

THE MILITANT

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on detainees

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U.S. and British troops out of Afghanistan! Stop the bombing!

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Washington is stepping up its daily bombardment of Afghanistan and its use of troops inside the country, as it drives to impose a protectorate there. Punishing air assaults from bombers, fighters, and AC-130 gunships targeting front-line Afghan government forces, supply depots, and military facilities in major cities have also hit residential areas, hospitals, and other civilian areas.

The imperialist assault has already pushed

more than 1 million Afghan people from their cities and villages as they seek to escape the bombing. Of the 400,000 people who lived in Kandahar in the southern part of the country, all but 20 percent of the population have fled.

Through its air attacks, special forces operations, and military "advisers" on the ground, Washington hopes to ease the way for the ineffectual Northern Alliance opposition forces, who have some 3-4,000 troops

outside Kabul facing off against up to 10,000 Taliban soldiers. As we go to press the Northern Alliance has made little headway against Afghan government forces dug in by the key cities of Kabul and Mazar-e Sharif, despite backing from Moscow and massive air support from Washington and London.

In New York, UN secretary-general Kofi Annan, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize this year, proposed making the capital city Kabul and surrounding areas a "neutral" zone after their capture. "How to secure the city," the *Financial Times* reported of Annan's proposal, "was something for those involved in the U.S.-led bombing campaign over Afghanistan to consider."

Much of the massive air assault is now focused on frontline Afghan government forces stationed in or near Kabul and Mazar-e Sharif, though attacks are continuing against what the government insists are military targets throughout the country, including in Jalalabad, Kandahar, Herat, Korduz, and Farah.

According to the Taliban ambassador to
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U.S. and British forces continued to pound Afghanistan, as U.S. troops operated inside the country. Washington is seeking to install a protectorate and further imperialist domination of the region.

Meat packers strike in Texas



Militant/Phil Duzinski

Workers on strike at the IBP plant in Amarillo, Texas, gather at campsite across from the plant October 22 prior to the start of picketing that day.

BY ANTHONY DUTROW

AMARILLO, Texas—More than 1,000 meat packers here are in the sixth week of a strike against industry giant IBP. They are demanding an end to unsafe working conditions, low wages, and mistreatment by the bosses. The workers have set up a makeshift tent city across the street from the huge beef slaughterhouse and are winning support for their fight in the community.

The strike began September 18 when 47 workers walked off the job and asked for a meeting to discuss grievances with

their supervisors. They were instead ordered to leave the plant. Soon up to 500 workers honored the walkout. The company has fired all 500 for supposedly violating the labor agreement between IBP and Teamsters Local 577. IBP then filed a temporary restraining order against the original 47 and is suing them for lost production, along with 20 other workers who the company claims were among those who started the walkout.

Since that time 1,000 meat packers have joined the walkout. The plant has a

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Tel Aviv accelerates war against Palestinians

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

In a significant acceleration of its war against the Palestinian people, Tel Aviv launched its biggest military strike in the past year, sending armed forces into the West Bank towns of Qalqilya and Tulkarem October 20. The move brought to six the number of Palestinian cities occupied in the course of two days. Thirty tanks were sent into Bethlehem, and 24 Palestinians were killed in the area by helicopter missiles, tank shelling, heavy machine fire, and infantry assaults.

Israeli troops are now occupying or blockading all the major cities in the West Bank designated as "Palestinian-ruled" under the 1993 Oslo agreements, with the exception of Jericho and Hebron.

The Israeli forces have faced broad defiance and armed resistance, especially in Bethlehem. Thousands of Palestinians gathered in Manger square October 19 for a funeral procession for Atef Obaiyat, the victim of a car explosion two days earlier that many suspected was the work of Israeli agents. Assassination of Palestinian leaders,

called "targeted killings" by the government, are frequently carried out by Tel Aviv's forces.

Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon seized on the October 17 killing of Rehavam Zeevi, the minister of tourism, as grounds for sharply escalating the scale and scope of Israeli's military actions against the Palestinians.

Zeevi was an outspoken rightist and the most prominent advocate of the removal of 3 million Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. He likened Palestinians working without papers in Israel to "lice" and a "cancer" that had to be eradicated, and regularly heckled Palestinian representatives

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Miami socialist candidate fights political firing at garment shop

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

MIAMI—On Monday, October 22, Michael Italie, a sewing machine operator at Goodwill Industries of South Florida and Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of the city of Miami, was fired from his job here. A manager told Italie at the end of the shift that he was terminated because of his views of the U.S. government, which are contrary to the company's.

Italie has been campaigning since his nomination in July—joining workers' picket lines, participating in street actions in opposition to Washington's policy towards Cuba, and protesting a series of racist killings by police in the Miami area. He was fired a few days after appearing on local TV

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Cuba opposes Russian move to close base

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

The revolutionary government of Cuba has denounced the unilateral decision by Moscow to close an electronic monitoring station it has maintained in Lourdes, Cuba, for almost 40 years.

Cuba termed the decision, announced on the eve of Russian president Vladimir Putin's meeting with U.S. president George Bush at a Shanghai summit, a "special gift" and a "concession to the U.S. government constituting a serious threat to Cuba's security." Such a move, Havana said in an October 17 statement, was particularly untimely at a moment when Washington has unleashed a war on Afghanistan and "the U.S. government's stance is more aggressive and

warmongering than ever" (see full text of statement on page 7).

At the October 20-21 Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in Shanghai, Putin reiterated his support for the U.S.-British war on Afghanistan and the imperialist powers' threat to carry out other military attacks around the world in the name of "fighting terrorism." The Russian president also moved closer to accepting Washington's plans to develop a nuclear missile shield.

"We have announced our direct support of the United States," Putin declared in Shanghai, with the eagerness of a dog jumping for a biscuit from his master. He and Bush issued a "Joint Statement on

Counterterrorism" that condemned the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center, supported action "to bring the perpetrators to justice," and backed Washington's goal of overthrowing the government of Afghanistan—terming it an "international center of terrorism and extremism"—and installing a pre-approved regime.

Bush praised Moscow for opening Russian airspace to U.S. "search and rescue" operations in Afghanistan and sharing "intelligence" information with U.S. spy agencies.

Putin has backed the Anglo-American war in Central Asia from the start. Moscow is eager to gain "peace" from U.S. imperi-

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N. Carolina strikers reject paper bosses' takeback demands

BY NAOMI CRAINE

BREVARD, North Carolina—"If he wants it back, he'll have to take it back," declared Tommy Williamson while picketing the Purico paper mill in this town in the Blue Ridge mountains. These remarks capture the determination of the plant's 700 production workers to not give in to company demands for a 20 percent wage cut and other draconian concessions. The workers, members of Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers (PACE) Local 2-1971, have been on strike since October 15.

The strike "was prompted by the company's refusal to bargain in good faith and by threats to close the plant if workers did not agree to company demands," said a union press release. The workers voted 94 percent in favor of striking after Purico presented a "final offer" and then refused to even discuss the union's counteroffer.

The company's "final offer" was a five-year contract with an immediate 20 percent pay cut; wage freezes for the second, fourth, and fifth years; and a raise of just 2.5 percent in the third year. Insurance premiums would triple, and retirees would lose their medical coverage. Double-time pay for Sunday—which many production workers are scheduled to work twice a month—would be eliminated along with other premium pay. The maximum vacation time would be cut from six to four weeks, and vacation pay cut from 48 hours per week to 40 hours. And workers would no longer receive holiday pay for holidays they are not scheduled to work.

At the union hall and on the picket lines, one worker after another explained that there was no way they could accept these concessions demanded by Nat Puri, who recently bought the mill from P.H. Glatfelter. They estimate this package adds up to an overall cut of between 40 percent and 50 percent in wages and benefits.

Williamson, a maintenance worker with 34 years in the mill, said that PACE members had offered to work under the terms of the old contract with a wage freeze. But Puri "came in with an ax," giving workers no

choice but to strike.

Pickets were quick to point out a number of lies that have appeared in the local papers, which attempt to discredit the workers at one of the few union-organized plants in the area. One is that the paperworkers earn an average of \$65,000 a year—a figure workers say is impossible without working massive overtime all year. The press has also reported company claims that the proposed concessions are temporary and would be offset by profit sharing. Workers point out that there is no mention of profit sharing in the contract. And there's nothing temporary about a five-year contract. "Once you give it up it never goes back in there," Williamson said.

The mill, which mostly produces paper for tobacco products, opened in the 1930s, according to strikers. The union was formed in 1971, and a number of the workers on the picket line today were part of the one previous strike at that plant, in 1974. "That strike got us where we are now," said striker Cecelia Johnstone, one of the many women who work in the mill.



Militant/Naomi Craine

PACE members picket Purico paper mill October 20. Placard on right reads, "Glory Day: Financed by hourly cutbacks." Company has demanded wage cuts, other takebacks.

More than half of the people driving by the picket line honked or waved to show their support. In the community "the majority thinks we're doing the right thing," Johnstone said. In the kitchen of the union hall, there's a long list of local businesses who have contributed food and other aid to the strike. Another poster notes two retail giants—WalMart and Food Lion—who have refused to help.

Workers say that so far the company has

been running some equipment and shipping out finished paper with salaried personnel, but is not running the paper machines. Several strikers said they expect the strike could go on a while, given the boss's intransigence. "It's a proving ground on both sides," one worker put it.

Naomi Craine is a member of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees Local 1501.

Miami mayor protests, but socialist speaks out

BY MARK KLEEG

MIAMI—Despite demands by one mayoral hopeful that Socialist Workers Party candidate Michael Italie be prevented from stating his opposition to the imperialists' war against Afghanistan during a public forum, Italie refused to back down and received applause for a number of his statements in defense of working people.

The October 13 candidates forum included nine of the 10 people running for mayor, and was held at the Haitian Youth Community Center. The race for mayor includes the incumbent Joe Carollo, former mayors Maurice Ferre and Xavier Suarez, Libertarian Party member Emiliano Antunez, and two former lawyers for the Miami relatives of Elian González, Manny Diaz and Jose Garcia-Pedrosa, who sought to prevent the return of the boy to Cuba.

In his opening remarks Italie spoke out against the war the Bush administration has begun against the people of Afghanistan. "It is the U.S. government and its allies that are the source of violence and terror—from the dropping of the atomic bomb on the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to the use of napalm and other chemical weapons in Vietnam, to the killing of more than 150,000 people in Iraq 10 years ago," he said.

"Bush is using the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon as a pretext both for going to war on Afghanistan and to further restrict workers rights in the United States," Italie said. "Examples of this include proposals for a national identity card and Attorney General John Ashcroft's moves to grant the government the power to arrest and jail immigrants without charges indefinitely. My campaign is for all those who want to fight the U.S. war in Afghanistan, build the union movement, and protest brutality."

