

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Truckers, farmers in UK plan protests against fuel prices

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 64/NO. 44 NOVEMBER 20, 2000

New White House will build on bipartisan shift to right

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

The Clinton-Gore White House has presided over a shift to the right in the bipartisan axis of bourgeois politics. The U.S. capitalist rulers, through the Democratic and Republican parties that represent their class interests, have accelerated the assault against workers and farmers. And the new administration and Congress will take that record as its starting point and deepen this anti-working-class course.

NEWS ANALYSIS

The outgoing Democratic administration, with a Republican majority in both houses of Congress for six of the last eight years, launched the opening salvos against the social wage working people won in mass labor struggles in the 1930s and extended through the civil rights battles of the late 1950s and 1960s. They've deepened the attack on our take-home pay, working conditions, and dignity on and off the job. And they've narrowed our political liberties in anticipation of efforts by working people to defend our social rights—resistance by

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NY rally celebrates socialist campaign

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

NEW YORK—James Harris, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, along with Margaret Trowe, the party's candidate for vice president, were greeted by rousing applause from the 140 people at a campaign wrap-up rally here November 5. "Today we claim victory," said Trowe. "We can register a victory in reaching out to vanguard workers hungry for revolutionary politics and build on those experiences and accomplishments."

"This applause is for what we have all done together," Harris said. "We kept our promise: to take this campaign to working people standing up and resisting the assault by the employers and the bipartisan offensive by the government. We went everywhere we could—to striking steelworkers and coal miners, garment and textile workers fighting for a union, farmers organizing protests to defend their land and livelihood, bus drivers on the picket line, and many others."

"We offered our message of solidarity and support and we engaged in discussion on the central question before working people today," Harris said. "Day after day, Margaret and I were both struck by the openness and interest in the socialist campaign

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Minnesota meat packers resist attacks on union

Build, defend UFCW Local 789 at two slaughterhouses

BY AMY ROBERTS

ST. PAUL, Minnesota—Meat packers at two beef slaughterhouses owned by Rosen's Diversified Inc. are organizing to resist an antiunion offensive by the bosses.

The company has stepped up its campaign of intimidation and pressure against leaders of the union; started its own newspaper, *Bull Notes*, in both Spanish and English to counter the union's *Workers' Voice* that is produced by and distributed to workers at both plants; and has steadfastly refused to recognize the union representation election victory by workers at its Dakota Premium Foods plant in South St. Paul.

The nearly 500 workers here at Dakota Premium Foods (DPF) and at Long Prairie Packing (LPP), in Long Prairie, Minnesota, are members of Local 789 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW). Rosen's Diversified is the seventh largest beef packing company in the United States.

This past July, workers at DPF voted to join the union 112 to 71, capping a seven-week organizing drive that began with a sit-down strike to protest conditions in the plant, especially the increase in line speed. A challenge to the elections by Rosen's Diversified has been heard by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). The company alleged the union had agents working in the plant who intimidated and pressured workers into voting for the union. The NLRB held several hearings in late August and September but has yet to issue a ruling, which was to have been made within 14 days of the September 21 conclusion of testimony.

Long Prairie Packing has been organized by UFCW Local 789 for 12 years. Workers at Dakota Premium have sought to build on their union victory and strengthen their fight for a contract by establishing communication with workers in Long Prairie, much to the dismay of the bosses.

"With increased union activity by workers at LPP and the continuing fight at Dakota Premium Foods, the bosses have decided to try to push the union back," Local 789's union representative and organizer, Francisco Picado, told the *Militant*. For example, LPP management has moved to vic-

timize the union stewards on the kill floor, suspending the chief shop steward and disciplining two others, placing them one warning away from suspension. According to the *Workers' Voice*, the local's newsletter for workers at the Long Prairie and South

St. Paul plants, the only Spanish-speaking steward on the kill floor became a special target of the harassment campaign. Some 80 percent of the workforce at LPP speaks Spanish as their native language. Picado

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Israeli regime maintains siege of West Bank, Gaza



Israeli tank outside Ramallah, one of West Bank towns placed under closure.

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

As the Israeli regime maintained its military siege of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat began a series of meetings with Egyptian presi-

dent Hosni Mubarak, British prime minister Anthony Blair, and U.S. president William Clinton to seek an international "protection force" of 2,000 United Nations troops with the goal of shielding Palestinians from Israeli troops.

"I am asking for quick international forces...to protect us," Arafat said in a November 5 interview on the CBS program "60 Minutes."

Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak curtly replied, "If there will be a request for international forces, we will completely oppose it." Clinton stated, "The Israelis are strongly opposed to it, therefore it can't happen."

Washington has been pressing Palestinian and Israelis to implement a cease-fire agreement drawn up at Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, October 16-17 in negotiating sessions convened by Clinton. The U.S. president has invited both Arafat and Barak to Washington for separate talks.

On November 2, Arafat and Barak announced in separate statements that they would move to implement the cease-fire agreement.

One such move was a meeting in Cairo, Egypt, between the head of the Israeli secret police, Shin Bet, and the head of the Palestinian preventive security in the West Bank. They discussed the establishment of

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Final push on 'Militant' and pamphlet through Nov. 21

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

The *Militant* has extended the current circulation campaign by one week until November 21.

This special step will allow campaigners for the next two weeks to use their momentum to join the unfolding political discussions around events in the Mideast and Yugoslavia, as well as the heightened interest in the Socialist Workers campaign in the midst of the electoral debate, in order to reach the international goals of 1,000 *Militant* subscriptions, 350 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions, and 2,000 copies of the pamphlet *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning*.

Militant editor Martin Koppel said in

an interview, "We are urging all socialist workers, young socialists, and supporters of the communist movement to help sell subscriptions to these publications and copies of the pamphlet."

"Every supporter knows at least one or two co-workers or friends who would be interested in buying and reading *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning*. This can help clinch the success of the circulation campaign," he said.

The pamphlet by Jack Barnes is not about a series of "issues." Above all, it provides a method—a way to approach all fundamental questions in politics from a class point of view. It allows work-

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Yugoslav coal miners speak out— page 10

Farmers hold protest against discrimination by Agriculture Dept.

BY JOHN STUDER

PHILADELPHIA—Three farmers from southern New Jersey led a protest at the offices of the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) here November 1. The farmers, Anna Marie Codario, Mary Ordille, and Mary Visconti, are demanding that the federal agency end its discrimination against them and allow them to farm their land.

Two dozen people took part in the protest, including farmers from New Jersey and Pennsylvania and representatives of the Wages for Housework Campaign, National Organization for Women, Coalition of Labor Union Women, Socialist Workers Party, and Farm Workers Support Committee (CATA).

Codario has been fighting for more than 20 years to hold onto her farm and to protest the USDA's discriminatory efforts to strip her of her land. Inspired by the struggle of farmers who are Black to keep their farms, Codario, who is white, established a chapter of the Black Farmers and Agriculturalists Association (BFAA) in New Jersey.

Codario 63, is both a school teacher and a third-generation vegetable and orchard farmer. She has been tangling with the government farm lending agency since 1977. After years of refusing to meet with her, refusing to grant her loans, and denying her services, the government agency is now trying to force the sale of her farm.

The women farmers' cases of discrimination against the USDA are being reviewed by an administrative law judge appointed by the agency to police itself. The November 1 protest was organized to demand that independent arbitrators be assigned to review their cases.

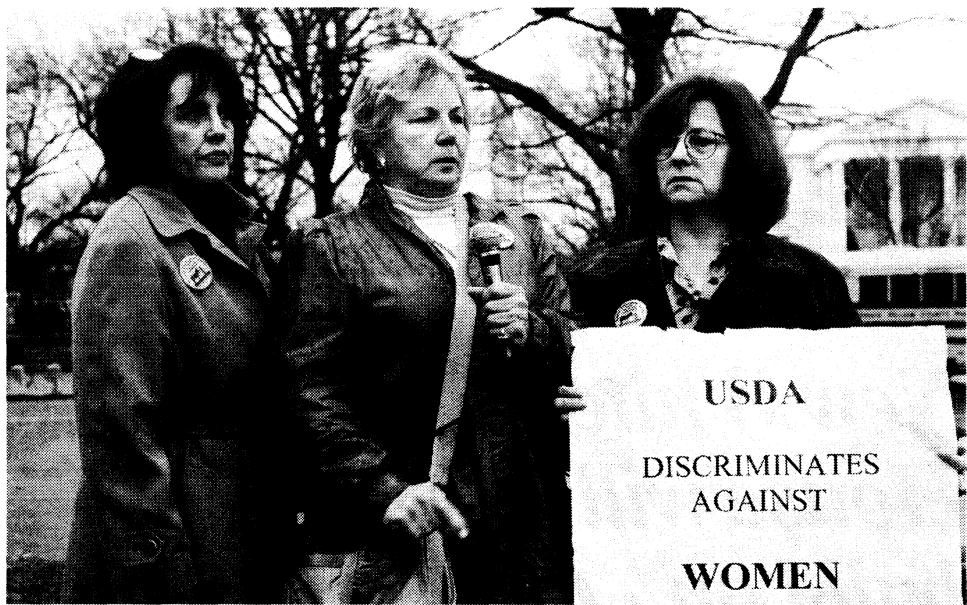
"Letting the USDA review their own discrimination is like putting the fox in charge of the chicken coop," Codario told the crowd.

Sam Taylor, executive director of BFAA, told the gathering that the fight by Black farmers is being joined by a growing number of others who have faced discrimination. He pointed to recent lawsuits filed by

Native American and women farmers fighting to keep their land and win restitution from the government for decades of discrimination.

"We have to work for each other," Clarence Hardy, a Black farmer, told the crowd. "Our battle is with the system."

Marge Niedda of CATA described the ongoing battle by mushroom workers in New Jersey and Pennsylvania for union representation and contracts. "The farm workers' struggle is directly tied to the fight of small farmers," she said.



Militant/Stu Singer

From left: Mary Ordille, Anna Marie Codario, and Mary Visconti at rally in Washington in December 1999 to protest USDA discrimination against Black farmers. They led November 1 Philadelphia rally demanding the right to farm their land.

Pennsylvania Steelworkers: 'No 12-hour shifts!'

BY JOHN STAGGS

COATSVILLE, Pennsylvania—"No 12-hour shifts, we are on strike," workers shouted as they left the contract ratification meeting at the Steelworkers union hall here. Johnson Matthey's final offer to the more than 400 unionized workers at three plants in the Philadelphia region was rejected nearly unanimously. Picket lines were set up immediately after the vote.

At a meeting here the more than 250 members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) assessed a contract proposal that offered raises of 4 percent the first year and 3 percent each of the next two, plus a \$1,000 signing bonus. On the other hand, it included significantly higher medical insurance co-payments and a provision allowing Johnson Matthey to introduce a voluntary 12-hour schedule on a production line at the Devon catalytic converter plant.

Darien Washington, from the West Whiteland plant, explained why the 12-hour schedule was such a critical issue. "They tried to split us up and just introduce it as 'voluntary' in one plant," he said. "But once they get the foot in the door on this 12-hour schedule, they will have it everywhere before long."

Gary Cordonato, a flex line operator at Devon, said, "Management has been threat-

ening us with this schedule since the last contract. They tried to start it last year when they set up the new production line. Everyone I talked to in the plant said the 12-hour schedule was a strike issue, and the company still put it in."

Bob Dyson, president of the USWA unit at the Devon plant, reported that the vote was more than 200 against and 18 in favor of the contract proposal.

On the morning of November 6, about 70 workers were at the four gates of the Devon plant. They hadn't seen anyone go in who might be running the production lines, and the scrubber exhausts were all clean, which happens only when the production lines are down. The pickets were especially happy that a Teamster driver from the trucking firm used by Johnson Matthey

had blocked the driveway to the truck dock with his vehicle, declaring that nothing would move from that dock. At the West Whiteland plant the pickets stopped the first armored truck bringing precious metals used in the production process.

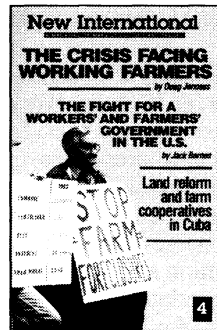
Strikers appeared confident, and believed the company was vulnerable. Jeff Wertz, an electrician from the Devon plant, explained that Johnson Matthey is the sole supplier of catalytic converters to the Chrysler division of Daimler-Chrysler. Wertz said he believed Johnson Matthey is worried that Daimler-Chrysler is looking for a reason to break this contract between the two companies, and that supply disruptions because of a strike could be that reason. This might put some pressure on Johnson Matthey to settle, the unionist said.

FROM PATHFINDER

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DOUG JENNESS

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THE MILITANT

Back protests against fuel taxes

Farmers and truckers in Britain are organizing protests against crippling fuel taxes. The government is threatening to assault their action with soldiers and cops. The 'Militant' explains why these are allies of the labor movement and why we should join with them. Don't miss a single issue.



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'Fugitive' bill will gut Fourth Amendment

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Congress has passed a bill that if signed into law by U.S. president William Clinton would deliver a sharp blow against the Fourth Amendment protections against unreasonable search and seizure.

The Fugitive Apprehension Act would authorize government officials, under the guise of pursuit of someone who has not been apprehended for a felony offense, to seize any document they want without first getting a search warrant or a subpoena from a court. This includes private documents such as medical records, bank records, credit card records, telephone records, Internet, and school records.

Under this law, government agents would be able to write their own search warrants, called "administrative subpoenas," and

could then seize documents from a person's custody. If an individual refuses to surrender the documents, government officials could then enter the person's home or business to confiscate them.

The act, which was passed in the U.S. Senate July 26, also authorizes the federal government to allocate \$40 million over three years for the U.S. Marshals Service to form Fugitive Apprehension Task Forces. If signed into law, this bill would add more cops to the Marshals Service, and give them administrative subpoena authority in "fugitive investigations."

"In the past it often took too long to get vital information and records through a formal court order that would make a significant difference in the apprehension of a fugitive," claimed Sen. Strom Thurmond, the

bill's sponsor, in a statement. "This legislation is about helping authorities get documentary information about the whereabouts of the most dangerous, violent fugitives who are roaming the streets of America," he declared, in an effort to justify this assault on democratic rights.

This "bill is about constitutional destruction," wrote Dave Kopel of the Independence Institute. "Should [it] become law, it would set a precedent for warrantless, secret searches on other areas." Kopel's article appeared on the web site of the conservative magazine *National Review*.

Clinton vetoes secrecy bill

In a related development, President Clinton vetoed antileak legislation November 4 that makes it a felony to disclose in-

formation about U.S. government "secrets" to "unauthorized" persons. In sending the bill back to Congress, Clinton did not reject the premise, but the scope, of the legislation. "I agree that unauthorized disclosures can be extraordinarily harmful to the United States national security interests," he said in a statement November 4, "and that far too many disclosures occur." He encouraged legislators to draft a "more narrowly drawn provision," stressing that the measure "lacked the thoroughness this provision warranted." Clinton said that what is in dispute "is not the gravity of the problem, but the best way to respond to it."

The bill, rammed through Congress without public hearings or a recorded vote, has stirred up a lot of debate among U.S. ruling class figures who opposed the measure while accepting its premise that the government has the prerogative to spy on groups and individuals and hide its actions under the guise of "legitimate secrets."

"The new law written by Congress goes far beyond any reasonable effort to protect legitimate secrets," said an editorial in the *New York Times*. While the motivation for the legislation "was understandable," the paper opined, "the measure is blind to distinctions between genuinely important secrets and those that serve to shield misconduct."

Other newspapers across the country editorialized against the bill, including the *St. Petersburg Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Chief executives of CNN, the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, and the Newspaper Association of America issued a joint statement appealing to Clinton to veto the bill.

New York Times conservative columnist William Safire called the bill a "weapon that so many dictatorships use to stifle dissent and hide misdeeds." He likened the legislation to the British Official Secrets Act that authorizes government officials in London to determine what news can be published or broadcast.

"This is an Official Secrets Act," said Sen. Daniel Moynihan, who opposed the provision while supporting measures contained in the overall Intelligence Authorization Act of 2001.

Ballot measure in Massachusetts disenfranchises workers behind bars

BY BROCK SATTER

BOSTON—By a 64 percent margin voters in Massachusetts approved a referendum on the state ballot that restricts voting rights of prisoners convicted of felony offenses. Maine and Vermont are currently the only states that do not bar prisoners from voting.

"The right to vote is the fundamental building block in democracy, and it needs to be honored and exalted," said state Representative Francis Marini, a Republican, who filed the ballot question. "And to have pedophiles, murderers, and rapists voting demeans it."

The referendum, known as Question 2, amends the Massachusetts state constitution to prohibit people incarcerated on felony offenses from voting for various offices, including for U.S. Senate and House of Representatives.

"This is part of the bipartisan assault on democratic rights, justified by demonizing a section of the population," said a statement released by the Massachusetts Socialist Workers campaign. "Working people, especially Blacks and Latinos, fill the jails. All those who defend democratic rights should oppose Question 2."

According to a Massachusetts Department of Corrections report, Blacks and Latinos each comprise about 5 percent of the state's population but make up 29 percent and 24 percent of the prison popula-

tion respectively.

Some 4.2 million U.S. citizens—some behind bars, others released long ago—cannot vote because of felony disenfranchisement laws, according to a recent study. In Florida and Alabama, for example, 31 percent of all Black men are barred from casting a ballot because of felony convictions on their records.

In Iowa, Mississippi, New Mexico, Virginia, and Wyoming this restriction affects one in four Black men. These laws are in existence in nine states. Most other states, including New York, grant voting rights to felons once they have completed their prison and parole terms. Neither New Jersey nor Connecticut allows former felons on probation to vote.

