mail at sjgates@home.com

Pathfinder supporters place 200 titles in Paris bookstores in week-long effort

BY NAT LONDON

PARIS—A week-long mobilization at the end of September by Pathfinder supporters here has made significant advances in placing Pathfinder books in Paris bookstores. Five supporters of the publishing house worked together with Michel Prairie, Pathfinder's French-language publications editor from Montreal, who spent a week in this city.

Almost 200 books have already been sold. The retail value of the orders placed totals \$2,900—more than has been sold at Pathfinder street tables at political events in Paris in the last year.

Of the 19 stores contacted, only two said they would not place an order. Eleven placed orders on the first visit and six stores will be visited a second time.

In preparing the weeklong effort, Pathfinder supporters noted that placing Pathfinder books in local bookstores had been neglected for some time. While great time and energy had been productively spent in helping translate Pathfinder titles into French and articles for *Nouvelle Internationale*, much less effort had been made to get local bookstores to order them. The mobilization demonstrated some of the openings that exist for a much wider Pathfinder distribution in France.

Among the 83 titles sold in French were 33 copies of the French-language edition of *Capitalism's World Disorder* by Jack Barnes. In addition, three copies of the English edition of this book were sold and one in Spanish. Five copies of the French edition of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*, also by Barnes, were ordered.

There was also great interest in titles by Cuban revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara, with 10 copies of *Socialism and Man* ordered in French and seven in Spanish. *Che Guevara Talks to Young People* was also popular, with orders for eight copies in Spanish and five in English.

Another topic of interest was Pathfinder's books on cultural questions. *Black Music*, *White Business* and *John Coltrane and the Jazz Revolution of the 1960s* were good sellers, and a copy of *What Is Surrealism?* by Andre Breton was also sold.

Based on this experience, discussions by Pathfinder supporters here concluded that one of the main obstacles to placing orders in smaller local bookstores is the difficulty and expense such stores incur in ordering from Pathfinder's European distributor in London.

It was decided to set up a local "pick-and-pack" operation to make it possible for bookstores, particularly those outside the Paris area, to place small orders to be shipped directly from Paris. This will open up the possibility for many working people—such as the farmers and truckers who have engaged in recent struggles outside the Paris area, as well as workers and young people from Marseille and other cities—to order Pathfinder books through their local bookstores.

Return visits are now being planned for the six stores visited that have not yet placed their orders. Plans are being made to visit 20 additional bookstores during the month of October.

Illinois gov't pushed back on site for prison

BY DAVID ADAMS

CHICAGO—After a year-long fight led by area farmers and other residents, the state of Illinois has scrapped plans to build a prison on a site it had chosen in northern Pembrokeshire Township.

The state claimed that the 120-acre parcel was too expensive. Louise Anthony, a leader of the Pembroke Advocates for Truth (PAT), the group that spearheaded the anti-prison campaign, dismissed the state's explanation. "They knew the cost when everything began. I think our fight had a very significant impact. We made a clear statement that we are a community that does not want a prison," Anthony said.

The rejected site is adjacent to the farm of Pamela Basu and Basu, which produces organic produce and grain, the largest farm in the Pembroke Farmers Cooperative. They maintain that the prison would have ruined their ability to continue organic farming.

The prison has been touted by some local officials as a job and infrastructure producing industry. At a June town meeting hosted by PAT, township resident Thesley Beverley exclaimed, "All of a sudden this money comes up in connection with a prison. It is a disgrace. It is just going to enslave our people in our injustice system. I would not be happy to have better roads and infrastructure if we have to sacrifice our people."

According to media reports, state officials are still considering other sites in Pembroke Township for the prison and plan to break ground in April. While viewing the decision to not locate the prison next to the Basu farm as a big victory, PAT leader Anthony pledged to continue fighting against the location of the prison anywhere in the area. "I started fighting the prison because it is a prison. It doesn't matter where it is located," she said.

Pamela Basu, who says she was fired from her job as the Village of Hopkins Park's treasurer due to her vocal opposition to the prison, continues to fight to win her job back.

She was fired after Tony Perry, a wealthy land developer with ties to the state's governor, wrote a letter to the village mayor demanding her dismissal. Perry orchestrated the local bid for the prison. Basu filed a lawsuit in federal court alleging her constitutional rights were violated when she was fired.

Steve resigned his party membership for health reasons in 1992 but always remained a party loyalist.

Arnold Weissberg
Boston, Massachusetts

Steve represented the best of the radicalized student generation of the 1960s. Early on recognizing that the war in Vietnam was not a "mistake," he was a member of an activist group at the University of Colorado in Boulder, many of whose members joined the Young Socialist Alliance in 1971. He immediately moved to Los Angeles where he played a central role in the

planation. "The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name."

LETTERS

Loved talk on Cuba

I loved reading Mary-Alice Waters's talk at the Yale conference in the *Militant* (see "Washington's cold war against Cuba: a historical perspective"). I am still walking around saying, "The transmission belt broke, not the toilers."

How about making the talk into a pamphlet?