Upon hearing these remarks, Miami mayor Joe Carollo took the microphone out of turn to call for the silencing of Italie's views. "I want to know if these kind of anti-government statements will be allowed," Carollo asked the event moderator, "because I will not stay at a meeting that accepts this at a time when 6,000 people have been killed by terrorists and we should only be discussing issues concerning Miami." A number of people in the audience of 75 applauded in agreement with Carollo's demand.

The moderator of the program responded that while the candidates were asked to introduce themselves in their opening remarks, they could use their time however they

wished. Again Carollo got up and threatened to leave the event if anyone were allowed to speak out against the U.S.-led war in Afghanistan. The moderator restated his decision to allow candidates to use their speaking time as they wished. Realizing that his efforts to shut down opposing political views had failed, Carollo sat down and remained at the program. Later in the event candidates Maurice Ferre and Jose Garcia-Pedrosa stated that they disagreed with Carollo's attempt to silence the socialist candidate.

In the discussion period Italie pointed out that working people in Miami "should make our voices heard, and we must discuss the war and all issues that have such a tremendous impact on our lives."

In spite of the attack on Italie by the mayor of the city, the audience applauded several political points made by the socialist candidate. This began when Italie opened his remarks by stating that he is a machine operator at a sewing plant in Miami, and several people loudly applauded the fact that he is the only worker running for mayor. Many applauded again when Italie responded to a question about prisons in Miami by stating that "people with felony convictions must be allowed to vote. In the state of Florida thousands are unjustly denied the right to vote in this way. This outrageous attack on democratic rights falls most heavily on working people, and in particular on workers who are Black."

Several participants asked about ending poverty in the Little Haiti section of Miami. While the other candidates talked about

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THE MILITANT

Cancel the Third World debt

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Paperworkers' strike in N.Y. remains solid

BY BEVERLY BERNARDO

GLENS FALLS, New York—Workers on strike against Finch, Pruyn & Co.'s paper mill here rejected the company's renewed concession demands October 12, packaged as its "revised last best offer." Since walking out on June 16, the 600 workers have kept up picket lines, marched in the Labor Day parade in nearby Albany, and mobilized 2,000 supporters in front of the plant earlier this month.

In its latest offer, the company added a \$1,500 signing bonus and altered its plan to pay only 50 percent of health insurance premiums, setting a payment level of 75 percent instead.

Using the argument that Finch, Pruyn needs "the same competitive advantages the unions gave our paper industry competitors a long time ago," the company is also demanding that workers give up double time on Sundays, elimination of holiday pay unless the day is worked by the employee, reduction in funeral leave, and revisions in seniority rights and job security. Workers estimate that these proposed concessions would amount to an annual wage reduction of about \$10,000 per employee.

Larry Bulman, president of Local 773 of the Plumbers, Pipefitters and Steamfitters, said that the company's threat to hire permanent replacement workers at the same time it was making the new offer, did not intimidate union members into voting for the concession contract. After the rebuff from the unionists, the bosses placed an ad for "Permanent Replacement Positions" in the help-wanted section of the Glens Falls

Post-Star October 21.

There are seven union locals at the plant. In addition to Local 773, they include the Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers International Union (PACE) Local 18; PACE Local 155; the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers Local 105; the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America Local 229; International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 365; and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 236. Workers staff the picket lines 24 hours a day, seven days a week. During weekdays as many as 75 unionists are on the line together.

Since the strike began Finch, Pruyn has been using office personnel and about 170 temporary workers to carry out some production. But both the wood and pulp yards have remained closed, Ron Gates, secretary-treasurer of PACE Local 155, told the *Militant*.

"No union members have crossed the picket line," stated Mike Scarselletta, president of PACE Local 18.

The union negotiators are preparing a fresh counteroffer to present to the company through a mediator.

'They're treating us like the enemy'

"Respect is the number one issue now," said Ralph Dow, a member of PACE Local 18 who has worked at Finch, Pruyn for 27 years. He had been thinking of retiring last May. When asked why, Dow said: "The average person out here has worked at this mill for 20 years. We thought we were family,



Militant/Salm Kolis

Workers from Finch, Pruyn & Co. walked out June 16 against the company's demand for concessions. The 600 workers have kept up the picket lines and have participated in the Labor day parade and a rally in front of the plant.

but now they're treating us like the enemy." Dow's wife proudly explained their son, who previously held a temporary job in the plant during the summer months, had refused a trucking job this year because it would have involved crossing the picket line to deliver material to the struck plant.

Another worker on the line said the railroad company had been forced to hire three new workers after unionists refused to bring trains onto Finch, Pruyn property during the strike.

The picket line is well-organized with coffee and donuts for the strikers. In addition to union signs with slogans, such as "United We Negotiate, Divided We Beg" and "Bargaining, Not Blackmail," there is information on the issues available and photo displays of strike activities. The unionists have also set up a food pantry for strikers at the Carpenters and Millwrights hall.

The unionists have been active in seeking to win support for their strike. Tim Hayes, a shop steward for IAM Local 365, told the *Militant* that area unions including Teamsters, Communications Workers of America, and the Service Employees International Union had contributed more than \$40,000 to aid the strike.

At International Paper Co.'s Hudson River mill in Corinth, where workers recently agreed to a 15-month extension on their contract, union members donated \$4,000 in solidarity. Hayes said the strikers often borrow one of the construction workers' giant inflatable rats to use on their picket lines.

Dan Fein contributed to this article.

Meat packers strike plant in Texas

Continued from front page

majority Latino workforce and is IBP's second largest plant.

So far, Teamsters Local 577 officials have refused to sanction the walkout. The union represents 2,000 of the 3,500 workers employed at the slaughterhouse. Texas has anti-union legislation, called "right-to-work" laws by the bosses, that bar union contracts stipulating all workers belong to the union. The current contract expires November 2002.

"We've never been on strike before and this is something IBP thought we'd never do," said Yolanda Carmona, who works on the kill floor. The bosses "make you work like animals. When someone cannot keep up, they make you do their job and you wind up doing two jobs. And they say that if you can't do the job you're out. They keep the chain going. People who've fainted, they let lie on the floor like a cow."

The October 9 *El Mensajero*, a Spanish-language newspaper, reported that lawyers representing the fired workers say the union members are demanding "the immediate reinstatement of workers to their jobs without exception, better working conditions, better treatment by supervisors and managers, that there be no revenge or retaliation, and a wage increase to the same level as plants in the surrounding area."

'It boils down to profits'

At the campsite, union member Sonya Campos said, "You have a choice. You can choose between right and wrong. It does boil down to their profits. People should not have to give up muscles, arms, legs, and fingers. It's wrong." She added, "We've had a number of ranchers stop by and give their support." The farmers told Campos that with production slower due to the walkout they are pressing IBP to honor contracts with them and pick up cattle they have promised to buy.

Manuel Ruiz said that he was coming to work September 18, but when he saw workers in front of the plant "waving everybody down, we turned around, went back home and called our friends."

In addition to setting up the tent city, workers have organized mass marches of several hundred through downtown, carrying placards in English and Spanish that read, "IBP respect our rights," "Stay united," and "Si se puede" (Yes we can).

On October 3, workers marched on the Potter County courthouse to respond to the injunction brought against the workers by the company. According to IBP, "The movement is illegal and they are interfering with the normal work operations of the plant, causing the loss of business by the plant."

The October 3 hearing was postponed

until October 29.

According to Jose Vasquez, a chuck boner for eight years and one of those on a committee that is organizing the walkout, there has been a significant drop-off in the company's ability to produce select cuts of boxed beef, forcing them to grind it into hamburger. "They're turning out a lot of ground beef, making Taco Bell real happy," said Vasquez. The meat packer said he has seen ambulances pull up to the plant seven or eight times over the last several weeks, which means there were severe injuries not treatable in the plant.

"There's been a 50 percent drop in chain speed in the slaughterhouse, which was 410 an hour," Yolanda Carmona said. "Lots of the inner parts—tongues, hearts, livers—have had to be thrown out."

Gary Mickelson, an official of IBP, told the press that the plant "continues working, and hiring new workers in order to replace those who have gone out."

Winning support

Among those supporting the strikers and their fight for better treatment by IBP is the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC). The organization's national president, Rick Dovalina, has opened up negotiations with Tyson Foods on the walkout. Tyson Foods, the giant poultry processor based in Arkansas, purchased IBP in August.

The Amarillo Catholic Diocese and the St. Lawrence Cathedral have publicly backed the protest and are offering financial aid to workers and allowing the use of their church for mass meetings. Owners of the Super Mercadito Rodriguez, a nearby store, have been bringing food out to the picket line as stock for a kitchen the unionists set up at the campsite. A steady stream of workers stop by and drop off cases of soda and bottled water. The donations are welcomed by the workers who have staffed the tent city 24 hours a day since the beginning. A donated generator provides power to the tents and a heater has also been provided to the workers.

There are three other meatpacking plants in a 50-mile radius of the Amarillo plant. At the ConAgra and the Excel plants wages are up to \$3.00 an hour higher than at IBP. One worker who is a split saw operator, said ConAgra pays \$13.25 for the same job while IBP pays just \$10.25. Starting pay at IBP is at \$8.50 an hour, with many jobs topped out at \$9.90 an hour.

In response to company claims that raising wages and other issues are a violation of the existing contract, Vasquez said, "According to article 30, section 3 of our contract, amending changes is legal as long as

it is put in writing."

"We haven't lost many workers going back in," striker Manuel Ruiz said. "Everyone is very dedicated to our struggle, though we were not well prepared at first. But now we're together; we could stay out even longer."

Negotiations are taking place between the company and the workers' attorneys. Ruiz said that workers are expecting an answer to their demands from the company by October 23.

The federal government's Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the U.S. Department of Justice have also been called in as mediators.

Anthony Dutrow is a meat packer and Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Houston. Phil Duzinski from Houston contributed to this article.

Union at Purdy's Chocolate in British Columbia decertified during strike

BY JOE YATES

VANCOUVER, British Columbia—In a major union-busting move, the union at Purdy's Chocolates here has been decertified after the workers have been on strike for 5-and-a-half months. It is the first strike in the company's 94-year existence.

The union, the Chemical, Energy and Paperworkers Union of Canada Local 2000, has represented the 106 workers, for four years. The British Columbia Labour Relations Board (LRB) announced the decision, saying it had found three union membership cards were falsely signed more than four years ago.

In a bulletin to union members Mike Bocking, the local president, stated, "the board's decision to cancel a certification after four years of a contractual relationship with Purdy's is unacceptable. It punishes more than 100 people for what was probably the stupid, misguided actions of one individual. It sets a disastrous precedent for other unions in the labor movement."