The prison population in the United States has risen five-fold over the past 30 years and doubled to 2 million during the eight years of the Clinton administration. The number of people in the United States under supervision by the "justice" system—including those in jail, on parole, or on pro-

bation—stands at an all-time high of 6.3 million, or 3 percent of all adults. In all, about 7 percent of African-Americans are barred from voting because of felony convictions, compared to 2.1 percent of the general population.

In early October, a group of former prisoners in Florida announced plans to file a federal civil rights lawsuit, charging the state law denying convicted felons the right to cast a ballot excludes Black voters and thus violates the Voting Rights Act. Earlier this year in Alabama, legislators narrowly rejected a similar effort to restore these voting rights.

The Supreme Court has ruled that state laws disenfranchising those with felony convictions do not violate constitutional rights, unless it can be proven that such laws are enacted with the intent to discriminate.

Brock Satter is a meat packer and was the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. House of Representatives in the 9th C.D. in Massachusetts.

Troopers get off in shooting of Black youth

BY NANCY ROSENSTOCK

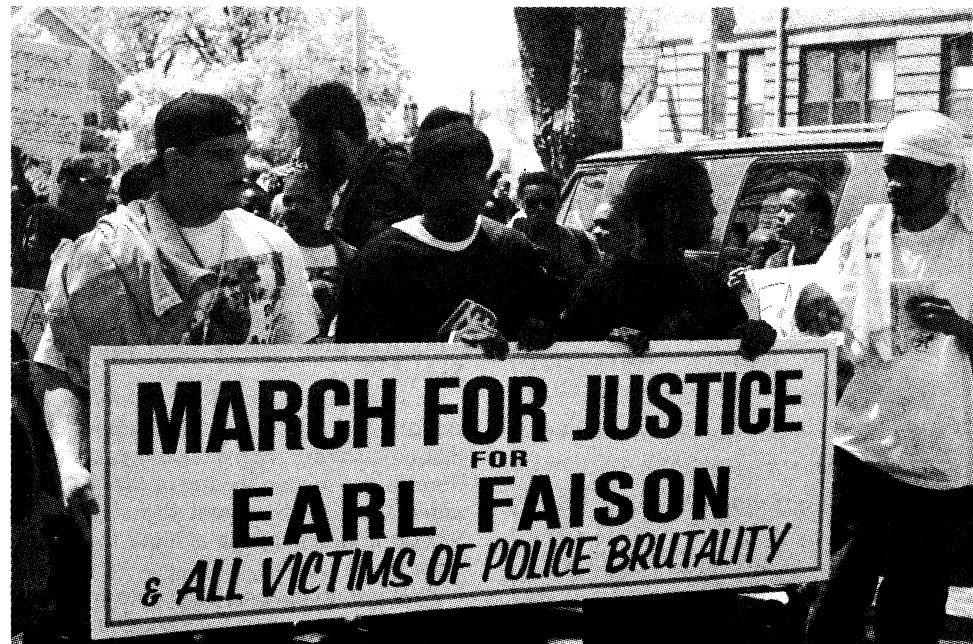
NEWARK, New Jersey—Superior Court Judge Andrew Smithson dismissed criminal charges of murder and assault against two state troopers who fired 11 times at four young Black men in a van, seriously wounding three of them. The four were driving down the New Jersey Turnpike on their way to a college basketball tryout in North Carolina in April 1998.

The uproar following the shootings by the cops helped expose the policy of "racial profiling" by the New Jersey state troopers, who would routinely pull over drivers who happen to be Black and Latino, allegedly for speeding, on suspicion of possession of illegal drugs.

The state troopers involved still face indictment on charges of falsifying records to cover up racist acts. This involves what has now been revealed to be a widespread practice of "ghosting," where after stopping Black motorists troopers record in their log book that the car they pulled over was occupied by whites.

In response to the dropping of criminal charges by Smithson, the U.S. Justice Department announced November 3 that it will investigate whether or not to prosecute the troopers on federal civil rights charges. The big business media has been campaigning in a similar vein. For example, an editorial in the November 2 Newark *Star-Ledger* titled "Bring the troopers to trial," encourages the state to bring the case to trial again and notes that "whatever happens to the criminal case against the troopers, we must not forget that profiling, an offense against every citizen and the law itself, has to be eliminated. Confidence in justice depends on it."

Keshon Moore, the driver of the van who was the only one of the four young men not injured, told the *Star-Ledger* he was "dumb-founded" by the ruling and said that the troopers "go home scot-free. We're left with bullets in our bodies and careers ruined."



Militant/Megan Arney

Marchers demand justice for Earl Faison, killed by New Jersey cops in 1999. Anti-cop brutality protests forced government to admit that police target Blacks on highways.

New Jersey garment workers demand raise

BY NANCY ROSENSTOCK

PERTHAMBOY, New Jersey—Workers at the Individualized Shirt plant here are circulating a petition demanding payment of the 20-cent per hour pay raise they are entitled to. So far, 137 of the 175 workers, who are members of Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) Local 506, have signed.

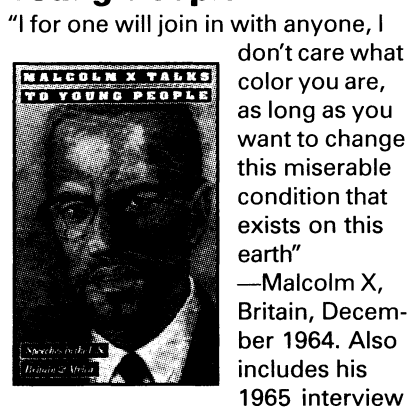
As part of a three-year contract between the company and the union, workers at the factory were supposed to get a 20-cent per hour raise as of Sept. 1, 2000. Instead, at the beginning of that month the company attached a letter to their weekly paycheck stating that the raise would instead be paid as a bonus the week before Christmas. Many

workers at the plant are quite angry about this. The overwhelming majority of them are paid on a piece-rate system and when work is slow are sent home early. They rely on receiving their weekly paycheck.

In response to this attack, the workers have turned to their union. One meeting of about 40 workers has been held with the union business representative. The petition drive is viewed as a useful tool to involve the majority of workers in stating their views. The petition demands that the company reinstate the raise retroactive to September 1.

Nancy Rosenstock is a member of UNITE Local 506.

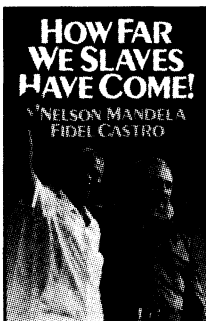
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The fight to revolutionize learning and society

Reprinted below are excerpts from *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning: The Fraud of Education Reform under Capitalism* by Jack Barnes. Supporters of the *Militant* are currently on a campaign to sell 2,000 copies of this pamphlet by November 21 to fellow workers, farmers, and politically minded youth around the world. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

Education "reform" is at the top of the "issues" page of the presidential campaign handbills we discover packed in our mailboxes, unsolicited. While the Gore and Bush campaigns express differences over "school choice," vouchers, funding levels, degrees of "federalism," limits of testing, and so on, they share the same underlying dog-eat-dog assumption: that education is about ensuring that your family's children have the best shot at getting ahead in the lifetime struggle of each against all. And they hold in common an even more fundamental, unstated assumption: only the children of the propertied rulers and professional middle classes really need an education—as opposed to mind-deadening "training"—and that, with a few individual exceptions, only those children will receive an education in any meaningful sense.

This pamphlet approaches education from the opposite, working-class point of view—as a social question. As the fight for the transformation of learning into a universal and lifetime activity. It presents education as part of preparing workers and farmers "for the greatest of all battles in the years ahead—the battle to throw off the self-image the rulers teach us, and to recognize that we are capable of taking power and organizing society, as we collectively educate ourselves

and learn the exploiters in the process."

Each capitalist candidate and her or his paid promoters in the big-business press wrap proposals for Social Security "reform" in the same assumptions as education "reform." Everything is centered on "looking out for number one."

Gore and Bush present slightly differing views as to how individuals from the middle class or better-off layers of working people can realize a superior return on retirement nest eggs used for speculation in stocks and bonds. Both the Democrats and Republicans, with different emphases, advocate private savings accounts for those individuals who can afford them, plus, in some combination, reduced pension benefits, increased employee taxation, and an older retirement age.

A matter of social solidarity

In contrast, class-conscious workers and labor and farm militants approach Social Security as a matter of social solidarity. The toiling majority in city and countryside, whose labor transforms nature and in the process produces all wealth, have a right to a social wage, not just an individual wage. We have a right to lifetime health care, disability compensation, and a secure retirement. These measures are for all, and thus in the interests of all. We fight to push back the omnipresent "devil take the hindmost" assumptions pervading bourgeois society in order to establish collaborative working-class space—a place for confidence-building.

Schools under capitalism are not institutions of learning but of social control, aimed at reproducing the class relations and privileges of the prevailing order. The deference and obedience the rulers seek to inculcate in the classroom are backed up on the streets by cops' clubs and automatic weapons.

Far more working people are executed by a policeman's bullet, chokehold, or hog-tying than by lethal injection or electrocution, even with the unrelenting climb in state-sanctioned murders since the U.S. Supreme Court reinstated capital punishment in 1976. Although local, state, and federal governments

keep no accurate records on individuals killed by cops, a recent survey based on a search of U.S. newspapers from 1997 alone turned up accounts of some 2,000 deaths at the hands of police and prison guards between 1990 and the opening of 1998—clearly just the tip of the iceberg. (How many unreported killings, to cite just one example, were carried out by *la migra*—the federal Immigration and Naturalization Service's hated Border Patrol?)

During that same period, 312 people across the United States were killed in prison death chambers. Not only on death row but also in "civil society," the noose still haunts a land for which "Strange Fruit" would be a more appropriate national anthem than the "Star-spangled Banner."

Both Gore and Bush are champions of these weapons of class terror, calling for more cops, restricted rights of appeal and parole, and stiffer penalties, including capital punishment. During the 1992 presidential campaign, Democratic aspirant Clinton made a public spectacle of his return to Arkansas to oversee the execution of Ricky Ray Rector, one of four in that state during Clinton's years as governor. Subsequently, the Clinton-Gore administration has been responsible for two major federal laws expanding capital punishment as an instrument of terror: the 1994 Federal Death Penalty Act, which made some sixty additional federal offenses punishable by death; and the 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (even the name speaks volumes!), which further restricts federal court appeals rights of those in state prisons.

For his part, Bush has presided over 136 prisonhouse state killings during his five years as governor—fully one-fifth of all those in the United States since 1976. A shroud of silence prevents an accounting of how many more working people were killed in that state during those years by Texas Rangers, local police, *la migra*, sheriffs and their deputies, and rightist thugs—often including the former list in civvies.

State-sanctioned, or state-encouraged, murders on the streets and in the prisons

combined, however, still fall far short of the numbers of workers killed each year as a result of the employers' profit-driven speedup, brutal intensification of labor, and lengthening of hours. Both life and limb of workers in the United States are being sacrificed on the altar of sharpening competition for markets among U.S. capitalists, and between them and their rivals worldwide....

Rising working-class resistance

Today, in mid-2000, workers in the United States are in the third year of an accelerated, if still uneven, upturn in resistance to the employers' assaults. The buying power of workers' wages has still not recovered its level of thirty years ago, and the renewed struggles have initially ended more often in standoffs than substantial gains for working people. But where workers stand together and fight, they are demonstrating their capacity to push the employers back, take some ground, and change themselves enough in the process to arrive in better shape for the next battle....

This increasing resistance is bringing together workers fighting the employers' assault on hours and working conditions, and farmers struggling to hold on to the land they till in face of rising indebtedness to the banks, falling prices for their produce from monopoly distributors, and discrimination by federal agencies. It is bringing together a vanguard of working people who are male and female; who speak different tongues; of all skin colors and national origins; from younger and older generations; union and currently nonunion; and with varying levels of formal education. The toilers are speeding up this process as they fight together, side by side—before they agree on many questions, and often with minimal initial ability to speak with one another. These vanguard proletarians, in town and country, are being impelled to consider new ideas, to read more widely, to broaden their scope, to begin expanding the limits of what they previously believed they, and others like themselves, were capable of.

All out to reach \$110,000 fund drive goal

BY DON MACKLE

Heading into the final week of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* Fund, campaigners around the world have picked up substantial momentum, with the biggest total weekly collection to date.

But more than \$22,000 remains to be collected to reach the international goal of \$110,000. This can be achieved—if a special concerted effort is now organized on a daily basis. The final day for Fund payments to be turned in to the *Militant* is Tuesday, November 14.

One significant advance is that, through successful fund-raising, supporters in several areas have increased their local quotas. This has pushed the total pledges to \$111,830.

In Los Angeles, fund drive director Bob Redrup said *Militant* and *PM* supporters in that city, having received enough contributions to rise toward the top of the chart, decided to raise their goal from \$6,000 to \$8,000 in order to help achieve the worldwide effort.

"We are doing calls to people who have supported the fund in the past. Our pledges had gotten up to \$7,905 and, when we looked at where the fund was internationally, we decided to raise our goal. We've gotten 49 pledges so far. Some of them have been for \$10 and \$20—they add up."

Supporters of the socialist publications in Tampa, Florida, collected more than their initial goal and have raised it from \$600 to \$800. Their efforts got a boost following a recent visit by Margaret Trowe, the Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate. Following a dinner with Trowe, a person attending the event wrote out a check for \$300 to support the fund.

At the November 5 wrap-up rally for the Socialist Workers campaign in New York City, a pitch was made for contributions to the fund, which is needed to finance the socialist candidates' campaign newspapers. More than \$2,000 in contributions and new pledges was taken in. Among the many who contributed were three workers, originally from Mexico, who now live and work in the area of Farmingville, Long Island. They have been part of a fight by immigrant work-

ers there to defend their right to assemble on public street corners in the morning to look for work, in face of attacks by an ultrarightist outfit and capitalist politicians.

In San Francisco fund supporters have raised their goal for a second time, to a total of \$12,500. "One of the things that has really helped our fund-raising efforts here is the large number of people who are involved in the Pathfinder reprint project," said San Francisco fund director Barbara Bowman. "Following the events in Yugoslavia, they see how the work they are doing to keep Pathfinder books in print can have an important impact when struggles break out. I think our success has also been helped by the increase in the number of strikes and

working-class fights that are breaking out in this area."

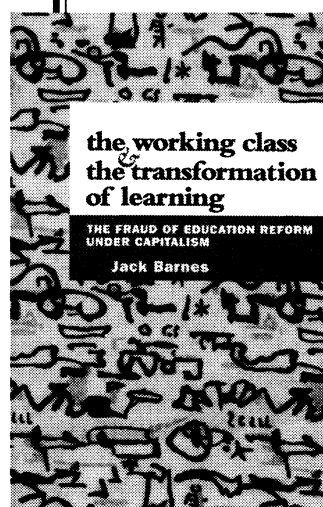
Supporters in the Bay Area are organizing a public fund-raising meeting that will feature a talk by Argiris Malapanis entitled, "Working people in Yugoslavia extend their political space." Malapanis just recently returned from a reporting trip to the region for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Taking advantage of the firsthand coverage by this international team to Yugoslavia can help secure payments on the outstanding pledges. And this is the time to ask for contributions from every single co-worker who values the *Militant* for its working-class truthfulness and its revolutionary ideas. Let's go for the \$110,000!

Contribute to Militant and Perspectiva Mundial Fund

	Goal	Paid	%
Sweden*	580	600	103%
Iceland	250	250	100%
Australia*	1,150	1,079	94%
Canada			
Toronto	2,840	2,370	83%
Vancouver*	2,000	1,676	84%
Montreal	1,340	233	17%
Canada Total	5,000	4,279	86%
New Zealand			
Auckland	1,170	1,050	90%
Christchurch	520	400	77%
NZ Total	1,690	1,450	86%
United States			
Seattle	9,000	9,370	104%
Atlanta	4,600	4,417	96%
Newark	3,000	2,815	94%
Pittsburgh	4,000	3,722	93%
Tampa*	900	825	92%
San Francisco*	12,500	10,815	87%
NY Garment Dist.*	5,600	4,845	87%
Chicago	7,500	6,301	84%
Upper Manhattan	3,000	2,497	83%
Philadelphia*	3,000	2,461	82%
Boston	4,000	3,266	82%
Miami	2,300	1,830	80%
Brooklyn	3,200	2,535	79%
Chippewa Falls*	740	543	73%
Allentown	1,200	860	72%
St. Louis*	2,000	1,373	69%
Charlotte	2,800	1,910	68%
Los Angeles*	8,000	5,382	67%
Detroit	3,750	2,460	66%
Washington	3,000	1,936	65%
Cleveland	1,600	997	62%
Houston	6,500	3,970	61%
Fort Collins	1,400	719	51%
Des Moines	1,800	835	46%
Twin Cities	3,500	1,140	33%
Fresno	200	60	30%
Birmingham	3,200	911	28%
Other		567	
U.S. Total	102,290	79,362	78%
United Kingdom	870	30	3%
France		320	
Int'l Total	\$111,830	\$87,370	78%
Goal/Should be	\$110,000	\$99,000	90%
*raised goal			

FROM PATHFINDER



The Working Class & the Transformation of Learning

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Final push in drive for 'Militant,' booklet

Continued from front page

ing people to cut through all the smoke and veils that bosses and capitalist politicians use to hide the truth about this class-divided society—about workers' social wage, education, the death penalty—and offers a perspective of revolutionary struggle for working people to transform society and change themselves in the process (see excerpts on page 4).

Because it immediately draws readers into working-class politics, this pamphlet has sold extremely well when its contents are explained. And the experience of campaigners has shown that sales of *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning* have helped lead to subscriptions of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

A big challenge

Supporters of the socialist publications face a big challenge. We need to sell 600 copies of the new Pathfinder pamphlet, 350 subscriptions to the *Militant*, and 67 subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* to make the international goals. A decisive shift in the campaign to focus on reaching these goals can make the difference.

