

# THE MILITANT

INSIDE

'A war of former colonizers versus the colonized'

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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# End U.S.-British imperialist invasion of Afghanistan!

## After brutal bombing, U.S. sends in troops

BY GREG McCARTAN

U.S. and British imperialist forces began an invasion of Afghanistan after four days of brutally bombing the country's major cities. Washington admitted on October 10 that, given the lack of targets left in the country, pilots were returning to aircraft carriers without having dropped their payload, and

See *International Socialist Review*, pages 7-18, 'Working-class campaign against imperialism and its war.'

said it would now send in helicopter gunships and continue the deployment of growing numbers of "special forces." The U.S. military has employed B-52, B-1, and B-2 heavy bombers, fighter aircraft from carriers, and cruise missiles fired from ships and submarines offshore. The imperialists have

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"The people of Afghanistan will know the generosity of the United States," declared U.S. president George Bush (inset) as he sent bombs and cruise missiles slamming into the country's major cities, part of "crusade" he called "Operation Infinite Justice," now renamed "Operation Enduring Freedom." Above, mud and brick homes in Kabul destroyed by U.S. bombs. Inset: Police in Pakistan chase people protesting U.S. imperialist assault, one of a number of actions across that country. Protesters chanted, "Musharraf is a dog," referring to the military ruler of the country; "United States is a dog!"; and "Muslim world unite now!" Leaders of the protests are now under arrest.

## All imperialist troops, ships, warplanes out of the region!

Working people in the United States and the United Kingdom have a special responsibility to join with our brothers and sisters in Pakistan, Kashmir, Sudan, Egypt, Indonesia, and elsewhere in condemning the U.S.-British imperialist bombing and invasion of Afghanistan. Under the banner that "America is under attack," the super wealthy ruling families in the United States and the

## EDITORIAL

government that serves them have launched a war to deepen their domination of South-west Asia and the Middle East; deal blows to their imperialist rivals such as Germany, France, and Japan; press forward the deployment of their military forces on the lands of the former republics of the Soviet Union; and extend their more than decade-long assault on workers' rights in the United States.

Already, working people in Afghanistan's major cities have been subjected to a brutal

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## San Francisco garment workers rally for \$850,000 in back pay

BY BERNIE SENTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Chanting, "Wing Faat yi chong gi Faat faan Faat" (Wins garment factory breaks the law) and "No back pay, no peace," 80 Chinese garment workers marched a mile from one factory to another in downtown San Francisco on October 9. When the owners of Wins of California closed the factory in August they had not paid employees for four months and owed at least \$850,000 in back pay, the garment workers said.

Five days earlier, 200 people demonstrated at the California State Office Building waving picket signs and chanting in Cantonese outside a hearing held by the California Labor Commission.

Yu Chiao Che Weng, a sewing machine operator for eight years at Wins, showed *Militant* reporters uncashed paychecks from May to August. "I can't cash the checks," she said. "The bank says the company has no money."

Wins of California, one of San Francisco's largest garment manufacturers,

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## Strikers in Minnesota: 'This is our time!'

BY BECKY ELLIS

ST. PAUL, Minnesota—Picket lines remain strong and spirits are high as more than 22,000 state workers remain on strike in Minnesota. Members of Council 6 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and the Minnesota Association of Professional Employees (MAPE) walked out October 1 in a

dispute over pay and health coverage.

Gov. Jesse Ventura is the hot topic on the picket line. He has threatened layoffs if state workers win pay hikes. He has also made clear that he believes state workers should not have picked this time to strike. The governor has deployed 1,000 National Guardsmen to do struck work in hospitals and nursing care facilities. Strikers intend to picket the governor's mansion every day.

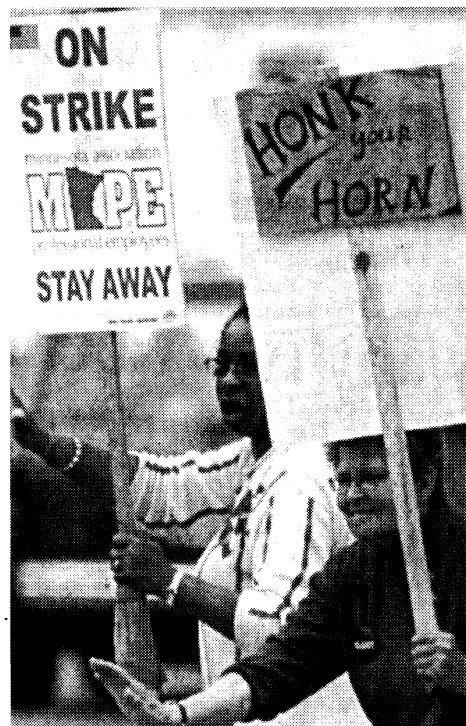
"I will not raise taxes to fit in whatever compensation package we end up with," Ventura told the press. "Some of these very people who are striking for more money are at risk of losing their jobs... because we will be downsizing accordingly," he added. Strikers are quick to point out that there has been a surplus in the state budget, with taxpayers

getting rebates while contract negotiations were taking place this summer.

"I can tell you personally, I would be going to work," said Ventura in a radio interview. "We're going to war in my opinion. In a war, everyone has to bite the bullet," he said, while maintaining his belief in union members' right to strike.

The striking unions organized an expanded picket line in front of the governor's mansion October 6 during a Twin Cities marathon race, which passed by the mansion. The strikers were able to receive some publicity for their fight as a result. Like the rest of the working class, the strikers are divided in their attitudes toward the U.S. government's war moves against Afghani-

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Minnesota state workers on picket line.

## Palestinians resist assaults as Washington calls Tel Aviv to order

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

The Israeli rulers continue their aggression against the Palestinian people, although chafing under heavy manners that Washington has put them under as the U.S. imperialists pursue their war aims in Afghanistan. The U.S. government has told its junior imperialist ally in Tel Aviv to slow down its assaults on the Palestinian population as it works to win support for its own war from governments in the Middle East.

Furious with having to play second fiddle to Washington—and with the sudden re-

minder of who really calls the shots in the region—Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon called on U.S. president George Bush, "the leader of the free world," not to repeat the mistake of appeasing Nazi Germany in 1938 by offering Hitler part of Czechoslovakia for a "convenient temporary solution. Do not appease the Arabs at our expense," said Sharon on October 4.

White House spokesperson Ari Fleischer, in unusually harsh diplomatic language, said the "prime minister's remarks are unacceptable."

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Strikers in Vieques demand 'U.S. Navy out!' — page 5

# Socialist candidate in Boston speaks out against U.S. war drive

The following article appeared in Boston's *Patriot Ledger* Oct. 3, 2001, under the title, "Candidate: U.S. also is 'terrorist': Roxbury man seeks to succeed Moakley."

BY TOM BENNER

Brock R. Satter doesn't see a dime's worth of difference between his Democratic and Republican opponents in the 9th Congressional District race.

"Once you start dealing with one of the two main parties, you've left the interests of the working class," said Satter, 30, who is running under the banner of the Socialist Workers Party. "What working people need is our own party, a labor party in this country."

Satter, 30, a Roxbury resident, is one of four candidates running in the Oct. 16 election to succeed the late U.S. Rep. J. Joseph Moakley, who died in May. Also on the ballot are Democrat Stephen F. Lynch, Republican Jo Ann Sprague, and Susan Gallagher-Long of the Conservative Party.

A meat packer and union organizer at Kayem Foods, a nonunion plant in Chelsea, Satter says he took his job in part to further the cause of the labor movement.

"There are many struggles of working people taking place," Satter said. "This happens to be one of many. I seek to be part of these struggles and to help lead them with my fellow workers."

He calls for a workers' rights "revolution," including a shortened workweek without a corresponding cut in pay, cost-of-living protections for workers' wages and full unemployment benefits at union scale.

"This would largely come out of the profits of those who profit greatly off the labor of working people," he said. "That's the only way it can happen."

Satter criticizes the U.S. government as being beholden to capitalist interests. He cites Cuba as leading the way for workers' rights.

"I point to the Cuban revolution as a concrete example of workers and farmers governing a revolutionary society, where working people do run society and working

people are in power," he said.

Satter said he visited Cuba over the summer as part of a youth exchange.

Satter criticizes the Bush administration's response to the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, saying the U.S. is guilty of terrorizing the people of other nations. "If you want to end terrorism, end terrorism, starting with what this country is doing all around the world," he said. "The amount of civilians the U.S. government has killed is in the hundreds of hundreds of thousands. It should come as no surprise that there's some kind of a backlash against that."

Satter cited U.S. sanctions against Iraq following the gulf war as an example of government policies that have hurt people and engendered hatred against the United States.

"I call for the U.S. to remove all its troops from the Mideast, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and to lift the sanctions against Iraq," he said. "A large part of the power that this country (has) is based on exploitation of

## Germany heads up NATO troops in Macedonia

BY CARL-ERIK ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden—The German Bundestag overwhelmingly voted September 27 to command 1,000 NATO troops in Macedonia, for the first time heading up such a mission. The vote in the lower house of parliament was 528 in favor and 40 against, with 10 abstentions. Berlin will provide 600 of the 1,000 soldiers to the mission, 450 of which are already on the ground.

One month earlier, German chancellor Gerhard Schröder's coalition government could not rally support among Social Democratic Party and Green Party members of parliament to take part in an earlier NATO mission in Macedonia. Schröder had to rely on the opposition to secure a majority in favor of deploying troops.

The NATO troops are scheduled to be stationed in Macedonia for at least three months, under the guise of protecting civilian observers monitoring a cease-fire be-

The Patriot Ledger Wednesday, October 3, 2001

## Candidate: U.S. also is 'terrorist'


### Roxbury man seeks to succeed Moakley

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**Satter**

Article in Boston's *Patriot Ledger* on Brock Satter's campaign for U.S. Congress

other countries. Unless we change it, the billionaires who control this country will continue on the same course, and we'll see more terrorism."

He also calls detaining immigrants and proposals to increase wiretapping in the wake of the terrorist attacks part of a government effort to crack down on working people.

Brock predicts he'll raise and spend less

than \$5,000 on his campaign, but says he'll continue pushing the Socialist Workers Party agenda after the Oct. 16 election.

"The main thing is to put out a perspective of what needs to be done," he said.

The 9th Congressional District stretches from Boston to Taunton and includes Milton, Braintree, Canton, Randolph, and Stoughton.

a "comprehensive, purposeful, and well-coordinated struggle against terrorism," but insisted that it could take place only if it were conducted under an international security system restructured to give Russia more influence. While Europe's relations with the United States had "great value," according to Putin, he told the members of parliament that Europe would be better off as a "powerful and truly independent center of international politics if it combines its possibilities with Russia's."

According to the *International Herald Tribune*, Schröder could barely contain his enthusiasm over Putin's speech, "telling reporters that the West needs to 'reevaluate' Chechnya and hinting that Russian membership in NATO should be considered." Putin's vision of Europe as an "independent center of international politics" fits with the drive by the German ruling class—through the European Union, launching of a common currency, and steps to form a rapid reaction military force, and other moves—to cobble together a counterweight to the world domination of U.S. imperialism.

But Putin is maneuvering between the dominant imperialist powers, seeking to play off the rivalry between Berlin and Washington to Moscow's advantage. In August, U.S. president George Bush met the Russian president in Genoa, Italy, during the meeting of leaders of the industrial nations from the Group of Eight, for discussions over arms reductions that would substantially reduce Moscow's military expenses in exchange for Moscow not opposing Washington's antiballistic missile shield plans.

In these talks Bush said he wanted to ex-

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# THE MILITANT

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# What course is needed in antiwar protests?

BY JACK WILLEY

Thousands of working people and students in the United States are repelled by Washington's assault against Afghanistan and preparations to send in ground troops. They are joined by millions of toilers around the world—especially those oppressed by U.S. and British imperialism in the Middle East and Central Asia—who have taken their anger to the streets.

Street actions are an important component of the campaign against the imperialist assault. However, many of the demands and slogans put forward by political groups in the United States who participate in the actions pose a danger for workers and youth.

So far, pacifists have largely set the political tone for the protest actions with groups who consider themselves socialist or communist following behind. Pacifist demands such as "War is Not the Answer;" "Stop the Cycle of Violence;" "Justice Not

## AS I SEE IT

Vengeance;" and "Our Grief is Not a Cry for War;" assume that there is something the imperialist government in Washington can do that will serve the interests of workers and farmers in the United States and abroad. The candlelight "peace" vigils and nationalist demands to "apprehend the perpetrators" fall into the same trap.

Pacifist demands such as "no war" have no class content and can equally be applied to both the U.S. war moves and the steps by the Afghani people to defend their country. The calls by the Communist Party USA and other groups to "apprehend the perpetrators" assume that the most brutal imperial power in history, the U.S. ruling class, has a right to "get justice" and violate another country's sovereignty to get who they claim is the "perpetrator."

### 'Us' and 'them'

There are no "we Americans." The United States is a class-divided country, in which a small handful of capitalists—billionaire families who own the factories, mines, mills, and banks—exploit wage workers and keep working farmers, small fishermen, and other commodity producers on the knife's edge financially. The government defends the interests of the employers and the imperialist exploiters and oppressors of working people around the world. There is nothing that *their* government and *their* army will do in the interests of *our* class, the working class, either in Afghanistan, Pakistan, or the United States.

For working people the starting point in responding to any U.S. aggression begins with how to advance our own class interests and line of march toward taking political power and establishing a workers and farmers government. We need to begin with the working class and other exploited producers internationally, not with the "United States of America," which always leaves fighters prey to nationalist and patriotic pressures. We need to begin with imperialism and its wars, not war in the abstract.

Socialist workers and Young Socialists take an uncompromising stand demanding: End the imperialists' Afghan war! Stop the assaults on workers' rights! End the U.S. and British bombing of Afghanistan! These are concrete demands on the government to

## Troops in Macedonia

Continued from Page 2

pand NATO from the "Baltic to the Black Sea," including Ukraine. He added that NATO and the European Union "can and should build partnerships with Russia and all countries that have emerged from the wreckage of the former Soviet Union."

Such a course would widen the gap in military capability between Washington and its imperialist rivals in Europe, and strengthen NATO, which Washington dominates. It would also involve massive financial transfers, especially by Paris and Berlin, to Eastern Europe and the republics of the former Soviet Union. This would expose the German capitalists and government, already holding the biggest share of outstanding loans to Russia, even more to the political and economic instability in the region.

Carl-Erik Isacson is a member of the Metalworkers union in Södertälje, Sweden.

end its assault. We discuss our demands with co-workers in the industrial trade unions, at tables with communist literature in working-class districts, and at college campuses, forums, and other public events. During the anti-Vietnam war movement, socialists blocked with others to demand "U.S. troops out now," in order to rally the largest forces against the war around an objectively anti-imperialist slogan.

### 'Peace' vigils: a nationalist trap

In the first two weeks following September 11, the International Action Center, which is affiliated with the Workers World Party, organized candlelight "peace vigils" under the banner of both opposing the U.S. war drive and mourning the dead. The Young Communist League, the youth group of the Communist Party USA, called for support for the peace vigils and issued a button that reads: "I love N.Y. honor their memory...unite in peace." Another button that is prominent at New York demonstrations has a picture of a peace sign with the Twin Towers in the center.

These are all adaptations to imperialist war pressures and disorient many young people who genuinely want to fight against imperialist aggression. A centerpiece of the capitalist war drive for a couple of weeks after the attacks was nightly candlelight vigils held at large gathering points across New York City and in many other cities around the country and internationally. The vigils, like the benefit concerts and blood drives, served to try to whip up American patriotism and convince the maximum number of people from the middle and working classes that they need to ally with the bourgeoisie to find a common "solution" to an attack on "our" soil.

Anti-imperialist fighters have had to face similar campaigns by the rulers to try to draw us into patriotic sentiment. In the buildup to the 100-hour slaughter against Iraq 10 years ago, the big-business media and capitalist politicians urged every person in the United States to wear a yellow ribbon to "support our troops." In the *Opening Guns of World War III*, an article in *New Internationalist* no. 7, Jack Barnes pointed to communists' answer to the campaign.

We insisted that yellow ribbons—no matter who was wearing them, or for what individual reasons—play the same role as an American flag in bolstering patriotic support for the war. It doesn't matter whether the person wearing the yellow ribbon (or a flag) is a worker, lawyer, or a capitalist; white, Black, Puerto Rican, or Chinese. It doesn't matter if he or she was persuaded to wear it by a neighbor, or is understandably concerned about a son or daughter stationed in the Gulf.

We opposed liberals and radicals in the trade union officialdom or various coalitions who suggested attaching yellow ribbons to antiwar buttons, or wearing a different-colored ribbon. This is an objective political question. The ribbon's practical meaning and impact in politics is nothing more than a capitulation to patriotic, prowar pressure in a sentimental guise. The worker can

## Nurses fight for a contract in Iceland

BY HILDUR MAGNÚSDÓTTIR AND ÖGMUNDUR JÓNSSON

REYKJAVIK, Iceland—Nurses at the National Hospital and two private nursing homes went on strike here October 1-3 to bolster their fight for a contract. The 800 unionists' determination not to give in to the pressure being exerted by hospital authorities is reflected in their daily meetings at their union headquarters.

This was the first of three strikes planned in October. The next will begin October 15, if an agreement has not been reached by then. The strikes come in the wake of the resignations of 96 nurses at the public hospital at the beginning of this month. Another 30 or 40 resignations are expected next month. One nurse, Ragna Ágústsdóttir, explained during the strike that the hospital management has put pressure on those who resigned to return to work. Another striker said they are receiving more support from patients and their relatives than during the last strike in 1997.

The nurses have been without a contract since November 2000. They are demanding a starting wage of 150,000 Icelandic kronur (US\$1,500) a month. Current starting wages



Crew members aboard U.S. aircraft carrier Enterprise in Indian Ocean prepare warplanes for assault on Afghanistan. U.S. armed forces defend interests of ruling capitalist class. "There is nothing that *their* government and *their* army will do in the interests of *our* class, the working class, either in Afghanistan, Pakistan, or the United States."

change his or her mind, but the ribbon can't change its function.

The vigils and the "honor their memory" and "Twin Towers" buttons cannot change their function either.

### Proletarian internationalism

One of the demands put forward by the International Action Center and echoed in a statement by a new group, "Labor Against War," is: "Billions to rebuild NYC and compensate the victims and their families." This is similar to the reactionary call by the Communist Party to "Rebuild Brooklyn, not Kuwait" after the Gulf War. These nationalist slogans feed into the rulers' campaign to rally around the stars and stripes and imply that workers in the United States are worth more than fellow toilers in other countries, including the one currently under imperialist assault, Afghanistan.

It's the capitalists problem to figure out how and where they rebuild their offices that used to be in the World Trade Center and nearby buildings.

There is also a liberal fallacy to the demand. The capitalists already have billions of dollars that could be used to raise the standard of living for working people in this country, Afghanistan, and around the world through profits they squeeze from our labor. We can assume that billions of dollars are going to "NYC," toward lucrative contracts for the large construction outfits and toward other windfalls for big business. Congress has already bailed out the airline industry to the tune of \$15 billion. (Which will help the airlines who have hubs in New York City. How progressive!).

The only effective and lasting campaign

against imperialism and its wars starts with proletarian internationalism and demands that can unite working people across borders. Workers and youth need to champion the demands to: Cancel the third world debt; Shorten the workweek with no cut in pay; Lift all trade barriers put up by imperialist countries; and Stop demands on semicolonial countries to reduce protective tariffs.

Washington's imperialist aggression against the toilers around the world has earned it the position of being the most hated power on the globe. The Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, Martin Koppel, said in a September 11 campaign statement, "By its systematic superexploitation of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America; by its never-ending insults to their national and cultural dignity; by its ceaseless murderous violence in countless forms—U.S. imperialism is turning North America into a death trap for working people and all who live here."

Posing the question in terms of how do "we" stop "terrorist attacks" turns workers and farmers away from deepening their class consciousness and the need to deepen our struggles against the bosses assaults at home and their wars abroad. By fighting to topple the capitalist government and replace it with one of our own, working people can construct a leadership that can help set an example of the road out of imperialist war, economic exploitation, and national oppression. Rather than a living in a death trap constructed by imperialism, workers and farmers will then be able to harness the enormous potential productive forces in the United States to join with working people in other countries in the struggle for socialism.

equal US\$890 a month. On May 16, 140 nurses at the National Hospital met during working hours to discuss their lack of a contract, and then delivered a declaration to the state negotiation committee. Among other things it said that despite the government's stated aims that men and women should receive equal wages for comparable jobs, the nurses, who are overwhelmingly women, have been left behind in recent years.

The declaration added, "Employees of the health-care service often have an unbearable workload, and if the demands of the hospital workers for better conditions are not met it should be clear that health care authorities are sitting on an incessantly ticking time bomb."

At a meeting on the last day of the walk-out, a strike leader answered accusations by authorities that the nurses are responsible for the difficult situation in the hospitals. She pointed out that nurses have time and again described the conditions at the hospitals and warned of the effects of a strike, referring to the May 16 declaration.

The strike comes in the context of long-term cutbacks in public health-care services.

In June the government announced plans to cut expenses by 300 million kronur (US\$3 million) and to increase patients' share of medical costs.

### Public services workers fighting back

Less than a year ago a nationwide teachers' strike at senior high schools won considerable gains. In July special education teachers staged a four-week strike, and recently members of the Music Teachers Union voted 137 to 3 to walk out on October 22. Members of the Icelandic Musicians' Union decided to join them by a vote of 142 to 10.

In the last few days the government has introduced tax reforms that include lowering the tax on company revenue from 30 percent to 18 percent, and the tax on property holdings from 1.2 to 0.6 percent.

Hildur Magnúsdóttir, a cleaning worker, and Ögmundur Jónsson, who works at a fishnet factory, are both members of Efling ú Union of unskilled workers in Reykjavik and of the Young Socialists. Arnar Sigurdsson, also a member of the Young Socialists, contributed to this article.

# Palestinians resist Israeli assaults

Continued from front page

able" and said Bush was "angered" by Sharon's comparison because "he has been an especially close friend of Israel's."

Sharon responded with the biggest military operation in over a year, sending troops and armor into the West Bank town of Hebron, killing five Palestinians.

For their part, the Palestinians in the occupied territories have continued to resist the large-scale assaults carried out by the Israeli military, the impact of the ongoing siege of their cities and farms, and the frequent violence perpetrated by soldiers, police, and right-wing settlers.

The Israeli invasion and occupation of Hebron, a city of 120,000 Palestinians, exemplified their approach in the ongoing conflict. Acting before dawn, Israeli tanks, infantry, and paratroopers seized control of neighborhoods that are home to 40,000 people. There are a few hundred Israeli settlers living in a fortified enclave in the town as well.

Asked how long the Israeli forces would remain, Brig. Gen. Yitzhak Gershon, the Israeli commander in the West Bank, replied, "Who knows?"

"It's obvious they're going to stay for a while," said the city's mayor, Mustafa Natshe.

The Palestinian death toll stood at more than 650 people after Israeli forces killed six people during marches and demonstrations on September 28 marking the anniversary of the heightened resistance and crackdown. Some 180 Israelis have also been killed. "We are fighting for Jerusalem, for our lives, for our land," said Musa al-Madana, 20, who was wounded by Israeli fire during protests in the West Bank town of Ramallah.

In the period since the September 11 attacks, the U.S. rulers have, for the moment, backed off their previous support for the Israeli rulers' escalating war and threats of an all-out offensive against the Palestinians. Washington's efforts to promote itself as a mediator "have taken on new significance as the Bush administration tries to rally Arab and Muslim support for a coalition against terrorism and demonstrate that the United States is not waging war on Islam," reported the October 3 *Washington Post*.

"We've called on the Israeli government to halt the demolition of Palestinian homes and to halt the incursions by Israeli Defense Forces into Palestinian-controlled areas," said State Department spokesperson Richard Boucher on September 27, in a typical statement. "We think it's important for Israel to refrain from provocative acts that can only escalate tensions and undermine efforts to bring about a lasting halt to violence." He also called on the Palestinian Authority to "preempt violence [and] arrest those responsible."

## UMWA wins another round in fight with coal operator Robert Murray

BY TONY LANE

BENTLEYVILLE, Pennsylvania—Independent coal operator Robert Murray's remaining charge against the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) has been dismissed by the Ohio National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). The Pennsylvania and Ohio boards had earlier rejected charges that Murray had filed against the union for taking memorial days at the Murray-owned and union-organized Maple Creek and Powhatan No. 6 mines.