Within a few days of the decertification, the union signed up a big majority of the workers and made a new application for certification and a vote is scheduled October 24 at the factory. Meanwhile the LRB ruled that the strike was "unlawful" and the company resumed production October 18. Purdy's Chocolates has imposed a contract on the workers that includes an hourly increase of 20 cents for those doing general work, the big majority of the union members. The union is demanding a 47-cent-an-hour raise.

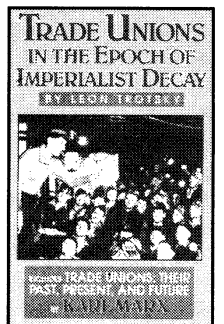
As part of their attack on the union the company has fired two of the strikers. Maria Silvestre, who has six years experience in the molding department, explained that the company alleges that she "caused a supervisor to stop her car." The bosses also say she pointed a newspaper with a picture of Osama bin Laden at the supervisor. Sam Craft, who is a warehouse worker and a driver said he too was fired, accused by the bosses of "making scabs feel uncomfortable."

From Pathfinder

Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay

Leon Trotsky

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and Future"
by Karl Marx
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U.S.-British troops out of Afghanistan!

Continued from front page

Pakistan, some 900 civilians had already been killed in these raids as of October 22. A bomb dropped by U.S. and British warplanes on a hospital in Herat killed more than 100 people. Another 93 were killed when bombs exploded in the village of Chukar, 37 miles northeast of Kandahar, reported Qatar's Al Jazeera television channel. Other bombs flattened a shopping bazaar in the center of Kandahar.

Turning reality on its head, U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld "accused the Taliban and the terrorists of hiding in civilian areas, even using the camouflage of religious sites to complicate planning for attacks against them," stated the October 19 *New York Times*.

Many fleeing the war zone are seeking to cross into Pakistan or Iran—although the governments of both these countries have announced that their borders with Afghanistan are closed—making an already serious refugee crisis even worse. Pakistani border guards have opened fire on hundreds of working people attempting to get across the border. Thousands are crossing into the western Baluchistan province of Pakistan each day, with many more gathering by border-crossing areas.

While deepening its war against Afghanistan, Washington is accelerating its political and military operations within a number of nearby countries and at the same time stepping up its assault on the rights of working people in the United States.

- U.S. president George Bush has authorized the CIA to do "what is necessary" to find and kill Osama bin Laden, reported Bob Woodward in an October 21 *Washington Post* article. This operation, which is being financed to the tune of more than \$1 billion, is the "most sweeping and lethal covert action since the founding of the agency in 1974," stated Woodward. It will include "unprecedented" coordination between the CIA and commando and other military units, noted an unnamed senior government official to the *Post*. "Lethal operations that were unthinkable pre-September 11 are now under way," he added.

- The FBI and Justice Department are now openly talking about using torture on some of the more than 800 individuals who have been detained since September 11. "We're into this for 35 days and nobody is talking," a senior FBI official told the *Washington Post*. Plans under consideration also include drug-ging suspects and issuing threats to family members (see article on page 6).

- The Pentagon is stepping up its military presence in Pakistan and its domination over the military government there. U.S. military forces have now taken control over four strategically located bases inside Pakistan and are using them for offensive op-

erations directed at Afghan government forces, a situation precluded at the beginning of the conflict by the country's rulers.

Despite the misgivings of Pakistani president Gen. Pervez Musharraf about the Northern Alliance taking power in Afghanistan, Washington, after holding off for a time in bombing the frontline Taliban forces by Kabul, is now doing all it can to aid the military drive toward that city by the Alliance forces. U.S. officials claim that they have secured a promise from the Northern Alliance that it will approach Kabul but not enter the city, leaving this task to a UN-backed force.

- Washington has also strengthened its military inroads into neighboring Uzbekistan. The 1,000 U.S. troops stationed in that country are at a base in Khanabad, 90 miles from the Afghan border. A recent agreement between the U.S. and Uzbek governments has made clear that these troops—the first to be deployed on the territory of the former Soviet Union—are part of a long-term U.S. military presence.

U.S. military 'advisers' to Philippines

- U.S. military "advisers" are being sent to the Philippines, with an additional military contingent arriving in the country October 24. The five-man team from the Pacific Command will join more than 20 U.S. military officials who arrived in the southern city of Zamboanga last week as part of a deepening U.S. military role in the country's domestic affairs. According to a CNN report, Philippines Armed Forces spokesman Edilberto Adan made clear "that there was no limit on the number of U.S. personnel who could come to the Philippines to provide training."

- Over the past week various imperialist powers stepped up their diplomatic efforts to work with the government of Iran on the character of a post-Taliban government in Afghanistan. Leading government officials from France, Italy, Germany, and the United Kingdom have held talks with Iranian officials in Tehran. After meeting with Italy's foreign minister, Renato Ruggiero, Iran's foreign minister, Kamal Kharrazi, pledged Tehran's collaboration with the UN in forming a new Afghan government. Tehran and Moscow are two of the main longtime supporters of the opposition Northern Alliance forces. Tehran has already indicated its willingness to rescue U.S. military personnel who are shot down or forced to land in Iranian territory, or who enter the country over its Afghan border.

- Tensions between the governments of Pakistan and India continue to heat up over the disputed province of Kashmir, two-thirds of which is occupied by India and one-third by Pakistan. On October 22, Indian prime minister Atal Behari Vajpayee accused the



Students at State University of La Paz in Bolivia protest against U.S. war in Afghanistan

Pakistani government of sponsoring terrorist acts against India and rejected an invitation from Pakistan's president Musharraf to hold new talks on Kashmir.

This exchange came as Kashmiri Muslims fighting for independence attacked an air force base 20 miles south of Srinagar, in the Indian-controlled part of Kashmir. Musharraf responded to Vajpayee's accusations by saying that Pakistan is "not a small country" and would retaliate if India struck at the camps of Muslim fighters on the Pakistani side of the line separating the two portions of Kashmir.

Anthrax used as war pretext

- The hysteria being whipped up around anthrax is being used by bourgeois commentators and government officials to further fuel their war drive against Afghanistan and to beat the drum for a major military attack on Iraq. "Dr. Germ—Saddam's scientist behind anthrax outbreak," read the headline of the October 22 *New York Post*. In a column titled "Heads up, Hussein: You're next," *Post* writer Steven Dunleavy asserted, "It is clear Osama bin Laden is just the preliminary to the main event."

In an October 22 column titled "Advance the Story," columnist William Safire, without offering a shred of evidence, argued, "It is absurd to claim—in the face of what we already know—that Iraq is not an active collaborator with, harbinger of, and source of sophisticated training and unconventional weaponry for bin Laden's world terror network."

U.S. Rep. Steven Buyer, a Republican from Indiana, stated that Washington should use tactical nuclear weapons in Afghanistan if a link can be established between bin Laden and anthrax incidents in the United States. "We'd be very naive to believe that biotoxins and chemical agents were not in

[bin Laden's] caves," Buyer stated. "Put a tactical nuclear device in, and close these caves for a thousand years."

In the same breath that he admitted that there is no evidence linking the anthrax-laced letters to bin Laden, President Bush asserted that the letters are all part of the international terrorist network he's declared war on. "There's no question that anybody who would mail anthrax with the attempt to harm American citizens is a terrorist," stated Bush. "And there's no question that al-Qaeda is a terrorist organization."

After two postal workers in Washington, D.C., died from an anthrax infection, the capitalist media ran some articles pointing to the two very different standards of treatment provided to politicians, the media, and their staff compared with postal workers who were concerned about having handled the letters containing anthrax. Workers at the Brentwood office in Washington, who handled one of the letters delivered to Senator Thomas Daschle, had asked their bosses to be tested for anthrax and protective clothing. The U.S. postmaster-general rejected these demands in a press conference, insisting there was little chance of such contamination.

Workers at the Rockefeller Center facility in New York, the *Financial Times* writes, "were 'livid' they were not allowed to evacuate the building last week along with other building residents and were not given immediate tests for anthrax."

- In a sign of the increased political polarization in the country, U.S. senator Hillary Clinton was booed off the stage by thousands of cops and firemen in attendance at "The Concert for New York City," held October 20 at Madison Square Garden. "Get off the stage! We don't want you here!" yelled one New York City police officer just feet from the senator, who cut her comments off after just 20 seconds. The concert, initiated by Sir Paul McCartney, was billed as a fund-raiser for victims of the September 11 attack.

U.S. Army Rangers in Afghanistan

More than 100 Army Rangers swooped down by helicopter on two locations in southern Afghanistan about 60 miles apart during nighttime hours October 19. They attacked a remote military airfield and searched a residence and several buildings in Kandahar that had been used by Mullah Muhammad Omar, the Taliban's leader, for files and other information. Though the operation was shrouded in secrecy, the *New York Times* reported that the Special Operation forces were taken to Omar's compound by helicopters off the carrier Kitty Hawk.

Despite limited reporting by the capitalist media on this operation, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld assailed press reports describing this action. He charged that the release of such information was "a violation of federal criminal law."

Other imperialist powers are planning to make available their troops for military operations in Afghanistan. The *Washington Post* reports that the United Kingdom is preparing to send 1,000 troops, including members of the elite Special Air Service. The Australian government announced October 17 that 1,550 military personnel, four fighter aircraft, three frigates, and two refueling aircraft would join the U.S. forces. Italian officials have offered to send an armor regiment, helicopters, and fighter jets as well.

Fund helps expand Pathfinder arsenal

BY RÓGER CALERO

The \$125,000 Pathfinder Fund will make possible an important expansion of the titles available from the publisher of revolutionary books and pamphlets. Supporters of the Pathfinder Fund, which goes through December 15, have so far pledged \$36,000 towards the goal.

Included in the titles to be released by Pathfinder over the coming months are a new edition of *Too Many Babies? The Myth of the Population Explosion* by Joseph Hansen; a Spanish-language translation of *The History of American Trotskyism* by James P. Cannon (and a French translation later in 2002); a Spanish edition of *Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today* by Jack Barnes; an English translation of the pamphlet *We Are Heirs of the World's Revolutions* by Thomas Sankara; a book-length interview with Victor Dreke, who commanded the cleanup operation of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba against counterrevolutionary bands in the Escambray mountains and was second-in-command of the Cuban internationalist contingent in the Congo led by Ernesto Che Guevara; and *The Organizational Character of the Socialist Workers Party* in Spanish.

In addition, initial work is already under way on *What Is To Be Done?* in English and

Spanish, the first of several major works by Lenin that are part of a "Birth of Bolshevism" series. The series will also include *To the Rural Poor* and *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*.

The fund coincides with efforts by socialist workers, Young Socialists, and other partisans of the communist movement to substantially expand the sales of Pathfinder books off street tables, on the job and at college campuses, and through local Pathfinder bookstores, as well as to retail stores and other commercial outlets.