Recent reports from a few places give an indication of how this is possible.

In Los Angeles, Elizabeth Lariscy says socialist workers and Young Socialists participated in a series of meetings on revolutionary Cuba, and had a great time discussing politics with students attracted to the working class and to the revolutionary example of Cuba. They went over their goal on *PM* subscriptions, are now close to their quota on the *Militant*, and have raised their goal for *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning* from 60 to 80.

"We sold 12 *Militant* subs and 3 subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* at five campuses where Esteban Morales and Katia de Llano, professors at the University of Havana, spoke on the topic 'The Cuban Revolution Today: Why the U.S. Cold War Against Cuba Continues,'" wrote Lariscy.

"Nearly 500 people, including students, professors, and others attended the campus meetings," said Lariscy. "At every meeting the supporters of the Socialist Workers election campaign displayed Pathfinder books, the *Militant*, and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Students crowded around the literature table

before and especially after the presentations. We sold 19 copies of *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning*, and a total of \$400 worth of Pathfinder literature."

The most enthusiastic response to revolutionary literature was at Compton College in a working-class area of mostly Latino and Black students. Some 170 youth came to hear Morales and Llano. Six students there bought *Militant* subscriptions, and more than \$200 worth of books, including seven copies of the new pamphlet, were sold.

From Miami, Mary Ann Schmidt reports, "We are continuing the campaign to build a revolutionary movement regardless of the election outcome." She said they plan to go back to Clewiston and Harlem, two nearby towns built around a large sugar mill. "In Harlem, which is largely segregated with a predominantly Black population, we sold a *Militant* subscription to a truck driver who hauls sugar cane," she said.

"The Clewiston Library recently purchased five Pathfinder books, including two sets of the two-volume series *W.E.B. Du Bois Speaks*, which was recently put into digital form by Pathfinder volunteers."

Schmidt added that one of those sets will be a donation for the upcoming Harlem Library, an old schoolhouse that is being converted to a library. It will open in December and presents another opportunity for them to place Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

"Some of the places we plan to go are north of Miami—the Boca Raton and West Palm Beach areas, where there is a large Arab community," Schmidt said. "About one-third of our *Militant* subscriptions have been sold at street tables, public meetings, and demonstrations to support the Palestinians' struggle against Israeli military assaults."

Eva Braiman, a meat packer from Cleveland wrote, "We are closing in on our goal to sell 50 copies of *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning*. Socialists who are members of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees who work at a men's suit factory sold six copies of the pamphlet to co-workers." She said sales teams sold 14 pamphlets to students on campuses in Cleveland and other parts of Ohio, six going door-to-door in working-class communities, and one to a farmer at a grain elevator.



Militant/Carole Lesnick
Campaigning in Sunset Park area of Brooklyn, New York, with the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and Pathfinder books to meet revolutionary-minded workers and youth.

Where we stand at week 8		
Mil	PM	Pamphlet
Week 10		
Week 9		
Week 8		
Week 7		
Week 6		
Week 5		
Week 4		
Week 3		
Week 2		
Week 1		

MUA—Maritime Union of Australia
NDU—National Distribution Union
UFCW—United Food and Commercial Workers
UMWA—United Mine Workers of America
UNITE—Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees

Subscription campaign to win new readers: September 9–November 21

Country	Militant			PM		Pamphlet	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
Sweden	12	12	100%	5	6	15	12
Australia	15	13	87%	3	1	25	20
New Zealand							
Auckland	15	10	67%	1		20	15
Christchurch	8	5	63%	1		10	5
N.Z. total	23	15	65%	2		30	20
United States							
Tucson	5	5	100%	3	3	8	8
Los Angeles	40	37	93%	20	21	80	64
Atlanta*	25	23	92%	12	12	40	37
Allentown	18	16	89%	3	1	35	25
San Francisco	35	31	89%	20	9	80	45
Washington	30	25	83%	10	9	80	75
Miami	30	24	80%	15	10	60	52
Boston	25	19	76%	8	1	65	47
N.Y. Garment Dist.	65	49	75%	35	28	150	134
Houston	50	35	70%	20	10	75	60
Cleveland	30	19	63%	6		50	42
Des Moines	35	22	63%	20	9	50	40
Pittsburgh	35	22	63%	2		50	30
Upper Manhattan	67	39	58%	25	35	140	111
Seattle	30	17	57%	10	9	75	61
Chicago	45	25	56%	15	16	85	51
Chippewa Falls	15	8	53%	10	9	20	15
St. Louis	25	13	52%	9	3	45	24
Newark	55	28	51%	25	24	110	87
Philadelphia	25	12	48%	5	2	50	17
Detroit	20	9	45%	5	2	35	32
Charlotte	15	6	40%	5		50	28
Fresno	10	4	40%	6	6	30	13
Tampa	10	4	40%	5		15	7
Brooklyn	60	23	38%	30	30	120	66
Twin Cities	55	21	38%	25	22	110	25
Birmingham	35	11	31%	2	1	50	10
Grand Junction	20	6	30%	1		20	13
Other		4			1		
U.S. total	910	557	61%	352	272	1778	1219
United Kingdom	30	17	57%	10	4	60	31
Canada							
Vancouver	30	19	63%	5	1	40	25
Montreal	15	7	47%	5	2	35	34
Toronto	25	7	28%	6	2	35	31
Canada total	70	33	47%	16		110	90
Iceland	8	3	38%	1		12	8
Int'l totals	1068	650	65%	389	283	2030	1400
Goal/Should be	1000	800	80%	350	280	2000	1600
In the unions							
New Zealand							
NDU	1	1	100%				
United States							
UMWA	18	13	72%			18	16
UNITE	30	13	43%	20	6	60	55
UFCW	35	9	26%	35	8	50	23
U.S. total	83	35	42%	55	14	128	94
Canada							
UFCW	12	1	8%	2	0	15	4
Australia							
MUA	2	1	50%			3	1
raised goal*							

Good results in Pathfinder sales to N. California stores

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The campaign to place Pathfinder titles in bookstores to expand their sales is getting good results in the northern California area. In a phone interview, Mary Lipman from Santa Cruz reports that a recent visit to a Borders bookstore in the area led to a

decision by the buyer to order about 20 titles in both English and Spanish.

"I called and made an appointment the day before and we sat down for a discussion in the cafe section of the bookstore," Lipman reported. Before the meeting even started, the buyer mentioned that he had already ordered three Pathfinder titles from the national Borders warehouse in Tennessee. He said he had checked the Borders national computer inventory system and noticed it already includes six or seven Pathfinder titles, mostly in Spanish.

Lipman went through the Pathfinder catalog with the buyer and he drew up a list of the titles he plans to order. These include *Capitalism's World Disorder*, *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*, books on Cuba, several *New Internationals*, and a number of pamphlets. He said he wants to use a display area just for some of these Pathfinder books. He also mentioned that the store is looking to expand the number of books it carries in Spanish. People come from Watsonville—a farming area with a sizable number of farm workers and food processing workers—asking for such literature.

The buyer also said that he likes to order pamphlets and place them next to books that take up similar issues.

"He said he'll send in the order himself," said Lipman, "but I'll be calling back next week to make sure everything went through OK."

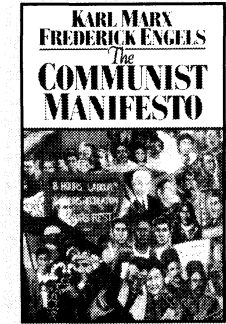
Further north, Pathfinder supporters visited a bookstore in Berkeley, California, where an order for 65 books, mostly in Spanish was placed.

From Pathfinder

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Minnesota meat packers face bosses' attacks

Continued from front page

told the *Militant* this steward decided to resign his post as a result of the company's harassment.

In response to this broadside attack, the leadership of Local 789 has sought to extend the organization of workers in the plant as well as filing charges with the NLRB for unfair labor practices.

Issue No. 14 of the *Workers' Voice* states: "This is the first step, of as many as necessary, to make it clear to the management of this company that this union will do whatever it takes to defend its members and to make it possible for every worker in the plant to use the union to defend themselves."

The company justified the attacks by alleging it was fighting a problem with contamination. Under the subheading, "To eliminate contamination is in the interest of the Union," an article in the *Workers' Voice* explains that the problem with contamination could be solved without attacking the union.

"It is in the Union's interest to have safe products in the market; it is workers above all who consume them," it says. "Union members everywhere should point to the ways to eliminate contamination. However, lack of proper training, increased workload per worker, and ever increasing line speeds, are at the heart of the industries' increasing problems with contamination."

"What is really behind this company campaign is to punish workers who used their union to improve their conditions," the publication continues. "Do we work in a safe environment and receive proper care for our injuries? Can we go to the bathroom when we are on the line? Are we paid for the time we work over at the end of the shift? Is the line speed at a safe pace? Is the supervisor treating workers with respect and dignity? Are there any workers who are discriminated? These are the questions that the company wants avoided and ignored as they sweet-talk folks into going to management. 'Keep the union out of it!' is the message."

Picado reports workers at LPP and at DPF "welcomed this issue of the *Workers' Voice*. Groups of workers are engaging in discussion on how to organize to push back the attacks. The company is also attempting to take away the contractual right to take off the opening days of hunting season, which we discussed was another attack on the union."

Company refuses to recognize union

Rosen's Diversified is making it clear it intends to not recognize the union at Dakota Premium Foods and is stepping up its offensive against leaders of the union organizing drive.

Miguel Olvera, a leader of the fight in DPF, was suspended on an attendance violation after he was outspoken at a line meeting. Samuel Farley, also a veteran of the organizing drive, was disqualified for a third time on a line job.

In both cases delegations of workers went to the office to defend them. Workers report company vice president Estevan Cortinas

refused to "talk to a group," meaning the union. "This is a personal matter concerning an individual," he asserted. "It is not up for public discussion," he reportedly stated. In the case of Farley the company told him he could not have "preferential treatment" and that he would have to have enough seniority

posed to.

In response, a group of workers from the cut floor mobilized during a lunch break to demand he have the right to see a doctor with a translator, forcing the company to put the worker on a light-duty job. Stopping a company practice of forcing workers to con-

We have to find ways to involve them in the fight for the union."

Workers from Dakota Premium joined a Membership Appreciation night at the UFCW Local 789 November 6, where they were able to discuss their fight with other workers in the local. At a meeting follow-



Militant/Jacob Perasso

Workers march June 12 in St. Paul, Minnesota, in support of union-organizing drive at Dakota Premium Foods plant. United Food and Commercial Workers Local 789 won the election in July—a result under challenge by the company.

to be put back on one of the boning lines.

Other moves by the company include putting up postings for some jobs while filling other jobs with new hires, and insisting that workers take their complaints to the "communications committee," a company setup aimed at circumventing the union. The company hopes this will put an end to workers organizing delegations to meet with the bosses as part of defending co-workers who have been victimized.

For example, one young worker on the kill floor injured his back while doing a heavy job for which he says he had not been properly trained. He was then sent to see a company doctor without a translator. Upon his return the supervisor put him on a job that required heavy lifting, even though the doctor's note specified that he wasn't sup-

porting a job while injured was one of the goals of the sit-down strike in June.

The company is also "pushing to increase production," said José Perez. "Yesterday we killed 754 cows in less than 10 hours. A while back we used to work 12 or 13 Saturdays at this time of year. But in the last couple of years it has been cut to 10. This winter might even be less. This is because they are getting more out of us every day. There is tension. They are on top of us all the time, waiting for you to make a mistake to reprimand you."

Perez also said pro-union workers are seeking to win a large number of new hires to the union. "Many have never been in a union and many arrived from Mexico only recently. They are happy to be making a little more money but they are also getting hurt.

ing the event they decided to call a general membership meeting for the following Thursday.

Miguel Olvera from the boning department said union supporters plan to encourage participation in the meeting. "A lot of people are waiting for a ruling from the NLRB and are disappointed that there isn't one yet. But we just have to point out what the union is doing and what the union has done up to now," he stated. Samuel Farley told the *Militant* that with the *Worker's Voice* "being distributed in both plants, the prospects for increased collaboration between workers in the two plants has grown dramatically."

Amy Roberts is a member of UFCW Local 789 at Dakota Premium Foods.

Machinists strike Frigidaire over health benefits

BY REBECCA ELLIS

ST. CLOUD, Minnesota—Nearly 1,700 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 623 went on strike against Frigidaire here October 28. The proposed contract was voted down by a 3 to 1

margin. Workers say they rejected this offer because of increases in their cost for health care benefits, particularly the standard family coverage plan.

The starting wage at the plant is \$9.79; it takes five years to reach top pay, which is

currently \$12.39. Under the proposed contract wages would increase by 13 percent. The contract, however, also proposes a 35 percent increase in employee contributions toward family health-care coverage the first year and no cap on any cost increase for medical coverage for the remainder of the contract.

Workers on the picket line are concerned that by the end of the contract their medical costs will be higher than the pay increases. They think medical costs are being driven up because of repetitive motion injuries and the company policy that requires a doctor's note every time an employee is absent from work because of sickness.

Speedup leads to injuries

Strikers explained that there are many workers on light duty who have been injured because of speed up. They say that productivity has doubled in the plant since 1986. Many workers are unhappy that the company is not sharing record profits made possible by the increase in productivity.

In 1986 workers accepted a three-year wage freeze and gave up four holidays, including Christmas and New Years Day, according to Jim Kiser, business agent for IAM District 165. The company still refuses to give the holidays back.

The picket line around the plant is staffed 24 hours a day with 40 picketers a shift. The workforce includes a large layer of immigrant workers from Laos, Vietnam, and Mexico.

The plant is part of Electrolux Home Products North America, a 15-factory group within Electrolux AB of Stockholm, Sweden. The St. Cloud plant makes freezers for Sears and General Electric.

FROM PATHFINDER

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Truckers in Britain to protest high fuel tax

BY PAT SHAW

LONDON—Farmers, truckers, fishermen, and others are planning major protests in response to the British government's refusal to meet their demands for a reduction in fuel taxes. The actions include a rally in London's Hyde Park on November 14 called by the People's Fuel Lobby, a coalition of farmers' and truckers' groups and other businesses. Rally organizers have demanded that the government cut taxes on fuel by 26 pence per liter (1 gallon=3.8 liters; 1 pence=1.4 cents).

The demonstration will be preceded by a four-day convoy that will leave Jarrow in northeast England and arrive in London to coincide with the rally. Another rally will also be held in the Scottish capital of Edinburgh. The *Guardian* newspaper reports that truckers and farmers also plan to

block every junction of the M25, Britain's busiest motorway, which circles London, and that protesting fishermen intend to sail a flotilla of boats up the Thames River.

"I don't know a farmer in this area who does not support the actions," said John Lawrence, a cereal farmer. Lawrence and his wife farm 350 acres on the Isle of Sheppey in Kent. "What we need are not more subsidies to offset the cost of high fuel, but an end to high fuel taxes and prices. The government has already said that they won't meet our demands. But they are gambling if they think that they can beat us. They should realize that we had a lot of support last time around."

Lawrence was referring to the pickets and blockades of refineries throughout the United Kingdom that farmers and truckers organized in September. These actions led

to widespread fuel shortages at petrol stations across industry and highlighted the vulnerability of the capitalist distribution system. Their protests won solidarity from many workers inside the oil refineries who refused to move fuel across picket lines, and were inspired by similar actions across Europe.

Farmers who began the protests have been hit hard by the escalating crisis in agriculture. Prices for fuel, fertilizer, and animal feed have all risen, while there has been a sharp decline in the prices they receive for their produce. The protests rapidly won the active support of independent truck drivers who like farmers have been hit by increased fuel taxes. The consumption tax in the United Kingdom (UK) stands at 80 percent of the cost of petrol.

Since the September protests many farm-

ers in the UK have also been hit by the worst flooding in 50 years, which has destroyed much of the recently sown winter grain. Lawrence explained that the government is offering no compensation for the damages caused by the floods, and that many face losing their livelihoods.

Following the September protests, farmers and truckers set a 60-day deadline for resuming their actions if the government failed to cut fuel taxes. "We want every member of the public to come along and support us, whether they are there for 10 minutes or four days," said Andrew Spence, a member of the committee of the People's Fuel Lobby.

You are seeing people who have finally had enough. People are losing their homes and...their employment," explained David Handley, chairman of Farmers for Action and the People's Fuel Lobby. He pledged that he would protest in London for "as long as it takes."

In response to the planned actions the government has begun preparations to use cops against farmers and truckers who are fighting to defend their livelihoods, and has also stepped up a propaganda campaign against the protesters. It has instructed the cops to direct truckers off the main roads and ban them from central London. The police have said that they will treat anyone who "disrupts" the flow of traffic as breaking the law and therefore liable to arrest.

British prime minister Anthony Blair asserted that he was "sure that the police will act quickly and decisively." Home Secretary Jack Straw has also threatened to withdraw the operating licenses of any truckers convicted of offenses during the protests.

Government ministers have attempted to drive a wedge between farmers and truckers and other working people by claiming that reductions in fuel taxes could only be implemented at the expense of social spending on education and health care. Straw has also claimed that the protesters are planning to blockade food depots and implied that they will also block access to fuel supplies.

The main organization planning the protests, the People's Fuel Lobby, has explicitly ruled out such action. The government, however, has gone ahead with plans to train 1,000 soldiers to drive oil tankers in order to try to break any future blockades of the refineries. The government's claims that there will be fuel shortages have encouraged the so-called panic buying of petrol. Gas stations across the UK have begun to ration supplies or run dry. The protests have also been condemned by the main bosses' organization, the Confederation of British Industry. However, support among working people for the actions of farmers and truckers to win a cut in the fuel tax remains widespread.