In the latest case, Murray was seeking NLRB agreement with his claim that UMWA members laid off from three Ohio North American Coal Corporation mines were not entitled to "panel rights"—a hiring list based on seniority—at the Powhatan mine.

"The UMWA has said all along that the North American Coal miners had rights to new jobs at the Powhatan mine," explained UMWA international secretary-treasurer Carlo Tarley. "Murray signed three contracts

"Some officials in Jerusalem have complained privately that Washington is treating Israel like a pariah," reported the *Post* on October 8. "As an example, they cite Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's decision to avoid Israel in his swing through the Middle East and Central Asia last week." Rumsfeld visited Saudi Arabia, Oman, Egypt, and Uzbekistan in an attempt to drum up political and material support for imperialist aggression.

Washington has pointedly not invited the heavily-armed, well-trained, and technically compatible Israeli military to join its assaults on Afghanistan—a replay of its approach in the Gulf War of 1990–91. Exclusion from participation in that assault was the price the Israeli rulers paid for Washington's close alliance with the regimes in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Syria.

### Arafat supports Washington's war

Palestinian Authority chairman Yasir Arafat declared support for Washington's war against "terrorism" on September 18. "I have informed the U.S. that we have put all our capabilities under their disposal, and of our readiness to be part of the international alliance for ending terrorism against unarmed innocent civilians," he said on September 18.

Arafat did not comment on the bombing raids launched on October 7. In line with his promise to crack down on Palestinian protests, officials of the Palestinian Authority banned demonstrations. The next morning, however, around 1,000 students marched out of Gaza's Islamic University, an institution associated with the Islamic Hamas organization, shouting slogans against the war. Joined by students from the neighboring Al Azzar University, affiliated with Arafat's Fatah movement, they marched towards the Palestinian Legislative Council.

A number carried pictures of Osama bin Laden, identified by Washington as one of its military targets. Bin Laden's October 7 statement condemning Israeli repression "struck a chord" among Palestinians, including those who stated opposition to the September 11 attacks, reported the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*.

Palestinian Authority police opened fire on the students with tear gas, rubber bullets, and then live ammunition, killing two youth and forcing others back behind the campus gates. In the four hours of unrest, at least four police posts were torched. Protesters reportedly shouted, "Go shoot at the Israelis, not at us." Doctors said 142 Palestinian security personnel and 72 protesters were injured.

Arafat ordered the closing of universities and schools in Gaza in a further attempt to halt protests against the war and signs of support for Bin Laden.

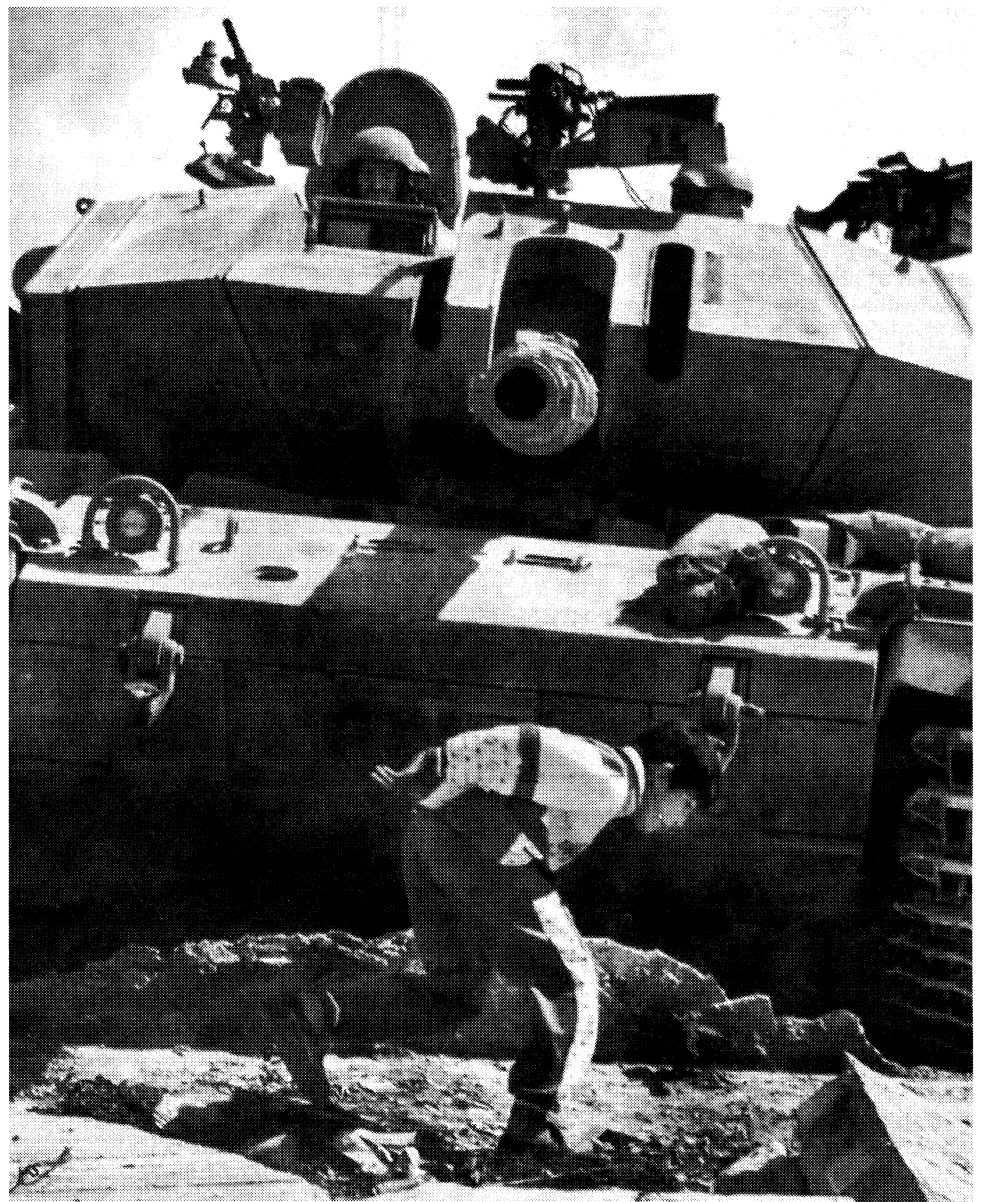
containing language that said that they did. Then when it came time to start hiring at Powhatan, Murray changed his tune."

Murray's Ohio Valley Coal purchased the Powhatan mine from North American Coal. The fight with Murray to enforce these panel rights was one of the issues raised at a July 24 rally of more than 400 miners and supporters at Powhatan Point in Ohio. Speaking at that rally, Tarley said the union was rejecting Murray's advice to "dump the old guys." "We will not be a party to age discrimination," he said.

Murray has been responding to the union campaign with full-page newspaper ads in Ohio and Pennsylvania papers. The ad in Ohio claims that "all of the alleged issues against Mr. Murray and Ohio Valley [Coal] have been fabricated by the UMWA," and that they have been "loyal to their employees, keeping every promise."

The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported May 6 that Murray "has a labor shortage at the No. 6 mine but said he can't afford to fill the positions with middle-aged workers laid off from other UMWA mines because they come with costly health and pension benefits."

Tony Lane is a member of United Mine Workers of America Local 1248 at the Maple Creek mine.



Palestinian youth runs past Israeli tank October 5 as Tel Aviv launched its biggest military assault on the West Bank in more than a year, occupying parts of Hebron.

## U.S. gov't skirts constitutional issues on homeland defense

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

In expanding the North American Command of the U.S. armed forces established under the Clinton administration, Washington is trying to sidestep the fact that deployment of U.S. military forces in the United States is prohibited by the Constitution.

Responding to his October 2 appointment as the Pentagon's first homeland security coordinator, Army Secretary Thomas White said, "Since the earliest days of our nation, the Army both active and reserve, has engaged in homeland security." White added that "the Defense Department is putting major horsepower behind this concept."

White's carefully chosen words are intended to make the reader think it is standard operating procedure for the Army to carry out policing and security functions inside the country's borders.

However, under Title 18 of the United States Code there exists a regulation known as the Posse Comitatus Act. This act, passed in 1878 following the Civil War, prohibits federal troops from being used to enforce civil law. It reads, in unambiguous English, "Whoever, except in cases and under circumstances expressly authorized by the Constitution or Act of Congress, willfully uses any part of the Army or the Air Force as a posse comitatus or otherwise to execute the laws shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than two years, or both."

Posse comitatus means "the entire body of the inhabitants who may be summoned by the sheriff to assist in preserving the public peace (as in a riot) or in executing a legal precept that is forcibly opposed including under the common law every male inhabitant who is above 15 years of age and not infirm," according to Webster's.

Under the guise of fighting drug trafficking, the Posse Comitatus Act was amended by Congress in 1981 and 1989 to allow U.S. Marines to patrol and conduct drug raids on U.S. soil. The National Guard is also now permitted to fly over rural property to conduct surveillance under these measures.

After the victory of the first American revolution in 1783, those who had been living in the former British colonies and forced to endure the British king's military enforcement of civil law endeavored to limit the extent to which the government could maintain a standing army. The framers of the U.S. constitution sought to maintain only a small regular army under federal control. Each state was empowered to maintain its own militia force,

which developed into the National Guard.

As the Bush administration unleashed its bombardment of Afghanistan, steps toward increasing the role of the U.S. military on U.S. soil were being advanced as well. On October 8 former Pennsylvania governor Thomas Ridge was sworn in as the White House director of the Office of Homeland Security, a position announced by President Bush in his September 20 war speech before a joint session of Congress.

The cabinet-level post was created through a presidential executive order. Ridge's role is to be the domestic equivalent of National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice. Ridge will oversee the work of nearly 50 federal agencies as well as the state and local officials involved in spying and other cop and military operations inside the United States.

Among the steps being taken in the name of homeland defense are the dispatch of some 4,000 National Guard troops to the nation's airports. The Coast Guard has also called up 2,600 reservists and another 35,000 auxiliary members to board every ship entering New York harbor, and to beef up patrols at other ports. Washington is demanding that ship captains provide ship manifests and detailed information about seamen and others on board. Since September 11 nearly 650 vessels have been boarded in New York's harbor alone.

Ridge is also to be a member of the Homeland Security Council, a presidential policy making body that, according to the *Washington Post*, "likely will include the attorney general, the secretaries of defense, treasury, health and human services and agriculture, as well as the directors of the FBI and FEMA [Federal Emergency Management Agency]."

After a major review of the U.S. military's priorities, the Pentagon announced it was elevating domestic defense to the first of the military's four "core missions." Though formally playing a subordinate role to Ridge, the army secretary White and other military officers assigned to the Homeland Security Agency will be calling the shots. The *New York Times* noted that the restrictions imposed by the U.S. constitution mean that "any military employment has to be under civilian authority, which could be Mr. Ridge."

THE MILITANT

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# St. Paul sets the pace in 'Militant' sub drive

BY JACK WILLEY

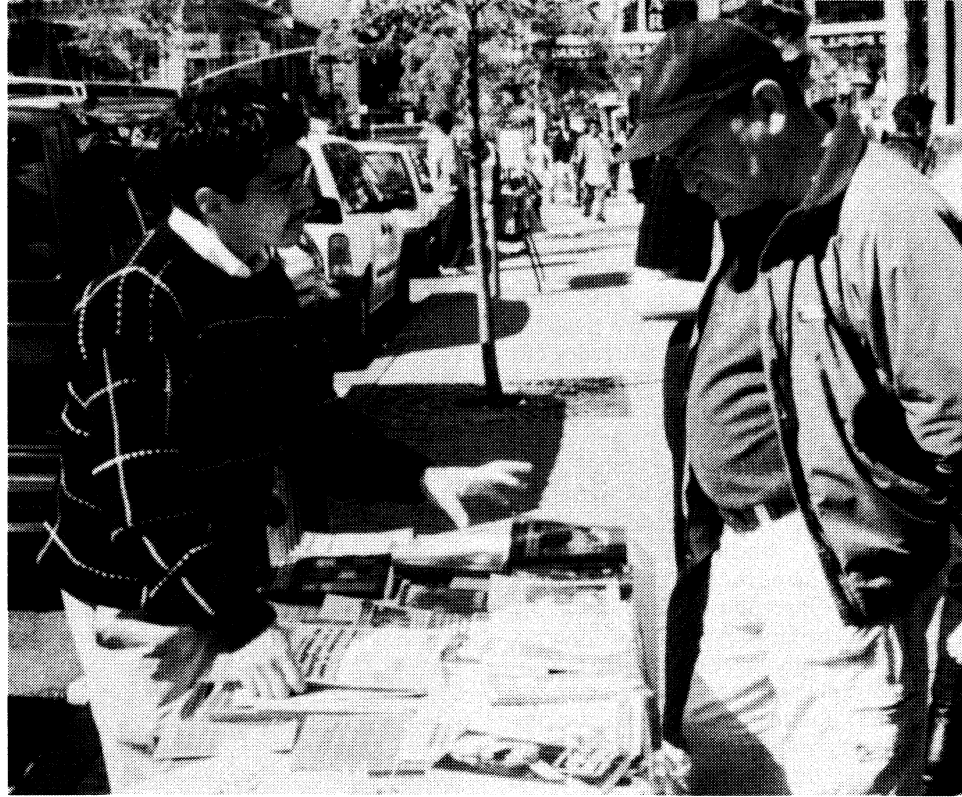
"We've sold out of our bundle of 50 *Militants* and put in a rush order for more," said Becky Ellis, socialist garment worker in St. Paul, Minnesota. "Last week, socialists who work at meatpacking plants and garment factories here took off work to field two full-day sales teams at the University of Minnesota. Our efforts paid off. We sold six subscriptions on campus and met some interested students."

"Another important component of our effort was giving a call to everyone who expressed interest in our forums or the Young Socialists," she said. "A Palestinian student at Macalester College, who had bought *Che Guevara Talks to Young People* previously, invited socialists to his dorm and decided to subscribe."

Three meat packers at Dakota Premium, where workers have been waging a long fight for union recognition and a contract, subscribed to *Perspectiva Mundial* this past week. A meat packer at another plant in the St. Paul area subscribed to the *Militant* after going with a couple of co-workers to a picket-line of the Minnesota state workers who are on strike. About a dozen strikers have picked up the paper, laying the groundwork for follow-up subscriptions.

Initiatives by campaigners in St. Paul can be emulated in the coming days and weeks to get the international campaign by socialist workers, Young Socialists, and other working people to sell 1,100 *Militant* and 500 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions by November 18 back on target. After two weeks, the drive stands at 19 percent, with 206 *Militants* sold and 78 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The drive to win new readers to the socialist press, *New International*, and Pathfinder books through sales on campuses, in working-class districts, and meeting



Bill Estrada, Socialist Workers candidate for New York City Council, District 10, at a campaign table in Washington Heights the day the bombing of Afghanistan began.

workers on the picket-line or a protest is a centerpiece of the working-class campaign against the imperialists' Afghan war and the attacks on workers' rights at home.

"We've sold another 30 *Militant* copies at mine portals, campuses, and on door-to-door sales last week, bringing our total to over 80 papers since the Jim Walter mine disaster, September 23," reported Bob Tucker from Birmingham, Alabama. *Militant* supporters from Atlanta, Detroit, New

York, and other cities have come in to join the sales efforts in the coal communities. An activist in the Black Lung Association decided to purchase the Pathfinder pamphlet *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning* by Jack Barnes.

"A young Black man we met in Birmingham said he agreed with the headline in the paper, 'End war against Afghan people,'" said Tucker. The young person said, "They're trying to make us put aside our struggles for the

war. They're dropping a few boxes of crackers to try to convince us they are there for humanitarian reasons." After their discussion, the guy bought a copy of the paper.

Socialists in western Colorado traveled across three states to reach coal miners with the *Militant's* coverage on the Alabama mine disaster and on U.S. imperialism's Afghan war. At the Deer Creek Mine near Price, Utah, one miner bought a subscription and five others picked up a single copy. The team sold another nine papers at a nearby grocery store that many miners shop at.

"In the western Colorado area no local or regional papers have reported on the Alabama mine explosion," reported Jason Vergara. "Many miners who stopped when they saw our sign, 'Worst mine disaster since Wilberg fire! Company at fault in 13 deaths at Alabama coal mines,' said they had not heard about the accident. Others who knew about it wanted to learn more."

Vergara explained that at the Deserado Mine in Rangely, Colorado, a miner who buys the paper at every portal sale was encouraged to read the article on the mine explosion. He responded, "Yes, I've heard about that, but what I really want to read is your coverage on the Afghanistan war."

## Socialist candidates

In New York City, Socialist Workers candidates for mayor and city council hit the pavement campaigning against imperialism and war. Bill Estrada, Socialist Workers candidate for city council and a meat packer who is a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers, campaigned at a communist literature table in the working-class neighborhood of Washington Heights, October 7, the day the bombing of Afghanistan began. "Interest really picked up after the first reports of the bombings. There were times when our table was surrounded with people who wanted to discuss the war," Estrada reported.

One worker, originally from Ecuador, read through the September 11 statement by socialist mayoral candidate Martín Koppel opposing Washington's war moves and assault on workers rights. Based on the statement and his discussion with socialists at the table, he bought a subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial* and a copy of *Nueva Internacional* no. 4, containing "Imperialism's March Toward Fascism and War." Another *PM* subscription and a *Militant* subscription were also sold at the table.

Koppel joined three campaign tables in front of union-organized garment shops in New York's garment district this week, selling *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant* and getting out statements to interested workers. Koppel joined a couple hundred mainly young demonstrators at Times Square, October 8, to protest the U.S. war in Afghanistan. A dozen people snatched up the paper and some college students expressed interest in having Koppel speak on their campuses.

Ilona Gersh and Mike Fitzsimmons reported that two teams of socialists from Cleveland and Detroit went down to Cincinnati, where there were recent protests against the exoneration of the cop charged with murdering Timothy Thomas, a 19-year-old Black youth.

A student who recently called the Socialist Workers Party National Office to get more information about the socialist movement joined a day-long literature table on her campus, Northern Kentucky University. She had already mailed in her subscription and picked up *New International* no. 7, featuring "Opening Guns of World War III," and *The Working-Class and the Transformation of Learning* at the table.

A young machinist at Comair, and member of the International Association of Machinists, said he was glad to see the coverage on the Alabama mine disaster, since workers at Comair had recently gone through a pilots strike at the airline. He picked up a copy of the paper.

The Cincinnati teams sold two subscriptions and 16 single copies of the *Militant*.

## Strikers in Vieques demand, 'U.S. Navy out!'

BY RÓGER CALERO

Some 200 people rallied in the main square of the island of Vieques, Puerto Rico, and marched to the U.S. naval base at Camp García on October 4. The action was part of a one-day general strike on the island to demand that the U.S. Navy cease its military exercises, which include air and naval bombardments. The protest also demanded the release of activists jailed for their protests against the U.S. Navy's occupation of Vieques, including the island's mayor.

The strike and protest won the support of the electrical and water workers union, as well as 90 percent of municipal workers and teachers, according to the Puerto Rican daily

*El Nuevo Día*.

"We want to demonstrate that our people are determined and that the campaign against the military presence in Vieques has not stopped," said Robert Rabin of the Committee for the Rescue and Development of Vieques, one of the groups organizing the strike.

Before the march began, participants circulated a petition to U.S. President George Bush requesting the U.S. Navy to leave the island as soon as possible and to respect the results of the referendum held July 29. In that vote, organized by the Puerto Rican government to counter a planned November referendum foisted on the people of Vieques by

Washington, 68 per cent cast their ballot in favor of the Navy's immediate departure. The two other choices would have allowed the Navy to remain in the island indefinitely, or to leave in May 2003, as had been agreed to by the Clinton government and a previous administration in Puerto Rico.

The general strike was called in response to a U.S. Navy exercise that began September 24 and involves several weeks of bombing and mock invasions. Following the September 11 attacks in New York and Washington, some organizations on the island had called off civil disobedience actions in which protesters had planned to enter restricted areas on the base ahead of and during the naval maneuvers.

On the day of the strike, Alejandro Torres, Héctor Pesquera of the Hostos National Congress, and others announced at a press conference a series of protest activities over the coming weeks to demand an immediate and permanent end to the bombings even if the Navy doesn't withdraw until 2003.

Leaders of the struggle in Vieques announced a breach that day in the moratorium on civil disobedience actions. Two boats had entered a restricted area during military exercises near the island and had fired two flares at a SH-3 Sea King helicopter that was following them.

In the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, as part of Washington's imperialist offensive at home and abroad, the U.S. rulers have tried to justify the Navy's use of the island for its war preparations and to leave open the final departure date for the military. The U.S. colonial rulers also see this as an opportunity to cancel the referendum scheduled for November 6. Many residents of the island view the referendum as an insult and a sign of Washington's refusal to accept the results of last July's vote.

In an October 6 ruling on a case filed by a group of fishermen from Vieques, a Puerto Rican judge prohibited the printing of the ballots for the November 6 referendum. The fishermen claimed in their suit that the referendum was unconstitutional because it violated the rights of voters and allowed for the disbursement of funds without legislative approval.

"Many people in Vieques are very happy [with the decision], because they understand that the people have already decided," said Myriam Sobá from the group Vieques for Peace Now. "If the U.S. government doesn't accept that decision, that's another story."

## Titan strikers reject pact in Mississippi

BY SUSAN LAMONT

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama—Members of United Steelworkers of America Local 303L voted October 2 to reject a proposed settlement in their three-year strike against Titan

Tire in Natchez, Mississippi. "The contract was rejected by a vote of 116 to 59," reported strike activist James White in a telephone interview after the vote. "The votes were counted out in front of the union hall, so everyone could see. When they announced the vote, everyone cheered, we were so happy."

The strike at Titan's Natchez plant began in September 1998, and Local 303L members have maintained round-the-clock picketing since then. After running the plant with scabs, Titan Tire CEO Maurice Taylor idled the plant earlier this year, with only a handful of workers now inside to handle maintenance.

The proposal contained no firm commitment to reopen the plant, White explained, and instead hinged the plant's future on whether there is improvement in the economy. There was also no provision for back pay. "And they had a 'zero tolerance' for harassment provision in there that was really to protect the scabs," White said. "If we signed that, they could use any excuse to go after us, but the scabs would keep their jobs. There was nothing in the contract for us." If the Local 303L strikers signed the contract, pending National Labor Relations Board charges against Titan Tire would be dropped, White added. Since the "no" vote, the NLRB hearing has been rescheduled for November 13.

The vote in Natchez came a few days after USWA Local 164 members at Titan's plant in Des Moines, Iowa, voted to accept a new contract there, ending a walkout that began in May 1998.

## Grocery workers reject bosses' offer

BY BILL KALMAN

SAN FRANCISCO—Some 27,000 members of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) at the Safeway and Albertson's grocery chains voted overwhelmingly against management's "last, best, and final offer" October 8 on a contract dispute that has been percolating for months.

The UFCW reports that the vote was 61 percent against the proposed contract; a two-thirds majority is needed to authorize a strike. Grocery workers will stay on the job until another proposal is made. Safeway and Albertson's filed a federal lawsuit last week against the union alleging irregularities in contract voting.

Grocery workers here make between \$7.50 and \$18 per hour. Earlier this month the National Low Income Housing Coalition estimated that a full-time worker need to make \$33.60 an hour to afford a two-bedroom apartment in San Francisco.

Bill Kalman is a meat packer and member of UFCW Local 120.

**Due to technical difficulties the weekly chart for the *Militant/Perspectiva Mundial* subscription campaign does not appear in this issue. The chart will be available on the *Militant* web page at [www.themilitant.com](http://www.themilitant.com)**

# U.S.-British forces invade Afghanistan

Continued from front page  
used 5,000-pound bombs and antipersonnel cluster bombs in their raids.

London's forces also sent aircraft and cruise missiles against the landlocked country of 25 million—part of its robust involvement in the military assault aimed at a land it once kept under its colonial boot.

The conflict matches the world's largest military power and its junior imperialist ally, launching a rain of terror from miles away, against one of the poorest and most devastated countries on earth, currently suffering from a drought that has sent 700,000 from their homes. Since the start of Washington's war drive, hundreds of thousands more working people have departed cities for the borders of Iran and Pakistan, fleeing the terror they knew was coming.