Dan Fein
Atlanta, Georgia

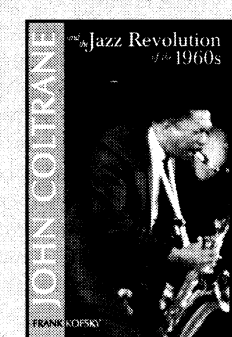
Steve Bride

Steve Bride, a longtime member and supporter of the communist movement, died of liver failure in late September in Philadelphia at the age of 51. Everyone who knew Steve will remember his intensity and his remarkable sense of humor.

Steve represented the best of the radicalized student generation of the 1960s. Early on recognizing that the war in Vietnam was not a "mistake," he was a member of an activist group at the University of Colorado in Boulder, many of whose members joined the Young Socialist Alliance in 1971. He immediately moved to Los Angeles where he played a central role in the

from Pathfinder
John Coltrane and the Jazz Revolution of the 1960s

Frank Kofsky
\$23.95



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'Amnesty for all immigrant workers!'

BY JORGE LEDESMA
AND LAURA GARZA

NEW YORK—"Because we produce, we demand amnesty for all, now!" This was the slogan on dozens of blue T-shirts at a march of 2,000 to the United Nations October 14. The next day in Hauppauge, Long Island, a vigil called in the wake of attacks on immigrant workers in nearby Farmingville also drew a crowd of about 2,000.

The October 14 march here was called by the National Coalition for Dignity and Amnesty. The coalition sponsored similar demonstrations in Chicago, Miami, Seattle, Denver, Washington, Austin, Texas, and other cities.

Speakers at the New York action included representatives of the pro-immigrant rights Tepeyac Association, Local 1199 of the hospital workers union, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), the Laborers International Union, and Local 169 of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees.

Also joining the march were a few representatives of Latin American organizations, including Gilmar Mauro of the Movement of Rural Landless Workers (MST) of Brazil and Blanca Chancoso from the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador (CONAIE). They were visiting New York as part of an international series of social protest actions called the Cry of the Excluded.

Marco, a painter in Brooklyn, took a day off work to join the march after he read an announcement about it in a local Spanish-language paper. A construction worker, who asked that his name not be published, who waits for day jobs on a street corner in Bensonhurst, Brooklyn, said 10 of his co-workers attended the march.

While the marchers were predominantly from Latin American countries, contingents also included immigrants from Bangladesh and Poland.

Counterposed protests in Long Island

On October 15, an immigrant rights demonstration took place in Hauppauge, Long Island. It occurred in the context of a rising polarization between capitalist politicians and rightist, anti-immigrant groups, on one hand, and countermobilizations by immigrant workers and their defenders, on the other.

As part of the anti-immigrant campaign, county legislator Joseph Caracappa recently proposed a measure to sue the Immigration and Naturalization Service for not deporting workers, which failed. Earlier, a proposal to prohibit more than one family in a rental unit was passed.

On September 17 two day laborers in Farmingville, Long Island, were brutally attacked by racist thugs who, pretending to be offer work, drove them to an isolated spot and beat and stabbed them.

Police have stepped up harassment by ticketing workers who gather on street corners awaiting job offers from contractors. An ultrarightist group called the Sachem Quality of Life Organization has carried out weekly actions. They picket against the immigrant workers with signs demanding their deportation and that blame them for crime and other social ills. The workers have responded with counterpickets, demanding to be treated as human beings with the right to seek work.

Sachem Quality of Life organized an anti-immigrant rally of 200 October 14 in Farmingville. The crowd noisily cheered the featured speaker from California, Glenn Spencer, president of the group Voices of Citizens Together and host of a radio show called "American Patrol Report." Denouncing the INS and the government as too tolerant of undocumented workers, Spencer said, "The power elite have decided we have to be folded into the world village, we have to sacrifice our sovereignty." He told his audience, "You are in the biggest fight you



Some 2,000 marched in New York October 14 in defense of immigrant rights. Actions took place nationwide.

will have to face."

Many at the ultrarightist rally said they would protest against the immigrant rights action the next day, and displayed signs reading "Peaceful solutions through deportation." The slogan was a derisive reply to a theme promoted by organizers of the antiracist vigil, "Peaceful solutions through toleration." But only one individual showed up with a sign to counterprotest.

The leader of the Sachem group, Margaret Bianculli, was arrested earlier when she crossed a police line in Farmingville where workers were gathered to board buses to the vigil.

At the October 15 vigil in Hauppauge, a group of youth from Islip and other nearby towns said they had been to Farmingville to join the workers at their morning pickets for several weekends in a row. Other demon-

strators carried flags from Honduras, El Salvador, Mexico, and other countries. Also present were members of local church groups, Local 32B-32J of the SEIU, the NAACP, a gay rights organization, a Haitian rights group, and an organization of agricultural workers.

Travis Sauerbrey, 16, who came with a group of youth from St. Patrick's church, said, "What they did to those two workers was sick. The only original Americans are the American Indians. The Mexican immigrants just want to work. We have to see everybody as equal."