Tel Aviv maintains siege of occupied lands

Continued from front page

a trilateral "security committee" to oversee police measures undertaken by both sides. The third component of the committee would be the U.S. CIA, whose director, George Tenet, has been centrally involved in Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. Tenet convened a similar meeting in October during the Sharm el-Sheikh sessions.

The role of the CIA "first became explicit in the Wye River agreement between Israel and the Palestinians in 1998," the *Financial Times* of London reported. Under that U.S.-brokered agreement, signed by Arafat, president of the Palestinian National Authority, and then-prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel, Tel Aviv agreed to carry out some small-scale withdrawals from the West Bank in return for Palestinian concessions.

These concessions included agreement that the Palestine National Council would reaffirm an earlier vote removing clauses from the PLO charter that called for the overthrow of the Israeli state and the establishment of a democratic, secular Palestine. As part of the Israeli-PLO accords, Palestinian police have been trained by Israeli and U.S. intelligence cops.

Washington has sought to pressure the Palestinian leadership to use its police to keep the Palestinian population in check in the occupied territories.

In one such move, PNA information minister Yasir Abed Rabbo said the Palestinian Authority was taking steps to block youth under the age of 16 from attending demonstrations and other protests, using school disciplinary programs.

In another gesture, Rabbo stated that Palestinians will not proclaim statehood at a November 15 meeting of the PLO's Council as earlier announced.

In his November 2 announcement of the cease-fire, Arafat called for the "withdrawal of the occupation forces and their military units from all areas, cities, and residential neighborhoods that were occupied after 28 September, ending hostilities against our unarmed people and removing all forms of the siege."

Israeli troops maintain closure

Tel Aviv, however, has not relaxed the closure it imposed October 9 on the occupied territories (see article on this page). On November 7 the Israeli government reopened the Gaza international airport after having closed it off at the start of the latest conflict. The next day Tel Aviv shut the airport down again.

In another temporary gesture, the Israeli armed forces withdrew their tanks from the Karni crossing on the Israel-Gaza border, only to move them back the next day.

Barak suggested on November 7 that "we could resume negotiations which—based on the ideas discussed at Camp David—will lead to the creation of a viable Palestinian state." He appeared to be seeking, in part, to undercut possible world support for a unilateral proclamation of independence.

Barak, however, has made clear that the only "state" Tel Aviv will tolerate is the current, unviable setup of limited autonomy for a dozen small, dispersed pieces of land



October 5 funeral of Ayman Louh in Gaza became protest against Israeli repression. Tel Aviv continues its closure of West Bank and Gaza, as U.S. and Israeli regimes pressure Palestinian leadership to crack down on population in occupied territories.

on territory that remains largely occupied by Israeli forces.

At July talks held at the U.S. presidential retreat of Camp David, Barak demanded Israeli sovereignty over both east and west Jerusalem, offering the PNA administrative authority only over some of the Palestinian quarters on the city's outskirts. The talks eventually broke down as Arafat balked at these demands, which many Palestinians

have rejected and protested against.

In face of the ongoing Israeli repression, protests by Palestinians continue. On November 7, marches of 1,000 and 500 people took place in the West Bank towns of Ramallah and Hebron, respectively. Numerous other clashes have occurred, including confrontations between stone-throwing youths and Israeli soldiers at the Karni crossing between the Gaza Strip and Israel.

Closure of West Bank, Gaza has brutal impact

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

The armed forces of Israel closed the country's borders with the occupied territories on October 9, two weeks after the latest Israeli-Palestinian conflict erupted. The siege imposed on the West Bank and Gaza Strip is having a deep impact on the lives of Palestinian working people—especially the tens of thousands who work in Israel or who travel to their workplaces within the occupied territories, together with their families.

The United Nations Special Coordinator in the Occupied Territories reports that "strict internal and comprehensive border closures [have been imposed] by the Israeli authorities, including the placing of physical barriers between Palestinian villages and cities," as well as between the territories and Israel.

The UN agency estimated that economic activity has been halved, and that the closure has cost the territories \$8 million a day. Exports have been effectively blocked from the Gaza Strip and heavily reduced from the West Bank.

Around \$2.2 billion, or 80 percent, of the total trade under the jurisdiction of the Palestine National Authority is with Israel. Jordan is the next largest trading partner, with barely 2.5 percent. No blockade of the two bridges linking the West Bank with Jordan has yet been reported. In a previous closure in 1997, these routes for trade were sealed off.

"Agriculture has come to a standstill...

because of the internal closures Israel imposed across the West Bank. They prevented movement of goods and people out of towns and between towns, villages, and farms," reported the November 6 *Financial Times*.

The closure immediately affected the 125,000 Palestinians who travel each day into Israel or who find work in Israeli industrial zones and settlements in the occupied territories.

Only 40,000 of the 100,000 who cross the Israeli border each day carry official work permits. The October 9 border shutdown "resulted in an almost complete cessation of labor flows and an estimated \$3.4 million loss" each day in wages, according to the UN.

Some Israeli employers are scrambling to find replacement workers. The construction industry is the worst affected. In 1999, more than 56 percent of Palestinian workers were employed in this sector.

Israeli employers use the occupied territories as a reserve pool of superexploited labor. In 1999 the average wage of a worker in Gaza was around half the wage level paid in Israel; workers in the West Bank did slightly better.

The UN report notes that "material losses have been caused by Israel's use of heavy weapons, including rocket fire, against numerous buildings and vehicles and the destruction of fruit orchards near flash points.... Israeli settlers have also engaged

in the destruction of private property such as numerous Palestinian trucks used to transport goods to and from Gaza which were located in car parks under Israeli control."

The military has also imposed a 24-hour curfew on 30,000 Palestinians living near Zionist settlements in the city of Hebron, allowing residents out of their homes for only a couple of hours every three days to do shopping and other essential tasks. Israeli soldiers guard the market square from a heavily armored catwalk. Schools are closed, affecting 12,000 children. Residents also report that electricity is frequently cut off.

"We are living as though we are in prison," said Afifi Shirwati, a teacher.

The *Los Angeles Times* described an incident involving a husband and wife who used their few hours of release to shop for essentials for their family. As they walked home, the paper reported, "a loud voice from an Israeli army jeep megaphone reminded them that their ordeal was not yet over. 'Go home!' it screamed."

Young Palestinians in Hebron regularly mount protests against the Israeli forces, which respond to rock-throwing with deadly ammunition.

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New York rally celebrates socialist ca

Speakers outline course to winning workers to revolutionary politics and

Continued from front page

among workers and farmers. We welcomed the fact that many decided to deepen their contact and collaboration with the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists, by joining together in activity, studying Marxist books that contain the lessons of the working-class movement, inviting us back for more discussion, and introducing their co-workers to us. We are just starting to realize the potential there is to recruit workers and farmers to the movement, to joining the Young Socialists and the Socialist Workers Party.

"We make the same promise at the end of the campaign that we made at the beginning," continued Harris. "We are going to have a regular presence in workers districts

Senate in New York, welcomed everyone to the event.

Gathered at the meeting were socialist workers from a number of generations and varying backgrounds, as well as workers and farmers new to the socialist movement, many with years of experience in the working-class movement both in the United States and other countries. Three day laborers from Farmingville, Long Island, attended. They are helping to lead a struggle to defend the right to live and work and oppose rightist violence against immigrant workers in the area. One had been to a rally for Trowe the previous month in Brooklyn and purchased five copies of *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning: The Fraud of Education Reform under Capitalism*, by Jack Barnes, in order to start up a discussion group.

Geraldo Sanchez, a worker in Pathfinder's printshop, welcomed them to the meeting, drawing a standing ovation from the audience. He explained that the workers have launched a new organization, the Union of Workers of Long Island, to counter moves by rightists groups to begin organizing across Long Island as well.

A campaign 'for the working man'

A message of support was sent to the meeting by James White, a member of the United Steelworkers of America on strike against Titan Tire in Natchez, Mississippi. Both Harris and Trowe

joined the picket line in Natchez on invitation of workers there, and had been introduced to a number of strikers during their visits. Out of these meetings, several workers purchased *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning* and suggested classes on the pamphlet with socialist workers from Birmingham, Alabama. White expressed his appreciation to the SWP campaign for the solidarity it extended to the strike and for the campaign standing "for the working man."

During the reception a young construction worker from New York who has been attending weekly classes on the *Communist Manifesto* hosted by the Young Socialists at the socialists' hall in the Manhattan Garment District asked to join the YS. A garment worker from Pittsburgh traveled to the meeting with a socialist co-worker and other campaign supporters from that city.

Revolutionary-minded working people and youth participated in the wind-up event



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

Militant reporter Catharina Tirsén (left) talks with Suzana Storadinovic (center) and Snevana Arantelovic, workers at cigarette factory in Nis, Yugoslavia.

from North Carolina to New England. Among them was Anna Marie Codario, a farmer from Buena Boro, New Jersey, fighting to hold onto her land. She said she tells all her friends that she's planning to vote for James Harris. "I'm proud that I'm here today," said Codario. "I'm proud that James Harris came to my farm for my rally, the only presidential candidate who did come." Harris and Trowe met with farmers in a number of states and attended rallies of farmers from Washington, D.C., to California.

The following day Trowe attended a campaign wrap-up event in Austin, Minnesota, where she worked as a meat packer and was a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers union before launching the campaign. Six of her co-workers attended the public meeting, along with several other people from the town. As with other campaign meetings, workers purchased Pathfinder books and subscriptions to the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial*, and at least one expressed interest in joining the party.

At the New York meeting, interest in the campaign and in building a revolutionary workers party capable of leading tens of millions in the fight for power could also be seen at a lively reception and discussions before and after the program. A large table of Pathfinder books, and several others full of used Marxist classics were a feature of the reception hall. Hundreds of books were purchased by young people building their Marxist libraries and workers who discovered titles they needed. A range of used titles in Spanish were especially welcome and snapped up by workers present who hail from Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America. Many participants went home with armloads or boxes of books.

Supporters of the SWP provided a large spread of refreshments and food, making an excellent atmosphere for political discussion. Attractive photo displays illustrating highlights of the socialist election campaign, the strikes and struggles by workers and unionists, the recent upsurge in Yugoslavia, and of protests backing the Palestinian struggle for self-determination were set up around the reception hall.

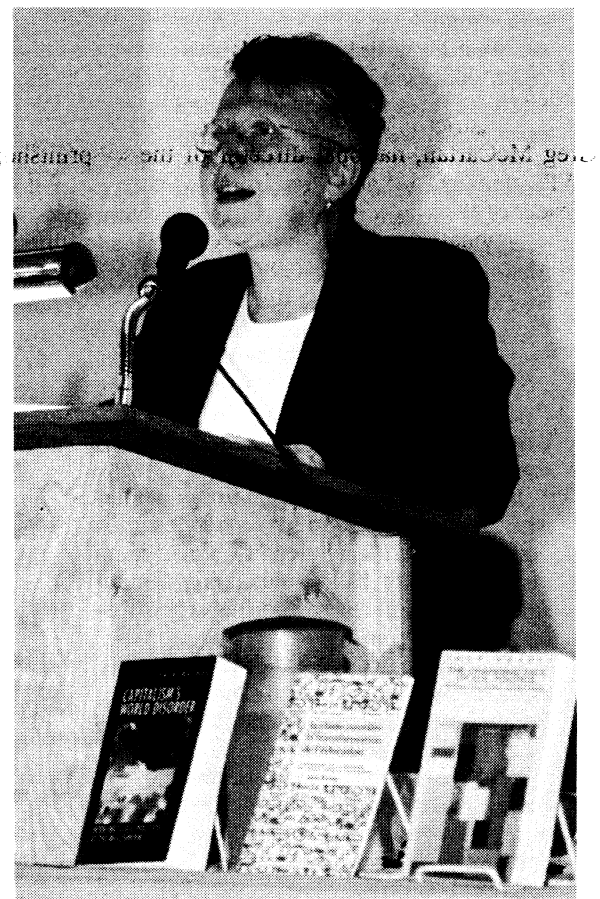
Seated on the platform and introduced from the stage were Socialist Workers candidates for Senate and U.S. Congress from New York and New Jersey and a number of other states, including Alabama, California, Massachusetts, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Georgia, and Washington, D.C.

Worldwide resistance will continue

"We know the capitalists won't slow down their attacks on working people," Trowe said in her talk. "We know the worldwide resistance will continue. And we know

our class is being propelled into a mighty struggle for power. We are building the revolutionary communist party that can make a decisive difference in the strength and confidence and unity of our class as it fights for power.

"Throughout this campaign," she said, "we have received a strong response to our message that the capitalist economic boom is at the expense of the majority of working people. Workers know we are working longer and harder, usually for a paycheck



Militant/Hilda Cuzco

Margaret Trowe addresses New York meeting

that doesn't go as far as it used to.

"We have begun to win an important layer to a deeper understanding that the interests of the working class and the handful of multibillionaire families who run this country are irreconcilably in conflict," Trowe said. "No matter which capitalist candidate gets elected president, he will represent the interests of capital and will build on the bipartisan offensive against the rights and living standard of working people—both at home and abroad—over the past eight years."

The socialist candidate reviewed the bipartisan record of the Democratic Clinton administration and Republican majority in Congress, which included "a wholesale attack on our class under the banner of 'ending welfare as we know it'; increased use of the death penalty—from lethal injections to police executions of workers on the street; and building the Immigration and Naturalization Service into the largest police agency in the country.



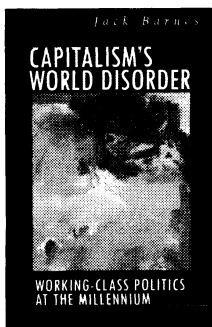
Militant/Hilda Cuzco

Socialist Workers presidential candidate James Harris described the positive response socialist campaign received among many working people.

and in factories, mines, and plants across the country and reach out to workers and farmers in struggle. We will bring with us the ideas and lessons necessary to mount a revolutionary struggle for a workers and farmers government and for socialism."

Other speakers at the rally were Argiris Malapanis, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate who had returned earlier in the week from an international *Militant* reporting team to Yugoslavia, who spoke on steps being taken by working people there to extend their political space; Paul Pederson, socialist candidate for U.S. Congress in New York who addressed the fight for a democratic, secular Palestine; and Jack Willey, from Grand Junction, Colorado, who spoke on struggles of working people in the United States today and the coming transformation of the American labor movement. Jacob Perasso, a 24-year-old volunteer in the printshop of Pathfinder Press and the party's candidate for U.S.

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mpaign organization

"They will push ahead with setting up a so-called 'missile defense' system—actually the first step toward a nuclear first-strike capacity—and continue their imperialist military interventions abroad," stated Trowe. She pointed to troop deployments, bombings, and occupation forces in Yugoslavia, Haiti, Somalia, and the Mideast, including nearly daily bombing of Iraq resulting in ongoing deaths.

The socialist candidate saluted the nearly 1 million workers and farmers who marched in Havana a couple of weeks earlier to protest the most recent intensification of Washington's economic war on working people in Cuba.

A rider to an \$80 billion agricultural appropriations bill—which will pour money into the pockets of wealthy agricultural interests at the expense of working farmers—purports to allow sales of food and medicine to Cuba. But by singling out Cuba to deny it a U.S. government or commercial credit for purchases of these goods, it aims to punish working people there for their refusal to bow down to the dictates of U.S. imperialism. The measure also attacks the right of working people to travel abroad by codifying into law the travel ban on U.S. residents visiting Cuba.

"Our campaign tells the truth about Cuba, and in doing so has helped awaken workers and farmers to the fact that they have allies there, and a splendid example of how to carry out a successful struggle for power," stated Trowe. "They can see in Cuba how the unity of workers and farmers is the motor force of the revolution. And how the existence of a revolutionary party is essential to the success of our class to take and hold power."

The Socialist Workers campaign succeeded in winning ballot status in 13 states and the District of Columbia, pointed out Greg McCartan, national director of the SWP campaign. He and Olympia Newton, a leader of the Young Socialists, a member of the national campaign committee and a worker in Pathfinder's printshop, co-chaired the event. McCartan said that over the course of the election campaign Trowe and Harris visited 70 cities and towns across the United States, as well as six countries.

A media book with copies of articles compiled from many of these campaign stops was available for meeting participants to peruse. The scope of the coverage, with a number of articles describing the socialists' political perspectives, was another indication of the impact of the campaign on tens of thousands of workers, farmers, and youth.

New political space in Yugoslavia

Just back from participating in a *Militant* reporting team to Yugoslavia, Argiris Malapanis, a meat packer in Miami, spoke about the impact of the mass popular revolt and political strike that succeeded in toppling the Milosevic regime in early October. Over the course of about a week, the reporting team visited five cities in Yugoslavia and interviewed some 100 workers and students.

"The fall of the Milosevic regime has opened up new political space for the working class," stated Malapanis. "And working people have been taking advantage of this to speak out, discuss politics, and organize for their rights." These developments are significant in light of the brutal bombardment by Washington against the people of Yugoslavia six years ago, the six-week assault in 1999 that devastated many towns in Serbia, and the continued presence of more than 11,000 U.S. troops there.

"Throughout the 10-year conflict in the Balkans, Malapanis said, "most bourgeois commentators tried hard to make us believe that the slaughter in Yugoslavia signified that world civilization is threatening to break down along lines of 'age-old ethnic hatreds.' The truth is the opposite. The slaughter in Yugoslavia is the product of the breakdown of the capitalist world order; it is the product of intensifying conflicts among rival capitalist classes in the imperialist countries and those would-be capitalists—who want to be like the bour-

geoisie—in the workers states. These conflicts will increasingly mark politics in the world as long as imperialism exists."