The imperialist bombing targeted the cities of Kabul, the capital, Jalalabad, Mazar-i-Sharif, Kandahar, and Herat. The Afghanistan government reported at least 76 civilians killed, including four security guards at a United Nations compound hit by a U.S. bomb. The ruling Taliban party has so far refused to give in to imperialist dictates and says it will organize its military forces, made up almost entirely of ground troops and some armor, to defend the country.

In addition to three aircraft carrier groups, Washington has stationed 1,000 troops, including a battalion from the 10th Mountain Division, in Uzbekistan, the first such deployment on the soil of a former republic of the Soviet Union. The move entails a further expansion of U.S. military forces eastward, one of the goals of the U.S. rulers in this operation, as in their assault on and subsequent occupation of large sections of Yugoslavia.

As of October 10, U.S. commando forces were preparing to invade. A report in *Moscow News* said that "two weeks ago... Rus-

sia effectively went to war on foreign territory without the parliamentary approval demanded by the Constitution" by sending artillery and antiaircraft units into Afghanistan.

Washington began calling on NATO assets this week as part of prosecuting its war, pushing to strengthen the weight in Europe of the military alliance it dominates as a lever against its imperialist rivals, especially France and Germany (see article below).

The French defense ministry revealed October 8 that it had sent intelligence operatives into Afghanistan, in addition to providing naval logistical support to Washington. The Canadian government said it will contribute 2,000 military personnel, three transport aircraft, a commando outfit, and various warships to the operation.

Operation Enduring Freedom, Washington's name for the "crusade" originally called Operation Infinite Justice by U.S. president George Bush, is aimed at overthrowing the government of Afghanistan and replacing it with a protectorate under U.S. domination. Donning the thin disguise of "fighting terrorism," Bush, with the arrogance that has marked the war drive, said the military campaign would "rid the world of evil." In near-daily statements and threats against the national sovereignty of countries across the globe, Bush and other administration officials have asserted Washington's supposed right to send its military forces around the world.

"Today we focus on Afghanistan, but the battle is broader," Bush said in announcing the start of the bombing campaign on October 7. "Every nation has a choice to make. In this conflict, there is no neutral ground. If any government sponsors the outlaws and killers of innocents, they have become outlaws and murderers, themselves."

Washington's United Nations ambassa-



Students at Cairo University in Egypt protest the U.S. and British imperialist bombing assault on Afghanistan. Actions are taking place throughout the Middle East.

## Bush discourages media from running Bin Laden statements

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Once U.S. government officials realized the political impact of the October 7 statement released by Osama bin Laden that was run by media outlets around the world, they rapidly moved to clamp down on coverage of his statements by U.S. news outlets. Among the points Bin Laden made were condemnations of Washington's continuing bombing of Iraq and the Israeli rulers' attacks on the Palestinians.

Justifying this attempt at press censorship, White House spokesman Ari Fleischer said that Bin Laden might be attempting to use the international news media to convey coded messages to his followers. National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice chimed in, asking U.S. broadcast networks to use judgment in deciding whether such taped messages should be aired.

Responding to the administration's move, CNN, which has an exclusive agreement with Al Jazeera television in Qatar, which broadcasts widely in the Arab world, stated, "In deciding what to air, CNN will consider guidance from appropriate authorities."

Secretary of State Colin Powell, meanwhile, asserted October 10 that the statements by Bin Laden may contain "some kind of message." Powell said he asked a number of top analysts at the State Department to check it out.

Powell didn't say what kind of secretive messages or signals they are looking for or expect to find. Perhaps they were worried secret signs are being sent to the third base coach on one of the baseball teams in the playoffs for a spot in the World Series this month?

The Bush administration has already imposed extensive limitations on what war news the U.S. media may cover as Washington steps up its assault against Afghanistan. And the major media is going along with this unprecedented secrecy demanded by the military.

In an October 10 column titled "Too Much Information," Deroy Murdock, a columnist with the Scripps Howard News Service, demanded that journalists must now "clam up about sensitive military and intelligence matters." He added, "Our enemies...see our news programs, papers, and websites. Those should be the last place they find useful informa-

tion. Reporters and their sources can discuss such interesting details in their memoirs.... Meanwhile, zip it."

Complaining about supposed leaks to the media, President Bush October 9 issued an order limiting access to military and intelligence briefings to just eight selected members of Congress. He said such leaks are unacceptable "when American forces are at risk overseas."

Education Secretary Rodney Paige got into the act with a plan to get schoolchildren to "show your patriotism." He called upon all 107,000 public and private elementary and secondary schools in the country to organize students to join in reciting the Pledge of Allegiance at the same time on October 12.

The school board in Madison, Wisconsin, has taken exception to the education secretary's request. The board has expressed its opposition to forcing children to say the pledge, especially due to the phrase, "one nation under God."

## NATO officials affirm eastward expansion plans

BY JACK WILLEY

NATO secretary general Lord Robertson announced October 4 that the decision to invoke Article 5 of the NATO treaty—which obliges all member nations to come to the aid of a member under attack—"does not stop at bin Laden.... This is a campaign against international terrorism and those who have been related to the September 11 atrocities," he said.

Five days later NATO dispatched the first of five AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control Systems) surveillance planes to police the skies over the United States as Washington dispatched its AWACS to the skies over Afghanistan.

According to the *Financial Times*, a big-business daily based in London, diplomats from Turkey—under the banner of fighting terrorism—called for invoking Article 5 to use against Kurdish groups fighting for their national self-determination. The Spanish imperialist government also wants to use the article in its campaign to try to break the Basque independence movement.

dor, John Negroponte, informed the president of the UN security council this past week that the U.S. government "may find that our self-defense requires further actions with respect to other organizations and other states." Indeed, the *Guardian* reported that officials at the Pentagon have suggested that "covert operations would soon—or may already—be under way" in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Malaysia, where opposition forces threaten regimes tied to Washington.

The Bush administration threatened Iraq this week with military strikes if the government there "tried to assist the anti-American forces in Afghanistan or move against domestic opponents," reported the *Washington Post*.

Many governments have rejected this approach, including Cuba, Iran, and foreign ministers attending the Organization of Islamic Conference meeting in Qatar. Iranian official Ayatollah Seyed Ali Khamenei said October 8 that the "U.S. officials have unjustified expectations from world peoples and said that whoever is not with us, is with the terrorists. But, public opinion has reacted to these false and illogical words." He noted a number of U.S. assaults on the Iranian people, including the shooting down of an Iranian commercial airliner by a U.S. warship.

In Lebanon the government's information minister said, "We have no doubt in America's ability to destroy. What is after Afghanistan? Is it for America to define terrorism and its targets...according to its policies and interests? This is a dangerous matter."

The first vice president of the Congress in Ecuador condemned the military offensive. "We have to condemn the fact that they are throwing missiles and food at the same time at defenseless people."

### Stop and search in United States

As the U.S. government let loose its deadly barrage on the people of Afghanistan October 7, U.S. cop agencies and the National Guard were sent into high gear, stepping up the military presence at airports, train stations, and at government buildings, and conducting intrusive searches of individuals and vehicles. Thousands of people were stopped in their cars heading into New York City, for example, while cops looked into vehicles with flashlights or had drivers open their cars to inspection—all without any pretense of respecting the right to Fourth Amendment protections against unwarranted search and seizure.

The Justice Department and FBI ordered a mass roundup of all "terrorists" under surveillance by federal agents this past week, which "resulted in the arrest of many immigrants suspected of involvement with groups linked to Osama bin Laden," the *New York Times* reported. The Justice Department is also pressing new legislation through Congress whose provisions would widen the powers of federal agencies to wiretap phones, track communications across the Internet, expand the ability of federal cop agencies to exchange information about individuals, and allow secret searches of homes.

Although leaders of the Democrats and Republicans sought to limit debate and amendments to the legislation, a few Senators questioned the constitutional implications of the measure. Barney Frank, a Democrat from Massachusetts, urged that a clause requiring renewal of the measures after three years remain in the bill despite objections by the White House. "For many of us," Frank said, "that provision is the way to incentivize the government not to misuse

Continued on Page 22

warned the Russian government that "integration into the Euro-Atlantic zone is the only geopolitical choice left to Russia" because "it is surrounded by 290 million Muslims in the south, and there will be 450 million Muslims in the immediate Russian periphery by 2020. There [are] also 1.2 billion Chinese in Russia's East," he said. "If Russia hasn't decided whether to make a rapprochement with NATO a tactical move or a strategic choice, we need to convince it that it should be a strategic choice."

U.S. national security adviser Condoleezza Rice told a recent meeting of the U.S.-Russia Business Council that Washington wanted to "see this relationship broaden beyond the security and strategic relationship" to include economic and business cooperation. According to the AFP news agency, Rice also said that Russia needed to streamline its legal system and create the right conditions for foreign investment—code words for taking demonstrative steps to try to reimpose capitalist social relations.

## Communists and the struggle against imperialism today

### New York meeting discusses political questions posed by Washington's war and attacks on workers' rights

BY STEVE CLARK  
AND PATRICK O'NEILL

NEW YORK—"We are here today as part of organizing a working-class campaign against U.S. imperialism and its war against the peoples of Afghanistan and the region," said Mary-Alice Waters, opening a September 30 meeting at Columbia University here. "It's a war, like other imperialist slaughters before it, that is an extension of the U.S. rulers' accelerated assault on working people at home."

Waters, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and editor of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*, chaired the event, "Communists and the Fight Against Imperialism Today." The response by more than 350 workers, students, and young people—from up and down the East Coast, and from as far away as Tucson, Arizona, St. Paul, Minnesota, Omaha, Nebraska, and Vancouver, British Columbia—was evidence of their determination to deepen that campaign.

"The class struggle doesn't go into remission," Waters said, as the propertied ruling class and their government in Washington exploit the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon to rationalize use of massive U.S. military might to maintain their world domination and continue attacks on workers' wages, job conditions, and democratic rights. To the contrary.

As the meeting convened, Waters said, tens of thousands of state workers in Minnesota were preparing to strike October 1 against employer efforts to reduce medical benefits and maintain wage increases below the rise in the cost of living. She also pointed to the response by members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) who are organizing to expose company responsibility for the September 23 deaths of 13 coal miners in two methane explosions at the Jim Walter No. 5 mine in Brookwood, Alabama. And she called attention to recent protests in Cincinnati, condemning the acquittal after a one-week bench trial of the cop who killed Black youth Timothy Thomas last April.

Communist workers are more deeply involved as part of the rising resistance by a broader vanguard of workers and farmers against capitalist assaults on their living and working conditions, Waters said. SWP members are also teaming up with members of the Young Socialists to reach out to students on college campuses who are attracted to this increase in struggles by working people and can be won to the revolutionary movement.

"The determination by layers of working people to press forward with their strikes and other struggles, to refuse to be cowed by what will be increasing patriotic demagoguery that 'now is not the time,'" Waters said, "is at the heart of the fight against imperialism and its wars."

The September 30 meeting was part of five days of meetings and discussion by members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists. Socialist workers who are members of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) union and the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) met September 29-30 to chart a course for the party's work in the industrial unions (see article on page 12). SWP members who are coal miners and belong to the UMWA, as well as those who are members of the United Auto Workers (UAW), will be meeting in October.

The SWP National Committee met October 1-2, along with leaders of the



Militant/Bernie Senter  
**San Francisco garment workers picket clothing manufacturer on October 9. Workers are demanding payment of some \$850,000 in back pay. Willingness to struggle by workers like these in garment, coal, meatpacking, and other industries is an obstacle to rulers' war effort.**

party's trade union work, organizers of party branches and organizing committees, and leaders of communist organizations in Australia, Canada, Iceland, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. On October 3 a subcommittee of that body continued deliberations.

#### U.S. rulers need blood of GIs

Waters explained that the organizers of the September 30 meeting had discussed and decided to open the program with a presentation on the class struggle in the United States. They asked Alice Kincaid, a coal miner, to be the first speaker and report on her just-concluded visit to Brookwood, Alabama, where the mine disaster had taken place. Kincaid was followed by several other speakers who discussed aspects of politics in the United States, as well as in the region where Washington has launched its war. (These presentations are covered in the article on page 9.)

Jack Barnes, the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, was the final speaker at the event. At that time, a week away from the Bush administration launching its bombing of Afghanistan, the patriotism the U.S. rulers and big-business media was trying to whip up was still "skin deep," Barnes said.

He pointed to several of his own recent experiences. As Barnes and another SWP leader, Jack Willey, were on their way to a meeting in midtown Manhattan the previous Friday, for example, they walked past a young Mexican woman on the street selling American flags. "Patriotic zeal," he noted, "is not the main motivation of most of

fighters for national liberation who draw a hard-and-fast distinction between the killing of innocent civilians and the deaths of soldiers in combat."

To get a war hysteria rolling the rulers need one of two things, Barnes said. Either the assassination of a top bourgeois figure. Or a substantial spilling of the blood of soldiers—such as the sinking of the USS *Maine* in 1898, used by President William McKinley as a pretext to go to war against Spain, the first war of the imperialist epoch; or the bombing of Pearl Harbor in December 1941, utilized by the administration of Franklin Roosevelt to advance the U.S. rulers' aim of declaring war against their imperialist rivals in Japan and Germany.

#### 'We' versus 'they'

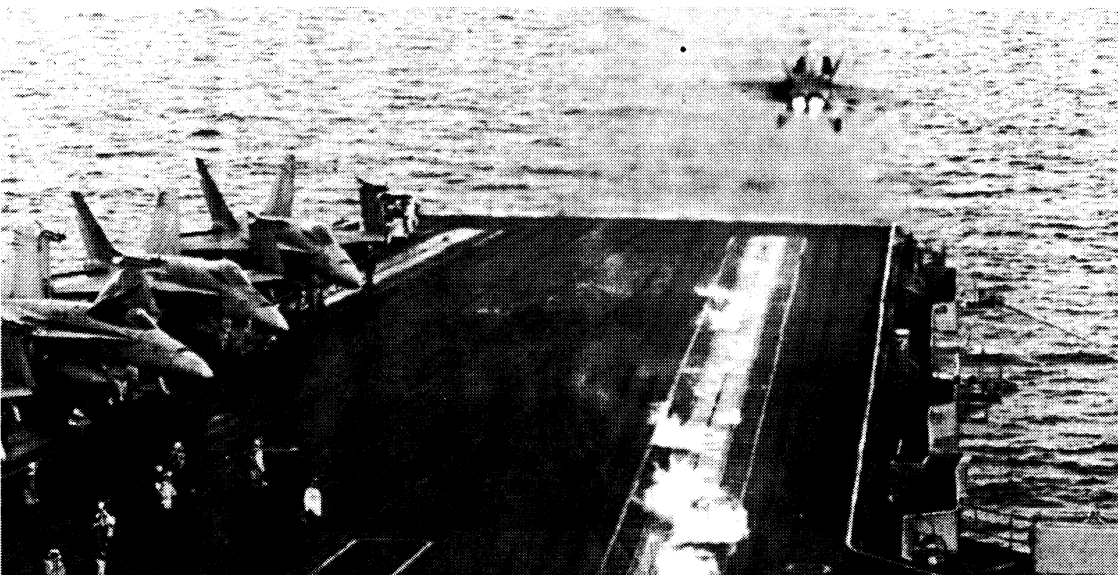
In the meantime, Barnes said, the U.S. rulers have sought to stir up a patriotic whirlwind of emotionalism and sentimentality to reinforce the illusion that "we Americans" have common interests—whether we're among the hundreds of millions of workers and farmers exploited by a handful of capitalist families in this country; or a member of one of those exploiting families and their hired servants in top echelons of the government, big business, the church, schools, and press.

"This classless 'we,' for example," Barnes said, "embraces both death-row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal and Pennsylvania governor Thomas Ridge, who has signed Mumia's death warrant and refused to grant him a new trial." Barnes pointed out that President Bush has named Ridge the new, cabinet-level "czar" of "homeland security."

Behind the rulers' concerted public lamentations, Barnes said, they are seeking to disarm opposition to their deepening militarization on the home front and course toward war abroad. In this regard, he pointed to an interview with U.S. Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor in the September 29 *New York Times*, conducted by the paper's law correspondent Linda Greenhouse.

"Describing herself as 'still tearful' after viewing the World Trade Center site," Greenhouse wrote, this chief justice-hopeful "told a law school audience in Manhattan yesterday that as part of the country's response to terrorism, 'we're likely to experience more restrictions on our personal freedom than has ever been the case in our country.'"

According to Greenhouse, Continued on next page



**Fighter bomber takes off from USS Enterprise to attack Afghanistan.**

Continued from previous page

O'Connor added that "lawyers and academics will help define how to maintain a fair and just society...at a time when many are more concerned with safety and a measure of vengeance."

Barnes asked: "How many of you want to hand over decisions about your 'rights' to the tender mercies of lawyers and academics?"

"Count me out," he added.

The U.S. rulers, Barnes said, want working people to ask: "How can 'we' protect ourselves against 'fanatics' around the world? What are 'we' going to do about stopping 'terrorism'?"

But for workers and farmers here or anywhere else, Barnes said, the only "we" is other working people the world over with whom we share common class interests and a common class enemy—first and foremost the capitalist rulers of the United States, the earth's mightiest and most brutal military power, and its most ruthless exploiters.

"From the standpoint of working people," Barnes said, "that ruling class, its twin political parties, and its state and other institutions are not 'we' but 'they.' It's *they*, the capitalist war-makers, out of whose hands the working class must organize *our* fellow toilers and those we can win from the middle classes into a revolutionary struggle to take power—or else *they* will never stop terrorizing humanity."

The imperialist rulers want to hide from workers and farmers the truth explained in the statement released September 11 by the Socialist Workers Party through its candidate for mayor of New York, Martin Koppel. After calling on working people to oppose the U.S. government's war drive and deepening assaults on workers' rights, and explaining that revolutionists reject the use of violence against innocent civilians such as that in New York and Washington, the statement said:

The U.S. government and its allies for more than a century have carried out systematic terror to defend their class privilege and interests at home and abroad—from the atomic incineration of hundreds of thousands at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to the 10-year-long slaughter in Indochina, to the war against the Iraqi people in 1990-91, to the burning to death of 80 people at Waco on its home soil, to other examples too numerous to list. In recent weeks, the White House and Congress have stood behind Tel Aviv as it escalated its campaign of both random killings and outright murders in its historically failing effort to quell the struggle by the dispossessed Palestinian people for the return of their homeland.

Half a century ago the revolutionary workers movement and other opponents of colonial outrages, racism, and anti-Semitism in all its forms warned that by waging a war of terror to drive the Palestinians from their farms, towns, and cities, the founders of the Israeli state and their imperialist backers in North America and Europe were pitting the Jewish people against those fighting for national liberation in the Middle East and worldwide; they were creating a death trap for the Jews, which Israel remains to this day. By its systematic superexploitation of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America; by its never-ending insults to their national and cultural dignity; by its ceaseless murderous violence in countless forms—U.S. imperialism is turning North America into a death trap for working people and all who live here.

"Workers and farmers in the United States have now entered the world," Barnes said.

"For a century the U.S. rulers have largely succeeded in convincing American working people that, at least on home territory, we were exempt from the mass slaughter and misery inflicted worldwide as a result of capitalism's inherent drive toward imperialist domination, fascism, and war. That's the source of the dangers to human civilization in today's world, not 'fanatics' or 'terrorists.' Our class has now joined the rest of toiling humanity."

In this regard, Barnes quoted a British columnist who wrote, "It reminds me of the bitter old foreign correspondent's joke that in news terms, one dead American equals 10 Israeli Jews, equals 100 Bosnians, equals 50,000 Bantu Africans."

Over the previous weeks, Barnes said, the employing class in the United States had organized moments of silence, blood drives, volunteer rescue brigades, ceremonies, and other such "civic" displays in order to play on human solidarity to mobilize the population behind the rulers' war drive.

"They put Oprah on a stage in Yankee Stadium to turn on the tears before millions over nationwide television," Barnes said. "But human beings don't grieve for people we don't know. That's a fact of human psychology; otherwise none of us could ever function."

"For self-serving ends, the rulers and their shameless media propagandists have ripped away privacy from thousands of people who *did* lose family members and friends on September 11. They are cynically exploiting concrete individual weeping in order to turn it into general patriotic fervor."

But none of this has anything to do with human solidarity, Barnes said. It is part of the capitalists' political preparations to maintain their inhuman social system, restrict the rights and drive down the conditions of working people at home, and inflict unimaginable horrors on toilers abroad.

"It's part of the 'pornographication of politics' that has accompanied the deepening crisis and instability of the world capitalist order over the past decade," Barnes said.



At Washington State border crossing cops search vehicles. Rulers have seized upon September 11 to accelerate their course towards greater restrictions on working people's rights at home and more aggressive use of military abroad.

"The rulers barrage working people with sensationalized stories of individual corruption, 'decadence,' sex, divorce, and tragedy, all of it turned into group emotion. Whether it's the sex life of President Clinton or Prince Charles; the death in a car crash of Princess Diana; or the private mourning for friends and loved ones killed at the World Trade Center or the Pentagon—the effect of such engineered public spectacles is to take our eyes off the exploitative class relations that are the source of social ills and human misery under capitalism."

All this is part of the rulers' manipulation of anxiety, resentment, and fear of loss in order to diminish what Barnes pointed to as the only reliable basis for human solidarity—the *political solidarity* of workers, farmers, and other exploited toilers. That solidarity is based not on sentimentality or fear but on the growing political consciousness and confidence of the working majority of humanity who have no class interest in the exploitation, oppression, and humiliation of other human beings.

"That's why the front page of every issue of the *Militant* during the campaign against the imperialist war," Barnes said, "needs to feature an article or two about a strike or rally organized by workers, a farmers protest, a demonstration against cop brutality, an action in defense of immigrants' rights, or a protest to demand affirmative action for Blacks, women, and other oppressed layers of the working class."

"That's how growing numbers of workers and youth will come to understand in practice who 'we' and 'they' really are—and to think and act accordingly."

#### Written for 'posterity'?

Barnes commented on a letter from a *Militant* reader in Miami Beach that he had received shortly after the September 11 statement was released by the Socialist Workers Party.

The writer said that after first hearing about the statement from "my New York friends," who are "understandably...very emotional about the situation," he read the statement on the *Militant* web site and was "very troubled by the tone and presentation of the SWP's point of view." He forwarded to Barnes the reply he had written to these New York friends.

The writer was particularly disappointed, he explained,

that it was only in the seventh paragraph that the SWP statement said: "Whoever may have carried out the September 11 operations, the destruction of the two World Trade Center towers, and the air attack on the Pentagon—with the resulting deaths and injuries of thousands of men, women, and children—these actions have nothing to do with the fight against capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression. Revolutionists and other class-conscious workers, farmers, and youth the world over reject the use of such methods."

The SWP, the writer told his New York friends, "seems to have lost a sense of the moment. Twenty years from now that statement from the NYC Mayoral candidate may seem as if it was to the point." But, he continued, "The essence of a situation does not accurately describe the reality of that moment."

The "tone and presentation" of the party's statement, the writer of the letter said, "will prevent all those American workers who are not emotionally dead from getting to paragraph #7.... I believe that this campaign statement was written for posterity not from the point of view of intervening in this struggle as it exists today. That's the mark of a sect!"

The letter is wrong on both counts, Barnes replied. "First, the statement was not written for 'American workers' but for the workers of the world, remembering that working people in the United States are an integral part of that international class."

"Communists don't take our political positions and principles from the current consciousness and concerns of these workers," Barnes said, "let alone from emotions 'of the moment.' We explain, as clearly as we can, the class interests and historic line of march of the working class, which is no different for workers in the United States than for our sisters and brothers in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Palestine, Afghanistan, or anywhere else in the world."

Second, Barnes said, communists never write anything "for posterity." The party's September 11 statement was written for the present, to politically arm class-conscious workers, farmers, and young people *to act*. Because revolutionaries know that if working people act, if we organize to fight, Barnes said, "we will transform the possibilities before humanity."

That's what communist workers and youth have done

Continued on Page 16



# Speakers weigh revolutionary traditions, political opportunities

BY STEVE CLARK  
AND PATRICK O'NEILL

NEW YORK—The opening speaker at the September 30 meeting here on "Communists and the Fight against Imperialism Today" was coal miner Alice Kincaid. She had just returned from visiting miners and their families and neighbors in Brookwood, Alabama, and participating in a memorial service of 1,500 people for those killed in the mine disaster there.