Filomara Serrano, a Colombian immigrant who works at an envelope factory, stated, "The beating was inhuman. We have to unite."

The vigil, sponsored by the Human Rights Commission of Suffolk County and

Suffolk County legislator Paul Tonna, featured numerous politicians who spoke.

BY BRIGITTE SÉGUIN

FRESNO, California—Chanting, "Trabajamos noches y días, queremos amnistía" (We work nights and days, we want amnesty), and other slogans in Spanish, 200 people marched through downtown Fresno October 14 as part of the nationally coordinated day of immigrant rights actions. The demonstrators came from throughout the Central Valley. Several were farm workers.

The local action was sponsored here by the Comité No Nos Vamos!, the Indian rights group Frente Indígena Oaxaqueño Binacional, Community/Labor Alliance, Coalition for Immigrant Rights, and other groups. Others participating included the Chicano student group MEChA, janitors and members of the SEIU, the Carpenters Union, and supporters of the Green Party.

One of the speakers was Handy Vang, from the Hmong American Republic National Reform Union, Inc. He said there are 30,000 people of Hmong origin in the region. "The Hmongs need to find a new way to fight against the conditions they face. That's why I'm here at this protest," he told *Militant* reporters.

Another speaker was Nan Bailey, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate. "We have something in common with our brothers and sisters in Palestine, the miners and workers of Yugoslavia, and the drivers on strike in Los Angeles, which is that we are more and more one class. Immigrant workers in this country are a key part of the labor movement and the fight for workers rights," she told the crowd.

Greece: thousands say no to antilabor bill

BY GEORGES MEHRABIAN

ATHENS, Greece—Ten thousand workers marched through the center of this capital city October 10 protesting against a "labor flexibility" bill. Unions of construction, metal, bank, airline, rail, telephone, television, and food industry workers were among those that took part in a 24-hour strike that day called by the General Confederation of Greek Workers (GSEE) and the civil employees federation, and supported by unions affiliated to the All Workers Front (PAME).

The bill, promoted by the social democratic PASOK government, would allow bosses to extend the workday to 10 hours and the workweek to 50 hours—with no overtime pay—during so-called peak seasons. Workers would supposedly be entitled to an equivalent amount of time off during "low seasons."

The bill would also allow bosses to fire workers more freely and cut employer contributions to the social security fund.

The strike and accompanying demonstrations took place throughout the country. One of the largest strike actions was in the northern industrial city of Thessaloniki. According to the Association of Industries of Northern Greece, 40 percent of workers at privately owned companies and 60 percent of public employees joined the strike, making this one of the largest job actions in 10 years.

"For years now, with joining the European Monetary Union as a pretext, they [the employers and the government] have asked us to agree to austerity. Today, again with maintaining the country in the EMU as a pretext, they ask us to make new sacrifices," said Y. Vretahos, speaking on behalf of the public workers at the Athens rally.

"This strike is not just for public workers—this strike is about defending everyone," stated one Olympic Airline worker who asked not to be identified. Olympic is the state-owned airline company.

Airline workers held their own rally in the departures terminal of the Athens airport. Many airlines scheduled their flights to coincide with the end of the strike. The rally prevented check-ins for Lufthansa flights for a few hours. Lufthansa is serviced by a nonunion handling company and had flights scheduled during the strike.

"There were 500 unionists who rallied here," reported Kahtan Ibrahim, a member of the Construction Workers Union in Hania, on the island of Crete. "It was good to see

that the GSEE and PAME rallied together." The GSEE is led by PASOK members while PAME is led by supporters of the Communist Party. The actions in Athens and elsewhere were also marked by joint actions.

The October 10 work stoppage follows strikes by telephone workers, sailors, and bank workers in the past month. There have also been blockades of ports by fishermen and strike protests by truckers demanding lower fuel taxes.

The trade union bodies have called for a national demonstration to be held in Athens on October 21.

Georges Mehrabian is a chemical worker in Athens, Greece.

Stockholm airport workers protest

BY LARS ERLANDSSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden—Baggage handlers at the domestic terminal number four at Arlanda Airport here struck for two and a half hours October 10. The workers, members of the Swedish Transport Union, went on a strike to protest new work schedules put into effect at the airport. They are employed by Scandinavian Airlines.

Because the national contract is in effect, the strike was "illegal," according to Swedish labor law. As a result of the walkout the airline was forced to send its first flights south without luggage, which alerted baggage handlers there to find out about the strike. Foremen and check-in personnel began loading the flights, which were delayed by up to two hours. The workers also

blocked express parcels from being sent.

Workers interviewed at the airport explained their dissatisfaction with the new work schedules because they have less free time on weekends.

The new hours mean more overtime work as well. Over the last year and a half 200 luggage workers have quit their jobs, according to union representative and baggage handler Torbjörn Persson. Scandinavian Airlines is pushing for shorter shifts during peak hours, such as between 6:00 a.m. and 11:00 a.m. In order to get their full hours workers would have to come to work extra shifts during the week.

Lars Erlandsson is a member of the food workers union.