The goal of the imperialists, Malapanis said, is to reimpose capitalism in Yugoslavia, as well as throughout eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union where capitalism was overthrown and state property relations established. But this cannot be done by the slow accumulation of market measures, emphasized Malapanis. Imperialism cannot accomplish this goal without taking on and defeating the working class in Yugoslavia and elsewhere, he said, through bloody military assaults and brutalization of working people.

The new regime, he added, does not represent a qualitative break from the former Milosevic government. Newly elected president Vojislav Kostunica comes from the same privileged bureaucratic caste that has ruled the Yugoslav workers state. But the toppling of the Milosevic's secret police regime creates more possibilities for workers and farmers to engage in political activity, and to become connected to working-class and anti-imperialist struggles around the world.

Malapanis pointed out that work by communists in explaining what has been happening in the Balkans over the past decade is a central part of building a communist movement here in the United States. "Through the course of doing this work in Yugoslavia, individual workers and students have begun reading the *Militant* and Pathfinder literature, are interested in the class struggle elsewhere in the world—including in the United States, and want to discuss a communist perspective," he said. Having the *Militant* available on the Internet is one way workers there are able to read the *Militant* each week, he said.

For a democratic, secular Palestine

The resistance by the Palestinian people over the past six weeks and why class-conscious workers support the demand for a democratic, secular Palestine was the focus of the talk by Paul Pederson, 25, who is organizer of the Brooklyn branch of the SWP. Pederson is a worker in Pathfinder's printshop.

Workers, students, and others of Arab and Palestinian origin—whose numbers are expanding in the United States, along with



Militant/Laura Anderson

Audience at November 5 meeting heard speakers discuss the class struggle in Yugoslavia, the fight for a democratic, secular Palestine, and the road to the transformation of the labor movement and building a party of communist workers today.

those of immigrants from Latin America, Asia, and elsewhere—have organized sizable demonstrations in solidarity with the Palestinian people in a large number of cities across the country. A recent demonstration of 15,000 people in New York in support of Israel was countered the next day by a similar-sized action backing the Palestinian cause, something that would have been unheard of even a decade ago. Bringing a communist perspective to these actions and offering workers and students at them an opportunity to deepen their participation in the U.S. class struggle is the central contribution socialist workers can make, Pederson said.

"There is no solution to the Palestinian question in the framework of imperialism," stated Pederson. "The determination of the Palestinian people to fight the brutalities and indignities of Israeli occupation, to fight for the land that was stolen from them is an irresolvable problem for imperialism."

Pederson explained that the state of Israel rests on a false promise by bourgeois forces that Jews could escape Jew hatred

and anti-Semitism by establishing their own state based on the dispossession of another people. "The reality is that far from a salvation for the Jews, Israel is a death trap," stated Pederson. "It pushes those who stand behind it into an alliance with the very same class forces that will resort to fascism and anti-Semitism to maintain their rule as the social crisis deepens, and away from the only social force that can forever end these horrors—the toilers of the world."

The demand for a democratic secular Palestine points toward forging a class alliance of the workers and farmers inside Israel who are exploited by the Israeli ruling class and the Palestinians fighting against Tel Aviv's dispossession of their land.

In this context he pointed to the importance of fighters for Palestinian self-determination raising the call for Israel to immediately withdraw from all the territories it occupied in its six-day 1967 war against the Arab peoples.

Pointing to the role of Washington, Pederson commented, "Far from being the

Continued on Page 12

Electoral fraud in Florida? Socialist campaign responds

The following statement was released November 9 by the Socialist Workers 2000 Campaign, James Harris for President and Margaret Trowe for Vice President.

Election results announced November 8 reported that Socialist Workers candidate James Harris received 10,477 votes in the state of Florida, one of 13 states and the District of Columbia where the ticket of Harris and running mate Margaret Trowe were on the ballot. Several hours later the reported vote total had dropped to 589. According to press accounts, Harris had been credited with 9,888 votes in Volusia County, but county election officials later told media sources the initial report was in error.

"Our campaign has asked Florida officials for an explanation of these events," Harris said. "The initial large vote total from Volusia County, if press accounts are correct, was clearly not credible."

"Vote fraud is not an unusual occurrence in capitalist politics in the United States and elsewhere," he noted.

"From the standpoint of working people, however, the real fraud, the real scandal, lies elsewhere. Tens of millions of workers and farmers are politically disenfranchised because they do not have the opportunity to hear about the working-class alternative to the Democrats and Republicans and the capitalist two-party system as a whole. And many of them agree with much the socialist candidates stand for and would be attracted to our campaign if they knew about it."

"Undemocratic laws keep workers parties from gaining ballot access in most states," Harris said. "Presidential

'debates' bar any party that represents working people. There has been a virtual media blackout of the Socialist Workers campaign, our championing of the struggles by workers and farmers resisting the attacks of the employers and their government, and why a revolutionary movement needs to be built to fight for a government of workers and farmers."

Harris pointed out that when Farrell Dobbs ran for president on the Socialist Workers Party ticket in 1948, his speech accepting the party's nomination was broadcast nationwide over radio by the Mutual Broadcasting System, ABC, and other networks. "But today any semblance of what used to be called 'equal time' or coverage under the 'fairness doctrine' has been taken back by the courts, legislatures, and so-called regulatory agencies, with broad bipartisan backing," Harris said.

Harris, a garment worker and union member from Atlanta, said, "Margaret Trowe and I have received a tremendous response and serious interest across the country on strike picket lines, at actions against police brutality and in defense of immigrant rights, and at protests by farmers defending their land and right to their livelihood. We have discussed with thousands of working people the need to oppose the U.S. economic war against Cuba and why the Cuban socialist revolution stands in the interests of workers and farmers around the world. We have joined protests with others in recent weeks to demand that Israel withdraw from the Arab territories it occupied in 1967 and to advance the fight for a democratic, secular Palestine. Many working people and youth have wanted to continue discussions about why we should extend a hand of solidarity to workers and farmers worldwide and oppose Washington's military interventions from

Yugoslavia to Iraq, from Korea to Colombia.

Workers and farmers in this country, the socialist candidate pointed out, have had to battle disenfranchisement for more than two centuries—from the fight against property qualifications and chattel slavery in the 18th and 19th centuries, to the movement for women's suffrage, to the mass struggle against "poll taxes" and "literacy tests" throughout the Jim Crow South, to manipulation of voter rolls today. In Florida, 31 percent of all Black men could not cast a ballot in this election—or in any election for the rest of their lives—due to laws that bar voting by anyone convicted of a felony. The total number of people affected by similar laws nationwide is 4.2 million.

"The tiny handful of propertied families who rule this country know the potential power and capacities of working people. They hope to keep the political arena restricted to parties that defend capitalism and within a 'lesser evil' framework. That is why they refuse to cover our campaign," Harris said.

"Against these odds we have sought to set an example for thousands across this country of a fighting, working-class, and revolutionary alternative. No matter who is declared winner in the elections, workers and farmers—both here at home and abroad—will need to deepen our resistance, the fight for independent working-class organization, and our mutual solidarity in face of a continued bipartisan offensive against our rights, social gains, standard of living, and conditions on the job and off."

"That is the struggle the Socialist Workers Party commits itself to in the weeks and months ahead."

Miners in Yugoslavia discuss popular revolt and new challenges

BY CATHARINA TIRSÉN
AND ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

BEROSEVAC, Yugoslavia—Field D is the largest surface mine here, and probably in all of Serbia. Located just outside this town, 40 miles southwest of Belgrade, it has a 30-meter-deep coal seam. Miners, working in four overlapping shifts, keep it running round the clock.

At Field D and three other open pits in this area, some 7,500 coal miners produce 26 million tons of lignite per year, enough to generate more than half of Serbia's electricity.

The region takes its name from the Kolubara river. Driving south in the surrounding valley toward the vast pits, we could see one thermoelectric power plant and a huge steel mill. These factories, mines, and related industrial facilities in the Kolubara complex employ 17,500 workers.

On September 29, the miners here put down their tools, occupied the pits, and declared what turned out to be a nine-day walkout. Their main demand: that Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic respect popular will expressed in the September 24 elections and resign.

The miners' strike inspired similar job actions by industrial workers throughout the region. The movement that mushroomed in solidarity with the strikers helped the miners face down attempts by the police to break the pit takeovers and contributed to the decision by the Yugoslav army top officers not to intervene.

In the month since the October 5 toppling of the hated bureaucratic Milosevic regime, the miners have remained in the vanguard of struggles by working people throughout Yugoslavia to expand the new political space they have won—fighting to replace hated managers who were cronies of the ousted government, to improve working conditions and living standards, and to protect in practice the gains of nationalized property.

'The mines were never supposed to stop'

"The Kolubara mines are a huge industry that was never supposed to stop," said Ruza Todorovic. "That's why our strike was central to the fall of Milosevic." A dispatcher at the Field D control center, Todorovic spoke to *Militant* reporters at the mine October 26. Sumadja, the broader region of central Serbia that includes Kolubara, is dominated by industrial workers and farmers. It had until then been considered a bedrock of support by the regime in Belgrade.

Todorovic and most of the two dozen miners interviewed here seemed to have a

sense of their social weight and the importance of their actions in the changes taking place in all spheres of life in this Balkan country over the last month.

At the same time, many of the miners and other workers interviewed here were sober about the challenges they face. Some expressed a growing realization that the new regime may in many ways prove not to be very different from its predecessor, and that the struggle for better working and living conditions will be long.

"Rapidly deteriorating working conditions at the mines over the last five years and the general repressive situation in the country, as a result of the policies of Milosevic, were the main factors, developing over time, that led to the strike," said Rado Jovanovic. A member of the Kolubara miners strike committee, Jovanovic spoke to *Militant* reporters in an October 24 interview at the Belgrade office of the Trade Union of Electric Power Workers of Serbia, which organizes all coal miners. "The presidential election simply provided the spark."

Milosevic initially refused to recognize outright victory for his opponent, Vojislav Kostunica, candidate of the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS), and called a second round of voting for October 8. The leadership of DOS, a coalition of 18 parties, rejected the decision, citing fraud, and called for actions demanding the president's resignation.

A political strike

"At 6:30 p.m. on September 29, a call went out from the union hall over the phone and all the machines were turned off," said Miodrag Rankovic, president of the miners strike committee. Also serving as president of the Kolubara miners union local, Rankovic spoke to *Militant* reporters October 26 in an interview at the union hall in Berosevac.

According to Rankovic, Jovanovic, and several of the workers, the miners occupied the pits and other facilities from the first moment of the walkout. At least one miner stood guard by each piece of equipment during their regular shift, while other workers gathered mainly at two designated assembly points in the area. The first day of the strike, 50-100 people other than miners came to the pit entrances to show their support, we were told.

The second day, when management threatened to bring the police into the mines, supporters outside the pits doubled. A local radio station in the nearby town of Lazarevac began broadcasting union appeals for



While police use walkway, Kolubara miners sit on a conveyor belt used to carry coal to dry-separation plant during nine-day strike, which was decisive in bringing down Milosevic regime. The cops failed in attempt to take over the mines October 4, after 20,000 people showed up in response to a call from the miners union to face down police assault.

more help.

The third day of the strike, the Yugoslav army chief of staff, Gen. Nebojsa Pavkovic, arrived on the scene with an ultimatum to the miners to return to their jobs.

Several miners and others joked about the opening comment the general reportedly made in his meeting with the strike committee. Pavkovic said something like, "I happened to be in the area and heard there was a problem here. Let's settle this quickly and get back to work."

The miners said this was laughable because the army chief was accompanied by the general manager of Serbia's electric company, the firm's entire national board, and two or three top officers of the special forces of the police.

Milena Stanjevic, who works in Field D's telecommunications center, said the general soon saw nearly 7,000 miners and supporters fill a soccer field at the footsteps of the small hill where the general and the strike committee met. "Our attitude was unambiguous. We would not back down, no matter what."

Stanjevic, Radisav Jovanovic, who supervises the second shift in the control room, and several miners said the firsthand view Pavkovic got of workers' determination to press for Milosevic's ouster played a role in the army leadership's decision not to send the tanks to Kolubara or later to Belgrade. Others reported widespread resistance within the army ranks—made up largely of conscripted youth from working-class families—to obeying any orders to move against the protesters.

The miners' union, workers reported, agreed to management's demand that company representatives be allowed to address one of the solidarity rallies where thousands from the area brought food for the strike pantry and exchanged experiences. In one such speech, the main point of a manager who addressed thousands reportedly was: "This is a political strike, it has nothing to do with trade unionism. You should go back to work."

Workers replied, "So what?" said miner Zoran Sulejmanovic. "This is a political strike. You and Milosevic tried to take away our democratic right to vote and that is a worker's issue. Get lost."

By the morning of October 2, thousands continued to swell the lines of supporters outside the pits. They included large numbers of steelworkers and others who stayed out with the miners. The only exception, we were told, was the thermoelectric plant workers who struck only for two days and then returned to the job so electricity would not go down in the area and beyond. Workers interviewed thought this was a correct judgment—it helped them draw more support from throughout the region as far north as Belgrade and as far south as Cacak. That day, the public prosecutor issued indictments against all 11 members of the miners strike committee for "sabotage" and for being "enemies of the state."

The government threatened to bring in scabs from the Trepca mines in Kosova, union president Rankovic said. The large underground mineral mines in Trepca have been occupied since last year by NATO troops, which have

prevented miners—Albanians, Serbs, and other nationalities—from returning to the job. That effort fell flat, however. The miners union in Kosova got word of what the Kolubara workers were doing and issued a call against scabbing, Rankovic said.

The last attempt to break the strike took place October 4 when 800 officers from the special police forces moved in to take over the mines. The cops, dressed in riot gear, beat their batons on their shields. Until that point, the police presence had been heavy in the area, but "there were no bloody incidents, mainly the psychological pressure," Rankovic said.

In a tactical move to defuse tension and buy time, the strikers decided to let police enter one of the four mines. "But we fixed the equipment," said Radivoji Urosevic, who operated the machines digging the coal seam at Field D for 10 years and is now off work on disability and is on the union staff. He accompanied *Militant* reporters around Field D for half a day. "Miners pulled the plug off the electrical system in a way that would have been impossible for outsiders to start the machines."

In a dramatic turn of events, however, thousands of people began to arrive on the scene, chanting "He's gone!" referring to Milosevic, singing, and pushing the police blockades away. Before midday on October 4, between 20,000 and 50,000 workers, farmers, and others had arrived, many in miles-long convoys of cars.

"That was a turning point," Rado Jovanovic said. "I knew then that 'the man' is gone."

The police soon gave up. The cop units remained in town for another day but were then forced to leave as news of the huge October 5 outpouring in Belgrade spread.

Keeping the mines shut and under tight control allowed several busloads of miners to join the half-million-strong demonstration in Belgrade October 5. They traveled along with a large contingent from Cacak, several workers said, and were among the first to enter the building of Radio and Television Serbia (RTS). One of the miners who was on the front lines of those who took over the national parliament building that day, Branko Ilic, said, "What we started in Kolubara, ordinary people have finished here in Belgrade."

The next day Milosevic resigned and conceded victory to Kostunica.

'The power is here'

During a tour of one of the pits of the Field D mine, the miner driving the jeep that took us around pointed to the top of the 43-meter-high machine digging the coal seam. "You see that flag up there?" he asked. "We took it from the parliament in Belgrade. That just shows that the power is here. It has always been here, only now it's clearer." The other miners laughed.

It was a telling political moment, as worker after worker described his determination to press for protecting and extending the degree of control they have begun to exert on the job since October 5.

Immediately after the ouster of Milosevic, the strike committee met and drew up new demands by the miners, who kept the pits shut for a few more days. The first was the removal of the entire management board of the Kolubara complex and the energy ministry officials who tried to orchestrate the assault on the strike. The miners restarted production October 8, only after that demand was met.

The workers we interviewed, however, said they did not know who the new managers were or how they have been appointed. According to union officials and the local



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

Miner Radivoji Urosevic inside the open pit of Field D, the largest Kolubara mine, on October 26. Coal digging machine is nearby. Radivoji was adamantly opposed to NATO air raids as well as the wars Milosevic and rival bureaucratic regimes launched after 1991 for control of land and resources to maintain their parasitic existence. "The nationalists came to power and created the wars to enrich themselves," he said. "Milosevic and Tudjman made agreement to divide Bosnia among themselves and then dragged us to war against our wishes."

Miners in Yugoslavia discuss new challenges

Continued from previous page
press, the new management board is composed of leaders of the Democratic Opposition of Serbia.

The other main demands of the miners included signing a contract that would codify improvements in wages and working conditions and immediate payment of several weeks of back wages. Rado Jovanovic said miners have not had a contract for three years and had been fruitlessly negotiating a collective agreement with officials tied to the Milosevic regime for two years.

A number of workers described the difficult conditions they face on the job.

"We lack the special large light bulbs and other spare parts," said Zoran Bantelic, an electrician who is part of the crew of six to eight operating the coal harvester on the night shift. After dusk, the open pit is almost completely dark. Only 10 percent of the lighting works. Miners often have to walk to work for three miles in pitch black because of lack of flashlights. Uniforms provided by the company are especially necessary in the subzero winter weather, but are supposed to last for four years. Some equipment sits rusting on coal heaps with no parts for repairs, because economic sanctions by Washington and other imperialist powers have made such imports prohibitively expensive over the last decade. Mechanics have to rely on swapping parts from one piece of equipment to another, and on pure ingenuity, to keep the 33-foot digging wheels churning on the mammoth machines, most of which were purchased from east or west Germany. The equipment is old, the newest bought in 1985, and potentially dangerous, workers said. Because of accidents and black lung disease, some 1,300 of the 7,500 miners are now on disability.