The bosses' drive to squeeze more profits out of workers, cutting corners on safety in the process—a drive that has gone hand in hand with the U.S. rulers' increasingly aggressive foreign policy—took a deadly toll at the Jim Walter Resources Blue Creek Mine No. 5. Upon learning of the disaster, socialist workers in mining and other industries from Colorado, Pennsylvania, New York, and Alabama headed to the area to talk to miners, find out the facts, and report them for the *Militant*.

"Workers in the mine knew this was in the making," said Kincaid. "There was a constant tug-of-war between the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the company over safety questions"—in particular, the frequent buildup of methane. Blue Creek No. 5 was a very deep and gassy mine, she said, the deepest in the United States.

"That didn't mean, however, that coal couldn't be mined safely," said Kincaid. "Miners knew the company was turning a blind eye to the accumulating dangers."

The big-business media treats the explosion as a "horrible tragedy, an 'act of God,'" said Kincaid. And the local newspapers are pressing the company's line that there should be "no rush to judgment" on the cause of the explosions.

In reality, said Kincaid, many miners point out that such killings are a direct result of the speedup drive of the coal bosses.

## 'An area rich in revolutionary history'

The next speaker was Ma'mud Shirvani, author of the introduction to the Pathfinder book *To See the Dawn*, which records the deliberations of the 1920 Congress of Peoples of the East, called by the leadership of the Communist International. The anti-imperialist congress had drawn some 2,000 delegates from Central Asia and elsewhere throughout the region.

In introducing Shirvani, who is also Pathfinder's Farsi-language editor, chairperson Mary-Alice Waters noted that Farsi is not only the official language of Iran but one of

first half of the 20th centuries by the colonial powers." In Central Asia, those borders were drawn by British imperialism and tsarist Russia; it was the imperialist rulers of the United Kingdom and France who carved up Palestine, the Arabian peninsula, and what are now Syria, Iraq, and the so-called Gulf States.

Writing in a 1913 article entitled "The Awakening of Asia," Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin observed that "hundreds of millions of the downtrodden and benighted have awakened from medieval stagnation to a new life and are rising to fight for elementary human rights and democracy."

The oil fields in the Mideast, Iran, and Central Asia have long been a prime target of imperialist pillage, Shirvani said, as they remain central to Washington's military and diplomatic policies today. As part of struggles to regain their national sovereignty and dignity, peoples throughout the region have fought to retake control of oil and other natural resources.

"This year, in fact, marks the 50th anniversary of the nationalization of the British-owned oil industry in Iran," Shirvani said. Those anti-imperialist mobilizations built on the upsurge a few years earlier that had overturned the monarchy in Iran—the regime of the Shah—and established a republic. The toilers of Iran, Shirvani said, proved they could operate the refineries and other equipment—something the "enlightened" British imperialists had predicted they could never do—and "began to throw off the self-image that they were inferior to the colonial masters."

Reacting against this challenge to imperialist interests, Washington in 1953 carried out a CIA-organized coup against the Iranian republic, gaining an edge for U.S. oil interests against their British rivals in the process. The reinstalled regime of the Shah was "a prison house and torture chamber for workers, peasants, and oppressed nationalities," Shirvani said.

During the 1970s strikes and struggles against the military regime swept Pakistan, and a revolutionary upsurge peaked in Afghanistan in 1978, with the ouster of a pro-imperialist government. That same year a popular revolutionary struggle opened up in Iran, Shirvani said, "in which the working class emerged as the gravediggers of the Shah's regime," overthrowing it in early 1979.

"With the fall of the Shah," he said, "the U.S. rulers lost one of imperialism's two main pillars in that entire region of the world—the other being the state of Israel." And despite the slaughter of more than 150,000 civilians and

to betrayals by the Stalinist regime in Moscow and its backers in Iran going back to the post-World War II revolutionary upsurge in that country. The bureaucratic course and murderous factionalism of the pro-Moscow misleadership in Afghanistan, compounded at the end of 1979 by the disastrous Soviet invasion, set back the popular struggle there as well.

Stalinism's legacy throughout the Middle East and Central Asia was to leave the battle against imperialism bereft of revolutionary working-class leadership, Shirvani said. The methods used in the attacks on September 11 are a product of this leadership vacuum and resulting political retreats.

## Explaining imperialism's roots

In her welcoming remarks at the opening of the New York meeting, chairperson Mary-Alice Waters had pointed out that "the communist movement has at our disposal a wealth of material explaining the roots of imperialism's unrelenting drive toward war. We have newspapers, magazines, books, and pamphlets that help us explain the line of march of the working class in the worldwide struggle for national liberation and socialism," Waters said.

She explained that week in and week out, members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists are introducing revolutionary literature to other workers, farmers, and youth. They sell the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International* magazine, and books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press off street tables in working-class districts in cities and towns across the United States, at plant gates, on campuses, and at political events.

She pointed, for example, to titles from the past decade such as issue no. 7 of *New International*, featuring "The Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq," and *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium*, both by Jack Barnes, as well as *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations* by Fidel Castro and Ricardo Alarcón, and *To Speak the Truth: Why Washington's 'Cold War' against Cuba Doesn't End* by Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara.

Among many other titles on sale at the large literature table at the New York meeting were *The Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels; *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International; The Struggle for a Proletarian Party* by James P. Cannon; *In Defense of Marxism* by Leon Trotsky; and *Teamster Bureaucracy and Revolutionary Continuity: Marxist Leadership in the United States* by Farrell Dobbs.

Both before and after the program, participants pored over these and many other books and pamphlets on the Pathfinder literature tables outside the meeting hall. Young people carefully studied titles, looking over and discussing the books. A table with steeply discounted shopworn books proved especially popular, with many purchasing a box or bag full of titles purchased for \$1, \$2, or \$3 each.

Participants also gathered around a range of attractive displays with illustrations and text about the recently concluded World Festival of Youth and Students in Algiers, miners' fight for safe working conditions, the record of the *Militant* newspaper in opposing imperialist war, "Bolshevism versus anarchism," and other topics.

Supporters of the communist movement had prepared a large buffet of snacks, desserts, and beverages for the opening reception and informal discussion following the close of the event.

## Pathfinder sales campaign

In introducing the third speaker at the September 30 meeting, Steve Clark, editorial director of Pathfinder, Waters reviewed some of Pathfinder's publishing plans for the end of 2001 and early 2002.

These include, among others, a new issue of *New International* magazine; a book-length interview with Cuban revolutionary leader Victor Dreke; the first-ever Spanish-language and French-language translations of *The History of American Trotskyism 1928-38* by founding SWP leader James P. Cannon; a Spanish translation of Barnes's *Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today*; and a new edition of the popular booklet by Joseph Hansen, *Too Many Babies? The Myth of the Population Explosion*.

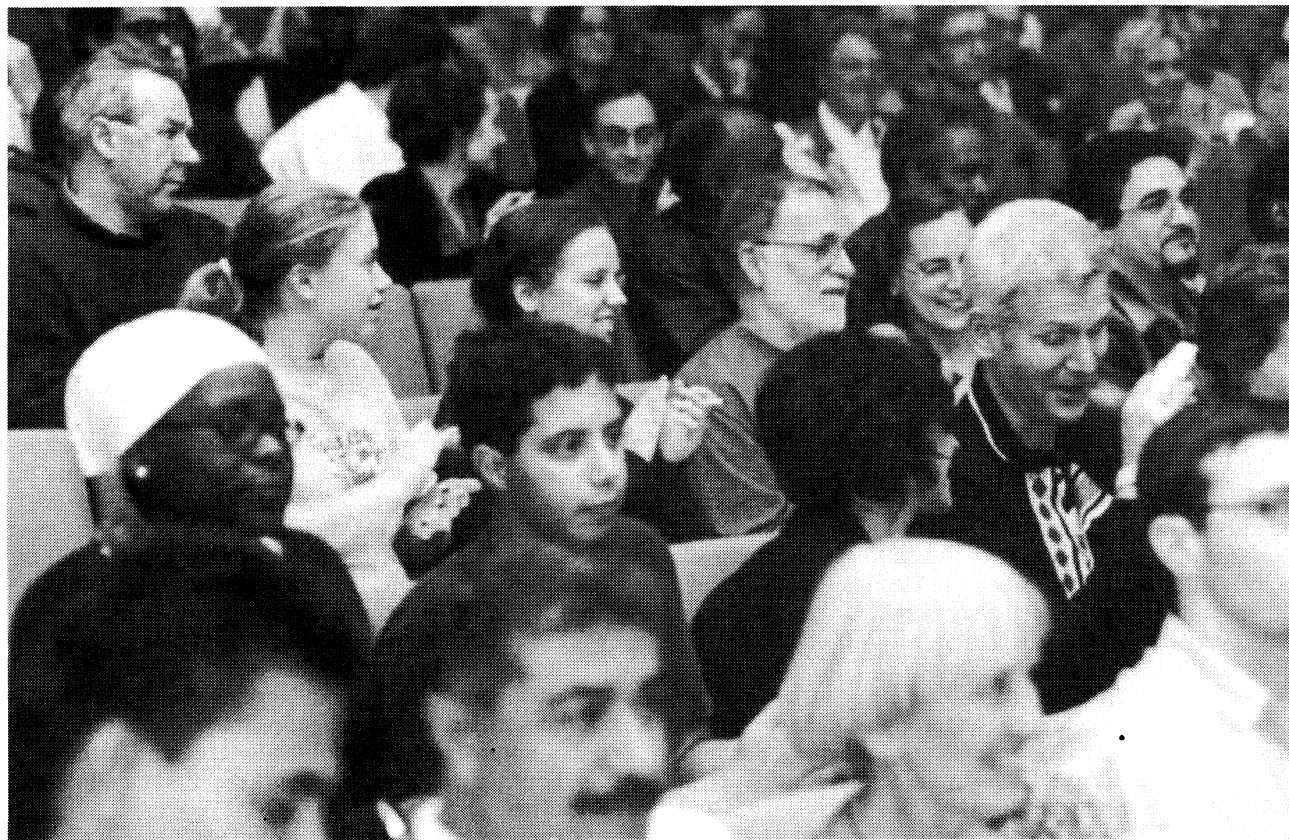
Waters also described the campaign launched by Pathfinder to reach total sales of \$500,000 in the 18 months to June 30 of next year. The army of volunteers around the world that helps in both the production and sales of Pathfinder books, she said, is "responding to the growing potential and what we know will be a political thirst for these books."

In addition, participants in the meeting contributed or pledged just shy of \$35,000 towards a fall \$125,000 Pathfinder Fund.

## Washington deepens its war trajectory

In his remarks to the meeting, Clark responded to the

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Militant/Carole Lesnick

Part of crowd at September 30 meeting in New York.

the major languages in Afghanistan as well.

Shirvani began his remarks by drawing attention to one of the displays just outside the meeting hall—a map, headlined "The Class Struggle on the 'Silk Road.'" The map featured dates and brief descriptions of revolutionary struggles in the region over the past century. (see ISR pages 4-5).

Volunteers had to research and prepare the map from several sources, said Shirvani. "There is no available map that depicts the real character of Afghanistan, showing the peoples of various nationalities and languages flowing across the borders of Iran, Pakistan, and countries in Central Asia—borders arbitrarily imposed in the 19th and

soldiers during the 1990-91 Gulf War, Washington failed in its goal of establishing a protectorate in Iraq to replace what it had lost a little more than a decade earlier in Iran. "The U.S. rulers have not recovered from the blow of the Iranian revolution to this day," he said.

At the same time, he explained, "The toilers of Iran were not able to forge a proletarian leadership capable of leading them in establishing a workers and farmers government in 1979. Such a victory could have opened a new stage in the struggle by revolutionary-minded peasants, workers, and youth against imperialist oppression and for socialism throughout the region."

This failure in Iran was due in large part, Shirvani said,

# Socialist workers in unions discuss campaign against imperialism and its war drive

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS  
AND SAM MANUEL

NEW YORK—Socialist garment and textile workers and meat packers from 21 cities across the United States met here September 29-30 to discuss the next steps in carrying out collective communist work in the trade unions and industries where they are employed. Charting a course of action against imperialism and its war drive today means deepening socialist workers' integration into labor and other social struggles in city and countryside. Socialist Workers Party leader Norton Sandler noted in an opening report to the fraction meeting on behalf of the party's Organization Bureau.

Most participants were members of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) and the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW). Others were working in garment, textile, or packing plants not yet organized by these unions. Two workers who are members of the Communist League in Canada employed in the meat packing and garment industries also took part.

Sandler pointed to a number of examples of ongoing struggles by working people in the United States, such as the response by miners in Brookwood, Alabama, to the deaths of 13 coal miners in two explosions at the Jim Walter no. 5 mine September 23.

Miners are speaking out, explaining they told the company of the increasing safety problems that would lead to a devastating methane explosion in the mine, and countering attempts by government officials and the big-business press to cover-up Jim Walter's responsibility for explosion.

As the socialist workers met, state workers in Minnesota were preparing for a strike for decent wages and working conditions that began October 1. Minnesota governor Jesse Ventura is using National Guard troops to operate some services in the state and is spearheading a vicious campaign against the strikers, telling them they must accept "sacrifices" because of Washington's war drive.

"As the war drive against Afghanistan escalates, pressures by the bosses and their government will grow on workers to subordinate our struggles to the needs of 'our company' and 'our country,'" Sandler said. This gives communist workers an opportunity to discuss with fellow unionists and workers that the only "us" and "them" in capitalist society is "we" the working class internationally and "they" the bosses and imperialist rulers, each with conflicting and usually diametrically opposed interests.

Sandler and others at the meeting noted a number of other proletarian struggles unfolding: the protests in Cincinnati's Black community against the acquittal of a cop who killed Timothy Thomas earlier this year; strikes by 2,500 Machinists in Amana, Iowa, by packinghouse workers against Washington Beef in eastern Washington



Militant/Alice Kincaid

**Members of United Mine Workers of America Local 2368 gather in Brookwood, Alabama, for march to memorial event for 13 miners killed in September 23 explosion in Jim Walter Resources Blue Creek Mine No. 5. Miners explain that they had warned company of dangerous safety conditions, including excessive levels of explosive methane gas. As the war drive against Afghanistan escalates, pressures by the bosses and their government increase for workers to subordinate their struggles to the needs of "our company" and "our country." Many workers have resisted such pressure, and have continued strikes and struggles on the job in defense of their rights.**

State, and by members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in Wyoming.

These and other struggles are the most effective resistance to imperialism and its wars, Sandler stated, because they objectively weaken the employers and their government in Washington, which is preparing a military assault on the people on Afghanistan and is intensifying its assault on workers' rights at home.

Sandler reviewed the response of socialist workers on the job to the war hysteria being organized by the U.S. government in the wake of the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon. "All of these displays of patriotism are aimed at drawing working people into the war they are organizing against the people of Afghanistan and the region," Sandler said. "But to do that they will also have to step up their assault on working people at home."

## Attacks on workers' rights

Using the September 11 event to do what they were already planning to carry out, airline companies drew on "emergency" provisions in contracts to justify massive layoffs of up to 100,000 workers. American Airlines and others initially announced they would deny severance pay to laid-off workers, but had to back off in the face of protests by workers and their unions.

"Every airline worker will now have to go to the security office in the airports and be put through another security screening," he said. The federal government is placing armed National Guard troops in the airports and federal marshals on commercial flights.

Immigrant workers have come under increasing assaults as part of the war drive. "Many Mexican workers who usually visit home this time of year are not going because they know it will be difficult to get back across the border," said Sandler. Plans floated by the Bush administration to accelerate the legalization of immigrant workers from Mexico are being shelved for now and the U.S. government is preparing new ID cards for Mexicans who regularly come into the United States that include a fingerprint imprint that will be scanned for computerized identification.

"The bosses will also use the war drive to attempt to get us to produce more," explained Ron Morales, a garment worker from New Jersey. Supervisors in his plant distributed a letter in English and Spanish. Referring to the events of September 11, the statement read: "The most important contribution you can make to your business is

to process, cut, sew, finish, and ship as many shirts as you can, as fast as you can, and with outstanding quality." Morales also explained that the company had cut the workday since September 11, with him and other workers getting only 25 hours a week.

Socialist workers described a number of instances of resistance to such efforts by the employers. John Studer, a garment worker from Philadelphia, for example, said that five strikes are now under way in that city, including by bus drivers, grocery store clerks, and other workers. Studer said that while socialists and fellow unionists were visiting one of these picket lines recently some passerby got mad at the pickets for striking past September 11. "But the strikers stood fast and said they are not ready to put off their fight," he said. "It's a good example of workers not subordinating their struggles to the government's 'national unity' hoax."

The imperialist war drive and assault on workers' rights by the employers and their government highlights the need for socialist workers to carry out communist work in the unions, many speakers said. This can only be done through their collective and consistent work talking socialism on the job. This includes bringing Pathfinder books, the *Militant*, and *Perspectiva Mundial* to co-workers; functioning as revolutionary politicians in the unions, seeking to chart a course that strengthens the basic defense organizations of the working class; bringing co-workers to strikes, social protest actions, and Militant Labor Forums and other political events; and introducing workers to the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists.

Experiences in New York to further this effort, where socialist workers are building fractions in the meat packing and garment industries, were discussed at the meeting.

"Over a two-year period in a central meatpacking district in New York City we had done very little political work, brought no workers to party forums and political events, sold few Pathfinder books and pamphlets and no subscriptions to the *Militant*," said Dennis Rich. "We had to recognize and act on the fact that we did not have a communist fraction, of the type we built at the beginning of the party's turn to the industrial unions and explained in the book *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*."

## Course to rebuild fraction

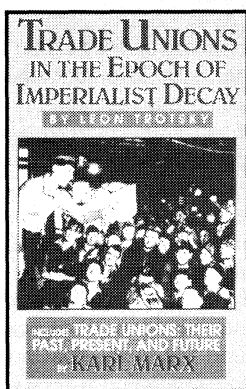
Rich, who went through that experience in New York and now works in a textile mill in the Carolinas, said the decision "brought to an end going to work to do your

## Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay

Leon Trotsky

Featuring "Trade Unions: Their Past, Present, and Future" by Karl Marx

"Apart from their original purposes, the trades unions must now learn to act deliberately as organizing centers of the working class in the broad interest of its complete emancipation.... They must convince the world at large that their efforts, far from being narrow and selfish, aim at the emancipation of the downtrodden millions." —Karl Marx, 1866



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From Pathfinder

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duty. We set out on a course to rebuild a communist fraction of meat packers in New York, where party and YS members think socially and act politically and talk socialism on the job every day." A similar decision was made to begin the process of building a fraction of garment workers in the center of the industry in the city.

This is possible with regular party leadership attention and work with each of the fractions-in-becoming. "The conclusions we came to in New York and the steps we are taking to rebuild fractions of socialist workers on this basis apply to the entire party as we work through the steps to strengthen the political work of our fractions in response to Washington's war drive the last couple of weeks," Sandler said.

After the initial joint session, socialists in the UFCW and UNITE met separately, concentrating more on the lessons of their political work in each industry and union they belong to.

"As a result of not being prepared, we found ourselves responding differently in some places," explained Lisa Potash, a Chicago sewing machine operator and member of UNITE Local 39-C, in her report to the meeting of the socialist garment workers. "When we function along these lines it means we don't have fractions that can be effective in the fight against imperialist war," she added. Potash said officials of UNITE appealed to workers to contribute money to a union-sponsored "Solidarity Relief Fund," a move that objectively aids the U.S. rulers' patriotic and nationalist campaign.

**Standing up to war pressures**

"An example of the need for political clarity and firmness required by vanguard workers today is the rejection of the imperialist war drive in any form," stated Ernie Mailhot, a meat packer and member of UFCW Local 81 in Seattle, in an initial summary at the meeting of socialist packinghouse workers. "This is a basic principle. Those who give credence to the U.S. war effort against the people of Afghanistan, in any guise, help to undermine the understanding of the distinction between 'them' and 'us,' between the capitalist exploiters on the one hand and the exploited working people on the other."

During the discussion in both fraction meetings, many examples were given of supervisors passing out yellow ribbons or American flag stickers to be put on hard hats, and holding moments of silence "for the victims of September 11."

Diana Newberry, a garment worker from Pittsburgh, reported that in the plant where she works the bosses announced that there would be a moment of silence and prayer for those killed in the September 11 attacks. "I remained at my machine and did not participate," she said. "This led to some tension and some workers didn't want to speak to me. But it opened the way to calm civil discussion with a few others," Newberry reported.

The bosses also organized a prayer service in the garment shop where another socialist works in Newark, New Jersey. She explained that even though she had only been in the plant a short time she stayed at her machine and would not be drawn into this pro-war activity.

In many factories the bosses organized similar moments of silence the day after U.S. president George Bush called for such patriotic actions in his address to Congress September 20.

**A matter of principle**

Samuel Farley works at Dakota Premium Foods in South St. Paul, Minnesota, where workers have been waging a struggle for more than a year for union recognition and a contract. "Every Friday, the company organizes a safety meeting in the cafeteria," Farley reported. "On September 21, management announced they would begin the meeting with a moment of silence. I asked them to unlock the door and stepped out of the room until the meeting resumed, even though I was alone in doing so at that time. It was a matter of principle."

Nan Bailey, a garment worker in Los Angeles, went through a similar experience that day at a large garment shop. The company asked all the workers at the plant to go to the plant's yard for a few moments of silence. Bailey and another co-worker were the only ones to stay at their machines.

Bill Estrada, a meat packer in New York, described his experiences on the job. "Things have calmed down a little, but there was a lot of emotion on the job the first few days after September 11," he said. "A foreman called me a 'terrorist.' There was a lot of pressure to speak out on the shop floor in front of everyone, on the spot. I decided it was better to approach individual workers and have calm discussions away from the boss, and to avoid any shouting matches. Socialists have won respect from a layer of workers and have a history of political work in this plant. A minority among my co-workers think 'we should get bin Laden.' But on the whole there is a lot of space to gain a hearing for opposing Washington's war drive."

"The answers to the big political questions are needed by vanguard workers to advance the struggles they are involved in," stated Joel Britton in his report on the work of communist meat packers in Chicago. He described systematic work among meat packers on the job, at plant gates, and in the region—as well as among broader layers in working-class neighborhoods—that have resulted in gaining new subscribers to the socialist press and selling copies of *New International* and Pathfinder books. "This



**National Guard troops have been mobilized in airports, another step in the militarization of U.S. under cloak of combating "terrorism." At national fraction meetings, socialist workers discussed how the assault by rulers targets workers' rights. Among others, airline workers have been on the receiving end of this offensive. Tens of thousands have lost their jobs, while those still working face extra "security" checks.**

is why we need to increase the political level of the functioning of our fractions. We are becoming more effective because we are filling this objective need."

Building on their experiences in carrying out a working-class campaign against imperialism and its war against the Iraqi people a decade ago, the meetings of the socialist meat packers and garment and textile workers affirmed the need to discuss with fellow workers why participation in moments of silence, taking yellow ribbons or American flags, or taking part in any other patriotic action weakens the working class in its struggle against the employers.

**Skills and building fractions**

Socialist workers in UNITE discussed the need to master skills in textile and garment shops, where speedup and increased production quotas are often the norm. In garment, where socialist workers prioritize sewing jobs, which are in the heart of production, workers often need to become proficient in several operations in order to keep the job. Sewing is a skilled job that takes time to learn, and, like other sewers, socialist workers seek to master a number of operations in minimize constant layoffs and short hours that often mark how the bosses organize production to the detriment of the workforce. Becoming a skilled operator is part of being able to get jobs in the large shops and garment districts where thousands of sewers work, Potash noted.

The discussion on gaining the skills necessary to do the job is completely tied with being an effective fighter on the job, being able to introduce workers to socialist ideas, books and the *Militant* newspaper as well as working with others against the bosses brutal speed up and worsening job conditions, she said.

The meetings discussed the subscription drives for the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial* and to sell copies of the three issues of *New International* magazine that are most directly relevant to the current U.S.

war drive against the people of Afghanistan—NI no. 7, with *Opening Guns of World War III*; NI no. 10, with *Imperialism's March to Fascism and War*; and NI no. 11, *U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War*. The meat packers fraction voted to adopt goals of 55 new *Militant* subscriptions, 55 new *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions, and 70 copies of *New International* before November 18. The garment workers adopted a goal of 50 new *Militant* subscriptions, 35 new *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions and 50 copies of *New International*.