The publishing house has reported a jump in sales in 2001 over last year, a reflection of the increased interest in and receptivity to revolutionary literature among working people and youth. Socialist workers in a number of countries are discussing taking local goals in the sales campaign as they map out plans to widen the distribution of Pathfinder's titles in order to increase sales to a total of \$500,000 from January 2001 through June 2002.

For the Pathfinder Fund, supporters in every city are encouraged to adopt goals and to send them to the *Militant* for a chart next week, work to win new pledges, and organize political fund-raising meetings early on the drive.

"The labor battles going on today are at the heart of the fight against the imperialist assault against Afghanistan, from the fights by coal miners to state workers in Minnesota," said Bill Kalman, fund director in the San Francisco area, on October 21. "Here in the Bay area, we have already begun preparations for a fund-raising meeting for early November featuring speakers participating in these struggles," he said.

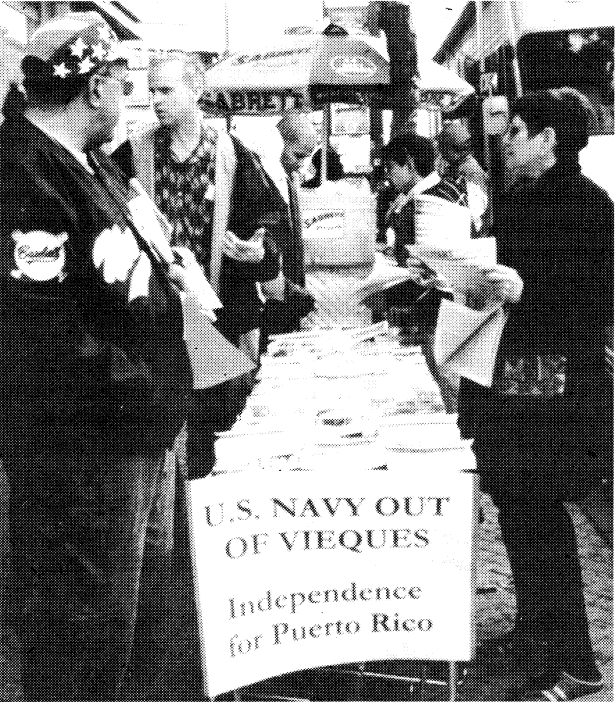
As part of Pathfinder's international efforts to make its books accessible to workers and youth around the world, a team of volunteers has begun organizing to have a Pathfinder booth at the Guadalajara International Book Fair from November 24 to December 2. Hundreds of thousands of people are expected to attend this event, one of the largest trade book fairs in the Americas. Among the recently published titles that will be available there are the Spanish-language editions of *Playa Girón/Bay of Pigs*; *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*; *Fertile Ground*; and *Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle*.

If you would like to get involved or to make a contribution, contact your nearest Pathfinder bookstore listed on page 12, or send in your check to Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.

Hundreds buy socialist press in New York

BY PATRICK O'NEILL
AND JACK WILLEY

With 300 *Militant*s sold in three weeks in New York's Garment District and 140 in one week by *Militant* partisans in Upper Manhattan, the drive to win new subscribers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* shows real potential. The response to the paper shows widespread interest in a socialist newsweekly that tells the truth about imperialism and its war against the people of Afghanistan.



Militant/Brian Williams

Campaign volunteers staff Upper Manhattan sales table

We're entering the second half of the eight-week international campaign with this issue. While overall the drive has fallen behind the pace, the response of working people and youth in New York and elsewhere indicates that with consistent work the goals are within reach.

Socialists in Brooklyn, the Garment District, and Upper Manhattan report substantially higher sales of *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* copies in the last several weeks. Tables in working-class districts, campuses, and at factory gates in the city have been the center of lively discussions as people look over the newspapers and books. As Washington and London bomb Afghanistan and begin a ground invasion, the discussions have sometimes been heated. At the same time, interest in the socialist publications and the point of view they present has noticeably increased.

"Our tables at Brooklyn College have shown us what is possible," said Carole Lesnick. "We have started to set up a weekly table there for several hours at a time. During the target week we sold four *Militant* subscriptions and a number of single issues off the table. And we're getting to know

some people there. They tell us they look for the table on Thursday." A couple of students have helped to organize a meeting for Socialist Workers mayoral candidate Martin Koppel, she said.

In Upper Manhattan, volunteers regularly sell 20 or more copies of the *Militant* off their weekly tables at Columbia University. "We just sold two subscriptions at the campus," said Ruth Harris as the *Militant* was going to press. In addition to the 140 copies of the *Militant*, socialist workers and Young Socialists sold 15 subscriptions at a variety of venues. Through their regular sales tables around the Pathfinder bookstore and elsewhere they have picked up the pace, and are now on target. Harris noted another highlight: supporters sold a *Perspectiva Mundial* subscription during a plant gate sale to a worker who was passing by.

Paper strikers read 'Militant'

Over the past weekend supporters in New York took the campaign to upstate Glens Falls, where paper workers are on strike against the Finch Pruyn company. Salm Kolis, who participated in the sales and reporting team, told the *Militant* of the workers' determination to build solidarity with their struggle. Strikers told the team of the high points of their fight to date, and one bought a subscription on the strength of the *Militant's* labor coverage. Others didn't have the cash to subscribe on the spot, but filled out subscription blanks and said they plan to subscribe later.

Before and after their visit to the picket line, the team went door-to-door in the area. They talked with a number of people who disagreed with the *Militant's* opposition to U.S. imperialism's war, but who appreciated the opportunity to hear a different point of view. "We saw a lot of U.S. flags," Kolis said, "but we found that the discussion was wide open." Two people bought subscriptions. In Corinth, a worker at the International Paper mill and member of the Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers International Union said he had participated in solidarity actions with the strikers. "Socialists plan to get back up there with the *Militant* article reporting on the Finch Pruyn plant strike," said Kolis.

Socialist campaigners in North Carolina have also been taking the campaign to workers engaged in struggle. "A team of three textile workers and a packinghouse worker from Georgia and North Carolina spent a day in Charleston, South Carolina," wrote a *Militant* supporter in Charlotte. "We talked with longshore workers about the fight to free the Charleston five—dockworkers who have been jailed on frame-up charges resulting from their defense of union rights on the docks.

"We set up a table at the union hall," she continued. "Between that and some sales door-to-door, we sold 11 single copies of the *Militant* and a copy of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*. Some International Longshoremen's Association members we spoke with expressed reservations about the government's rationale for their assault on Afghanistan. One pointed out that terrorism against working people has existed in

the United States for a long time—for example, in the bombing of Black churches in the South."

Two strikers at an IBP slaughterhouse near Amarillo, Texas, bought subscriptions from *Militant* supporters who came down from Houston to visit the picket line. Workers began their walkout September 18 and have steadily gained support in face of accusations by the company and local newspaper that "this is the wrong time to strike."

Lea Sherman reports that socialists in Houston sold six *Militant* subscriptions, three *New Internationals*, and a whopping \$500 in communist literature in four days, October 18-21, at film showings of *Lumumba*.

"Our weekly tables at Iowa State University have really paid off," Edwin Fruit reported. Socialist workers in Des Moines have sold nearly half their *Militant* subscriptions to students on that campus. Two students on break at Grinnell College joined socialists at a literature table at Iowa State.

On October 21, there was a special Des Moines *Militant* Labor Forum that included firsthand accounts of the fights to organize the meatpacking plants in Omaha and the recent Minnesota state workers strike. A packinghouse worker originally from Sudan bought a *Militant* subscription at the forum and later purchased *New International* no. 7, featuring "The Opening Guns of World War III."

Fruit said socialists at two Des Moines area meatpacking plants have already sold four *Militant* subscriptions, three subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and three *New Internationals* to their co-workers.

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial subscription campaign—week 4 Sept. 22–Nov. 18

Country	Militant			PM		NI	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
Sweden*	18	13	72%	4	3	12	9
Australia	16	6	38%	3	0	16	8
United States							
Tucson	7	5	71%	1	0	6	1
St. Paul	35	21	60%	20	21	30	4
Houston	30	17	57%	15	3	45	0
Des Moines	30	16	53%	20	8	15	6
San Francisco	50	25	50%	25	13	40	15
Los Angeles	50	24	48%	30	9	25	18
Upper Manhattan	65	31	48%	50	19	40	6
Boston	27	12	44%	11	3	0	0
Seattle	25	11	44%	10	4	25	16
Detroit	35	14	40%	10	1	30	9
Western Colorado	30	11	37%	8	1	15	3
Omaha	11	4	36%	15	3	10	8
Chicago	45	16	36%	30	5	35	11
Newark	45	16	36%	30	6	30	8
NY Garment Dist.	100	34	34%	50	18	55	13
Atlanta	36	12	33%	15	2	35	7
Cleveland	25	8	32%	4	4	20	7
Brooklyn	60	19	32%	30	16	70	29
Miami	20	6	30%	20	2	25	0
Charlotte	16	4	25%	6	1	25	4
Philadelphia	25	6	24%	10	3		
Birmingham	20	4	20%	3	4	30	0
Washington	25	5	20%	20	2	10	2
Tampa	12	2	17%	5	3	14	7
Pittsburgh	40	6	15%	5	0	25	4
Allentown	25	3	12%	5	3	10	3
U.S. total	889	332	37%	448	154	665	181
Canada							
Toronto	17	6	35%	5	0	17	4
Montreal	12	4	33%	5	2	20	6
Vancouver	15	5	33%	2	3	20	4
Canada total	27	9	33%	7	5	40	10
United Kingdom	35	12	34%	10	3	20	11
Iceland	8	2	25%	2	0		
New Zealand							
Auckland	10	1	10%	1	0	8	3
Christchurch	7	2	29%	1	0	3	1
N.Z. total	17	3	18%	2	0	11	4
Int'l totals	1010	377	34%	476	165	737	223
Goal/Should be	1100	548	48%	500	248	800	400
IN THE UNIONS							
United States	Militant			PM		NI	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
UAW	5	3	60%			4	1
UMWA	20	1	5%	2	0	15	1
UFCW	57	18	32%	55	29	71	24
UNITE	35	3	9%	35	5		3
Total	112	25	22%	92	34	86	28
Australia							
AMIEU	3	1	33%			1	0
MUA	2	0	0%			3	3
Total	5	1	20%				
Canada							
UFCW	5	1	20%	1	0	8	2
UNITE	5	0	0%	2	1	3	0
Total	10	1	10%	3	1	11	2
New Zealand							
NDU	2	0	0%			1	0
MWU	2	0	0%			2	0
Total	4	0	0%			3	0
*raised goal							

Garment worker fights political firing

Continued from front page

that covered a candidates forum at Miami Dade Community College (MDCC), where Italie called for an end to Washington's war on Afghanistan and to the intensified assault on workers' rights at home. The socialist candidate has been certified to be on the ballot in the November 6 elections.