According to the miners interviewed, union officials, and the local press, miners earn between 150 and 220 deutsche marks per month (US\$1 = 2.29 DM), down from an average of 500 DM five years ago. Minimum expenses for food and utilities such as electricity and telephone for a family of three was around 200 DM per month last year. Transportation, clothing, and other necessities can bring monthly bills up to 1,500 DM.

How do people make ends meet? "Growing food in the garden, getting help from relatives with some land or selling things on the side," said Radivoji Urosevic. "Besides, we pay no rent and have health coverage." Most working people in Yugoslavia own their apartments or houses and pay no

rent, one of the gains of the 1945 Yugoslav revolution.

The economic crisis, which affects not only the miners but working people throughout this country, is the result of the world capitalist economic crisis combined with the anti-working-class methods of planning and management by the previous bureaucratic regimes. It has also been exacerbated to intolerable levels because of the military assaults and economic war by the imperialist powers.

"In the last 10 years Milosevic took us decades back," said miner Tejic Zivota. "He left people without money, and destroyed our factories and industry as a whole—yes, the whole economy."

Opposition to NATO air raids

Zivota operated the coal harvesters for more than a decade. He can no longer do that job since he suffered serious injuries in Belgrade's war with Croatia in the early 1990s.

"We were forced to go there and fight," Zivota said. "I escaped the draft from the Yugoslav army twice, but they got me in the end. It was Milosevic, and others like him in the government, who broke up Yugoslavia. He was the one who introduced nationalism, which brought us back 50 years. His nationalism was imposed on us."

Zivota's views on this question, and his equally strong opposition to the U.S.-NATO bombings, were shared by most workers interviewed.

In his comments, Zivota was referring to the 1945 revolution, brought to victory by the Partisans, led by the Communist Party whose central leader was Josip Broz (Tito). The Partisans united workers and peasants of all nationalities behind the struggle against the German imperialist occupation of Yugoslavia during World War II. Practicing a program that called for equality and respect of all nationalities and religious beliefs, and that opposed chauvinism and domination of one nation by another, was a major factor in the victory of the antifascist movement.

Working people then turned the victory against the Nazis into a socialist revolution—abolishing capitalist property relations and establishing a workers state, even though it was deformed at birth because of domination by Tito's Stalinist misleadership.

At the opening of the 1990s, as the League of Yugoslav Communists broke

apart, Milosevic, former president of Croatia Franjo Tudjman, and others in the top echelons of the bureaucratic caste that succeeded Tito's rule began to use nationalism to justify assaults on miners and other working people. They launched wars that led to the breakup of the Yugoslav federation in order to gain control of land and economic resources to maximize their parasitic existence and bourgeois way of life—giving Washington and other imperialist powers a



Gordana Jevremovic, who works as dispatcher at Field D mine's control center, looks over Militant. Jevremovic and most miners interviewed oppose proposals to sell Serbia's energy industry, including the coal mines, to foreign investors.

golden opportunity to intervene militarily.

Zivota, Stojan Aksentijvic, and other miners were opposed both to the wars Milosevic initiated and to the military assaults by NATO.

"Milosevic did not get bombed—we did," Zivota said. "In fact the bombings made him stronger for a while." The government used that assault to crack down on democratic rights further, he said.

Zivota and the other miners pointed to the bombings of the Kolubara thermoelectric plant and a similar power plant in Obrenovac, 20 miles north of here, last year. "That was a crime against us, the workers," Zivota said.

To address the problems the Kolubara miners confront, DOS leaders have pro-

posed foreign investments in the mines, including the possibility of selling them off to capitalists from abroad. This is consistent with their program of "market reforms" and taking steps to integrate Yugoslavia further into the capitalist market.

Debate on 'market reforms'

This perspective is backed by top officers of the Trade Union of Electric Workers of Serbia. During an October 24 interview

at the offices of this union in Belgrade, Dragan Veric, one of its national officers, said he was worried that workers may get the wrong idea from their recent actions, especially the swift replacement of former managers, that we can move "to a new kind of socialism." That's not possible, he emphasized. "We need a transition to a 'Western-type' democracy with a capitalism that's not exploitative."

Most of the miners interviewed, however, backed the idea of capital investment to improve conditions and productivity, but opposed privatization. "The state must keep at least majority control, if investors come in," Aksentijvic said.

Albanian and Serb miners in Kosova have also opposed not only the takeover of the Trepca mines there by NATO troops but also attempts to privatize those mines.

Among these workers, however, there were a variety of views on the overall political program of the DOS and how to go about fighting to improve working and living conditions.

"I have faith in them," Aksentijvic said, referring to the Kostunica regime in Belgrade. Others did not identify with the DOS politically.

"Even though the whole world supports Kostunica, we see no improvement now or in the near future," said Milina Pantelic who works in the mine canteen. "We may have to go out again if we don't get a contract soon."

Gordana Jevremovic said she was among the few miners who had voted for Milosevic in the elections, for which other workers teased her amicably, but she was one of the militants in the strike. "I've been a socialist but I have always been with the workers, unlike Milosevic, I see now," she said.

'We are watching you'

Regardless of views on other matters, these workers were united on one point. They are determined to take strike action again to press their demands and seek greater control over conditions on the job. As of the end of October, their demands for back pay and a decent contract had not been met yet.

Miner Jubisalav Perisic pointed to a slogan coined during last month's revolt that is now scrawled on several pieces of equipment: "We are watching you." That's now directed at the new regime, he said.

Catharina Tirsén is a member of the Metalworkers union in Stockholm, Sweden. Argiris Malapanis is a meat packer in Miami. George Skoric, a student in Belgrade, and Bobbis Misailidis, an airport worker in Athens, Greece, contributed to this article.

Rightward course of Clinton, Congress

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House is promoting is aimed first and foremost at the workers states in north Korea and above all China. Such a "Star Wars" system is a step the Reagan administration in the 1980s had to back away from.

In addition, Commander-in-Chief Clinton—with bipartisan backing—has deployed troops around the world, from Somalia to Haiti, and last year massively used Marines and marshals to reoccupy the U.S. Navy bombing range in Vieques, Puerto Rico, a U.S. colony.

Attacks on Cuban revolution

The bipartisan tightening of the squeeze on revolutionary Cuba has been consistent with the U.S. rulers' course at home and abroad.

Beginning with his first presidential bid in 1992, candidate Clinton took the lead in endorsing the misnamed Cuban Democracy Act, which incumbent George Bush then signed. The measure, also known as the Torricelli Act, makes it illegal for foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies to trade with Cuba.

In 1996 the Clinton administration signed into law the "Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (Libertad) Act," also known as the Helms-Burton law, which substantially intensified the U.S. embargo. Since then, the White House has enforced the new trade restrictions, targeting companies abroad that invest in Cuba, a policy that has had a palpable effect on the living conditions of the Cuban people.

In an act of imperial arrogance, Clinton signed a law October 28 that—under provisions of the 1996 "antiterrorism law"—au-

thorizes the U.S. government to seize \$50 million in Cuban funds it has frozen since the 1960s and award them to the families of three rightists shot down in 1996 by the Cuban air force for provocatively invading Cuba's airspace, despite repeated warnings.

These attacks on Cuba are intertwined with the assault on working people in the United States.

When Elián González was found off the Florida coast last year, for example, the U.S. government attacked Cuba's sovereignty by refusing to return the child to Cuba. At the same time, the Clinton administration used the case as a rationale to advance the U.S. rulers' efforts to refurbish the image of the hated *migra* and to win federal court rulings that would establish legal precedents upholding the authority of the INS to carry out policies exempt from normal judicial appeal and review—one of their central policy objectives.

The U.S. government used the April 22 commando-style raid by heavily armed INS cops on a home in Miami, where they seized the Cuban six-year-old, to deal a stunning blow to the Fourth Amendment right of all U.S. residents to be safe from unreasonable searches and seizures.

What led to the eventual return of the child to his home in Cuba was not goodwill by Washington but the uncompromising stand taken by the revolutionary government of Cuba and the mobilizations of millions of Cuban working people who took the moral high ground worldwide.

Another measure signed into law by Clinton October 28 was an agricultural appropriations bill with a rider supposedly allowing the sale of food and medicine to

Cuba. The legislation, however, not only intensifies the U.S. embargo against the island, it also lines the pockets of wealthy agribusiness interests at the expense of working farmers and deals a blow to the rights of working people by codifying existing U.S. Treasury Department regulations depriving the big majority of U.S. residents of the right to travel to Cuba.



This bipartisan course—one that marks a further rightward shift in the center of bourgeois politics in the United States—is the jumping-off point for the administration that will replace Clinton-Gore this coming January.

The propertied rulers, however, face a growing problem—the rise in resistance by working people to the employers' offensive that has marked the past several years. These struggles range from garment and textile workers fighting to organize a union in New York, Alabama, and North Carolina; to coal miners standing up to employer harassment and the social movement in coal communities to defend lifetime health benefits for miners and their families; to immigrant workers protesting racist attacks by rightists and the INS; and other examples too numerous to list.

The U.S. rulers are laying the basis for more direct confrontations with the working class and its allies among exploited farmers and others.

But as shown by articles throughout the pages of the *Militant* in recent years, more and more working people are standing our ground. And there will be bigger battles to come.

N.Y. meeting celebrates socialist campaign

Continued from Page 9

'honest broker' for peace, as the U.S. rulers contend, their pursuit of oil and U.S. imperialist class interests make it a deadly enemy of Palestinians, Arabs, Jews, and others throughout the region."

Social movement in coalfields

Jack Willey, a member of the SWP's Trade Union Committee and the new Grand Junction, Colorado, branch of the party, took up a number of developments in the labor movement and the participation and response of party and Young Socialists members to them. He pointed to the recent decision of the party's Ft. Collins branch to relocate to Grand Junction as "a victory for the communist movement" that comes out of the party's deepening work among miners in the western coalfields. Party members



Militant/Laura Anderson
Many at the meeting snapped up both new and second-hand editions of Pathfinder and other revolutionary books.

work today in garment shops and textile mills, meatpacking plants, and coal mines and belong—and fight to build—the industrial unions that organize sections of those industries.

Members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) are fighting moves by the Mine Safety and Health Administration to allow coal companies to increase the level of coal dust in the mines; an employer-government assault on health care and safety; and continued steps by the bosses to diminish union organization in coal mines across the country. This reality is fueling a social movement in the coalfields, driving miners and those in the local communities to seek ways to beat back this assault by the operators and the government. It's these conditions that drive workers toward the union, the United Mine Workers of America, he explained.

Willey described some of the fights by garment workers and meat packers in plants across the country for union recognition, dignity, decent wages, and improved working conditions on the job. Workers at Pillowtex, a large textile company, have recently won drives to win union recognition for the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) in Rocky Mount, North Carolina, and Scottsboro, Alabama. This comes a year after the UNITE organizing victory at the company's mills in Kannapolis, North Carolina, after a 25-year fight.

In garment, textile, and meatpacking plants from the Hunts Point food market in the Bronx to meatpacking plants in the Omaha area, "the union question continues to simmer," stated Willey.

"What will mark the years ahead is growing layers of workers looking for avenues to resist the continuing push by the capitalists to grab ever more profits off our sweat and blood," emphasized Willey. This resistance often takes the form today of "tussles on the job," where workers resist attempts by the boss to cut their pay, medical coverage, or safety rights. These struggles are not usually covered in the big-business dailies or on the evening news. "More and more social questions confronting our class are being fought out through our unions," Willey added.

He pointed to the "growing number of workers reaching out to other unionists to win support for their strikes and to lend a hand of solidarity to other fighters." Among the examples cited were the Tartan Textile workers

who struck an industrial laundry in Pompano Beach, Florida, in July then fanned out to other company facilities around the country winning support through sympathy strikes. Workers from Tartan Textile were also in Oceanside, New York, in mid-October to help the laundry workers there win their three-day strike for union recognition.

"The communist movement bases itself today in the industries where workers are responding most immediately to the bosses' offensive," stated Willey. "This is where a new proletarian vanguard is emerging through experiences, standing up, and resisting the conditions being imposed on them. These fighters who truly 'come from nowhere' are drawing more far-reaching conclusions, are open to discussing a revolutionary perspective, and can be won to the communist movement."

One example cited by Willey is the experiences of Frank Forrester, the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in Pennsylvania and a coal miner who recently sold five *Militant* subscriptions to co-workers. One of these new readers, eager to let co-workers know of Forrester's Senate bid, asked Forrester during a work break, "So are you going to tell them or should I?"

Possibilities for recruitment

"There's a growing convergence between what the SWP and Young Socialists do and the actions of the vanguard of the working class," Harris said in his talk. "The political vanguard of working people in this country is converging with the program of the communist movement. We need to organize ourselves to act on this."

Harris said the SWP's National Committee had met in New York over the previous days to discuss how to structure the party to respond to possibilities to recruit workers to the movement and to membership in the party.

Building on some initial experience in New York and the response of workers who are getting to know the party in various ways across the country, Harris noted that for the first time in many years "it is possible, through consistent propaganda activity in a workers district, to meet and recruit workers and union members to the party."

Every branch of the party will be carrying out work to find an area where there is a political response by a layer of workers to literature tables featuring the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, Pathfinder books, and *New International* magazine set up by socialist workers and Young Socialists mem-



June rally of workers at Pillowtex plant in North Carolina who won union-organizing fight. "The communist movement bases itself today in the industries where workers are responding most immediately to bosses' offensive," said SWP leader Jack Willey.

bers. Once such a workers district is discovered, party members will establish a hall where they will set up a Pathfinder bookstore, start a regular Militant Labor Forums series, and begin classes with workers and young people they meet who are interested joining the communist movement.

The political priorities and tasks of party branches more and more grow out of what workers are asking the party to do, Harris noted. This includes placing Pathfinder books in stores and libraries, so the legacy of the communist movement can be most accessible to vanguard workers. There are more instances where unionists and other workers, after discovering the wealth of titles available from Pathfinder in English, French, and Spanish, suggest a store, library, or *tienda* where they are willing to help place books. In addition, supporters of the party have also taken the initiative along these lines. Given the political interest in these titles, expanding the reach of Pathfinder books is a top priority of the movement, Harris said.

During the campaign, both Harris and Trowe offered to hold classes on the basics of scientific socialism in cities they visited. Many campaign supporters took them up on their offer. More working people, such as steelworkers at Titan Tire in Mississippi, are proposing classes together with socialist workers. Establishing regular educational programs to learn, relearn, and internalize the communist program "is a prerequisite for building the communist movement today," Harris said.

Another key task is establishing regular sales and political work at plant gates and mine portals where the party seeks to maintain a long-term presence and contact with

the workforce. Other vanguard workers will begin to join this effort, he said, and see how it gives the organized socialist movement a better standing among working people and feel for developments in various industries, as well as recruitment possibilities.

Through these activities, Harris said, party and YS members will be able to more closely follow the debates occurring in bourgeois politics and help to bring a clear, revolutionary working-class perspective in a timely way to other workers and farmers.

One of the participants in the meeting was Dimitris Falis, a new member of the Young Socialists from Montreal who joined the organization after James Harris's visit to that area in September. He came to the New York meeting to "hear what some experienced leaders of the communist movement have to say. It's not enough to have courage, or hope and energy, we need to study the lessons of our class."

Victor Serapio and Christian Anival, two workers originally from Guatemala, came to the meeting from New Jersey where they currently reside. Serapio was involved in a movement of peasants in Guatemala to form cooperatives, in an effort to get better terms and prices for the vegetables they grew. He also worked to defend the rights of farm workers. After hearing Harris's talk he commented, "It's important to have the party, the movement." He said he considers himself a socialist who bases himself on "the ideas of Che," but noted that he has had few opportunities to read books like those available at this event.

Participants in the meeting contributed \$2,000 towards the \$110,000 fund drive for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

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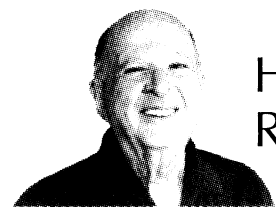
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SWEDEN

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Which is democratic?—The cost of attending public or private college nearly doubled the inflation rate last year. The average public



Harry Ring

college tuition and fees were \$3,510 per year. On-campus room and board averaged \$4,960. In private colleges tuition and board averaged

\$16,332. Check that against revolutionary Cuba's free education system.

Everybody can afford a laptop—The computer industry giants could easily provide every student a laptop computer. But apparently they don't see it that way. Massachusetts is now going to require each college student to own a laptop. According to their claim, 70 percent already do. And if the rest can't afford them? Tough situation.

What do they want, the moon?—A *Los Angeles Times* photo showed Japanese American

youth marching in Little Tokyo. The caption read: "Hundreds of people rally in Little Tokyo in Los Angeles Saturday to call attention to a lack of recreational space. Japanese-Americans have been asking for a multipurpose gymnasium for decades."

Skip the needy—"California officials have handed out more than \$6.8 billion in school construction funds over the past decade, yet have failed to deliver a single dollar to more than 100 of the state's fastest growing school districts."—News item.

P.S.—"At schools in many of

those districts a thousand children are crammed into space intended for 500, lunch periods are staggered for crowd control, and playgrounds have been gobbled up by bungalows."

Pass the Tums—Rio Hondo elementary school was built for 500 students but has swelled to nearly a thousand. The school cafeteria is so small that the lunch period has been broken into six shifts of 30 minutes each, including entering and exiting. "We really have to push them," the principal said.

Pushout city—More than 10 percent of the public schools in

Massachusetts have no libraries. Those that exist are in poor condition.

How inspiring—"The first thing that people [need is] higher expectations for students. That doesn't mean calculus for everybody. It does mean that we will expect everybody to be able to read and write at least a short essay."—Diane Ravitch, education historian.

Something new—If memory serves, this is the first time this column has been devoted to a single subject—the crisis of capitalist education. The crisis is so deep that it now gets wide media attention.