Sam Manuel is a garment worker in Washington; Argiris Malapanis is a meat packer in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida. Tom Fiske, a meat packer in St. Paul, Minnesota, and Karen Ray, a garment worker in St. Paul, contributed to this article.

**From Pathfinder: for further reading**

**Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism**

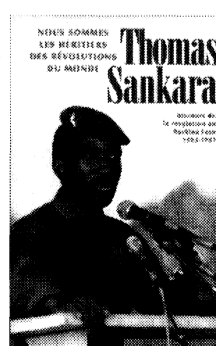
**V.I. LENIN** "I trust that this pamphlet will help the reader to understand the fundamental economic question, that of the economic essence of imperialism," Lenin wrote in 1917. "For unless this is studied, it will be impossible to understand and appraise modern war and modern politics." **\$3.95**

**Thomas Sankara Speaks**

Peasants and workers in the West African country of Burkina Faso established a popular revolutionary government and began to combat the hunger, illiteracy, and economic backwardness imposed by imperialist domination. Thomas Sankara who led that struggle, explains the example set for all of Africa. **In English \$19.95**

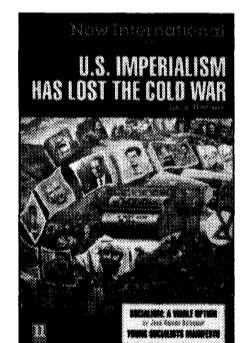
**IN FRENCH**  
**Nous sommes les héritiers des révolutions du monde**

(we are the inheritors of the revolutions of the world) Speeches and writings by Thomas Sankara, 1983-87. **\$7.00**



**New Internationals: No. 11**

U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War by Jack Barnes and The Communist Strategy of Party Building Today by Mary-Alice Waters. Two programmatic documents of the Socialist Workers Party. **\$14.00**



**No. 10**

•Imperialism's March Towards Fascism and War by Jack Barnes. •What the 1987 Stock Market Crash Foretold. •Defending Cuba, Defending Cuba's Socialist Revolution by Mary-Alice Waters. •The Curve of Capitalist Development by Leon Trotsky. **\$14.00**

**Pathfinder Was Born with the October Revolution**

Mary-Alice Waters Explains the origins of Pathfinder Press as part of the forces that arose on a world scale to defend and emulate the first socialist revolution of our epoch in Russia in October 1917. In English, Spanish, and French. **\$3.00**

**The Eastern Airlines Strike**

Accomplishments of the Rank-and-File Machinists and gains for the Labor Movement Ernie Mailhot, Judy Stranahan, and Jack Barnes The story of the 686-day strike in which a rank-and-file resistance by Machinists prevented Eastern's union-busting onslaught from becoming the road to a profitable nonunion airline. **\$9.95**

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 20.

# Anti-imperialist struggle of Afghanistan and s

**About this map**

The peoples of Afghanistan and the nearby countries shown on this map have a rich history of revolutionary struggle against colonial and imperialist domination over the past two centuries. As part of its policy of divide and rule, the ruling British colonial power, which exercised control over much of this region in the nineteenth century, imposed many of the borders shown on the map.

In the country of Afghanistan, the geographical areas defining the 11 major ethnic groups flow across the arbitrary borders into the surrounding countries. The Pushtun people, for example, are divided by the boundary line between Afghanistan and what is today Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province, an area taken away from Afghanistan by British imperialism at the end of 1900s. The Baluchi people live in areas across Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. Both peoples have waged struggles for their national rights over the decades.

A revolutionary upsurge in Afghanistan reached its height in 1978. A popular revolt five years earlier had ousted King Muhammad Zahir Shah. The U.S. government is presently working to bring back the same king, now 86, as part of a pro-imperialist, anti-Taliban regime.

The government that came to power on the crest of the revolutionary mobilizations in 1978 won popular support for its program of social reforms, including land redistribution. But these were carried out in a bureaucratic fashion, providing an opening for reactionary landlord and capitalist layers to mobilize opposition. A civil war ensued in which Washington backed reactionary antigovernment forces. The government of the Soviet Union invaded and tried to occupy the country from 1979 to 1989. In response, Washington expanded its military aid to, and collaboration with, reactionary forces.

Some 150 years earlier, Afghan fighters fought and defeated British troops in three wars. In fighting from 1839-42, a British-installed puppet regime was overturned and 4,500 British troops, along with 12,000 other occupying forces, were driven out of Kabul. One person made it alive to the border.



**AZERBAIJAN (Iran)**  
 A revolutionary upsurge led to the establishment of a workers and peasants government in 1945. Under pressure from Stalin, the workers capitulated to the shah's army without a battle.  
 A mass political explosion in the central Azerbaijani city of Tabriz in northern Iran in February 1978 heralded the opening of the Iranian revolution that overthrew the Shah the following year.

**IRAQ**  
 A revolution toppled the monarchy in 1958. In the years afterward, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist forces blocked the toilers of Iraq from moving forward. In 1980 the capitalist regime of Saddam Hussein invaded Iran as part of an imperialist-inspired counterrevolutionary drive. Because the toilers in Iran mobilized a massive military defense of the revolution, the counterrevolutionary assault failed to topple Iran's government.  
 The U.S. rulers attacked Iraq during the 1990-91 Gulf War, aiming to establish a protectorate. Despite a murderous assault and continuing sanctions and aggression carried out by Washington against Iraq's sovereignty—actions that have left hundreds of thousands dead—the imperialists have failed to topple the Iraqi government. Over the past decade Washington and London have maintained an embargo on the country and have continued to drop bombs on Iraq as they patrol "no-fly" zones unilaterally imposed over large parts of the country.

Broad mobilizations in Iran led to a measure fiercely resisted by the shah, making Israel and the region.  
 In 1979 deepening mobilizations in the cities, overthrowing the shah. From that date the U.S. revolution.

# Struggles by the peoples surrounding countries



### CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLICS

Long oppressed by the Russian czars, the peoples of central Asia, living in the countries of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan shown on the map, revolted in 1916 against compulsory conscription into the Russian army, then embroiled in World War I. The October 1917 revolution in Russia threw off their foreign oppressors, and the new government provided them aid to advance economically and culturally. The peoples of Central Asia joined with the Red Army during the civil war to defeat the counterrevolution.

Leon Trotsky, a central leader of the Russian revolution, wrote, "The policy of Bolshevism on the national question, having ensured the victory of the October revolution, also helped the Soviet Union to hold out afterward notwithstanding inner centrifugal forces and a hostile environment."

As part of their war against Afghanistan, the U.S. imperialists are aiming to gain more access to the Central Asian Republics and to establish a military base against the Russian workers state.

### Baku

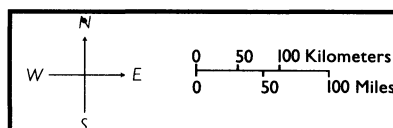
The workers and peasants took power and established soviet rule in Baku, Azerbaijan, in the spring of 1920. The Communist International under Lenin called representatives of the toilers of the East to a joint congress in that city in September 1920. Two thousand delegates from colonial and semicolonial countries met with the leaders of the revolutionary working class of Europe and the United States to forge an alliance under the slogan, "Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!"

### KURDISTAN (Iran)

The independent Kurdish Republic of Mahabad (in western Iran) was established following the victory of the Azerbaijani revolution of 1945. The republic was crushed after the defeat of the Azerbaijani toilers, but the Kurds continued their struggle for self-determination in the decades that followed.

### Peoples of Afghanistan and surrounding countries

Iranian	Turkic	Other
■ Baloch	□ Kirghiz	▲ Brahui
■ Aimak	■ Turkmen	■ Nuristani
□ Hazara	■ Uzbek	
○ Tajik	□ Uninhabited or sparsely populated	
○ Qizilbash		
■ Pashtun		
○ Durrani, Ghilzai		



### IRAN

In the early 1950s led to the nationalization of the oil industry, ended by British imperialism, which had kept Iran in semi-dependence. The U.S. government helped install the terror regime of the Shah. Iran the two main pillars of imperialist reaction in the Middle East. The nationalizations of the Iranian masses, especially of the working class, overthrew the Shah and dealt a major blow to imperialist interests. The new government has been trying to reverse the gains of the nationalizations.

### PAKISTAN

Following World War II, anticolonial struggles broke out in Asia and Africa. The Indian working class swept to the forefront as the decisive force in the struggle for independence from the British yoke. Pakistan was a product of the British rulers' efforts to maintain their influence and power in the region by carving up the subcontinent. Colonial India was divided into two countries, with the imperialists using religious affiliation as justification. In August 1947 a Muslim state of Pakistan, itself divided into east and west sections 1,000 miles apart, was created, along with a largely Hindu state of India. Through the course of a war in 1971 the peoples living in what was then East Pakistan succeeded in forming the nation of Bangladesh.

# Lessons of U.S. war against Iraq

## Cuban leaders expose Washington in 'U.S. Hands off the Mideast'

The following is the first of two articles by Steve Clark reprinted from the November 2 and 9, 1990, issues of the *Militant*. The articles review the newly issued Pathfinder pamphlet *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!: Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*. The pamphlet was subsequently released with additional speeches as a book in both English and Spanish. *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!* remains a valuable resource for working people and youth seeking to learn the truth about Washington's military aggressions abroad, the character of the United Nations, and how the Cuban leaders Fidel Castro and Ricardo Alarcón exposed the rationalizations the U.S. imperialists used as their pretext for the assault against the Iraqi people in 1990-91.

BY STEVE CLARK

(First of two parts)

Opponents of the U.S. government's escalating war drive against Iraq now have an important tool to use in their antiwar efforts. Pathfinder has just published a new pamphlet entitled *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations: Fidel Castro and Ricardo Alarcón on the Iraq-Kuwait Conflict and Washington's War Moves*.

A campaign in coming weeks to get this pamphlet into the hands of as many people as possible is an important part of the international effort to mobilize opposition to Washington's war preparations. The 82-page pamphlet will also be an aid to everyone who seeks to expose and condemn Washington's criminal blockade of food and medicine to all those living in Iraq and Kuwait.

The booklet rolled off the presses just a few days before the October 20 demonstrations against the U.S. military buildup, and many copies were sold at these protest actions. A Spanish-language edition will be available in mid-November. Excerpts will appear in the forthcoming fall issue of the French-language quarterly *Lutte ouvrière*.

The central political themes documented and discussed in the pamphlet are explained in the opening paragraphs of the introduction by Mary-Alice Waters:

"The U.S. government is preparing on a massive scale for war against Iraq.

"It is using the unanimous votes of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council to give cover to unilateral U.S. acts of aggression.

"Washington's response to the August 2 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was not motivated by support for national sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity. It was an opportunity seized by the U.S. government to advance its imperialist interests.

"Working people the world over are already paying dearly for the U.S.-organized war buildup. The cost in lives and economic well-being will be incalculable if efforts to find a peaceful solution to the conflict continue to be blocked by Washington."

### Big stakes for working people

Whether the U.S. rulers unleash their massive arsenal against the people of Iraq, or choose to try to achieve their ends short of a military onslaught, Washington's war preparations in the Mideast are at the center of world politics today. There will soon be nearly 250,000 U.S. troops on land and sea in the region, in addition to tens of thousands of troops from Britain, France, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and some 20 other countries. Altogether there are several heavy armored divisions—equipped with more than a thousand modern tanks—on the ground in Saudi Arabia; more than 850 aircraft from the U.S. and allied governments; and some 100 warships, including two U.S. aircraft carrier groups.

This is not only the largest U.S. military operation since the Vietnam War. It is also the largest French military mobilization since the 1954-62 Algerian War and the largest British military action since its war against Argentina to reconquer the Malvinas Islands in 1982. Japan's capitalist rulers are seeking to take advantage of the war buildup to deploy "noncombatant" troops to the Middle East, thus breaking the post-World War II political limits on their use of military power abroad; Germany's rulers are closely following the outcome of Tokyo's initiative with an eye to busting through the ban on their own deployment of military forces beyond their borders.

The stakes in halting the U.S. war drive are very high for working people—especially young workers, farmers, and students—in the United States, the Middle East, and around the world. U.S.-organized aggression would result in the deaths of tens of thousands of civilians and soldiers in Iraq and Kuwait, as well as heavy losses for young people in the uniforms of the U.S. armed forces and those of other armies that make up Washington's fragile coalition.

A war would have disastrous consequences for the economic and social conditions of working people the world



Ricardo Alarcón, Cuba's permanent representative at United Nations Security Council debate, September 25, 1990, speaking against U.S.-organized war moves against Iraq.

over, striking with particular vengeance at those in oppressed nations throughout Africa, Asia, the Pacific, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

As Cuban president Fidel Castro warned in the September 28 speech included in the pamphlet, a U.S. war against Iraq "will not only cost many lives on the battlefield there. Such a war would also be a catastrophe for the world economy.... For every life lost on the battlefields of the Arab-Persian Gulf, a thousand persons will die of hunger in the Third World."

The structure of the pamphlet—built around documents and speeches from the UN Security Council—derives from a prominent aspect of the U.S. government's war moves.

The Security Council resolutions initiated by Washington as pretexts for its military buildup have had unanimous backing from the council's four other permanent members—the governments of Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China. The collaboration of these five governments has provided cover for Washington to act as if its imperialist goals somehow represent the will of the majority of humanity—vaguely equated with what is called the United Nations.

As the history of the 20th century amply confirms, the U.S. government is quite prepared to defend its strategic interests by force of arms—in the Middle East, or anywhere else—without the fig leaf of international cooperation. But the pretense that the military moves against Iraq are UN actions, not unilateral U.S. aggression, is not primarily for Washington's benefit.

Above all, it provides indispensable cover for the governments of the Soviet Union and various Arab countries to join in the U.S. rulers' reactionary crusade. Thus, the collaboration of the five permanent members of the Security Council is playing a prominent role in the unfolding crisis.

The Pathfinder pamphlet contains each Security Council resolution on the Iraq-Kuwait crisis adopted in August and September, together with the statements related to these measures, by Cuba's permanent representative to the UN, Ricardo Alarcón, as well as by Castro. As Waters explains in the introduction, "The government of Cuba, now serving a two-year term on the Security Council, has been the sole voice in the UN to speak out clearly and consistently against the [Bush] administration's war preparations, which are backed by the bipartisan Democratic and Republican coalition in Congress."

By publishing the statements of Cuban government representatives on Washington's war moves, the pamphlet helps break the embargo that the big-business media has imposed on this persuasive voice of opposition. The course of the Cuban government since the outset of the Middle East crisis is powerful testimony to the principled revolutionary internationalism that has been a hallmark of its foreign policy for more than 30 years.

What is most significant about the materials collected in this pamphlet, however, is not who said them, but what they say. The speeches and statements by Castro and Alarcón explain Washington's military buildup and—in clear, powerful, and reasoned terms—rebut each of the U.S. government's pretexts and rationalizations.

Castro and Alarcón emphasize the Cuban government's commitment to the principles of noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries, of rejection of military force, and of respect for national independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. They condemn the August 2 Iraqi government invasion of Kuwait, as well as its annexation of that sovereign country and attacks on the rights of foreign nationals working in or visiting Iraq and Kuwait.

### Washington uses UN cover

At the same time, Cuba's representatives have exposed and denounced each one of Washington's efforts to drape its war moves in the mantle of the UN. As the pamphlet's introduction explains, "Cuba refused to vote

for economic sanctions against Iraq or to endorse military steps to force compliance with the trade embargo. Cuba denounced as inhuman—and as an unconscionable violation of fundamental human rights—the measures denying food and medicine to the people living in Iraq and Kuwait. Cuba was the only member of the Security Council to vote against an air embargo on Iraq."

Castro and Alarcón point to the hypocrisy of the U.S. government, which has repeatedly vetoed proposed Security Council measures against its own military intervention in Panama, Grenada, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, the Dominican Republic, and elsewhere during the 45-year history of the UN. Cuba's representatives detail the flagrant U.S. double standard in world affairs:

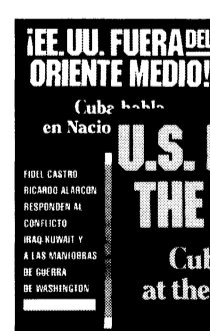
- Washington's demand that the Security Council enforce an embargo against Iraq, while blocking sanctions against Israel for its occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories;
- The U.S. rulers' unilateral breach of UN trade sanctions against the racist regimes in Southern Rhodesia—today Zimbabwe—and South Africa;
- Washington's condemnation of the Iraqi regime's hostile actions against diplomatic personnel in Iraq and Kuwait, conveniently ignoring its own aggression against embassies and embassy staffs of other countries as recently as the U.S. invasion of Panama; and many others.

Events since August 2 have placed a spotlight on the political reality of the UN, which, despite the fine words of its charter, is not and has never been an instrument to advance world peace, sovereignty, or national self-determination.

In truth, the very term "the United Nations" is a misnomer. No such thing exists. What does exist is a complex of buildings in New York City, the capital of the imperialist world, where representatives of more than 150 govern-

Continues on next page

from Pathfinder



### U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!

Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations

FIDEL CASTRO, RICARDO ALARCÓN, INTRODUCTION BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

The case against Washington's 1990-91 embargo and war against Iraq, as presented by the Cuban government at the United Nations. In the introduction Waters explains how Washington's assault on Iraq was not motivated by support for national sovereignty, independence, and national integrity, but was an opportunity to advance its imperialist interests. In English and Spanish. \$10.95



Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 20, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

**Continued from Page 9**

assertion trumpeted by much of the big-business press, and echoed by many middle-class radicals, that Washington's post-September 11 militarization drive registered a fundamental policy shift.

"This is simply false," Clark said. "The U.S. rulers are taking the opportunity to put into play the course they have been preparing for, step by step, for some 15 years. With ongoing tactical differences over how far and how fast to move, the Congress, Clinton, and Bush the elder and younger have been pressing along this bipartisan course ever since the deepening crisis of the world capitalist order signaled by the 1987 stock market crash and collapse of the Stalinist regimes across Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union a few years later.

"With the collapse of those regimes," Clark said, "also came the collapse of the capitalist rulers' hopes that they could defeat the toilers of the world through a 'cold war.' But accomplishing that goal will take gigantic class battles and a 'hot war'—a coming conflict in which the toilers, with revolutionary leadership, can triumph."

The war against Afghanistan, Clark said, "is not some 'turn' in U.S. policy, but another step—and a new opportunity for the rulers—to try to recoup some of what they failed to accomplish in advancing imperialist interests during the bloody 1990-91 war against Iraq."

Similarly, the rulers' accelerated assault on political rights in the United States does not involve primarily new legislation or executive orders, but "the implementation of what was put in place over the previous eight years by the Clinton administration and Congress." Clark pointed to the reinforcement of a so-called homeland defense command structure; the use against immigrants of "secret evidence," "preventive detention," and curtailment of review and appeal rights under the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act and Illegal Immigration Reform

supporters in the ongoing effort to build such an international movement.

**Young people stand their ground**

"No one is more deeply affected by war than young people," said Waters in introducing the next speaker, Arrin Hawkins. "Young people recognize the implications for themselves and their generation when the rulers go into overdrive, playing upon human solidarity and sympathy to whip up support for their war drive."

Hawkins spoke on behalf of the national leadership of the Young Socialists. She is also a member of the steering committee of the party's United Food and Commercial Workers union fraction. Hawkins was a leader of the 160-strong delegation from the United States to the Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange held in Havana in July, and then participated the following month in the World Festival of Youth and Students in Algeria. Other members of the World Youth Festival delegation were also seated on stage, as well as elected leaders of the party's UNITE, UFCW, and UMW national union fractions.

"Since coming back from Cuba and Algeria, Young Socialists have been on a campaign to talk to young people about our experiences, and about the possibilities opening for an international anti-imperialist youth movement and to build the YS," Hawkins said.

As it happened, she and another delegation member were due to speak at a community college in Minnesota on September 11. "The professor asked me, 'Are you still comfortable speaking?' He said the subject—building an anti-imperialist youth movement—might imply that by 'imperialist' we meant the United States!"

"I answered him that, 'yes,' we want to go ahead with the meeting," Hawkins said. "We want to talk about the imperialist United States, and about the socialist alternative we



**Minnesota state workers rally on October 1**

can learn a lot about by looking at revolutionary Cuba."

In the meatpacking plant where she works in Chicago, Hawkins has also found daily opportunities to talk with co-workers about her opposition to the U.S. war drive and its patriotic trappings.

"One co-worker became visibly disturbed when I was talking to another worker," she said. "I told him, in a calm and civil tone, that this war is against the interests of working people. He didn't succeed in shutting down my conversation. And the next day he greeted me, as he usually does, with, 'Hello, how're you doing?'"

In closing her remarks to the meeting, Hawkins emphasized that "it's important to reach out to new people, to deepen our work among them."

"Young people are looking for a way forward. The SWP and Young Socialists need to organize systematic sales and other political work on the campuses, to introduce rebel-minded students to communist literature, and to win them to the Young Socialists."



**Arrin Hawkins spoke at September 30 meeting about Young Socialists and SWP efforts to bring experience of Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange, and the World Festival of Youth and Students, to as many young people as possible.**

# Lessons from U.S. war against Iraq

**Continued from previous page**

ments gather to present their positions on various world events. Only five governments, however, have any say over what is actually done in the name of the UN.

The UN's executive powers are monopolized by the five permanent members of the Security Council. The Council's remaining 10 seats rotate for two-year terms among the other UN-member governments. These five permanent members, and only these five, exercise what Castro—in one of the items printed in the pamphlet—calls the "anachronistic, unfair, and undemocratic veto privilege." That is, each one of the U.S., British, French, Soviet, and Chinese delegations—on the basis of its veto alone—can block action by the Security Council on any substantive question. Or, when these five governments agree among themselves, that settles the matter.

On the other hand, the UN General Assembly, in which each member country casts an equal vote, has no powers of implementation. What's more, a two-thirds vote is required to adopt resolutions on many questions, including those related to "international peace and security." Thus, General Assembly votes largely register the state of world public opinion at a given time.

"In the General Assembly, we shout and we condemn, and it doesn't matter," Yemen's UN ambassador Abdalla Saleh Al-Ashtal told journalist John Newhouse recently. Moreover, Newhouse added in the October 8 issue of the *New Yorker*, Al-Ashtal and "other experienced diplomats agree that the UN was set up to allow the five permanent members of the Security Council—the major world powers—to more or less call the shots."

The UN response to the U.S. invasion of Panama last December is a case in point. The General Assembly adopted a resolution by a big majority vote of 75-to-20 "strongly deploring" the invasion. No action was taken against Washington, however, since the U.S., British, and French delegations vetoed even a resolution of condemnation in the Security Council.

The UN's reactionary structure is even more important for the U.S. rulers today than when it was established in San Francisco in April 1945. The composition and character of the General Assembly and UN bodies under its purview have evolved substantially over the past 45 years.

The UN's founding conference came just at the outset of the post-World War II upsurge of the colonial revolution, which over the next several decades resulted in political independence for the big majority of colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean. There were only 51 members of the UN at that time. Most were either imperialist allies of the U.S. rulers or neocolonial governments tightly under the thumb of Washington, especially in Latin America.

Between 1945 and 1953, for example, the U.S. delegation was defeated on fewer than 3 percent of 800 General Assembly resolutions. Only two U.S.-backed measures failed.

This situation began to change by the early 1960s, as one former colony after another won political independence and was admitted to the UN. Washington no longer found it so easy always getting its way in the General Assembly—especially on matters related to anticolonial struggles, racism, and inequitable economic and trade relations imposed on the world market by a handful of the strongest capitalist ruling classes.

In light of this evolution, revolutionists and fighters for national liberation and social justice began to view

the General Assembly as one platform from which to win greater world knowledge of and support for struggles by the oppressed and exploited. Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara, leaders of the victorious Cuban revolution, traveled to New York City to speak before the General Assembly and—as Guevara put it in 1964—to help "this assembly shake itself out of complacency" and block imperialism's efforts "to turn this meeting into a pointless oratorical tournament."

Fighters against the racist and colonial policies of the apartheid regime in South Africa, such as the African National Congress and Namibia's South West Africa People's Organisation, won observer status at the UN, as did the Palestine Liberation Organization and other national liberation movements. Puerto Rican independence fighters took their case before UN committees, as did American Indian organizations. Malcolm X sought to get the question of the racist oppression of Blacks in the United States placed on the agenda of the General Assembly.