"I am going to fight this political firing," Italie told the *Militant*. "This is an attack on the right of all working people to speak their mind on government policy without fear of intimidation or losing their jobs. It's an attack on the labor movement. It's an attempt by this employer to shut down political space for freedom of expression on and off the job. It's a concrete example of the results of the patriotic, pro-war hysteria promoted by the government in Washington."

Working people and youth have shown interest in Italie's campaign. At his workplace, a nonunion clothing factory of several hundred, his co-workers have discussed with him issues ranging from the Cuban Revolution to the attacks

on workers' rights that have accompanied Washington's war in Afghanistan. Some helped to translate Italie's campaign biography into French for the many Haitian-born workers in the plant. Several co-workers joined him at the July 7 funeral of Marc Dorvil, a Haitian man who died in the custody of North Bay Village police, and a September 5 rally for immigrant rights.

The events that seem to have sparked the firing began October 18. That day Italie joined seven other candidates for mayor of Miami at a candidates forum held at the MDCC Wolfson campus in downtown Miami. More than 400 students and faculty attended the forum, and the event received broad media coverage. Italie explained his campaign's opposition to the U.S.-British war in Afghanistan in his introductory remarks. He also pointed out that he is the only worker running for mayor.

During the discussion period a student asked the candidates what they would do about inefficiency, waste, and corruption in government. "Workers, farmers, and young people need to break out of the two-party framework of the profit-driven capitalist system we live under," Italie said, "and join the fight to build a revolutionary working-class movement that can take power out of the hands of the warmakers, form a workers and farmers government, and join the worldwide struggle for socialism. That's the only way to solve government waste and corruption in the long run."

He also pointed to many of his campaign demands, including the call for a public works program to create jobs, raising the minimum wage, fighting for affirmative action, and canceling the foreign debt of semicolonial countries. Many in the audience applauded when the socialist candidate added, "The issue is not whether or not the government today is 'efficient.' I am against making the police more efficient at beating up people and killing them."

Libertarian Party candidate Emiliano Antúnez criticized Italie for presenting a revolutionary perspective, saying that "thousands of people risk their lives" to get away from revolutionary Cuba. "I support the

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Miami socialist speaks out

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working with businesses on "development," Italie explained that he would "turn City Hall into an organizing center for the labor movement in order to organize unions and advance the wages and conditions on the job. We would fight for a federally-funded public works program to build schools, hospitals, parks, libraries, and other necessary infrastructure." It was Italie's call for a "sharply increased minimum wage" that again drew applause from many in the audience, including among several who had shown disagreement with his views on the war in Afghanistan.

A public school teacher took the microphone to thank the socialist candidate for "so clearly stating his views tonight. If Carollo had gotten his way it makes me think of what it must be like under fascism or Nazism." When the program ended he left with Italie to attend the grand opening of the socialist campaign headquarters and Pathfinder bookstore, which are located just down the street from the Haitian community center.

Cops mull using torture, drugs on detainees

BY JACK WILLEY

"FBI considers torture as suspects stay silent," read a headline in the London *Times* October 22. "American investigators are considering resorting to harsher interrogation techniques, including torture, after facing a wall of silence from jailed suspected members of Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda network, according to a report yesterday," the *Times* said.

The story was based on a report in the *Washington Post*, which quoted FBI and U.S. Justice Department investigators who said that they are "frustrated" by the lack of cooperation from some among the more than 800 people who have been detained since September 11. Although the government says they have been detained in connection with the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, not one has yet been charged with any crime associated with the airplane hijackings and suicide flights. Most are being held on unrelated charges, such as immigration violations, traffic violations, or under vague "material witness" provisions.

In the October 21 *Post* article, unnamed FBI agents focused their comments on four men held in New York's Metropolitan Correctional Center, the jail for several hundred people rounded up since September 11 in the federal manhunt. Zacarias Moussaoui, a French Moroccan who was detained in August; Mohammed Jaweed Azmath and Ayub Ali Khan, from India; and Nabil Almarabh, a former cabdriver in Boston have each exercised their Fifth Amendment right and refused to answer questions during weeks of interrogations.

Some FBI and Justice Department agents are raising that "traditional civil liberties may have to be set aside if they are to extract information," the *Post* wrote.

"Among the alternative strategies under discussion are using drugs for pressure tactics, such as those employed occasionally by Israeli interrogators, to extract information," reported the *Post*. "Another idea is extraditing the suspects to allied countries where security services sometimes employ threats to family members or resort to torture."

According to law enforcement officials, the FBI has already tried to bribe the four men, offering lighter sentences, money, jobs, and a new identity for themselves and their families in the U.S., to no avail. Under U.S.

law, interrogators in criminal cases can also lie to try to pressure suspects, something that has also evidently failed.

'Due process strangles us'

David Cole, a professor at Georgetown University Law Center who earlier obtained the release of Middle Eastern clients after they had been detained for years based on "secret evidence," said that in the current crisis "the use of force to extract information could happen.... If there is a ticking bomb, it is not an easy issue, it's tough."

Kenneth Starr, the independent counsel during the Clinton administration, recently wrote that, in the Supreme Court, five justices in a recent deportation case recognized that the "genuine danger" represented by terrorism "heightened deference to the judgments of the political branches with respect to matters of national security."

Former attorney general Richard Thornburgh said, "We put emphasis on due process and sometimes it strangles us.... [L]egally admissible evidence in court may not be the be-all and end-all." According to the *Post*, Thornburgh compared the intelligence-gathering approach that is needed in relation to the September 11 attacks to "brutal tactics in wartime used to gather intelligence."

The open discussion by FBI and Justice Department officials about using torture and threats are part of an attempt to win broader acceptance and public support for methods that local, state, and federal police agencies already use when they feel they can get away with it.

In 1997, Hani Abdel Rahim al-Sayegh, a Saudi citizen, was arrested in Canada and transferred to the U.S. for interrogation about the bombing of the Khobar Towers military barracks in Saudi Arabia. When he refused to cooperate with the U.S. investigation, the FBI threatened to send him back to Saudi Arabia, where he could have faced beheading.

"He called their bluff and went back, was

Puerto Rico university workers defend early retirement



Union fighters at Puerto Rican universities march to defend the right of campus workers to early retirement. Placard on right reads, "Without us, there is no school." Under their present contracts, university workers can retire after 30 years' service, whether or not they have reached retirement age. University of Puerto Rico managers want to reduce the number of early retirements each year. Administrative and other workers organized in Brotherhood of Non-Teaching Personnel (HEEND) struck on October 19 around the issue.

not executed and is in jail," a government official told the *Post*.

Four convicted in embassy bombings

In 1998, Mohammed Rashed Daoud Owahli was snatched near Nairobi, Kenya, and interrogated by the FBI and Kenyan authorities for two weeks before he "confessed" to participating in the bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania that same year.

Owahli later said that one cop threatened to harm his family and that he was told by U.S. agents that if he demanded a lawyer he would be left in the hands of the Kenyans where "you will be hanged from your neck like a dog." U.S. government officials also maintained that Owahli did not have a right to an attorney during questioning in Kenya because they were operating under Kenyan law.

After the embassy bombings, four men—Mohammed Rashed Daoud Owahli, Wadih Hage, Khalfan Khamis Mohammed, and Mohammed Sadiq Odeh—were either charged with involvement in a "global plot" to kill Americans around the world or with directly assisting the bombings. Three were kidnapped from other countries to face trial in the U.S.—Odeh from Pakistan, Owahli from Kenya, and Mohammed from South Africa.

After frame-up trials and convictions the four were sentenced to life in prison without parole on October 18. All four had pleaded not guilty.

The *New York Times* reported October 19

that the government has "acknowledged that Mr. Hage, a naturalized U.S. citizen who was born in Lebanon, had no role in the bombings." Prosecutors successfully pushed for a life sentence, claiming that he had raised money for Al Qaeda sometime before the bombings and that federal investigations had been delayed because he had twice committed perjury.

Some voices are beginning to be raised against the accelerated assault on democratic rights since September 11. Some who have been released from prison are telling their stories of abusive treatment, intimidation, and infringements upon their rights.

"We have only the slightest idea at this stage of how many people have been arrested, how many are still being held in jail, what they have been charged with," said Steve Shapiro, national legal director for the American Civil Liberties Union. CNN reported that the government has thrown an unprecedented shroud of secrecy over the arrests and won gag orders barring most defense attorneys from even disclosing their clients' names.

The NAACP, which has given full support to the Bush administration's war in Afghanistan, issued a statement October 22 distancing itself somewhat from the government's domestic moves. A press release stated that the organization "strongly urges lawmakers and administrators to be mindful of the need to vigorously protect and strengthen the civil rights and civil liberties of all Americans as new legislation or agencies are created."

Jailed mayor opposes U.S. bombing of Vieques island and Afghanistan

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

In a message from prison, the mayor of Vieques, Dámaso Serrano, condemned the continued U.S. Navy use of the Puerto Rican island for bombing practice. His message was read to an October 21 rally of several hundred protesters outside the U.S. prison in San Juan, Puerto Rico, where the mayor is behind bars.

Serrano was arrested by U.S. cops on April 30 together with other protesters carrying out civil disobedience on land used by the Navy for military training exercises. In August a U.S. judge sentenced him to four months in prison, a stiffer sentence than that given to other, more prominent figures who have been arrested in Vieques.

In his message Serrano compared the U.S. warplanes bombing Afghanistan today with the U.S. Navy planes dropping bombs on Puerto Rican soil "that have taken the lives of so many residents of Vieques over 62 years."

"We can describe those attacks on Vieques as terrorist too," Serrano continued, adding that U.S. government officials are conducting both the war on Afghanistan and the U.S. bombing practices on Vieques "in the name of that much-proclaimed democracy."

He said, "Those bombings, which are no different from those against Afghanistan or the terrorist actions against the Twin Towers, have killed flesh-and-blood human beings."

Serrano, elected mayor last November on an anti-Navy platform, belongs to the Popular Democratic Party (PPD), one of the two main parties in Puerto Rico. Before his arrest this year, he was one of the hundreds of demonstrators detained and evicted from the Navy bombing range in eastern Vieques by U.S. marshals and FBI agents in May 2000.

The U.S. military have been using

Vieques for war training since the beginning of World War II. The current protests against the U.S. Navy have been going on since April 1999, when a warplane dropped an "errant" bomb that killed David Sanes, a civilian guard and Vieques resident.

Cuba opposes Russian move to close base

Continued from front page

alism, boost its leverage in Europe, and deal blows to the Chechens and other oppressed Muslim peoples in the former Soviet Union whom it labels "terrorists."