October 1917: Russian workers take power

November 2000 marks the 83rd anniversary of the victory of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, where workers and peasants took and held state power for the first time ever. (This is often called the October Revolution because the Byzantine calendar used in Russia at the time was 13 days behind the modern calendar.)

In the February 1917 revolution, which toppled the czarist monarchy, soviets—councils elected by workers, soldiers, and peasants, first formed in the 1905 revolution—reemerged, and constituted a dual power counterposed to the increasingly unstable capitalist regimes that followed. At first, the majority still had illusions in the class-collaborationist parties. By October, however, when the Bolshevik-led insurrection took place, the Bolsheviks were the elected majority in the Petrograd soviet.

The following is reprinted from *The History of the Russian Revolution* by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky. The excerpts are taken from the book's last chapter, titled, "Conclusion." Footnotes are taken from the glossaries at the end of the book.

BY LEON TROTSKY

A remarkable consecutiveness of stages is to be observed in the development of the Russian revolution—and this for the very reason that it was an authentic popular revolution, setting in motion tens of millions. Events succeeded each other as though obeying laws of gravitation. The correlation of forces was twice verified at every stage: first the masses would demonstrate the might of their assault, then the possessing classes, attempting revenge, would reveal only the more clearly their isolation.

In February [1917] the workers and soldiers of Petrograd rose in insurrection—not only against the patriotic will of all the educated classes, but also contrary to the reckonings of the evolutionary organizations. The masses demonstrated that they were unconquerable. Had they themselves been aware of this, they would have become the government. But there was not yet a strong and authoritative revolutionary party at their head. The power fell into the hands of the petty-bourgeois democracy tinted with a protective socialist coloration. The Mensheviks¹ and Social Revolutionaries² could make no other use of the confidence of the masses but to summon to the helm the liberal bourgeoisie, who in their turn could only place the power slipped to them by the Compromisers³ at the service of the interests of the Entente.

In the April days the indignation of the regiments and factories—again without the summons of any party—brought them out on the streets of Petrograd to resist the im-

perialist policy of the government wished on them by the Compromisers. This armed demonstration attained an appearance of success.

Miliukov,⁴ the leader of Russian imperialism, was removed from the government. The Compromisers entered the government, superficially as plenipotentiaries of the people, in reality as call-boys of the bourgeoisie. Without having decided one of the problems which had evoked the revolution, the coalition government violated in June the de facto armistice that had been established on the front, throwing the troops into an offensive. By this act the February regime, already characterized by the declining trust of the masses in the Compromisers, dealt itself a fatal blow. The period opened of direct preparation for a second revolution.

At the beginning of July the government, having all the possessing and educated classes behind it, was prosecuting every revolutionary manifestation whatever as treason to the fatherland and aid to the enemy. The official mass organizations—the soviets, the social patriotic parties—were struggling against a coming-out with all their power. The Bolsheviks for tactical reasons were trying to restrain the workers and soldiers from coming into the streets. Nevertheless the masses came out. The movement proved unrestrainable and universal. The government was nowhere to be seen. The Compromisers hid. The workers and soldiers proved masters of the situation in the capital. Their offensive went to pieces, however, owing to the inadequate readiness of the provinces and the front.

At the end of August all the organs and institutions of the possessing classes stood for a counter-revolutionary overturn: the diplomats of the Entente, the banks, the leagues of landed proprietors and industrialists, the Kadet party,⁵ the staffs, the officers, the big press. The organizer of the overturn was no other than the supreme commander-in-chief with the officer-apparatus of an army of millions to rely on. Military detachments specially selected from all fronts were thrown against Petrograd under pretense of strategic considerations and by secret agreement with the head of the government.

In the capital everything, it seemed, was prepared for the success of the enterprise: the workers had been disarmed by the authorities with the help of the Compromisers; the Bolsheviks were under a steady rain of blows; the more revolutionary regiments had been removed from the city; hundreds of specially selected officers were concentrated in shock brigades—with the officer schools and Cossack detachments they should constitute an impressive force. And



Russian workers and soldiers participate in 1917 rally to defend revolution

what happened? The plot, patronized it would seem by the gods themselves, barely came in contact with the revolutionary people when it scattered in dust.

These two movements, at the beginning of July and the end of August, relate to each other as a theorem and its converse. The July days demonstrated the might of the self-dependent movement of the masses. The August days laid bare the complete impotence of the ruling groups. This correlation signaled the inevitability of a new conflict.

The provinces and the front were meanwhile drawing closer to the capital. This predetermined the October victory.

"The ease with which Lenin and Trotsky overthrew the last coalition government of Kerensky," wrote the Kadet, Nabokov, "revealed its inward impotence. The degree of this impotence was an amazement at that time even to well-informed people." Nabokov himself seems hardly aware that it was a question of his impotence, that of

Continued on Page 15

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



November 21, 1975

NEW YORK—One-day "sick-outs" by nurses at four municipal hospitals protested the way health care here is being attacked by wave after wave of cutbacks.

The action by registered nurses began November 6 at the largest of the city's eighteen municipal hospitals, Bellevue, as almost 90 percent of the nurses called in sick.

The next day, as Bellevue was returning to normal, nurses at three other hospitals staged a similar action, and there were widespread expectations that the protest would spread to all facilities. The sick-out subsided, however, after meetings between the New York State Nurses Association and the Health and Hospitals Corporation.

Bellevue nurses interviewed by the *Militant* agreed that there was one, and only one, issue: More registered nurses are desperately needed.

"Conditions have been very poor," explained one RN. "We don't have enough staff for the number of patients. Nurses have left, and we haven't gotten people to replace them."

A spokesperson for the Health and Hospitals Corporation confirmed this. Before a hiring freeze went into effect last January, there were more than 6,200 RNs in the citywide system. Now the number is 5,800, after dropping steadily for almost a year. That figure is almost 3,000 short of what is required by standards set by the American Hospital Association.

But that's not the whole story. "We've been having to do a lot of things we aren't

supposed to," said one middle-aged RN, "because we don't have enough people in many of the jobs."



November 20, 1950

Contrary to his assurances of two months ago, Truman has ordered the release of the \$62,500,000 handout voted by Congress for the Spanish fascist butcher, Franco. The Economic Cooperation Administration announced on Nov. 15 that "at the direction of President Truman" the "United States loan aid for Spain will get under way immediately."

It will be none too soon for the shaky Franco regime, which has bankrupted Spain and brought the Spanish workers and peasants to the verge of starvation. With the U.S. dollars Truman has so opportunely released to him, Franco will be able to reinforce the brutal terror which has kept his prisons and concentration camps overflowing.

At the time Truman said he would impound the Franco loan, the Sept. 4 *Militant* categorically predicted that "at the moment Truman feels the coast is clear he will unfreeze the loan."

The principal obstacle was the UN resolution of 1946 which barred Hitler's Axis partner from any UN agency and urged its member nations to withdraw their major diplomatic officers from Madrid. It would have been embarrassing, in view of the accusations Washington was making about North Korea and the Soviet Union, for the U.S. to take "unilateral" action in support of Spain.

¹ Mensheviks—Moderate socialist party claiming allegiance to Karl Marx, but believing that the working class must combine with the liberal bourgeoisie to overthrow czarism and establish a democratic republic.

² Social Revolutionaries—Peasant socialist party, formed at the beginning of the century from a fusion of several tendencies of the Narodniks. Representing the wavering interests of the small peasant proprietor in the revolution, this party split into a group of Left Social Revolutionaries, anarchist in their leanings but participating for a time in the Bolshevik government, and the Right Social Revolutionaries who supported Kerensky [head of the capitalist Provisional Government].

³ Compromisers—General name for the lead-

ers of the Menshevik and Social Revolutionary parties in the Soviet, who, although professing socialist principles, compromised with the Kadets upon essential points, voluntarily handing over the power to them.

⁴ Miliukov—Head of the Kadet party, Minister of Foreign Affairs and actual boss of the Provisional Government.

⁵ Kadets—Popular name for the Constitutional Democrats (K.D.'s)—subsequently also called the Party of the People's Freedom—the great liberal party favoring a constitutional monarchy or even ultimately a republic, a party of the progressive landlords, middle bourgeoisie and bourgeois intelligentsia, headed by Miliukov, a professor of history.

Rightward course of Clinton-Gore, Congress will be launch pad for new administration

Continued from front page

workers, farmers, and youth that has begun to develop and spread in the United States over the past few years.

This onslaught at home has gone hand in hand with increased military aggression by Washington throughout the world, from Iraq to Yugoslavia to the South China Sea.

'End welfare as we know it'

A central banner of Clinton's election campaign eight years ago was his promise to "end welfare as we know it." In 1996 he fulfilled that reactionary pledge by signing the so-called Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act—a bill adopted with the votes of 230 Republicans and 98 Democrats in the House of Representatives and 53 Republicans and 25 Democrats in the Senate.

The legislation eliminated federally guaranteed Aid for Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and cut off food stamps and Medicaid for many working people. The AFDC program had been codified more than 60 years earlier in the Social Security Act, pushed through Congress in 1935 under the pressure of rising labor struggles. In eliminating this program, Clinton and Congress opened the battle to roll back other aspects of working people's Social Security gains as well.

NEWS ANALYSIS

As of early 1999, the White House boasted that welfare rolls were down 44 percent from 1994. Up to half of those denied payments had no jobs and the majority of the rest were employed at makework jobs paying minimum wage with no benefits. Millions more will be cut off when the five-year lifetime limit on receiving welfare comes next year.

This bipartisan opening shot four years ago puts the current election-season debate over Social Security "reform" in its true light. Whatever the differences among the proposals advanced by various Democrats and Republicans, all of them begin to undermine the character of Social Security as a universal entitlement. All involve "supplementing" federally funded pension benefits, even if only to a small degree at first, through private savings accounts that increase individual responsibility for retirement. These schemes are combined with reduced pension benefits, a higher retirement age, and increased employee taxes.

The consequences of the 1996 "welfare reform" are particularly devastating for working-class women—especially among the 10 million raising children on their own. This broadside against women's social rights is often pa-

the amount of money paid out of pocket increased.

Producers on the land have been particularly hard hit by the capitalist debt squeeze during these years, as well. Government agricultural bills favor capitalist agricultural interests at the expense of family farmers, accelerating the number of foreclosures. On top of all this, farmers who are Black face discrimination by government and private lenders, subjecting them to even greater insecurity and ruin.

Assault on democratic rights

Working people will feel the cumulative impact of these social attacks especially sharply with the onset of the next downturn in the capitalist business cycle—something that will come, despite hype by various bourgeois propagandists about a recession-free, internet-powered "new economy" today.

Already, however, working people are feeling more directly the rulers' pressure on democratic rights. The following are just some of the measures taken by the White House, Congress, and the courts:

- In the name of the "war on drugs," the 1994 Crime Bill signed by Clinton assaulted Fourth Amendment protections against arbitrary search and seizure in private homes. The courts have virtually eliminated such rights in private automobiles.

- The Illegal Immigration and Reform Responsibility Act, which Clinton signed into law in 1996, expanded the powers of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to seize and deport suspected "illegal" immigrants without the right to judicial review or appeal. The INS, now the largest federal cop agency, has stepped up factory raids and deportations to record numbers.

- The 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, among other things, allows the INS to jail immigrants with "secret evidence" and broadens the government's powers to use wiretaps and hold individuals without bail in "prevention detention." Some two dozen people have been jailed so far on the basis of "secret evidence," most of them Muslim and Arab immigrants.

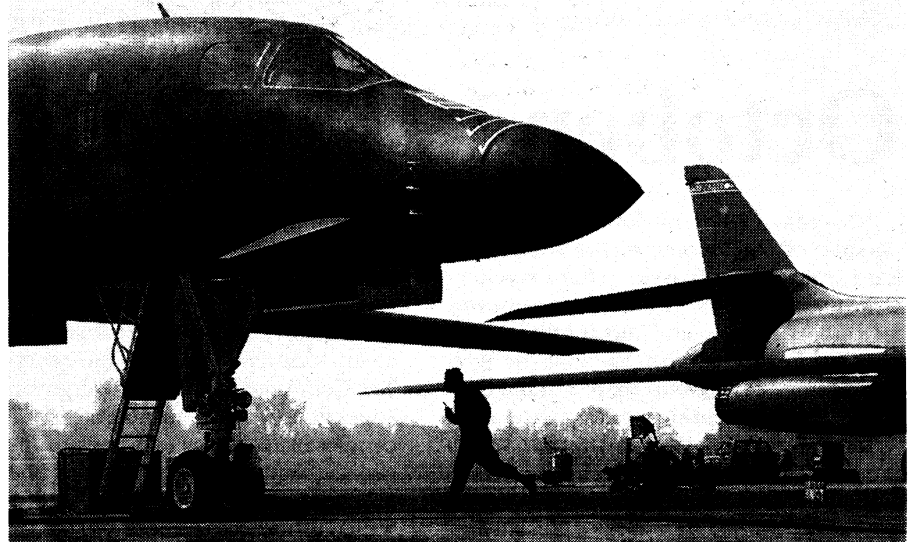
- In the name of strengthening the defense of "national security," Clinton is urging Congress to draft a secrecy in government bill—giving greater cover to spying and trampling on constitutional rights—that the president can sign without paying too big a political price. In face of substantial opposition even in bourgeois public opinion, Clinton earlier this month backed off signing a sweeping measure that would have made it a felony to disclose "classified" government information to "unauthorized" persons.

- The Clinton-Gore administration financed a record expansion of cops on U.S. streets and stepped up heavier and more deadly arming of police forces. In the name of fighting crime, cops have escalated the number of on-the-street executions and brutalization of working people. The administration set the tone with its deadly 1993 police assault on the Branch Davidian religious group in Waco, Texas, ordered by Attorney General Janet Reno and approved by Clinton. That assault, complete with tanks, resulted in an inferno that took the lives of 86 men, women, and children.

- The U.S. prison population has doubled to 2 million since Clinton took office. Meanwhile, appeal and parole rights have been further restricted. Mandatory minimum sentences, longer terms, and the use of prison labor for the "free market" have all been made more common. The total number of people in the United States trapped in the "justice" system—in jail, on parole, or on probation—stands at an all-time high of 6.3 million.

- During this period the annual number of executions has tripled, while the number of defendants charged with federal capital offenses has tripled since the adoption of the Federal Death Penalty Act of 1994. The 1996 "anti-terrorism" law greatly restricts the rights of prisoners to habeas corpus appeals, often the only recourse for inmates sentenced to death.

- Even after serving out sentences, working people are seeing their rights permanently curtailed. In 1996 Clinton signed a "sex offenders" law requiring states to publicize the names of persons convicted of a sex offense after their release from prison. And more than 4 million people—some behind bars, others having served their sentences—have been stripped of their right to vote for the rest of their lives, including nearly one-third of all Black men in



U.S. B-1 bombers being prepared to join NATO forces in Yugoslavia. Washington's aggressive moves abroad have strengthened its military position in the Balkans and Europe as well as the Middle East relative to its strongest imperialist allies.

Florida and Alabama.

- Under the banner of preempting "terrorist" attacks, the Pentagon has established, for the first time, a de facto "homeland defense command"—a step aimed at laying the basis to use U.S. armed forces against working people in this country.

The U.S. rulers have met resistance to stepped-up police violence—including street protests by thousands against the killing of Amadou Diallo in New York and the gunning down of Errol Shaw in Detroit. But the exploiters will be driven to use rougher methods as the class struggle sharpens.

Foreign policy: extension of domestic offensive

The U.S. rulers' foreign policy is an extension of this profit-driven assault on working people at home. Washington's aggressive moves abroad have strengthened its military position in the Balkans and Europe as well as the Middle East relative to its strongest imperialist rivals—those in London, Paris, Berlin, and Tokyo, among others.

Clinton inaugurated his first term in office in January 1993 with several consecutive days of bombings against Iraq—a handoff, in fact, from the prior Republican administration of George Bush. Since then, Washington has kept up constant bombing attacks—sometimes weekly or even daily—against the working people of Iraq.

Washington, together with other imperialist powers, has enforced and even expanded a "no-fly zone" over 60 percent of Iraq, a violation of that nation's sovereignty imposed since the 1991 Gulf War. It has also maintained a criminal economic embargo to try to starve the people of that country into submission.

In reinforcing U.S. imperialist domination in the Middle East, Clinton—while posturing as "peacemaker"—has encouraged Tel Aviv in its intransigence in holding onto East Jerusalem and other territories forcibly occupied during the 1967 war. If anything, Clinton has been the most pro-Israeli U.S. president since Harry Truman, who promoted the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 through the bloody dispossession of the Palestinian people.

In the Balkans, U.S.-led NATO forces have waged murderous bombing campaigns, destroying major industrial centers in Serbia last year, and currently maintain tens of thousands of occupation troops in Yugoslavia. In asserting themselves even more firmly as the dominant military power in Europe, the U.S. rulers have pushed to expand NATO eastward and tighten their encirclement of the workers states in Russia and other former Soviet republics.

On a related front, the Clinton administration has prepared the groundwork for putting in place a missile "defense" system as another step toward a nuclear first-strike capacity for U.S. imperialism. The package the White

Continued on Page 11



Militant/Stu Singer

United Mine Workers members at May 17 rally in Washington to defend lifetime health benefits for miners and families. The outgoing Democratic administration, with a Republican majority in both houses of Congress, launched the opening salvoes against the social wage won through mass labor and civil rights battles.

pered over by those who urge support for Clinton by citing his veto of a couple of bills limiting the right to choose abortions.

What's more, while the U.S. rulers have been unable to reverse the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court ruling decriminalizing abortion, access to abortion is more and more differentiated along class lines. As of 1998, some 86 percent of U.S. counties and one-third of U.S. cities had no abortion providers, adding the costs of travel and lodging to other obstacles confronting women.