While supporters of struggles for national liberation and socialism could and did take advantage of this international rostrum, however, the UN's evolving membership did not alter the political character of the United Nations as the instrument of imperialist policy it was created to be. From the start, the degree of the UN's usefulness to Washington depended on the collaboration it was able to get at a given time from the Soviet government through the mechanism of the Security Council.

Thus, the "history" of the UN is nothing but the history of the shifting relations between the U.S. imperialist rulers and the bureaucratic caste that has held the government of the Soviet workers' state in its death grip since the triumph of Stalin some 60 years ago.

(Next week: Korea and the Congo, the UN's true face.)

and Immigrant Responsibility Act; the bolstering of commando and SWAT-style squads on the federal, state, and local levels; the establishment of a White House "counter-intelligence czar"; and other such measures.

"They've had all this ready for use for several years, in anticipation of the rise in struggles by workers and farmers they know is coming in the United States," Clark said. "Now they have the pretext to ratchet up the pace."

Even the layoffs of airline employees and other workers the bosses are blaming on "terrorism" were largely planned well beforehand, as profits were being squeezed by overcapacity and increasingly volatile world competition, and as capitalism headed into its first worldwide recession since 1990-91. "The employers just seized the opportunity to wave the bloody flag against workers and unionists who stood up to defend the rights and livelihoods of working people," Clark said.

None of this would come as a surprise to anyone who's had a chance to read and think about some of the books and magazines referred to by Waters at the opening of the meeting, Clark said. He pointed to several others, including "U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War" in issue no. 11 of *New Internationalist* magazine, and *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* by Jack Barnes published earlier this year.

Working people and youth in the United States who want to combat the social evils we see accelerating all around us, Clark said, need to look for revolutionary solutions and reach out to the struggles of workers and farmers the world over. The impoverishment and lack of industrial development in the countries where the great majority of humanity lives, and the vast inequities in social and cultural conditions, are the product neither of "conspiracies" nor "chaos," Clark said. "They are the inevitable result of how capitalism works, not how it doesn't work."

When the leaders of the victorious Bolshevik revolution in Russia launched the Communist International some 80 years ago, its statutes said it was breaking "once and for all with the traditions" of most previous organizations that claimed to be socialist "which, in reality, only recognized the white race." In the new communist world movement, it said, "are fraternally united people of all colors—white, yellow, and black—the toilers of the entire world."

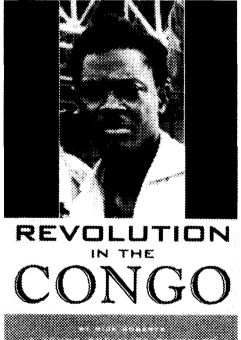
Clark welcomed those at the meeting to join with the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialists, and their

Newly reissued by Pathfinder \$3

## REVOLUTION in the CONGO

**By Dick Roberts**

Describes the struggle against Belgian colonial rule, the 1960 independence victory of the Congolese workers and farmers under the leadership of Patrice Lumumba, the role, under UN cover, of Washington and other imperialist powers in the overthrow and assassination of Lumumba, and the continuing freedom struggles there in the early 1960s.



REVOLUTION  
IN THE  
CONGO

**Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 20.**

Continued from Page 8

in the weeks since September 11, he pointed out. They have taken the campaign against imperialism and its war drive onto the streets in workers' districts; onto the job in plants, mines, and mills; onto the campuses; and to union events and social protests.

As during the opening days and weeks of Washington's war drive against Iraq 10 years earlier, Barnes said, workers across the United States and around the world were immediately confronted with decisions about what to say and how to conduct themselves on the job. They came under pressure from their employers, and often from some co-workers as well, to observe patriotic moments of silence called for by the Bush administration, to take American flags or yellow ribbons, to attend church services, to join in union-organized blood drives or collections—all organized under the banner of public mourning to mobilize support for the U.S. rulers' chauvinist militarization drive.

Barnes called attention to the example set by communist workers—none of them either “emotionally dead” or mentally dead—who held their ground, stuck to their principles, and steadfastly refused to join in these patriotic displays.

In doing so, these workers established where they stood from the outset, won respect from co-workers, and laid the basis for ongoing discussions and political work as the U.S. war and its consequences unfold.

These workers were prepared above all—in their minds, in their habits, and in their gut—by their accumulated experience as disciplined cadres of the communist workers movement. Equipped with that training in proletarian politics, Barnes said, the timeliness, tone, and communist clarity of the Socialist Workers Party's September 11 statement undoubtedly stood them in good stead, as well.

#### Two classes, different responses

In the wake of the World Trade Center attack, Barnes said, public discourse in much of New York City had been covered by “a patina of petty-bourgeois hysteria and panic.”

But there's not a single, socially homogeneous “New York,” Barnes said, any more than there is a single “America.” Cities, like countries, are class divided, and they are politically polarized. “They are a geographical connection of ‘we’ and ‘they.’ And especially as the rulers head into a war, they want to make us think of everybody, altogether, as we.”

Barnes read from a recent Op/Ed piece by *New York Times* columnist Maureen Dowd, reflecting the panic among layers of the professional and middle classes and the deepening social crisis and insecurity underlying it. “Women I know in New York and Washington debate whether to order Israeli vs. Marine Corps gas masks, and half-hour lightweight gas masks vs. \$400 eight-hour gas masks, baby gas masks and pet gas masks, with the same meticulous attention they gave to ordering no-foam-no-fat-no-whip lattes in more innocent days.

“They share information on which pharmacies still have...antibiotics that can be used for anthrax,” Dowd wrote. “They are toting around flats and sneakers in case they have to run, and stocking up on canned tuna, salmon and oysters, batteries and bottled waters” And Dowd goes on in that vein for 16 paragraphs.

“But you don't see gas masks in the subways used by millions of working people every day, do you?” said Barnes. In fact, many workers are becoming impatient at cops who act even more brazenly like they own the streets in parts of the city, as well as the stoppages on roads and tunnels that are adding hours to the working day in some cases.

“Despite the hysteria that saturates the big business media,” Barnes said, “there really are two New Yorks.”

#### A would-be Bonaparte undone

New York City since September 11, Barnes said, also provided a textbook study in all the elements of Bonapartism at this stage of the capitalist crisis in the United States, as well as its current limitations.

Playing on the panic and insecurities of middle-class layers in times of crisis—ultimately the root of the mass base of any serious fascist movement—bourgeois figures will push themselves forward as someone who stands above conflicting classes and can restore order and stability. They demagogically pledge to cut through government bureaucracy and workaday politics to “get the job done,” often by setting aside “legalities.” Like H. Ross Perot during his run for the U.S. presidency in 1992, they appeal to special armed units—such as the Navy SEALs in Perot's case—as the only “trustworthy” and “incorruptible” force that can protect the population.

With the onset of the crisis in New York City, Barnes said, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani hoped to reverse his fortunes to push himself forward as the “can-do” man of the hour. Prior to September 11 Giuliani had still been the object of a nearly year-long press campaign scandalizing him over his personal life, part of the pornographication of bourgeois politics noted earlier.

Now, scheduling frequent press conferences at “Ground Zero,” the mayor sought to project an image of composure, control, and candor—the man “in charge.” He repeatedly reminded the public that the “uniformed services” are “my people”—above all the cops but also firemen, several hundred of whom were killed when the Twin Towers



New York mayor Rudolph Giuliani at “Ground Zero.” A would-be Bonaparte, Giuliani's efforts to extend his term in office proved too little, too late.

collapsed. The members of the “uniformed services” who died in the catastrophe have been elevated by the press and politicians as heroes above the 4,000 plus civilians also killed there.

A would-be Bonaparte, Giuliani then began testing the waters, first to see if the current two-term limit could be set aside so he could run for mayor again this fall, or if his term could at least be extended for a few months.

“But in a situation where timing was everything,” Barnes said, “Giuliani made his bid too late, days after the atmosphere of crisis had peaked and begun to recede in New York City, along with his own place in the limelight. Even more decisive, the mayor had misjudged the stage of the broader social crisis, which was not yet ripe for an open move to push parliamentary forms to the side.”

Nonetheless, Giuliani's class intuition that from within the “uniformed services” will come the shock troops of Bonapartism in the United States was on the mark, Barnes said—and of fascist movements, too. Police departments, sheriffs offices, and other “law enforcement” agencies are already honeycombed by those with ultrarightist sympathies. And this will become more the case as the capitalist crisis deepens and the employing class begins unleashing armed gangs against workers picket lines and organizations of labor and the oppressed.

At the National Committee meeting the two days following the public meeting, Barnes responded to several questions about whether the cops and firemen serve the same class interests in capitalist society. No, Barnes said. The police are armed defenders of capitalist order and property; becoming a cop puts anyone, regardless of class origin, outside the working class and on the side of the propertied in the class struggle. It is a class divide, Barnes said.

Firemen are not an armed force in defense of bourgeois property and rule. Many firemen see themselves more like other public employees and can express solidarity with unions and embattled workers. But the ruling class organizes fire departments in a hierarchical, military fashion, with a chain of command from lieutenants and captains on down. The officer corps of the police and fire departments collaborate day in and day out on many different levels, making the cadres in fire houses vulnerable to all the reactionary pressures emanating from the ranks of the cops and rightist currents they gravitate toward.

#### Pakistani toilers are U.S. workers' allies

The U.S. rulers face formidable obstacles in carrying out their war against Afghanistan and points beyond—from the Philippines and Indonesia in the East, to Iraq and Syria to the West.

“More than half a century after the peak of its world domination in the years just after Washington's victory in World War II,” Barnes said, “U.S. imperialism—history's final empire—is acting today from relative weakness, not strength.”

With only London solidly at its side, Washington has not been able, and will not be able, to marshal the kind of broad if conflicting and unstable coalition it patched together 10 years ago to wage war against Iraq. Other European powers have been more guarded in their support and have little to offer militarily in any strategic sense. Putin is eager to boost Russia's leverage in Europe as much as possible and deal blows to restive Muslim oppressed peoples from Chechnya eastward throughout its current territories and the former lands it still

dominates; authorities in Moscow, however, still look as a mixed blessing upon the U.S. military buildup across their southern flank in Central Asia.

The biggest obstacle to the war drive right now, Barnes said, are the working people of Pakistan, who have mobilized in their tens of thousands to oppose U.S. war preparations and to condemn Islamabad's support for the aggression.

For this very reason, he said, they are also objectively the most important international ally of working people in the United States, as are working people and youth from Egypt and Palestine to Indonesia and the Philippines who are already going into action to respond to Washington's war moves.

#### World Youth Festival in Algeria

Barnes called attention to those seated on the platform at the meeting who had participated in the 15th World Festival of Youth and Students in Algeria in August, which drew some 6,000 delegates from around the world, particularly from the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, and Asia.

These young people—part of some 25 Young Socialists from seven countries who participated in the festival—“had an effect on something historic,” Barnes said. “I think it's hard either for them or others to fully absorb what was registered by that gathering.”

The success of the Algiers festival, Barnes said, marked another step forward in building a new anti-imperialist youth movement worldwide.

This is quite a shift in international working-class politics, Barnes said. During the first 13 World Youth Festivals between 1946 and 1989, the Stalinist movement that drew on the immense resources of the regime in Moscow had tightly controlled the festivals. They sought to use these gatherings as a way to advance Moscow's class-collaborationist diplomatic goal of reaching a long-term accommodation with imperialism—an objective as ultimately utopian as it was counterrevolutionary.

With the collapse of the Stalinist regimes across Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union itself between 1989 and 1991, he said, it appeared for a time that there would never be another world youth festival. But the Cuban government hosted a festival in Havana drawing some 12,000 participants in 1997, welcoming a broad range of revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces from around the world, excluding no one, and closing down no conversations or literature tables.

The Algiers festival, the first ever held on African soil, was a second advance for that new, anti-imperialist tradition, said Barnes.

Barnes noted that in 1965 a previous World Youth Festival had been scheduled for Algeria. It held out the promise of being more open than prior festivals to exchanges among young revolutionaries, under the impact of developments at that time in the anti-imperialist struggle: the wave of successful independence fights across Africa and the Middle East, the Cuban Revolution, and the victorious struggle against French colonial rule in Algeria itself, which had culminated in the establishment of a workers and peasants government there with close ties to revolutionary Cuba.

Barnes said he had been planning to participate in that earlier Algeria festival as part of a delegation from the Young Socialist Alliance. A few months earlier, he said, he and another YSA leader had conducted an interview with Malcolm X for the *Young Socialist* magazine; the interview is still in print in a pamphlet and book published



by Pathfinder, both under the title, *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*.

When Barnes took Malcolm the completed interview to look over, Malcolm was glad to hear about the YSA's plans to attend the youth festival in Algeria. Malcolm said he had met a number of young revolutionaries during his visits over the previous year to Africa, including Algeria, and Europe. He said he would draw up a list of these contacts, so the YSA could send them copies of the *Young Socialists* interview and arrange to meet and hold discussions at the Algeria youth festival.

That way, Malcolm added, "both sides can broaden your scopes."

"I told Malcolm we looked forward to doing so," Barnes said.

Two events happened that changed those plans.

First, in February 1965 Malcolm X was assassinated, before the interview in the *YS* had been printed and before the YSA leaders had gotten the list of young revolutionaries from Malcolm. "We fully intended to carry out our pledge to Malcolm, nonetheless," Barnes said. "We were confident that if we went to the festival in Algeria, we would find some of those young revolutionaries Malcolm had spoken of, and meet many more like them."

Second, in the spring of that year, just days before the festival was scheduled to open, the workers and farmers government was overthrown in a counterrevolutionary coup and the gathering was canceled. Barnes was half way down the Italian peninsula on a train en route to Algeria when he got the news.

"So, fulfilling our pledge to Malcolm was postponed," Barnes said. "I never thought it was canceled—pledges

communist and revolutionary books and pamphlets into their hands.

In contrast, a substantial number of the official Communist Parties and their youth organizations with historic ties to the former Stalinist regime in Moscow either boycotted the 2001 Algiers festival altogether (such as those from France, Italy, Canada, and Japan), or sent only a token delegation (such as two leaders from the Young Communist League in the United States).

The pretext for this de facto boycott was that the Algerian government had repressed protests for language and national rights by the oppressed Berbers in that country and that political conditions had become too explosive and dangerous at the time. The call to stay away from the festival was in fact organized, behind the scene, by the imperialist government of France and by international Social Democracy, which scheduled a competing youth festival in Panama some weeks earlier.

At the SWP National Committee meeting following the September 20 public event, Barnes noted that both the political character of the Algiers festival and its composition was falsified by the article that appeared in the September 8 issue of the *People's Weekly World*, the newspaper of the Communist Party USA. The article was written by Noel Rabinowitz, one of the two YCL leaders who attended the festival.

"Though we were not a large delegation," Rabinowitz wrote, "the participation of anti-imperialist youth of the U.S. was a political victory for the festival. The Young Communist League USA (YCLUSA) took our internationalist responsibility seriously and played a leadership

role in the effort. The YCLUSA convened the United States National Preparatory Committee (USNPC) ensuring the representation of a broad array of national youth and student groups such as the United States Student Association and United Students Against Sweatshops. The YCLUSA represented the USNPC in the International Organizing Committee, led the U.S. delegation and participated in the plenaries of several key sessions."

The truth—that the YCL ended up discouraging participation in the gathering and only organized for two of its own members to go—is completely covered up in the article.

Ever since the 1930s, Barnes said, the world Stalinist movement had gotten used not only to being able to circulate lies but also to "make them true"—simply by means of corruption, thuggery, and assassinations by its worldwide murder machine.

"The greatly weakened remnants of this former international movement are no longer able to do so," Barnes said. "That's a big advance for the international working class.

"But as the *People's Weekly World* article on the World Youth Festival shows," Barnes added, "that doesn't mean they won't still try."

The SWP leader noted at the party's National Committee meeting that since September 11 both the YCL and Communist Party USA were among those in the working-class movement that had gone the farthest in accepting the U.S. rulers' patriotic framework of "we" and "our country's" fight against "terrorism."

The YCL featured a badge on its web site saying, "I love New York, Honor their memory... Unite in Peace." The YCL urged its chapters "to support the vigils and rallies for peace that are spontaneously happening around the country," along the central political axis: "No more victims! End the cycle of violence."

In a September 21 statement, CPUSA national chairperson Sam Webb had the following to say: "The death of more than five thousand people is an American tragedy. Other countries have experienced equal or worse tragedies, but this took place on our national soil and was so cruel and unexpected....

"Indeed, people are questioning long held assumptions that inform how we think about our lives, our families, and our nation's future. We are all asking, 'How could it happen here and what can be done to prevent it reoccurrence?'"

**Soldiers, not warriors**

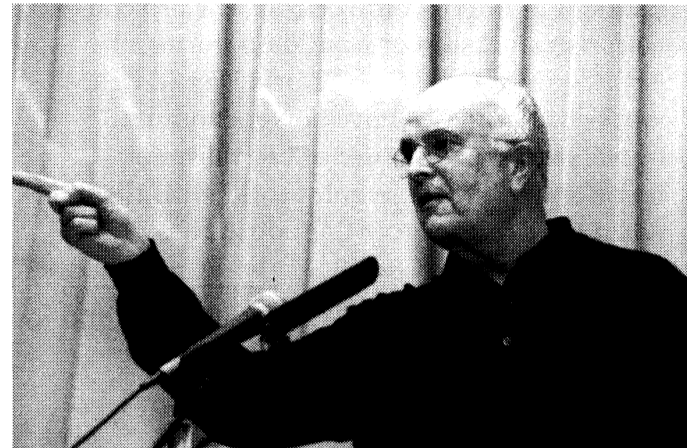
In closing his talk at the September 30 meeting, Barnes

said that while the events of the previous two weeks had not "reshaped the globe"—as a headline in that day's *New York Times* "Week in Review" section had proclaimed—political forces that were already in motion had indeed begun speeding up.

That fact, he said, places special responsibilities on the communist movement, as well as increased opportunities, to deepen its course of following the lines of resistance in the working class and among farmers, to reinforce its industrial union fractions, and to win young forces to the Young Socialists and the Socialist Workers Party.

"We are building a movement of disciplined soldiers, not individual warriors, he said.

"Warriors have many traits worthy of emulation,"



SWP national secretary Jack Barnes spoke on "Communists and the Fight against Imperialism Today" at September 30 meeting in New York.

Barnes said, "chief among them being courage."

No revolutionary organization can accomplish much without cadres who display courage, both politically and physically, Barnes said. "But courage and discipline are not the same thing. And courage without discipline becomes just another form of petty bourgeois individualism. It can lead to unnecessary harm—to individual workers, to the communist movement, and to innocent bystanders."

"We've often said that discipline is something that cannot be imposed," the SWP leader said. "It is something the cadres of a proletarian party internalize over time, through collective class-struggle experience and Marxist political training. When we need party discipline most, there often won't be time to check with some higher body: we'll simply act on the basis of who we've become through that process of political preparation."

At the same time, Barnes said, September 11 was the time, more than ever, when all the units of the communist movements—the party branches and organizing committees, the trade union fractions, the chapters of the Young Socialists—needed to get together, discuss the political situation, and decide what they were going to do.

"The organizational structure, norms, and institutions of the communist movement become more important at times such as these," he said. "That's when all of them are put to the test, in the crucible of an imperialist war and militarization drive."

These questions were central to the two days of discussion and decisions by the Socialist Workers Party leadership following the September 30 public meeting, as well as the international leadership gathering that wrapped up the five days of deliberations.

Returning to the themes that had been struck by Mary-Alice Waters in opening the New York public meeting, Jack Barnes noted in his closing remarks that during an imperialist war, strikes by workers and other actions in which working people oppose the oppression and brutalities of capitalism are the cells of the most fundamental counter to the rulers' patriotic course.

"Communists are not organizing an antiwar campaign," Barnes said. "As the Bolsheviks put it during World War I, we don't have a revolutionary policy in peace time and a peace policy in wartime.

"Instead, in the midst of Washington's war, we are organizing a stepped-up campaign against imperialism, against what Lenin taught us is the final stage of capitalism—the stage we're still in. We keep our eyes focused on the class struggle."

It is in the course of class battles, Barnes said, that the illusion that "we"—the ruling class and working people together—need to "equally" sacrifice for the war effort is challenged in practice by the actual experience of growing numbers. Workers who go on strike or stay the course in some social or political struggle, despite the pressures of imperialist war, are refusing to sacrifice their rights, wages, union organization, or life or limb to the needs of the capitalist exploiters, Barnes said.

For communist workers, Barnes concluded, it is both possible and necessary to turn more deeply toward the resistance of working people in the Untied States in response to the imperialist war against Afghanistan. At the same time, a new generation can be won to the Young Socialists and the communist movement if revolutionary workers collaborate with YS members to go out to college campuses and elsewhere to meet young people repelled by the course of the imperialists and who can be attracted to the working class and revolutionary struggle.



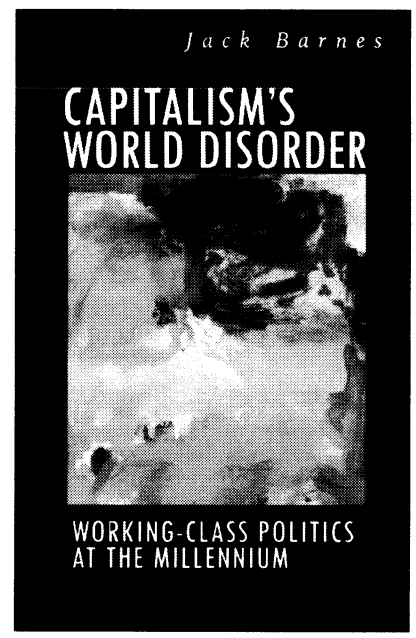
Protesters gather in Chaman, Pakistan, on October 8, to voice their opposition to the assault on Afghanistan by Washington and London. "Right now," said Barnes, "the Pakistani workers and peasants are the biggest ally of U.S. working people."

among revolutionaries never are. I always considered fulfilling that pledge to be postponed—but, of course, I had no way of knowing for how long, or under what circumstances the deed would be done.

"Now we know," Barnes said. "It was fulfilled last month by the international Young Socialists delegation to the 15th World Youth Festival in Algiers."

That delegation, he said, had discussions and established relations with young revolutionists and anti-imperialist fighters from across the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and got hundreds of copies of

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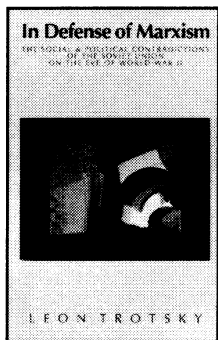
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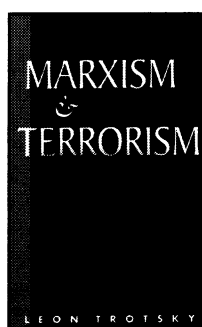
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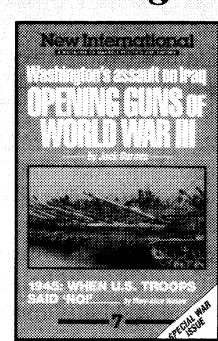
by Jack Barnes

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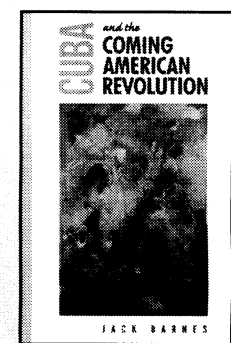
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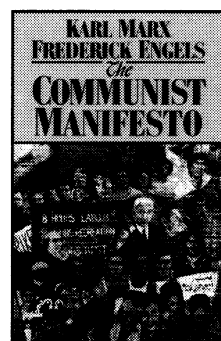
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**See directory on page 20**

# Locked-out workers win solidarity in UK

Continued from Page 24

workers at Friction Dynamics are giving £5 a week from their strike pay to go to the strike fund for workers at William Cooks (£1=US \$1.47). Gerald Parry, another of the locked-out workers, said, "You could put our leaflets side by side, and with the Rossington leaflet, and not see hardly any difference." Coal miners at Rossington colliery in Yorkshire have been on strike since August 15 and are preparing to stand up to a lockout by UK Coal once they have been on strike for eight weeks.