Putin's decision to close the Electronic Radar Center in Lourdes came two days before his meeting with Bush. Putin at the time also said his government had decided to close down the Cam Ranh naval base in Vietnam.

The Cuban government, however, said that the agreement on the base "has not been canceled, since Cuba has not given its approval."

Moscow's move had the desired effect. Bush hailed it as part of "building a new, cooperative" relationship between the two governments.

In his meeting with Putin, Bush pressed his administration's determination to build an antiballistic missile shield, one that Washington could use as a club against governments it tars as "rogue states" and other adversaries. U.S. officials told the media Bush is prepared to go ahead with these plans without Moscow unless a deal is struck by January. The U.S. president also reiterated his proposal that Washington and Moscow sharply cut their nuclear arsenals. At a joint news conference, Bush declared they had made "progress" toward these goals.

While Putin has previously stated his opposition to Bush's proposal to scrap the 1972

Antiballistic Missile Treaty, he said at the news conference that "we do have understanding that we can reach agreement" to alter the pact in order to allow Washington to continue developing and testing antimissile weapons. In mid-November Putin will be going to Washington and to Bush's Texas ranch to pursue further negotiations.

The war in Central Asia overshadowed

discussion of economic matters at the summit, which was supposed to focus on the slumping capitalist economy in Asia and the Pacific. The 20 governments represented at the meeting, including China, signed a statement that, while avoiding direct mention of the U.S.-British assault on Afghanistan, gave a green light to the imperialist moves to "suppress all forms of terrorist acts."

Our struggle is against imperialism

Continued from Page 14

defeated by the Vietnamese people who fought in their millions in an anticolonial and anticapitalist revolution. Well prior to the first national antiwar protest in 1965 of 20,000, U.S. imperialism had already been dealt blows at home by the mass proletarian movement for Black rights that swept the North and South and smashed Jim Crow segregation. Chicanos began organizing against the national oppression they face, and tens of thousands took to the streets, shut down schools, held teach-ins, and organized politically to fight for their interests.

Struggles erupted among farm workers, unionists at General Electric, coal miners, and others, even in a time of relative gains for the working class. The anti-Vietnam war movement was itself deeply impacted by these his-

toric events. The SWP and Young Socialist Alliance joined these struggles and brought their lessons and experiences to youth involved in the protests against the war.

Today, the pages of the *Militant* reflect the working-class campaign against imperialism and war being carried out by communist workers and Young Socialists in a number of countries. From defending the Cuban Revolution; to getting out the truth about worker's strikes and protests, antiracist struggles, and actions to defend women's rights; to battles of peoples in semi-colonial countries who face devastating conditions imposed by imperialism. We urge all readers to join this fruitful and politically exciting effort that is responding to Washington's war by deepening the battle to bring down the world's final empire.

'In Cuba there will never be panic or fear'

Printed below is an October 17 statement by the government of Cuba, published the following day in the Cuban daily *Granma*, on the unilateral decision by the Russian government of President Vladimir Putin to shut down the electronic monitoring station in Lourdes, Cuba, on the eve of Putin's meeting with U.S. president George Bush at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit in Shanghai, China.

The statement points out that the station was established two years after the October 1962 "missile crisis," known in Cuba as the October Crisis, when the U.S. government threatened an invasion of Cuba and brought the world to the brink of nuclear war. Also mentioned is the military base that Washington provocatively maintains at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, in defiance of the will of the Cuban people.

The statement also refers to Bush's September 20 war speech, where the U.S. president threatened, "Every nation in every region now has a decision to make. Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists." Cuban president Fidel Castro responded to Bush's pronouncement in a speech two days later, which the *Militant* published in the October 15 issue.

The translation and subheadings are by the *Militant*.

International press agencies reported today that the president of the Russian Federation, Vladimir Putin, stated that as of January 2002 his government would close its military and electronic monitoring bases in Cam Ranh, Vietnam, and Lourdes, Cuba.

With regard to Cuba, he stated specifically that "after lengthy negotiations with our Cuban partners, it was recognized that withdrawing the Electronic Radar Station from Cuba would be a positive move."

Also today, the chief of the general staff of the Russian armed forces, army commander Anatoly Kvashnin, stated that "Russia is withdrawing its military bases from Cuba and Vietnam as a result of the change in the military-political situation in the world, and in view of the savings in financial resources for the army and navy. The annual lease for the Electronic Radar Station is around \$200 million, not counting the maintenance of staff. With this money we can buy and launch 20 reconnaissance satellites and purchase around 100 radars."

To avoid any errors or confusion, the government of Cuba would like to state that the two facilities should not have been lumped together in the Russian statement, because they differ greatly in their origins, purpose, and importance.

Cam Ranh was a naval facility built by the United States some 20,000 kilometers [12,400 miles] away from its territory and leased to the USSR in 1979, years after the war had ended. It is of barely any use for a country like Russia, which has had practically no surface vessel fleet since the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

At this time, Vietnam faces no threat of military aggression from the United States;

relations between the two countries are normal. For Vietnam, the United States poses no risk whatsoever. There can be no doubt that the decision was previously discussed and approved by both countries.

Established after October 1962 Crisis

The Lourdes Electronic Radar Station was established in 1964, two years after the October Crisis. The USSR did not pay a cent for the services it received from Cuba, in view of the close cooperation between the two countries at that time in both the economic and military fields.

In 1992, after the Soviet Union disintegrated and the Russian Federation fully assumed the rights and privileges of the former USSR, Russia unilaterally withdrew—as a result of negotiations and agreements with the United States—the military brigade that had remained in Cuba after the October Crisis for approximately 30 years. On the other hand, Russia expressed interest in maintaining the Lourdes Electronic Radar Station as an important element for its strategic security, particularly as a means of verifying strict compliance with the agreements on nuclear disarmament and nuclear weapons reduction adopted by the United States and Russia.

Despite flagrant violations of agreements, economic losses, and risks faced by Cuba, our government allowed the facility to remain without charging for the services that our country provided to Russia. This was the case only for a period of time, since there was no longer the slightest political or ideological connection between Cuba and Russia. The leaders of Russia had unilaterally destroyed all the agreements between the two countries. There was absolutely no reason left to provide it with free services of any kind.

Russia's reiterated interest in maintaining, expanding, and modernizing the Lourdes Electronic Radar Station, for the reasons mentioned above, led to an agreement that included payment to Cuba, in Russian commodities or hard currency, for the services provided by the station. Those payments totaled \$90 million in 1992, \$160 million in 1993-95, and the \$200 million mentioned by army commander Anatoly Kvashnin from 1996 to 2000. This amount is not at all extraordinary when one considers that it is scarcely 3 percent of the damage caused to our country's economy by the disintegration of the socialist bloc and the USSR and the unilateral canceling of all agreements. In addition, Cuba benefited from some of the information obtained that was related to our own country's security.

Pressure from Washington

The United States has relentlessly pressured Russia over the existence of this facility, despite the fact that the United States has maintained a military base in our territory for more than 100 years now, against our people's will.

During President Vladimir Putin's visit to Cuba in December 2000, the heads of state of our two countries spent several hours



An October 17 statement of the Cuban government, issued in response to the announcement by Moscow of the closure of military and electronic bases in Cam Ranh, Vietnam, and Lourdes, Cuba, stated: "At this very moment when the U.S. government's stance is more aggressive and warmongering than ever, when many countries are threatened in light of the U.S. president's September 20 speech, and when military operations have already begun in Afghanistan, the withdrawal of the station would be a message and a concession to the U.S. government constituting a serious threat to Cuba's security, and therefore, under those circumstances, we were not in agreement with its closure." In the days leading up to the U.S.-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961, tens of thousands of workers and youth, organized into popular militias, took up their posts, ready to defeat the imminent mercenary invasion.

at the station on December 14. Not the slightest word was said about its closure. On the contrary, there was talk of further developing and modernizing it. President Putin literally said that day, "Russia and Cuba are interested in continuing to foster its activity. It has been in full operation for some time, in accordance with international standards and regulations. It has done so successfully, and Russia and Cuba declare themselves as countries interested in continuing to foster its activity."

At that time, only minor differences emerged between the Cuban and Russian military authorities involved, since the Russians wanted to reduce, by a relatively small margin, the economic compensation paid to Cuba. This had become a regular occurrence every year during reviews of the Russian side's repeated failure to meet its obligations.

Some months later, a curious change was observed in Russia's policy toward the Lourdes Electronic Radar Station. This took the form of noncompliance with its financial obligations, resulting in an accumulation of unfulfilled payments, and unjustifiable and exaggerated demands for a reduction in the amount paid for services rendered, despite the threefold increase in the price of oil, Russia's main export, and an obvious improvement in the Russian economy, shown by the growth of its reserves from some \$12 billion to more than \$30 billion, among other factors.

U.S. unleashes war in Afghanistan

It was at this point that the current international crisis broke out, creating great tensions throughout the world. There had at all times been contacts and fluid, friendly relations between our two governments, despite the fact that they have adopted different positions: Cuba has taken a position against terrorism and against war, while Russia has offered broad support and co-operation for the war unleashed by the United States. Both fully agree on the fight against terrorism and the need for the United Nations to play its role.

The negotiations we have been carrying out with regard to the Lourdes Electronic Radar Station have yet to conclude. As of yesterday, October 16, at 2:00 p.m., we had not reached an agreement. A special envoy urgently proposed to us that the station be closed. Our response was that this would be the most untimely moment to take such a measure. At this very moment when the U.S. government's stance is more aggressive and warmongering than ever, when many countries are threatened in light of the U.S. president's September 20 speech, and when military operations have already begun in Afghanistan, the withdrawal of the station would be a message and a concession to the U.S. government constituting a serious threat to Cuba's security, and therefore, under those circumstances, we were not in agreement with its closure.

Just last night, we addressed the issue once again, putting forward a great many arguments with the Russian envoy, who had

requested an urgent meeting. This envoy had brought another message from the Russian president, proposing something even worse: the advisability of publicly and immediately declaring that the agreement on the Lourdes Electronic Radar Station was canceled. We replied that we completely disagreed, and proposed that they consider other options. We noted that they have a reputation for being good chess players and that they knew there were 100 other moves they could seek, and not just the one they were proposing.

Russia's urgency, it was explained, stemmed from their wish for President Putin to meet President Bush at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum in Shanghai bearing these two pieces of news. It is easy to understand how much they would please their recipient: the one regarding Cam Ranh, while in fact unimportant, is highly symbolic; the one concerning Cuba would be a special gift.

Consequently, the agreement on the Lourdes Electronic Radar Station has not been canceled, since Cuba has not given its approval, and it will be necessary for Russia to continue negotiating with the Cuban government, since there are still important issues to resolve with regard to the matter.

Unfortunately, perhaps President Putin, because of the time difference, did not have a chance to hear our well-founded arguments and suggestions on the matter in time, before making his public announcement.