During the Clinton presidency the percentage of the U.S. population with no health insurance rose to 16 percent in 1999, while among those with medical coverage

Correction

The article in issue no. 43 of the *Militant* entitled "Socialist workers meet to discuss resistance deepening in garment and textile industries" misquoted Nancy Rosenstock, a participant in the meeting, in her description of the composition of the workforce at the Individualized Shirt plant in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, where she works. Rosenstock reported that the majority of workers at the plant are originally from Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic.

Lenin on the role of the state and revolution

Printed below is an excerpt from *The State and Revolution: The Marxist Theory of the State and the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution*, by Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin. The book was written in August and September 1917, during the ascending revolutionary struggle in Russia. Because of government persecution, Lenin wrote the pamphlet in hiding, as he continued to lead the work of the Bolshevik Party. In October, the Bolsheviks led workers, peasants, and soldiers to overthrow the capitalist regime and establish a government of the producing classes.

The excerpt is the entire first section of chapter 1, and is titled, "The State—a Product of the Irreconcilability of Class Antagonisms." The other three sections of the chapter are "Special Bodies of Armed Men, Prisons, etc.," "The State—an Instrument for the Exploitation of the Oppressed Class," and "The 'Withering Away' of the State, and Violent Revolution."

The document can be found in Lenin's *Selected Works*, available from Pathfinder Press. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY V. I. LENIN

What is now happening to Marx's theory has, in the course of history, happened repeatedly to the theories of revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes fighting for emancipation. During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their theories with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them, so to say, and to hallow their names to a certain extent for the "consolation" of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping the latter, while at the same time robbing the revolutionary theory of its substance, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it. Today, the bourgeoisie and the opportunists within the labor movement concur in this doctoring of Marxism. They omit, obscure or distort the revolutionary side of this theory, its revolutionary soul. They push to the foreground and extol what is or seems acceptable to the bourgeoisie. All the social-chauvinists are now "Marxists" (don't laugh!). And more and more frequently German bourgeois scholars, only yesterday specialists in the annihilation of Marxism, are speaking of the "national-German" Marx, who, they claim, educated the labor unions which are so splendidly organized for the purpose of waging a predatory war!

Reaffirm what Marx taught on the state

In these circumstances, in view of the unprecedentedly wide-spread distortion of Marxism, our prime task is to *reestablish* what Marx really taught on the subject of the state. This will necessitate a number of long quotations from the works of Marx and Engels themselves. Of course, long quotations will render the text cumbersome and not help at all to make it popular reading, but we cannot possibly dispense with them. All, or at any rate all the most essential passages in the works of Marx and Engels on the subject of the state must by all means be quoted as fully as possible so that the reader



Cops in Charleston, South Carolina, attack union dock workers protesting the use of nonunion labor. "The state is a product and manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms," writes Lenin in *The State and Revolution*.

may form an independent opinion of the totality of the views of the founders of scientific socialism, and of the evolution of those views, and so that their distortion by the "Kautskyism" now prevailing may be documentarily proved and clearly demonstrated.

Let us begin with the most popular of Engels's works, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, the sixth edition of which was published in Stuttgart as far back as 1894. We shall have to translate the quotations from the German originals, as the Russian translations, while very numerous, are for the most part either incomplete or very unsatisfactory.

Summing up his historical analysis, Engels says:

"The state is therefore, by no means a power forced on society from without; just as little is it 'the reality of the ethical idea,' 'the image and reality of reason,' as Hegel maintains. Rather, it is a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it has split into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these antagonisms, these classes with conflicting economic interests might not consume themselves and society in fruitless struggle, it became necessary to have a power, seemingly standing above society, that would alleviate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of 'order'; and this power, arisen out of society but placing itself above it and alienating itself more and more from it, is the state." (Pp. 177-8, sixth German edition.)

This expresses with perfect clarity the basic idea of Marxism with regard to the historical role and the meaning of the state. The state is a product and a manifestation of the *irreconcilability* of class antagonisms. The state arises where, when and insofar as class antagonisms objectively *cannot* be rec-

onciled. And, conversely, the existence of the state proves that the class antagonisms are irreconcilable.

It is on this most important and fundamental point that the distortion of Marxism, proceeding along two main lines, begins.

An organ of class rule

On the one hand, the bourgeois, and particularly the petty-bourgeois, ideologists, compelled under the weight of indisputable historical facts to admit that the state only exists where there are class antagonism and a class struggle, "correct" Marx in such a way as to make it appear that the state is an organ for the *reconciliation* of classes. According to Marx, the state could neither have arisen nor maintained itself had it been possible to reconcile classes. From what the petty-bourgeois and philistine professors and publicists say, with quite frequent and benevolent references to Marx, it appears that the state does reconcile classes. According to Marx, the state is an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another; it is the creation of "order,"

which legalizes and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the conflict between the classes. In the opinion of the petty-bourgeois politicians, however, order means the reconciliation of classes, and not the oppression of one class by another; to alleviate the conflict means reconciling classes and not depriving the oppressed classes of definite means and methods of struggle to overthrow the oppressors.

For instance, when, in the revolution of [February] 1917, the question of the significance and role of the state arose in all its magnitude as a practical question demanding immediate action, and, moreover, action on a mass scale, all the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks descended at once to the petty-bourgeois theory that the "state" "reconciles" classes. Innumerable resolutions and articles by politicians of both these parties are thoroughly saturated with this petty-bourgeois and philistine "reconciliation" theory. That the state is an organ of the rule of a definite class which *cannot* be reconciled with its antipode (the class opposite to it) is something the petty-bourgeois democrats will never be able to understand. Their attitude to the state is one of the most striking manifestations of the fact that our Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks are not socialists at all (a point that we Bolsheviks have always maintained), but petty-bourgeois democrats using near-socialist phraseology.

On the other hand, the "Kautskyite" distortion of Marxism is far more subtle, "Theoretically," it is not denied that the state is an organ of class rule, or that class antagonisms are irreconcilable. But what is overlooked or glossed over is this: if the state is the product of the irreconcilability of class antagonism, if it is a power standing *above* society and "alienating itself more and more from it," it is clear that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, *but also without the destruction* of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class and which is the embodiment of this "alienation."

As we shall see later, Marx very explicitly drew this theoretically self-evident conclusion on the strength of a concrete historical analysis of the tasks of the revolution. And—as we shall show in detail further on—it is this conclusion which Kautsky has "forgotten" and distorted.

The Russian Revolution

Continued from Page 13

his class, of his social structure....

Eight months after the overthrow of the monarchy the workers stood at the head of the country. And they stood firmly. "Who would believe," wrote one of the Russian generals, Zalessky, expressing his indignation at this, "that the janitor or watchman of the court building would suddenly become Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals? Or the hospital orderly, manager of the hospital; the barber, a big functionary; yesterday's ensign, the commander-in-chief; yesterday's lackey or common laborer, burgomaster; yesterday's train oiler, chief of division or station superintendent; yesterday's locksmith, head of the factory?"

Who would believe it?" They had to believe it. It was impossible not to believe it, when ensigns routed the generals, when burgomasters from the ranks of common labor put down the resistance of yesterday's lords, train oilers regulated transport, and locksmiths as directors revived industry....

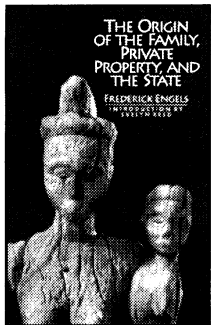
The language of the civilized nations has clearly marked off two epochs in the development of Russia. Where the aristocratic culture introduced into world parlance such barbarisms as *tzar*, *pogrom*, *knout*, *October* has internationalized such words as *Bolshevik*, *soviet*, and *piatiletka* [five-year plan]. This alone justifies the proletarian revolution, if you imagine that it needs justification.

FURTHER READING FROM PATHFINDER

The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State

Frederick Engels

How the emergence of class-divided society gave rise to repressive state bodies and family structures that protect the property of the ruling layers and enable them to pass along wealth and privilege. \$16.95



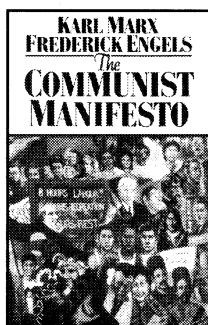
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The State and Revolution

V. I. Lenin

Lenin's pamphlet on *The State and Revolution* is contained in the three-volume *Selected Works*. Other selections include "Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism," "One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward," "The April Theses," "The Tax in Kind," "Better Fewer, but Better," and more. Set \$50 (cloth)

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New Zealand gov't targets immigrants

BY FELICITY COGGAN
AND COLIN HEATH

AUCKLAND, New Zealand—Moves by the New Zealand government to implement new immigration laws have run into protests and a series of scandals, highlighting their reactionary character.

As of October 1, immigrants remaining in the country more than 42 days after their entry permit has expired can be detained and deported without having the right to appeal. Previously, they had 42 days to appeal their removal order. Immigrants removed under the new law are banned from returning to New Zealand for five years, and are also barred from entering many other countries for a similar period. Following large meetings earlier this year of Pacific Island immigrants who opposed the new law, the government offered a partial amnesty for undocumented immigrants who are "well settled."

The law was adopted by parliament under the National Party government a year ago and came into force last month, with the backing of the Labour Party government.

The reality of what the new law means was spelled out October 10, when Filipino immigrant Rosanna Mila, who works as a cleaner; her husband Oscar, a presser; and Mila's mother and nine-year-old daughter were taken by cops and immigration officials from their home in Auckland at 6:05 a.m. and put on a plane to the Philippines. Their deportation was hurriedly reversed during transit in Malaysia where immigration officials confirmed the family's statements that they had lodged an appeal against their removal before October 1, and were therefore in the country legally. The Mila family had lived and worked in New Zealand for three years.

Four days later, Hosea Nau, from Tonga, was jailed for 36 hours and threatened with deportation after being arrested on a minor charge. Nau also had an appeal before the courts and was in the country legally.

'Dawn raids'

The Mila family's deportation was a reminder for many workers of the notorious "dawn raids" carried out in the 1970s that targeted Pacific Island immigrants for harassment and deportation, a practice that was met by widespread protests at the time.

Amidst the controversy following the illegal deportation of the Mila family, the Minister of Immigration, Lianne Dalziel, defended the government's new "crackdown on overstayers." She claimed there would be no more "dawn raids," stating that raids to remove "overstayers" will not start before 7:00 a.m. Prime Minister Helen Clark affirmed the government's decision not to soften the law passed by the previous administration, saying, "People who overstay are trying to come through the back door, not the front door."

"We did nothing wrong, but we were treated like criminals without rights," said Rosanna Mila, commenting on the treatment of her family. "We work, we pay our tax, and we hope for a good life. A good life means happiness and peace, not a knock on your door before you rub the sleep from your eyes."

In the wake of these events, a series of



Militant/Terry Coggan

More than 100 Chinese immigrants began a protest camp in Aotea Square in the center of Auckland, New Zealand, September 27. Around half are on hunger strike. The protesters, many of whom entered the country on applications for refugee status, are fighting for the right to stay and protesting against harsh new immigration laws.

other cases illustrating the ongoing harassment and intimidation of immigrant workers and their families have come to light. The *New Zealand Herald* reported October 21 that the Thai government is considering joining legal action against the New Zealand Immigration Service. The Thai authorities allege that Thais are regularly detained and deported as suspected illegal immigrants or prostitutes. Of 1,238 people who were refused entry to New Zealand last year, 900 were from Thailand. According to immigration agreements between the two countries, Thai visitors are supposed to be able to enter New Zealand for up to three months without a visa.

The *New Zealand Herald* described October 13 how Pimthong Udumpon from Thailand was deported from New Zealand in 1999 when she came to visit relatives. This year, on her second attempt to enter the country, she was jailed for two and a half days, and was even denied sanitary napkins or a change of clothes.

Meanwhile, Joseph Holub from Czechoslovakia, who is mentally handicapped, was refused entry and deported October 23, two hours after arriving to join his family who live here and are seeking refugee status.

Fear of applying for amnesty

These events are having an impact on the number of people applying for amnesty under the new law. About one-third of the

estimated 20,000 undocumented immigrants in New Zealand are said to qualify, but only a few hundred people have applied to date. About half of undocumented immigrants are Pacific Islanders, mainly Samoan and Tongan. Many are unwilling to provide the contact information required to process the application because, if they are denied amnesty, immigration officials can turn it into a deportation list.

In order to be considered "well settled" under the amnesty provisions, immigrants must meet one of three criteria. They must either have been living in New Zealand for five years, have New Zealand-born children, or be married or in a similar relationship for at least two years with a New Zealand citizen or resident. Those who qualify must pay \$500 to apply for a two-year work permit, which if granted can be followed up with an application for permanent residency. However, this will only be granted to those who meet "good character" requirements and have not been out of the country for more than 90 days.

Immigrants who have applied for refugee status are excluded from the amnesty, even if they can prove that they fit the "well-settled" criteria. This sparked a response by more than 100 Chinese immigrants who set up a protest camp in downtown Auckland in late September. Around half of them went on a hunger strike for eight days, 20 of whom were hospitalized after collapsing.

Minister of Immigration Lianne Dalziel refused to meet the protesters. "Their actions are blackmail. It's like putting a gun to my head and saying to all and sundry that this is how you get the Minister of Immigration to change her mind," she said October 3. Two days later, however, senior immigration department officials agreed to negotiate with the hunger strikers, and the protest was ended.

In recent months, immigration cops have also been raiding workplaces on the pretext of looking for undocumented immigrants. Last January the government raided 33 premises in Auckland. On October 18, 20 police raided a timber mill in Tokoroa, south of Auckland, claiming they were looking for drugs. Several workers were manhandled and one subjected to a strip search in front of management and co-workers during the raid. Andrew Little, the national secretary of the Engineers Union, which represents the 270 workers there, protested the raid, saying it was the first time he had ever heard of such a move in New Zealand.

At an October 6 Militant Labour Forum held here to protest the government's attacks on immigrants, Jun Yu, a supporter of the Chinese hunger strikers, explained how undocumented immigrants are superexploited by capitalist bosses. Yu said many workers in agricultural and food service industries make as little as NZ\$3.50 an hour, less than half the legal minimum wage (NZ\$1.00=US\$0.40). He added that immigrants who are deemed illegal have no access to social welfare benefits or state-funded services such as health care and education.

Mua Strickson-Pua, chaplain of the Tagata Pasifika Resource Centre, who also spoke at the forum, said, "There are communities of families who have had no access to social services. There are families of children who have not been to school for 12 years in this country, but we're led to believe that they're overworking our health system, education system, and filling up our prisons."

The goal of the government and the employers "is not to drive all immigrants out of the country," said Terry Coggan of the Communist League, who also addressed the meeting. "They use the threat of deportation to maintain immigrants in a permanent second-class status" in order to divide the working class and justify the denial of basic rights, while continuing to superexploit this layer of working people. The labor movement, he said, "should welcome immigrant workers and champion their rights."

Felicity Coggan and Colin Heath are members of the National Distribution Union.

Quebec truckers defy strike-breaking law

BY AL CAPPE

MONTREAL—"I'm prepared to fight until I lose everything," said Jagdish Comrade, summing up the defiance of striking truckers in the face of government legislation ordering them to return to work or face stiff penalties.

He was among some 300 strikers, members of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU), who turned out November 4 to encourage the union's General Council to back the truckers in their refusal to submit to the strike-breaking law. A resolution of support was adopted unanimously.

The Quebec Federation of Nurses, recalling the heavy fines it faced after a 23-day "illegal" strike in 1999, also denounced the legislation.

After more than two years of negotiations with about 40 large trucking firms, and 40 certification applications to the government, 900 truckers went on strike October 22 to win union recognition.

The truckers, about 40 percent of whom are independent owner-operators, haul containers to and from the Port of Montreal and rail yards.

Despite a court injunction banning effective picketing, the actions of the truckers, who pick up 3,000 containers per day at the port, quickly led to tons of merchandise being stranded at one of the largest container ports in the North Atlantic. Some factories in the area were also shut down.

On November 2 the Quebec National Assembly unanimously adopted the strike-breaking law introduced by the Parti Quebecois government. The law orders the truckers back to work or face fines of Can\$1,000 a day, seizure of their trucks, firings, and suspension of their licenses. Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard called the strike "an assault on the law and on the free flow of goods."

The federal government in Ottawa, headed by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, backed the Quebec government's action.

On November 3 a meeting of 500 truckers voted 95 percent not to return to work. Two hundred picketers massed at the port on Monday morning, November 6. Also setting up picket lines that day were clerks at the two largest shipping companies.

Outside the CNTU Council, independent

trucker Éric Huard explained to the *Militant* why "he had nothing to lose."

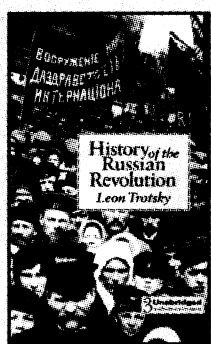
"I get paid \$55 to haul a container from the port to a customer in the local area, no matter how long it takes," said Huard. "If I'm lucky I get nine or 10 runs in a day. But after I cover all my costs I clear between \$300 to \$400 per week for 50 or 60 hours of work."

Another independent trucker, Roger, said, "I would rather be whipped than go back to work right now. I won't go back unless they pay me an hourly wage," he added, underscoring a key demand of the strikers. Several drivers noted that truckers in Vancouver had won this demand.

In an interview, Joanne Pritchard, the Communist League federal election candidate in Petite Patrie-Rosemont, pointed out that the government increasingly declares illegal any strike that begins to have an impact. "This legislation is an attack on the rights of all working people and the labor movement should unite in action to defend the truckers," she stated.

Al Cappe is a meat packer in Montreal.

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