Messages of solidarity have been coming in from unionists abroad as well. "I'm collecting flags from each country where we have support, and we're putting them up on the picket line," said Davies.

"Right from when Smith took over the factory in 1997 he showed he was a union

buster," explained Parry. "When he arrived, we had 200 TGWU members in the plant. He systematically made union members redundant [unemployed], replacing them within a few weeks by temporary workers who were afraid to join the union because they might lose their jobs. As he continued this policy, our union was dwindling, and when we were one step away from becoming a minority we had to strike. We did it all officially, so he couldn't sack us," Parry said.

"But he forgot we are part of the TGWU. This is an attack on the whole trade union movement," he said. "We created unions to fight people like him and he mustn't win. Over the past two years or so he has been trying to provoke us to strike so he could sack us. This year, he told us that we had to take all our holidays every Monday in January, February, and March. We nearly went

on strike then, but we decided that when we strike we'll choose the time."

"We have struggled for 30 years to improve our conditions," added Adrian Roberts, "we must maintain the standards we have striven for. It's for the people coming up after us."

Smith brought in a "measured day working," said Roberts, in which he specified how much each person should produce each day. The boss had a "three strikes and you're out" policy if a workers didn't reach the production quotas. "He made sure the day and night shifts didn't meet at work by introducing casual workers who did a few hours in between each shift," Roberts said, "and he made our union leaders work on their own in a room without heating where asbestos had been stored."

"It's all a pattern of cutting costs not

profit," said Davies, "but they only seem to do it by attacking workers." Davies said Smith has polluted the Menai Strait, a channel between the North Wales coast and the island of Anglesey, which is next to the plant and a protected conservation area. The company is also piling up dust near houses and farms, "and although we don't use asbestos any more we still use dangerous substances," Davies said.

The locked-out workers report that in the United States Smith sold asbestos waste as landfill and threw it into rivers, leaving severe environmental problems in the state of Connecticut. "It's our planet," said Parry. "About 2 percent of the population owns it though, and can do what they want with it—like destroy it. We can't leave it in the hands of these people."

The visiting workers from Friction Dynamics met with members of the public sector union, the Fire Brigades Union, and the Communication Workers Union (CWU). Members in all these unions have been involved in fights against attacks on wages and conditions.

Last June 15,000 postal workers, members of the CWU, struck across the country. The locked-out workers also spoke with branch officials at the Ford engine plant in Dagenham. Ford made 1,350 workers redundant at the neighboring body and assembly plants in July 2000 and will end production at these plants altogether in early 2002 with a similar number of workers losing their jobs.

## Dublin rally backs freedom struggle

Continued from Page 24

violent campaign in Belfast, saying he had held off doing so on the basis that he had been assured by its leadership the trouble would end. The same evening journalist Martin O'Hagan was assassinated by the Red Hand Defenders, a name used by both the UDA and Loyalist Volunteer Force to avoid directly claiming responsibility for attacks. Reid did not follow through on his warning to the UDA.

British not demilitarizing

Several delegates at the Ard Fheis expressed their anger at these developments. Brendan McFarlane, a former leader of Republican prisoners and now living in north Belfast, said that it is "no coincidence that when Trimble presses the destruct button, loyalist attacks are stepped up." McFarlane pointed to how "the British government does nothing about the UDA" because "the UDA is a creation of the British government." For example, Brian Nelson, the UDA's former head of intelligence, was a paid British agent.

Another delegate, Pat McNamee from Crossmaglen in Armagh, raised that in his area "the demilitarization of the British has not happened," describing how there were still 31 British Army spy posts with helicopters permanently patrolling overhead.

Speaking for the leadership of Sinn Fein, Gerry Kelly signaled his party's continued refusal to agree to a new policing service set up by the British rulers with support from the UUP and SDLP. Kelly charged that this new police force would be no different in content from the current Royal Ulster Constabulary, which he said was "the paramilitary arm of unionism." Kelly called for delegates to leave the Ard Fheis "ready to campaign vigorously against recruitment" to the new police service.

The report to the Sinn Fein conference by Adams reviewed economic conditions facing working people in Ireland. He noted that 21 percent of Irish workers live on low incomes and the "26 Counties also has the second largest gap between rich and poor in the EU [European Union]. The income inequalities in the Six Counties are just as pronounced." Adams said there are "1.1 million people on the island who can be categorized as education poor" and that "24 percent of the adult population north and south had literacy difficulties."

Adams welcomed steps being taken by the Irish government to re-inter 10 IRA Volunteers buried in Mountjoy jail and to urge people to attend their state funeral on Octo-

ber 14 in Dublin. The 10, including Kevin Barry who was accused of killing three British soldiers, were executed by the British rulers in 1920 and 1921 during the Irish war of independence. They have never had a funeral.

The Sinn Fein president also announced that he will travel to South Africa September 30 to meet Nelson Mandela and leaders of the African National Congress, and that

he will go at an appropriate time to Cuba.

Delegates gave an enthusiastic ovation to Ali Halimeh, a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and welcomed Joseba Alvarez from the Basque organization Batasuna. Alvarez told the meeting, "The French and Spanish states are using the current atmosphere to criminalize the Basque people. They propose a security response rather a political one. But we won't give up."

## Strikers in Minnesota: 'This is our time!'

Continued from front page

stan. But every striker spoken to by reporters for the *Militant* was united on the need to fight now for living wages and against higher health-care costs proposed by the state.

On the picket line workers reported activity around the state. In Rochester, the Teacher's Union at Winona State University organized a rally and the Student Senate has started a letter-writing campaign to the governor. A rally of 200 strikers was held in Hibbing and 100 in Fergus Falls.

In St. Cloud, a huge banner at the main entrance to St. Cloud State University says, "This strike brought to you by the Ventura administration." At Minnesota State University in Mankato both teachers and students are wearing union buttons and walking picket lines.

A New York Firefighters Union member sent a message: "We will mourn our dead. You fight like hell for the living."

This week AFSCME International president Gerard McEntee and Secretary Treasurer Bill Lucy will be in Minnesota to speak at rallies throughout the state.

The *Pioneer Press* reported October 5 that the Minnesota Department of Transportation (MnDot) released their plan for clearing roads during a snowstorm with their 1,400 snowplow drivers on strike. Doug Weiszhar, chief engineer of MnDot, said the department has identified 160 employees who could have the training and licensing needed to operate snowplows and he hopes to hire another 150. Some strikers say in the case of an early snow season this year—something quite possible in this northerly state—the state plans will be inadequate to keep the roads open.

AFSCME and MAPE represent more than half of the state's approximately 55,000 workers.

Becky Ellis is a sewing machine operator.



Militant/ Francisco Pérez

Minnesota state workers rally on October 10 in front of State Capitol building in St. Paul, Minnesota. Strikers are united in their struggle, in spite of arguments from politicians and others that they should not have picked this time to strike.

### MILITANT AND PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL TAX REFUND

**Turn your federal income tax refund into something the Democrats and Republicans never planned on: a way to deepen the struggle and education of working people against capitalist exploitation and oppression and widen a working-class campaign against imperialism and war.**

The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* urge every reader to contribute their federal tax refund as part of the campaign to get out the truth and help to finance a fighting working-class voice in face of Washington's escalating war drive.

Every contribution, large or small, will be put to good use in giving workers, farmers, working people in uniform, and youth a socialist perspective as U.S. imperialism deepens its assault against working people at home and abroad. Join a growing number of supporters who

have made a contribution. Send the amount you would like to contribute to: [themilitant@compuserve.com](mailto:themilitant@compuserve.com) or send in the coupon below.

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Clip and send to the *Militant*, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Make checks payable to the *Militant*.

**Number of pledges: 96  
Amount received: \$18,745**

## Miners 1913 strike in Colorado

Continued from Page 23

conomic and political oppression, in places approaching serfdom, which the miners suffered. More important was the ownership of the mining camps by the companies. Many villages and towns were owned outright by the companies; the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company alone owned at least 12. Not only the miners' dwellings, but the school and the church were the property of the company, with the result that teachers and ministers were supervised, if not openly selected, by the company.

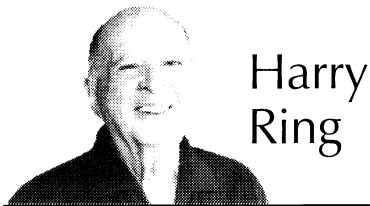
The miner bought his food, clothing, and other supplies at the company store. The houses, according to one observer, who served during part of the strike as a militiaman, were "shabby, ugly, and small." Most

of them had only two or three rooms, although sheds constructed of boards and old sheet iron were added by the tenants. The miner who protested lost simultaneously his job, his dwelling, and his right to remain in the community.

The economic and political domination of the companies was rendered absolute by the use of the summary discharge. A system of espionage detected employees who, by word or deed, challenged the behavior of the companies, and the blacklist punished them. The rights of free speech, free press, and free assembly were arbitrarily suppressed: periodicals were censored, public speakers were expelled, and even the freedom of speech in informal gatherings was curtailed through the fear of spies....



**They can't do everything—**“Texas's unemployment insurance funds appear headed for insolvency. So does New York's. More than a



Harry Ring

dozen states have little or no money for extra welfare benefits in case of recession, and the federal program designed to back them up expired over the weekend.”—October 1 *Los*

*Angeles Times.*

**...meanwhile, a paytriotic shlurp—**“The hotel and restaurant industries are using their business falloff to try to get back the full tax break for ‘three-martini’ lunches and other special-interest provisions that effectively provided a federal subsidy for businesses to spend freely on travel and entertainment.”—*USA Today.*

**Get with the program—**“If you take a trip and invest money in our economy, it's literally an act of modern-day patriotism.” California's gov. Gray Davis, announcing an ad blitz to persuade residents

to take their vacation within the state.

**But their record is reassuring—**“WASHINGTON—The Forest Service is proposing to give its local managers more discretion to skip environmental analysis and public input for small [?] logging and road-building projects in some of the most pristine areas of the national forests.”—Associated Press.

**A boost for rational education—**In Santa Ana, California, high schoolers called on the school officials to scrap sex education programs based on abstinence, Senior student Maricela Sandoval told re-

porters: “We feel the school board should be concerned. We want them to teach contraception and how to deal with relationships.”

**The caring society—**The West Virginia University school of medicine, located in a coal region, received a token \$3.4 million to train more doctors. The university estimates that the region has about nine doctors for every 10,000 residents.

**They've got to stash it somewhere—**“A million tons of radioactive scrap metal may find a new shelf-life in products ranging from soup cans and wrist watches to automobiles and artificial hips. It

would be a mammoth recycling project for a legacy of the Nuclear Age.

“Under a proposal being considered by the Bush administration, the federal government is seeking new uses for lightly [!] contaminated metal as it cleans up its obsolete weapon plants and research labs.”—News item.

**Just showing they're qualified—**London cops are probing a rash of thefts at a police training school. Students' rooms and cars are being broken into and vending machines jimmied open. Investigators believe trainees are responsible for most of the offenses.

## New pamphlet offers Sankara speeches in French

BY CHRISTIAN CORNEJO

TORONTO—On Aug. 4, 1983, a popular uprising in Upper Volta initiated one of the most profound revolutions in the history of Africa. One year later the country was renamed Burkina Faso, “Land of Upright Men.” Thomas Sankara led a revolution that unfolded in this country until October 1987, when he was assassinated in a coup d'état that overthrew the revolutionary government.

*Nous sommes les héritiers des révolutions du monde* (“We are the inheritors of the revolutions of the world”) contains five speeches given by Sankara during the four years of the Burkinabè revolution. This new booklet in French by Pathfinder Press was published in August of this year, just in time for the 15th World Festival of Youth and Students that took place in Algiers, Algeria. The pam-

phlet was one of the most popular titles at the literature table set up by members of the Young Socialists at the conference.

phlet was one of the most popular titles at the literature table set up by members of the Young Socialists at the conference. It's absolutely true to say, as the preface explains, that “this booklet allows us to hear the voice of one of the greatest revolutionary leaders of the modern international workers' movement.”

Therein, Thomas Sankara explains how the peasants and workers of Burkina Faso established a popular revolutionary government and began fighting hunger, illiteracy, and economic backwardness imposed by imperialist domination, and women's oppression inherited through millennia of class society. The speeches bring to light how the accomplishments of the people of Burkina Faso during the revolution provided an example not only to workers and small farmers in Africa, but to those throughout the world.

In the Political Orientation Speech, given by Sankara on Upper Volta radio and television Oct. 2, 1983, Sankara explains the character and goals of the revolution that had just begun in Upper Volta, as well as the social forces underpinning it.

“Our revolution,” he said, “is a revolution that is unfolding in a backward, agricultural country where the weight of tradition and ideology emanating from a feudal-type social organization weighs very heavily on the popular masses. It is a revolution in a country that, because of the oppression and exploitation of our people by imperialism, has evolved from a colony into a neocolony.” Upper Volta gained independence from France in 1960.

Because of this, Sankara adds, “The August [1983] revolution has a dual character: It is a democratic and popular revolution. Its

primary tasks are to liquidate imperialist domination and exploitation and cleanse the countryside of all social, economic, and cultural obstacles that keep it in a backward state. From this flows its democratic character. “Its popular character arises from the full participation of the Voltaic masses,” he said, “in the revolution and their consistent mobilization around democratic and revolutionary slogans that express in concrete terms their own interests as opposed to those of the reactionary classes allied with imperialism.” The revolutionary leader pointed out the revolution was being made in a country whose population was overwhelming made up of a peasants.

The Political Orientation Speech became the basic document of the Burkinabè revolution. It contains a brief but striking section in which Sankara explains how the revolution and the liberation of women are inextricably linked. He explains how the Burkinabè revolution must create the conditions for “turning loose [women's] fighting initiative” and involving them on “all levels...from conceiving projects to making decisions and implementing them.”

*La liberté se conquiert* (“Freedom can only be won through struggle”) is the speech given by Thomas Sankara before the United Nations General Assembly Oct. 4, 1984. The revolutionary leader used this tribune to address the workers and farmers of the entire world.



Ernest Harsch  
Peasants rally in Pibaoré, Burkina Faso in October 1987. Banner reads: “Farmers of Burkina Faso: hoes yesterday, hoes today, machinery tomorrow.”

likewise presented in February 1986, at the first francophone summit in Paris, Sankara explains, “French, for us has first and foremost been the language of the colonizer.” But at the same time, he said, “It's through the intermediary of the French language that we have read the great educators of the proletariat.” And it is through the French language that the Burkinabè people have been able to communicate with other peoples in struggle, like the Kanak of New Caledonia and the Vietnamese.

Finally, *Nous sommes les héritiers des révolutions du monde* concludes with *On ne tue pas les idées* (“Ideas cannot be killed”), a magnificent homage to Cuban revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara on the 20th anniversary of his death in combat in Bolivia. The speech was given a week before the overthrow of the revolutionary government led by Sankara and his assassination by the coup leaders.

In addition to a splendid color cover, the booklet contains eight pages of photographs.

### IN REVIEW

## —25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



**October 22, 1976**  
SAN ANTONIO—The immigration policies of the U.S. government are racist and must be challenged by organizing a movement in defense of workers without immigration visas—the so-called illegal aliens.

This theme emerged at a “Symposium on Immigration Issues and the Law,” held here at Our Lady of the Lake University October 1–2. Seventy people attended the conference.

The symposium was initiated by the Nacho Pérez Defense Committee. (Pérez is one of two San Antonio activists who have been indicted for “shielding illegal aliens.” Pérez is free on bond and no date has been set for his trial. The other activist, Mario Cantú, was sentenced September 27 to five years' probation and a \$3,000 fine.)

The symposium began the evening of October 1 with the showing of *The Unwanted*, a film about undocumented workers. Gilberto Cárdenas, director of the Mexican-American Studies Center at the University of Texas at Austin, spoke the following morning.

“Mexican aliens are blamed for all social problems,” he said. “And the INS is the major proponent for this attitude.”

Former Texas State Sen. Joe Bernal also spoke. He blasted the discriminatory enforcement of immigration laws.

“When the United States has a need for cheap labor, it pulls in immigrants,” Bernal charged.

“But when the United States is in a recession—as it has been the past four or five years—it pushes them out.”

Several proposals for organizing against the INS were discussed in workshops and approved by the general meeting.



**October 22, 1951**

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 14—As the strike of 10,000 Douglas Aircraft workers at the Long Beach plant neared the end of its sixth week, President Truman directed the War Stabilization Board to intervene and effect a “settlement.” This is the largest and longest strike of aircraft workers in this area since the North American strike of 10 years ago was broken by the use of army troops.

The length and effectiveness of the present strike indicate a serious effort by the UAW to bring aircraft wages and conditions in this area up to the standards in other parts of the country.

With a unanimous vote of 8,000 workers to uphold their bargaining committee, the strike began at midnight Sept. 4th. The demands of the union are: (1) Elimination of the “merit” system and rate ranges which enable the company to use favoritism; (2) a union shop; (3) improved steward system and (4) a wage increase of ten percent plus ten cents an hour retroactive to the dates when these increases were given to workers in other Douglas plants at El Segundo and Santa Monica.

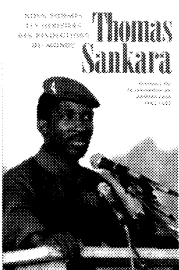
Federal government mediators have been giving the union a run-around from here to Washington and back again but with no effect so far. Truman's directive to the War Stabilization Board was accompanied by the usual strike-breaking formula of “hoping” the workers would go back to their jobs while the Wage Stabilization Board pressured the union committee to take something less than their demands. However, local strike leaders announced yesterday that “as of now” the workers were not going back.

from Pathfinder

**Nous sommes les héritiers des révolutions du monde**  
(We are the inheritors of the revolutions of the world)

Speeches and writings by Thomas Sankara. In French \$7

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 20.



# End invasion of Afghanistan!

Continued from front page

bombing campaign that has included the 5,000-pound "bunker-buster" bombs, which are used to terrorize populations, as well as cluster bombs that shoot shrapnel out in a 360 degree radius with the intention of killing and maiming as many people as possible. This they have done from miles up in the sky or hundreds of miles away using cruise missiles. Washington and London know how to rain death down on people from afar.

Already, tens of thousands of working people in Afghanistan have been forced to flee their homes, seeking refuge away from expected battle zones. Facing a drought and the onset of winter, these workers and peasants are among the first victims of the imperialist war onslaught, along with those who have been killed or injured in the bombing.

Washington is demanding the press censor itself because "our boys" are now "coming in harm's way." Pressure on unionists fighting for a contract will grow as the bosses and the government claim that "this isn't the right time" to strike. The U.S. rulers seek to get working people to accept having a cop walk up to their car and demand that the trunk be opened without even the pretense of reasonable suspicion of a crime. They want workers and farmers to agree to heavily armed cops, state troopers, National Guardsmen, and regular army troops being stationed at government buildings, and airports, and to intimidate workers into accepting random searches on the job and off.

Washington is informing its allies that it will—or has started to—send military forces to other countries it chooses. There aim is to shore up imperialist exploitation and national oppression as the U.S. rulers more and more use military might to try to compensate for their weakening and historically outmoded system.

One of the biggest problems the super wealthy employers in the United States face is that they must simultaneously go after workers and farmers at home and abroad. And each new assault by the rulers brings with it not only the possibility of temporarily improving their position, but carries within it the likelihood of setting off further

conflict.

So far the people of Afghanistan and the Taliban party have not indicated they are willing to have their country occupied and a U.S.-appointed protectorate put in place. The Palestinian people, despite renewed military offensives and killings by the Israeli regime—as well as a clamp down by Yasir Arafat's Palestinian Authority—will not bow down and accept a "solution" that does not grant them self-determination and a homeland. In Puerto Rico, opponents of the continued bombardment of Vieques and occupation of most of the island by the U.S. Navy are gearing up their actions, and a strike by workers in schools has just broken out, bringing thousands onto picket lines.

For workers and farmers in the United States, Washington's war against the peoples of Afghanistan hasn't meant the bosses are going to stop their speedup on the job, attempts to cut wages and set aside safety practices, or erosion of union control. Organizing solidarity for strikes and struggles—from garment workers in San Francisco to state workers in Minnesota and coal miners in Pennsylvania—is an invaluable contribution to the struggle today.

The *Militant* also encourages all our readers to join in the campaign to win new subscribers to the paper and readers of Pathfinder books. Now more than ever, working people and student youth need a clear, scientific understanding of the world and a proletarian course to chart in opposition to imperialism and its war. They tell the unvarnished truth in face of the lies and rationalizations of the spokespeople of the imperialist governments about the history of brutalities brought on the peoples of the Mideast, Latin America, Africa, and elsewhere. They point to how working people in the United States can raise demands that begin to unite them together with toilers in the semicolonial countries, such as canceling the Third World debt owed to the imperialist banks and governments.

End the imperialist invasion of Afghanistan!  
All imperialist and allied troops out of the region!  
Israel out of the occupied territories!  
Stop the assault on workers' rights!

# U.S. and Britain open assault

Continued from Page 6

those powers." Attorney General John Ashcroft has described the legislation as the "anti-terrorist" bill, and the press has covered it in those terms. But the bill opens with a description of the purpose of the new act: "To enhance intelligence and intelligence-related activities of the United States government in the prevention of terrorism, and for other purposes." The bill contains only a few mentions of terrorism and in general simply expands the ability of government agencies to spy on individuals and to share information with each other.

## Protests across the region

Asia, the Middle East, and other regions were rocked with protests against the bombing of Afghanistan, with demonstrations taking place across Pakistan and Kashmir, as well as in Egypt, the Philippines, Oman, Sudan, Indonesia, Thailand, and Malaysia. Indian police suppressed actions in Kashmir, while in Pakistan cops use tear gas and automatic rifle fire to put down protests in Peshawar and Quetta, killing four protesters, including a 10-year-old boy. Crowds of several thousand people fought police for three hours. Palestinian police killed two students who were part of a protest in the Gaza Strip.

Pakistani troops fought battles two days in a row with military forces in Afghanistan, and also faced war threats from India. Indian officials told the Pakistani government October 8 and 9 that India would consider a military attack against Pakistani-occupied Kashmir if it did not prevent further strikes against India by rebels in Kashmir fighting for the independence of the province. "The United States and the United Kingdom must tell Pakistan in unmistakable terms, publicly, that their support to terrorism has to stop," said one official.

Pakistani military ruler Pervez Musharraf urged Washington to end the bombing quickly, out of fear of deepening protests in the country. The Pashtun people form a majority of Afghanistan as well as a substantial portion of Pakistan's northwestern areas. Musharraf said the Northern Alliance, a loose coalition of forces opposed to the government in Kabul headed by the Taliban organization, should not be allowed to "take advantage" of the U.S. and British assault as a means to seize power. The Northern Alliance has received massive new military backing from Washington and Moscow, and support from air strikes against Taliban forces in the north of Afghanistan. So far it has proved incapable of going on the offensive, however, despite the new arms, spiffed-up camouflage uniforms, and intelligence information supplied by its imperialist backers.

## Food drop ploy fizzles

In his October 7 speech Bush also said that the "oppressed people of Afghanistan will know the generosity of America and our allies. As we strike military targets, we'll also drop food, medicine and supplies to the starving and suffering men and women and children of Af-

ghanistan." U.S. forces operating from C-17 cargo planes began dropping huge boxes full of rations wrapped in plastic printed with instructions in English.

The head of the UN refugee office in Tehran said that "any kind of assistance that is not appropriately distributed and monitored may very well not reach those who it should reach." A representative of Doctors Without Borders issued a statement saying the food-drops effort is "not a humanitarian operation. It is part of a military campaign designed to gather international approval of the attacks. It is virtually useless and may even be dangerous." Many aid organizations have noted the large number of land mines in the country and worry that the U.S. food drops will encourage people to risk their lives in mine fields searching for food. The security guards killed in Kabul by the U.S. bombs were employed by an organization that specializes in the removal of mines.

## Imposing 'respectable colonialism'

In addition to calls by some government officials and pundits for Washington to immediately target Iraq and the Hezbollah organization in Lebanon as part of the war, there are those who spell out what they see as the need for the U.S. government to impose protectorates in many countries around the world.

In an article published in the *Wall Street Journal* entitled "The answer to terrorism? Colonialism," Paul Johnson wrote, "America and its allies may find themselves, temporarily at least, not just occupying with troops but administering obdurate terrorist states. These may eventually include not only Afghanistan but Iraq, Sudan, Libya, Iran, and Syria. Democratic regimes willing to abide by international law will be implanted where possible, but a Western political presence seems unavoidable in some cases."