Cuba holds him and the enormous State of Russia in great esteem and deep respect.

For this reason, Cuba will refrain for the moment from issuing any judgments or criticisms regarding what was announced today by the wire services. It will simply limit itself to offering completely accurate information to our people, and to hoping that this difference can be resolved in a reasonable, fair, and honorable manner.

There is one thing that should be clearly understood by all, and on which no one should entertain illusions: in Cuba there is not and will never be panic or fear. This is the perfect atmosphere for calmness, level-headed wisdom, integrity, dignity, and unlimited courage.

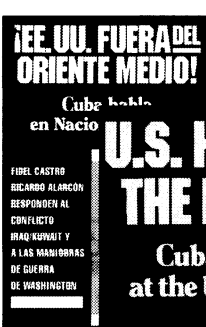
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Marx on Britain's crushing of Indian revolt

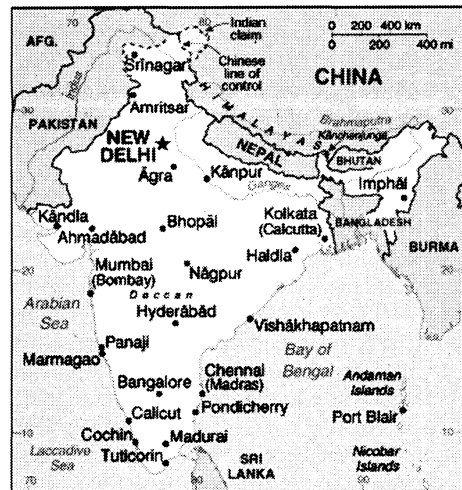
Printed below is an article by Karl Marx entitled "The Indian Revolt." It appeared in the Sept. 4, 1857, edition of the *New York Daily Tribune*. The sepoys were Indian soldiers under the command of British officers, part of the colonial armed forces used against the Indian population. The national revolt they led was met by a brutal military counterattack by British forces (see article on opposing page). This article and other writings by Marx on the struggle of the Indian peoples against British colonial rule can be found in *The First Indian War of Independence 1857-59* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY KARL MARX

The outrages committed by the revolted sepoys in India are indeed appalling, hideous, ineffable—such as one is prepared to meet only in wars of insurrection, of nationalities, of races, and above all of religion; in one word, such as respectable England used to applaud when perpetrated by the

To find parallels to the sepoy atrocities, we need not, as some London papers pretend, fall back on the middle ages.

Vendeans on the "Blues," by the Spanish guerrillas on the infidel Frenchmen, by Serbians on their German and Hungarian neighbours, by Croats on Viennese rebels, by Cavaignac's Garde Mobile or Bonaparte's Decembrists on the sons and daughters of proletarian France.¹ However



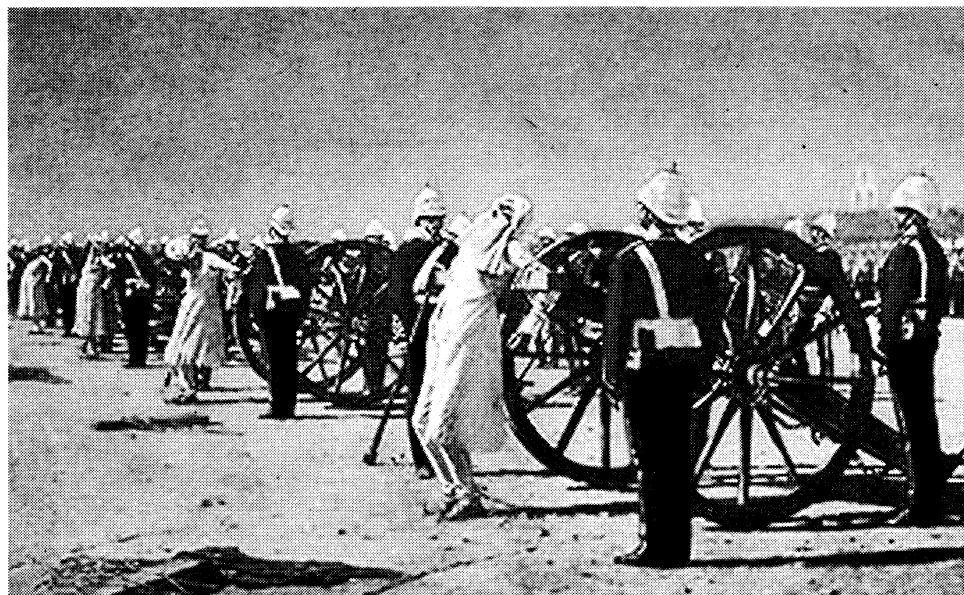
infamous the conduct of the sepoys, it is only the reflex, in a concentrated form, of England's own conduct in India, not only during the epoch of the foundation of her Eastern Empire, but even during the last ten

¹In the *Vendée* (a province in western France) the French royalists utilised the backward peasantry to engineer a counterrevolutionary revolt in 1793. It was crushed by the republican army, whose soldiers were known as the "Blues."

The *Spanish guerrillas*—participants of the guerrilla war during the national-liberation struggle of the Spanish people against the French invaders in 1808-14. The peasantry, which stubbornly resisted the conquerors, was the principal motive force behind the guerrilla.

The *Serbian and Croat* troops took part in crushing the revolutionary movement in Hungary and Austria during the revolution of 1848-49. The *Garde mobile* was established by a French Government decree of February 25, 1848, to suppress the revolutionary masses. Its detachments, chiefly composed of declassed elements, were used to quell the uprising of Paris workers in June 1848. General Cavaignac, being the Minister of War, personally commanded the massacre of the workers.

Decembrists—a secret Bonapartist society founded in 1849. Consisted predominantly of declassed elements, political adventurers, militarists, etc. Its members facilitated the election of Louis Bonaparte as President of the French Republic on December 10, 1848 (whence the name of the society), and took part in the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, which led to Louis Bonaparte being proclaimed Emperor of France as Napoleon III in 1852. They were active organisers of mass repressions of republicans and particularly of participants of the 1848 revolution.



After the British crushed the rebellion, hundreds of sepoys were tied to the mouths of cannons as British officers gave the order to fire. They carried out this brutal practice of blowing up the bodies of sepoys because of the religious belief that by blowing the body to pieces the victim lost all hope of entering paradise.

years of a long-settled rule. To characterize that rule, it suffices to say that torture formed an organic institution of its financial policy. There is something in human history like retribution; and it is a rule of historical retribution that its instrument be forged not by the offended, but by the offender himself.

The first blow dealt to the French monarchy proceeded from the nobility, not from the peasants. The Indian revolt does not commence with the ryots, tortured, dishonoured and stripped naked by the British, but with the sepoys, clad, fed, petted, fatted and pampered by them. To find parallels to the sepoy atrocities, we need not, as some London papers pretend, fall back on the middle ages, nor even wander beyond the history of contemporary England. All we want is to study the first Chinese war,² an event, so to say, of yesterday. The English soldiery then committed abominations for the mere fun of it; their passions being neither sanctified by religious fanaticism nor exacerbated by hatred against an overbearing and conquering race, nor provoked by the stern resistance of a heroic enemy. The violations of women, the spittings of children, the roastings of whole villages, were then mere wanton sports, not recorded by mandarins, but by British officers themselves.

Cruel treatment by British officers

Even at the present catastrophe it would be an unmitigated mistake to suppose that all the cruelty is on the side of the sepoys, and all the milk of human kindness flows on the side of the English. The letters of the British officers are redolent of malignity. An officer writing from Peshawar gives a description of the disarming of the 10th Irregular Cavalry for not charging the 55th Native Infantry when ordered to do so. He exults in the fact that they were not only disarmed, but stripped of their coats and boots, and after having received 12d. per man, were marched down to the riverside, and there embarked in boats and sent down the Indus, where the writer is delighted to expect every mother's son will have a chance of being drowned in the rapids. Another writer informs us that some inhabitants of Peshawar having caused a night alarm by exploding little mines of gunpowder in honour of a wedding (a national custom), the persons concerned were tied up next morning, and "received such a flogging as

²The author refers to the First Opium War (1839-42)—Britain's aggressive war against China, which marked the beginning of China's semi-colonial status. The destruction in Canton by the Chinese authorities of opium stocks belonging to foreign merchants served as a pretext for the war. Taking advantage of the defeat suffered by backward feudal China, the British colonialists saddled it with the predacious Nanking Treaty (August 29, 1842), which opened five Chinese ports (Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai) to British trade, transferred the island of Hong Kong into Britain's "eternal possession," and stimulated a tremendous war contribution by China. Under a supplementary protocol of 1843 China was also made to grant foreigners extraterritorial rights.

they will not easily forget."

News arrived from Pindee that three native chiefs were plotting. Sir John Lawrence replied by a message ordering a spy to attend to the meeting. On the spy's report, Sir John sent a second message, "Hang them." The chiefs were hanged. An officer in the civil service, from Allahabad, writes: "We have power of life and death in our hands, and we assure you we spare not." Another, from the same place: "Not a day passes but we string up from ten to fifteen of them (noncombatants)." One exulting officer writes: "Holmes is hanging them by the score, like a 'brick'." Another, in allusion to the summary hanging of a large body of the natives: "Then our fun commenced." A third: "We hold court-martials on horseback, and every nigger we meet with we either string up or shoot." From Benares we are informed that thirty zemindars were hanged on the mere suspicion of sympathizing with their own countrymen, and whole villages were burned down on the same plea. An officer from Benares, whose letter is printed in the *London Times*, says: "The European troops have become fiends when opposed to natives."

'Outrages of natives exaggerated'

And then it should not be forgotten that while the cruelties of the English are related as acts of martial vigour, told simply, rapidly, without dwelling on disgusting details, the outrages of the natives, shocking as they are, are still deliberately exaggerated. For instance, the circumstantial account first appearing in *The Times*, and then going the round of the London press, of the atrocities perpetrated at Delhi and Meerut, from whom did it proceed? From a cowardly parson residing at Bangalore, Mysore, more than a thousand miles, as the bird flies, distant from the scene of action. Actual accounts of Delhi evince the imagination of an English parson to be capable of breeding greater horrors than even the wild fancy of a Hindu mutineer. The cutting of noses, breasts, etc., in one word, the horrid mutilations committed by the sepoys, are of course

³The author refers to the barbarous bombardment of Canton on orders of the British superintendent in China, John Bowring, in which nearly 5,000 houses were destroyed in the city suburbs. The bombardment was a prologue to the Second Opium War of 1856-58.

Peace Society—a bourgeois pacifist organisation founded in 1816 in London by the Quakers. The society enjoyed vigorous support from the Free Traders, who thought that given peace Britain would through Free Trade make better use of its industrial superiority and thus achieve economic, and political supremacy.