Johnson added that he suspects that "the best medium-term solution will be to revive the old League of Nations Mandate System, which served well as a 'respectable' form of colonialism between the wars."

Martin Wolf wrote in an opinion column published in the *Financial Times* that "a sizable part of the globe" is made up of "failed states" such as Afghanistan, each one of which is "a cradle of disease, source of refugees, haven for criminals or provider of hard drugs."

"Honest government—above all the coercive apparatus...must be provided from the outside," he stated, adding that "some form of United Nations temporary protectorate can surely be created" to "save [these] failed states."

In a column posted on the *National Review Online*, William Hawkins noted, "In the Gulf War, the U.S. stopped after liberating Kuwait. Saddam Hussein was left untouched in Baghdad... Indeed, the failure to remove Saddam a decade ago, when U.S. troops were on his doorstep, can be considered the motive" for Pentagon officials to "make 'decisive war' the core of future doctrine."

Hawkins recognized that Washington's stated war aims "will require [that] a new, cooperative regime be installed in Kabul. Imposing such a change of regime requires troops on the ground."

# Social Security 'lockbox' is already open

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

In his letter printed on the facing page, reader Jim Sarsgard takes issue with a statement in an article published in the September 24 *Militant*, entitled "Government panel presses Social Security attack." The article described the next steps in the rulers' assault on Social Security and how a bipartisan commission set up by the White House is being used as part of the propaganda offensive claiming the system is going broke. The White House is pushing to establish individual investment accounts, replacing, at least in part, the present government-provided pension.

In the course of reporting this attack, the *Militant* has contrasted the essence of the Social Security program—a series of entitlements won and defended by working people in struggle—with its false depiction by capitalist

## DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

commentators as a pension program, that, walled-off from other government accounts, is threatened with insolvency as the number of retired people increases.

That accounting sleight-of-hand is a key part of the steady propaganda chorus that accompanies the commission's work. Capitalist politicians, economists, and editorial writers join in an effort to dupe working people into believing that the government cannot "afford" to go on paying out benefits at the present level.

"Nobody has any idea how we will manage in a couple of years, when millions of baby boomers start collecting their Social Security checks," wrote Paul Krugman—an economist who has disputed the most alarmist and right-wing versions of this argument—in the September 30 *New York Times*.

Such voices cite the state of the Social Security accounts (set up as Sarsgard describes.) They claim the accounts will plunge from a surplus of more than 150 billion dollars a year today into deficit, as baby boomers—people born in the decade and a half following World War II—become eligible for their pensions. Benefits have to be cut, and "reforms" have to be instituted, if the scheme is to survive, they say.

Working people have a different framework. They start with the reality of Social Security and how the social wage it represents was won. In decades past, working people demanded that the government make provisions for the retired, the disabled, and the sick, at the same time as they fought to establish limits on the working day, and to improve wages and working conditions. The Social Security Act was a byproduct of the massive struggles that formed the industrial union movement in this country in the mid- to late-1930s. Later, the entitlements listed under the legislation were expanded under the impact of other struggles, especially the civil rights movement and other social ferment of the 1950s and '60s. The capitalist rulers conceded such programs out of fear of these mass movements, in which could be seen the revolutionary potential of the working class.

Today, millions of working people oppose the preparations to undermine Social Security. In defending it, they defend not the particular bookkeeping entries tagged with its name, but what they fought for in the first place: the right to a pension, a disability allowance, benefits to widows and widowers, and other entitlements.

The to and fro over the so-called Social Security "lockbox" shows the duplicitous character of the way Social Security is presented in the capitalist media. The lockbox is a fictional creation of the demagoguery of capitalist politicians, and nothing more. The funds marked "Social Security" have long been absorbed into the government's take. Meanwhile, each administration, however reluctantly, pays out the entitlements provided for under Social Security, as it is obliged to do, regardless of the given state of the Social Security accounts.

As Congress and the White House have seized upon the September 11 events and embarked on a stepped-up bipartisan war drive, they have unceremoniously dumped any pretense of a lockbox. "Both parties [have] withdrawn their commitment not to spend any part of the Social Security surplus," noted the *New York Times* on September 29. "The Social Security lockbox has been cast aside," stated the paper more bluntly on October 1.

As working people continue our historic fight for the establishment of comprehensive cradle-to-grave social security, we need to strip away the fake presentation of Social Security as anything but a social right that they—the capitalist rulers—resent paying for and that we—working people—must fight to defend.

# How miners fought company brutality

Printed below is an excerpt from *American Labor Struggles: 1877-1934* by Samuel Yellen. The chapter quoted is titled "Bloody Ludlow," which tells the story of the strike by thousands of miners in Ludlow, Colorado, in 1913 against the horrendous living and working conditions imposed upon them by the coal companies. Copyright ©1936 by Samuel Yellen. Reprinted by permission of Pathfinder.

BY SAMUEL YELLEN

When in September, 1913, some 9,000 miners with their families and belongings left the company camps, marched down the canyons of the southern Colorado coalfields, and established tent colonies, they began a 15-month strike against the mine operators that was not so much a struggle for higher wages or other tangible advantages as a revolt against a political, economic, and social despotism. The scene of the struggle, the region surrounding Trinidad, particularly Las Animas and Huerfano Counties, was geographically isolated from the social and

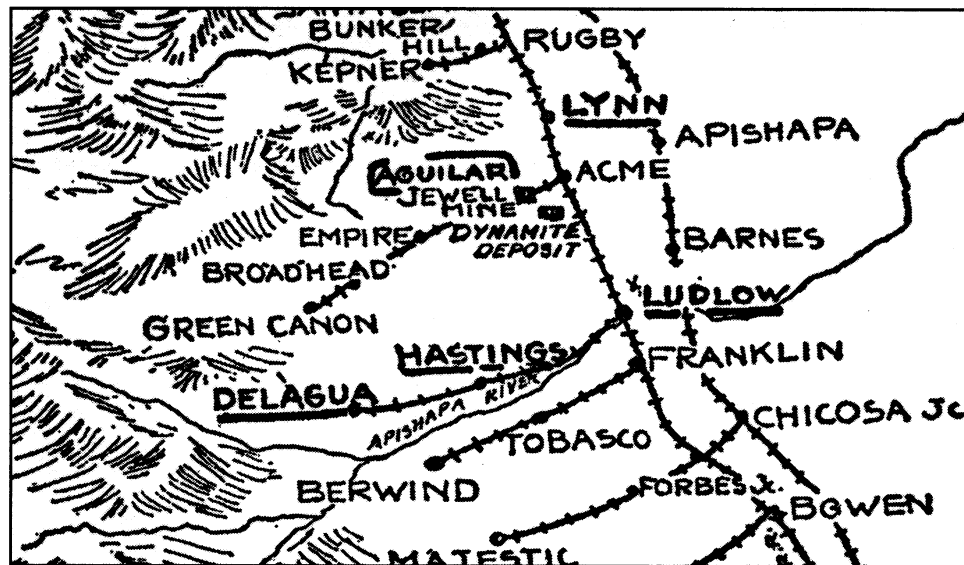
industrial life of the rest of the state.

The coalfields were located in the foothills to the east of the Rocky Mountains, and the camps, situated in the narrow gorges and valleys, were shut in so closely by hills

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

that often only two or three rows of houses could be erected. The principal towns were 10 to 30 miles from the mining camps, and could be reached only by branch railways.

In these isolated communities the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company, the Victor-American Fuel Company, and a number of smaller operators furnished subsistence for 30,000 people, most of them Greeks, Italians, Slavs,



Map from *American Labor Struggles* shows region east of Rocky Mountains where striking miners fought back against assaults by company goons and National Guard troops. When 21 strikers and family members were killed in massacre at Ludlow in 1914 (see center right of map), miners in surrounding districts joined the struggle.

and Mexicans. Since the 1880's and 1890's, when the development of the coal industry in southern Colorado began, the companies had performed all the functions of civil government and had regulated all social activities. Strikes of the miners in 1883, 1893, and 1903 had been quickly suppressed by the use of armed guards, the expulsion of

strikers, and the importation of strike-breakers. That the working and living conditions in these isolated mining camps were the cause of the repeated strikes is supported by the fact that the strike-breakers of 1903 became, in large part, the strikers of 1913.

Isolation was only one factor in the eco-  
Continued on Page 19

## LETTERS

### Opening guns of WW III?

Correct me if I am wrong, but I am of the understanding that Bush is calling for 1) the extermination of "terrorism" worldwide; 2) calling upon every country worldwide to support its eliminating "terrorists" as well as punishing those countries harboring them.

Is Bush setting up the "moral right"—while gathering support from the rest of the world—to attack Cuba, North Korea, and any other country the U.S. deems "terrorist?" I don't know how many countries the U.S. considers "terrorist," but there's a slew of them. Does this also mean that Bush is calling on nations to assist in, or support, further U.S. warfare against the Colombian freedom fighters and Basque separatists? And who after that?

What organizations, including any of those that call themselves "revolutionary," could be included on this list? Bush is setting up a groundwork for a continuation of what Jack Barnes called the "opening guns of WW III," although this time the undercutting of civil rights is being woven into the rulers' game plan?

David Bouffard  
Ormond Beach, Florida

### Protection from terrorism

I agree with many characterizations of imperialism in the *Militant*. But what I find missing in the paper are any realistic measures for protecting those of us who live in

the United States.

Yes, I do agree we're caught between the U.S. government's policies and the rage they incite all over the world. But isn't calling for an end to capitalism before doing anything to protect ourselves from terrorists pretty much the same argument we used to hear from socialists who promised we'd get Black, women's, and gay liberation "after the revolution?"

Please, in the next issue(s) of the *Militant*, describe the SWP solution for protecting us, working people and others, in the United States, from terrorism. I've been looking through the *Militant* online, and greatly appreciated your reprinting Fidel Castro's speech. Thanks for all your brave work and revolutionary analyses.

Judy Cutler  
New York, New York

### Enriched by meeting

In attending the conference in New York September 30, "Communists and the World Struggle against Imperialism Today," I was enriched in many ways—by Ma'mud Shirvani's insights on the history and influence of the Iranian working class, by Steve Clark's analysis of the situation in which imperialism finds itself today, and by the speakers who spoke of situations in the union movement and day-to-day class struggle.

As well as containing important social/

scientific and analytic content, the talk by Jack Barnes contained a liberating element lifting up and firming whomever in the room was preparing to fight for justice in the social struggles that loom on the horizon. Part of this was through Barnes's irreverent humor and call to steel ourselves to the "phony sentimentalism" being made to dominate the big-business media.

Neither Terrorism Nor War! U.S. Hands Off the Middle East! For a World Without Borders!

Ben Fiering  
Peekskill, New York

### Surprise

I was initially surprised that the *Militant* did not run the September 11 statement from the government of the Republic of Cuba, which was immediately available on the *Granma* website.

But after reading the article in the latest online issue of your paper, "Did September 11 mark 'new stage of world history?'" it really sank in how deeply unlike the Cuban government, you view human compassion as a weakness.

Marea Rose Jenness  
St. Paul, Minnesota

### Cops and firefighters

I went to New York yesterday for a public meeting on "Communists and the World Struggle against Imperialism Today," and I'm glad I did. The speakers explained the war drive that the U.S. rulers have been preparing for a decade, and that they are now accelerating on the pretext of "fighting terrorism." I'm looking forward to the *Militant's* coverage of the gathering.

At the meeting, SWP leader Jack Barnes also touched on the role of the "uniformed services" in the recent events. Having always drawn a distinction between firefighters and cops, I'd be interested to hear more on that point.

Steve Marshall  
Atlanta, Georgia

### Interest in socialist press

I wanted to let you know about the tremendous interest I have found amongst my Mexican-born co-workers in the socialist press. I am a weaver at a nonunion textile mill in rural Alabama where they have recently hired a great number of workers from Mexico for the first time in the plant's history. One approached me shortly after the terrorist attacks of September 11 for my opinion. I gave him a copy of the statement by New York socialist candidate Martin Koppel. He liked it, so I brought him a copy of *Perspectiva Mundial*, which he readily purchased a subscription to.

Since then, he has helped me to sell two additional subscriptions to *PM* at the plant and has suggested that I bring *PM* and Pathfinder books to his home one evening. Around 20-25 Mexican workers gather there every evening to eat plates of Mexican food prepared and sold by his wife. They all live in a trailer park very near our plant.

This is happening in the context of speedup, worsening safety conditions, and forced overtime on the job, as well as a lot of discussion about the recent mining disaster at Jim Walter's in Brookwood, Alabama.

Janine Dukes  
Birmingham, Alabama

### Social Security funds

Your coverage of the bipartisan attacks on Social Security have been valuable in pointing out the danger of "reforms" that would set up risky personal investment accounts. The September 24 issue, however, contains an error by saying Social Security funds are not "a discrete, separate entity within the government accounts... [but] a government program, financed out of revenue like other items of expenditure."

Actually, the core of Social Security insurance programs are funded by the FICA taxes taken from workers pay, which are matched by employers and sent to the IRS. But the funds don't go into general revenue. The IRS must remit the FICA taxes directly to the Old Age, Survivors, Disability and Hospital Insurance trust funds to be used to pay benefits and administrative expenses. If a surplus exists it is invested in government obligations, which must pay interest to the trust funds and the principal when the obligations mature.

This "discrete, separate" nature of Social Security financing helps protect the system from misuse, such as appropriating the trust funds to finance the war drive in the Middle East.

Jim Sarsgard  
Baltimore, Maryland

### Stem cell research

President Bush's limited support to federal funding for stem cell research is politically motivated to ensure that it remain concentrated in federally funded laboratories. There should be a strong public outcry to expand research beyond the estimated 60 cell lines known today.

Shakir Muhammad  
Alexandria, Virginia

### A contribution

Your coverage of Washington's accelerated war drive—both at home and abroad—is right on the beam, not only in providing pertinent facts, but also for showing the continuity with the major political and economic turning points of the last 15 years; setting a sober, clear-headed tone; and offering the road forward for working people. Enclosed is a small contribution to help keep it coming.

Doug Jenness  
St. Paul, Minnesota

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people.

Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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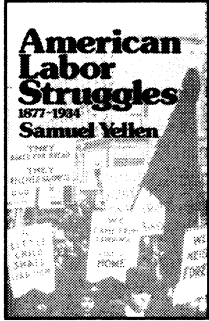
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### American Labor Struggles: 1877-1934

Samuel Yellen

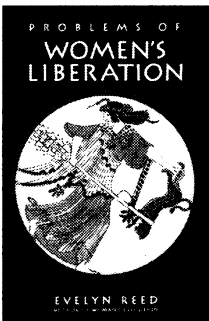
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Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 20

## Dublin rally backs freedom struggle

BY PETE CLIFFORD

DUBLIN, Ireland—Thousands of supporters of the fight for Irish freedom held a march and rally here October 6 to commemorate 10 Irish republicans who died 20 years ago while carrying out a hunger strike. Bobby Sands and other imprisoned hunger strikers at the time demanded an end to degrading treatment at the hands of the British and that London grant political status to Irish republicans held in jail.

The 1981 hunger strikes and accompanying mass mobilizations marked a turning point in the struggle to get the British military out of occupied Northern Ireland. Led by Sinn Fein, republicans are fighting for a united and independent Ireland.

The Dublin rally was an important action given the growing pressure on republican forces from British and U.S. imperialism. In turn, pro-British loyalist groups in the occupied six counties of Northern Ireland have stepped up their violent attacks against Catholics and demanded London sideline Sinn Fein in the negotiations process.

In a September 29 speech at the party's Ard Fheis, or annual conference, Gerry Adams said, "While loyalist paramilitaries threw 250 bombs, while their murder campaign intensified on a daily basis, while young Catholic schoolchildren were blockaded on their way to and from school, there was an unrelenting agenda to pressurize, marginalize, and blame Sinn Fein" for the lack of progress in negotiations.

"The whole truth is that resistance to change in the north of Ireland comes not only from those within unionism, but from within the British system also," he told the 2,000 delegates and guests at the September 29-30 meeting.

The day before the conference, for example, 600 rightists mobilized in Belfast as part of a campaign of violent protests against the right of Catholic families to take their children to school along Ardoyne Avenue. The loyalists fired 50 shots, two bursts of automatic weapons fire, six blast bombs, and 125 petrol bombs, injuring 33 cops in the process. Also on the eve of the Ard Fheis Martin O'Hagan, a Catholic journalist, was murdered by loyalists.

"Our own peace process is in a mess," Adams said, "and it must now be obvious to everyone that the political institutions established under the Good Friday Agreement are going to collapse unless the unionists lift their threats and work with Sinn Fein and the other parties, as they committed themselves to under the Agreement."

The 1998 Good Friday Agreement between London and most political parties in Northern Ireland established a 108-person Northern Ireland Assembly, an elected body with limited self-government powers. The



agreement registered the weakening of British imperialism and the fact that it had failed to subdue the Catholic population in the six counties.

### Smear campaign

London and its unionist backers in Northern Ireland have used a smear campaign charging that three Irish men arrested August 11 in Colombia were Irish Republican Army (IRA) members giving bomb training to a rebel group there. After the September 11 attacks in the United States, Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) leader Jeffrey Donaldson condemned London for "offering amnesty to IRA terrorists who are on the run" while "declaring war on international terrorism."

UUP chief David Trimble is now demanding London remove Sinn Fein's two representatives from the assembly until the IRA starts to disarm. Trimble, who stepped down as head of the Northern Ireland Assembly to pressure the IRA to surrender its arms, indicated he will bring further pressure by withdrawing his own ministers from the executive in the coming week.

The "issue of IRA weapons has been made a precondition for progress on all other issues. This is a direct breach of the Good Friday Agreement," Adams told the Sinn Fein conference. Moves by the IRA and Sinn Fein to move ahead on the question stand "in stark contrast to the continued use of loyalist and British weapons. IRA guns are silent and the IRA cessations are now

into their eighth year," he said.

Adams said the offensive against republicans could be traced to last June, when Sinn Fein scored substantial electoral victories, replacing the pro-imperialist Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) as the main nationalist party in the British-occupied north of Ireland. At the same time participants in a referendum in the Irish Republic voted by a majority to reject the European Union Nice Treaty. Sinn Fein was central to this campaign. The referendum was one sign of growing support for Sinn Fein in the Irish Republic, leading Dublin's *Sunday Business Post* to raise in a September 30 article that the Irish Labour Party's "traditional working-class base is slowly being colonized by Sinn Fein."

"Could it be that what all elements have in common is a fear of the growing strength of Sinn Fein?" Adams asked in his speech. "Could it be that in June of this year they saw their worst nightmare starting to become a reality, and seized upon other events in an unprincipled and opportunistic attempt to batter us and to unnerve our support?"

In an October 4 statement, John Reid, the British government's Northern Ireland Secretary, signaled the British rulers' intention to continue the campaign to isolate Sinn Fein. "Terrorism does not just appear in a desert carrying a Koran," he told delegates at the British Labour Party conference. "It appears in Omagh in the name of nationalism." In 1998 an explosion in Omagh, Northern Ireland, attributed to a group called the "Real IRA" killed 29 people. Reid used the speech to increase the pressure on the IRA to surrender its weapons.

On September 28 Reid warned the rightist Ulster Defence Association (UDA) that he would take action if they continued their

Continued on Page 19

## Australian gov't backs war, targets workers

BY DOUG COOPER

SYDNEY, Australia—The conservative government of Prime Minister John Howard announced October 2 it will seek increased powers for its main domestic spy agency, the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), the placing at random of armed guards on international and domestic flights, and a doubling of the "counterterrorist" capabilities of the military.

The sweeping moves follow interrogations at work, on the streets, and raids on homes in the last week of September by ASIO agents assisted by federal and local police around the country.

One woman said she was interrogated face down at gunpoint in her home. Passports, fi-

nancial records, and other materials were seized. People of the Muslim faith were targeted. No arrests were made and government spokespeople refused to officially comment for reasons of "national security."

ASIO will be empowered to hold "suspects" for 48 hours without charges, after obtaining a warrant. Currently ASIO is only permitted to hold people for up to four hours. Attorney General Daryl Williams said the measures would also allow ASIO "to question people not themselves suspected of terrorism, but who may have information relevant to investigations into politically motivated violence," according to Mark Metherell, writing in the October 3 *Sydney Morning Herald*. And police and customs officers will be given more powers to seize "terrorist assets."

On October 4, Howard announced at a news conference that 150 SAS special forces troops would be readied for deployment, along with air-to-air refueling aircraft for the imperialist assault on Afghanistan. "We've already committed to an extension of the presence of HMAS *Anzac*, which currently is serving with the United States Fifth Fleet as part of the UN's multilateral interception force in the Persian Gulf. Should the need arise, we also stand ready to consider further contributions in such areas as long range surveillance aircraft and an amphibious command capability," he said.

These moves come in the wake of the Australian military being placed on "Amber Weathercock" alert, the second highest state of readiness, since September 11. This is the first time this alert has been issued since the 1991 Gulf War.

Security cordons have been placed at all government, military, and secret police offices, at foreign diplomatic missions, and around prominent U.S. businesses. Intensified screening is in place at all airports, with "antiterrorist" Australian Protective Services cops and private security guards now patrolling more conspicuously. These moves are part of the government's National Anti-Terrorist Plan. The plan, with its unprec-

edented use of the military for domestic security, was first activated during the Sydney Olympics last year.

### Military backing assault on Afghanistan

The government has made available to Washington all 295 Australian military personnel currently attached to U.S. military units. These include SAS officers attached to the U.S. Special Forces, pilots and weapons systems officers on exchange with the U.S. Air Force, and naval officers assigned to the U.S. Navy.

The joint U.S.-Australian electronic spy bases at Pine Gap and Geraldton are being used to intercept military communications, satellite telephone conversations, international phone calls, and e-mail.

Regular troops may also be deployed to back up the U.S. military's assault on Afghanistan. With some 1,700 Australian troops in East Timor, having led the imperialist occupation there under the United Nations flag two years ago, and in Bougainville, some commentators have indicated they think the Australian military would be overextended by any significant ground commitment to the U.S. war in Afghanistan.

To free up its troops currently in East Timor, the Australian government has been pushing for Japan's Self-Defense Force (SDF) to send replacement forces to the country. "The SDF don't have much of an international profile," one senior Australian government official said, "but they are extremely well-equipped and well-disciplined." The Koizumi administration in Tokyo is pushing to change the Japanese constitution to allow military deployments overseas and relaxing restrictions on the use of weapons by SDF troops.

In late 2000, Canberra began carrying out an \$A23.5 billion boost in spending on its military arsenal, creating greater long-range strike power and "inter-operability" with U.S. forces (\$A1 = US 51 cents).

Doug Cooper is a member of the Maritime Union of Australia.

## Locked-out workers win support in struggle at UK's Friction Dynamics

BY CAROLINE BELLAMY AND PAUL DAVIES

LONDON—Locked-out unionists at Friction Dynamics in North Wales are gaining support for their fight against the union-busting drive of boss Craig Smith. Four leaders of the struggle have just completed a one-week tour here, organized by the Greater London Association of Trades Councils.

At General Motors' IBC Vehicles plant in Luton, the unionists handed out leaflets to workers at the shift change together with shop stewards and branch activists. Practically every worker took the leaflets and several stopped to find out more about the fight. Mafiz Khan, a driver at IBC said, "It was good to meet them. If they don't continue fighting they will lose everything now. We need our union to back their struggle."

Members of the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU) at Friction Dynamics, an auto parts maker in Caernarfon, North Wales, held a one-week strike in April to protest the boss's attempts to break the union. Smith also controls plants in the

United States. As they tried to return to work, union members found the gates locked. They immediately set up picket lines to continue the fight.

Under UK law, strikers cannot be fired for eight weeks if an official ballot has been carried out. Smith handed the strikers a seven-week unpaid holiday and at the end of the period sent a letter to each striker warning they would be fired if they did not return to work by June 27. In an emergency meeting all workers voted to disobey the order and continue picketing the factory.

Since then, the locked-out workers have maintained their picket lines and reached out for support locally and around the country. At the recent Trades Union Congress conference, Friction Dynamics workers met locked-out steel foundry workers from William Cooks in Sheffield. They too were fired after going out on strike, in their case for one day, in a union-busting drive by the factory boss.

John Davies said he and other locked-out

Continued on Page 19