During the suppression of the uprising in Algeria in 1845, General Pélissier, later Marshal of France, ordered the asphyxiation by the smoke of camp-fires of a thousand Arab rebels hiding in mountain caves.

⁴The author refers to Gaius Julius Caesar's *Commentarii de bello Gallico*. The fact here cited is from Book 8, written by Caesar's former legate and friend A. Hirtius, who continued his notes on the Gallic War.

⁵Marx alludes to the criminal code of Charles V (*Constitutio criminalis Carolina*) adopted by

more revolting to European feeling than the throwing of red-hot shell on Canton dwellings by a Secretary of the Manchester Peace Society, or the roasting of Arabs pent up in a cave by a French Marshal,³ or the flaying alive of British soldiers by the cat-o'-nine-tails under drumhead court-martial, or any other of the philanthropical appliances used in British penitentiary colonies. Cruelty, like every other thing, has its fashion, changing according to time and place. Caesar, the accomplished scholar, candidly narrates how he ordered many thousand Gallic warriors⁴ to have their right hands cut off. Napoleon would have been ashamed to do this. He preferred dispatching his own French regiments, suspected of republicanism, to Santo Domingo, there to die of the blacks and the plague.

The infamous mutilations committed by the sepoys remind one of the practices of the Christian Byzantine Empire, or the prescriptions of Emperor Charles V's⁵ criminal law, or the English punishments for high treason, as still recorded by Judge Blackstone.⁶ With Hindus, whom their religion has made virtuosos in the art of self-torturing, these tortures inflicted on the enemies of their race and creed appear quite natural, and must appear still more so to the English, who, only some years since, still used to draw revenues from the Juggernaut festivals, protecting and assisting the bloody rites of a religion of cruelty.

The frantic roars of the "bloody old *Times*," as Cobbett used to call it—its playing the part of a furious character in one of Mozart's operas, who indulges in most melodious strains in the idea of first hanging his enemy, then roasting him, then quartering him, then spitting him, and then flaying him alive⁷—its tearing the passion of revenge to tatters and to rags—all this would appear but silly if under the pathos of tragedy there were not distinctly perceptible the tricks of comedy. The *London Times* overdoes its part, not only from panic. It supplies comedy with a subject even missed by Molière, the *Tartuffe* of Revenge. What it simply wants is to write up the funds and to screen the Government. As Delhi has not, like the walls of Jericho,⁸ fallen before mere puffs of wind, John Bull is to be steeped in cries for revenge up to his very ears, to make him forget that his Government is responsible for the mischief hatched and the colossal dimensions it had been allowed to assume.

the Reichstag at Regensburg in 1532. The code was known for its extreme severity.

⁶W. Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, Vols. I-IV, First Edition, London, 1765-69.

⁷Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, Act 111, Scene 6, aria by Osmin.

⁸According to the biblical tale, the Israelites destroyed the walls of Jericho with the blast of their trumpets

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Sepoy rebellion was a national uprising against British rule

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

In the article on the facing page entitled "The Indian Revolt," Karl Marx describes the massive rebellion against British colonial rule that swept through northern India in 1857-58. Marx and Frederick Engels wrote extensively about the colonial plunder of India and the brutal exploitation the British rulers imposed on the toilers of that country, factors that led to what became known as the sepoy revolt. They pointed to the rebellion as the first national uprising against their foreign oppressors, and saw within it the seeds of future struggles for national liberation.

The 1857 uprising began with a rebellion by Indian troops, known as sepoys, who were employed in the service of the British East India Company. By the mid-19th century the East India Company had completed its territorial conquests and ruled the country and its hundreds of millions of inhabitants as a private fiefdom. In order to control its holdings, the company established an army of 200,000 South Asians officered by 40,000 British soldiers. "Order"—and profits for the company—were maintained through systematic terror and violence against the Indian population.

The issue sparking the revolt was the introduction by British forces of the new Enfield rifle. To load it the sepoys had to bite off the ends of cartridges that were lubricated with a mixture of lard from pigs and cows. The soldiers, both Muslims and Hindus, took this as an insult to their religious and cultural practices, which forbid oral contact with such types of meat.

After sepoy troops in Meerut refused to use the cartridges in April 1857, British authorities fettered and imposed long prison terms on them. In response, other sepoys rose up to free their imprisoned comrades. They shot their British officers May 10 and marched to Delhi, where there were no European troops. The revolt then also spread to the cities of Agra, Cawnpore, and Lucknow.

The rebellion grew to include more than just the relatively privileged Indian soldiers who began the fight. It encompassed peasants throughout northern India who were subjected to exorbitant taxes and torture at the hand of British colonial administrators. The sepoys were, in their origins, peasants with close ties to their kinspeople in the villages.

Writing in the Aug. 28, 1857, edition of the *New York Daily Tribune*, Marx stated, "The British rulers of India are by no means such mild and spotless benefactors of the Indian people as they would have the world believe." He cited the official Blue Books—entitled "East India (Torture) 1855-57"—presented before the House of Commons during sessions in 1856 and 1857 that document what Marx describes as "the universal existence of torture as a financial institution of British India." Officials on the scene used such methods to force the collection of taxes from the peasantry, for example.

Commenting on the onerous taxes imposed on the Indian people, Richard Collier writing in *The Great Indian Mutiny* stated,

True face of 'civilization'

José Martí, a leader of the struggle for Cuban independence from colonial rule, commented on the British rulers' attack on the sepoys in an 1883 letter. He condemned "the pretext that 'civilization'—the vulgar name given to the current state of the Europeans—should have a natural right to seize foreign land belonging to 'barbarism'—the name given by those coveting someone else's land to the current state of any people not from Europe or from European America. As though, head for head and heart for heart, those who have crushed Irishmen or who have killed sepoys by tying them to the mouth of a cannon, were worth more than one of those wise, loving, and self-sacrificing Arabs who, undaunted by defeat or intimidated by numbers, defend their homeland with faith in Allah, a lance in each hand and a pistol between their teeth." —B.W.

"A man could not travel 20 miles without paying toll at a river ferry, farmed out by the Company to private speculators. Land Tax, often demanded before the crop was raised, was made in quarterly installments...the annual rent for an acre of land was 3s[hillings], yet the produce of that acre rarely averaged 8s in value."

The rebellion took on the character of a national revolt against British colonial rule. In one of his many articles on the subject in 1857, Marx noted that the British, in creating a native army, had simultaneously organized the "first general center of resistance which the Indian people was ever possessed of." For the first time, soldiers of the Indian army, recruited from different communities, Hindus and Muslims, landlords and peasants, had come together in opposition to British rule.

In Cawnpore, Nana Sahib, the adopted son of Baji Rao II, the last Peshwa of the Maratha kingdom, joined the revolt. Earlier, British Lord Dalhousie had twice refused to recognize the Hindu nobleman's claim to this position in Indian society. Through the course of the fighting Sahib succeeded in reinstating himself as prince.

A hysterical campaign was whipped up by the British rulers that sought to demonize Sahib in order to justify their massive military assault on the Indian people in revolt.

Sir Colin Campbell, for example, the leader of the British forces during these battles, depicted the natives in revolt as the source of the violence and brutality in India. He wrote:

Never was devised a blacker scheme than that which Nana Sahib had planned. Our miserable countrymen were conducted faithfully enough to the boats—officers, men, women, and children. The men and officers were allowed to take their arms and ammunition with them, and were escorted by nearly the whole of the rebel army. It was about eight o'clock a.m. when all reached the riverside—a distance of a mile and a half. Those who embarked first pushed off from the shore; but others found it difficult to get their boats off the banks, as the rebels had placed them as high as possible. At this moment the report of three guns was heard from the Nana's camp. The mutineers suddenly levelled their muskets, guns opened from the banks, and the massacre commenced. Some of the boats were set on fire, volley upon volley was fired upon the poor fugitives, numbers of whom were killed on the spot.... A few boats crossed over the opposite bank, but there a regiment of native infantry (the 17th), just arrived from Azimghur, was waiting for them; and in their eagerness to slay the "Kaffirs," rode their horses belly deep into the river to meet the boats, and hack our unhappy country men and women to pieces."

However, the actions taken by the rebelling sepoys pale in comparison to the brutality and cruelty inflicted by the British forces, which were reinforced with additional troops from the United Kingdom. In a July 1853 article, Marx pointed out that "the profound hypocrisy and inherent barbarism of bourgeois civilization lies unveiled before our eyes, turning from its home, where it assumes respectable forms, to the colonies, where it goes naked."

In putting down the revolt begun by the sepoys, the British troops followed a policy of killing those they captured instead of taking prisoners. Hundreds of sepoys were tied to the mouth of cannons and then blasted to smithereens as British officers gave the order to fire. The British used this method as an example to others who might dare to oppose their rule, because of the religious belief that by blowing the body to pieces the victim lost all hope of entering paradise. One historical account says nearly all the sepoys were killed, and "many a British family saw its fortune



British colonial rule of India: Above, British police attack Indian anticolonial upsurge in 1919. Right, Lord Mountbatten, appointed Viceroy of India in 1947, with Maharajah Bikaner.



made during the pacification of northern India," from the looting of homes and holy places.

Writing in a May 8, 1858, *New York Daily Tribune* article, Engels described the massacre carried out by the British as they retook the city of Lucknow. Crowds were mowed down under cannon fire, while others were executed by advancing British troops with their bayonets. "The 'British bayonet,'" noted Engels, "has done more execution in any of these onslaughts on panic-stricken natives than in all the wars of the English in Europe and America put together."

Upon taking Lucknow, the British troops plundered the place. "For twelve days and nights there was no British army at Lucknow—nothing but a lawless, drunken, brutal rabble, dissolved into bands of robbers, far more lawless, violent and greedy than the sepoys who had just been driven out of the place," stated Engels. "The sack of Lucknow in 1858 will remain an everlasting disgrace to the British military service."

Commenting on the "state of things in a civilized army in the 19th century," Engels noted, "If any other troops in the world had committed one-tenth of these excesses, how would the indignant British press brand them with infamy! But these are the deeds of the British army, and therefore we are told that such things are but the normal consequences of war.... The fact is there is no army in Europe or America with so much brutality as the British. Plundering, violence, massacre—things that everywhere else are strictly and completely banished—are a time-honored privilege, a vested right of the British soldier."

Through military action taken in the latter part of 1857 and the first six months of 1858, British forces reestablished their control over all the cities and towns involved in

the revolt. In response to the rebellion, the East India Company was abolished and India was put under direct rule of the British government. It would take another 90 years of struggle until the Indian workers and peasants would succeed—through a massive strike wave led by the working class—in throwing off the yoke of British rule and winning political independence in 1947.

In reviewing the history of British rule in India, noted Marx, "Dispassionate and thoughtful men may perhaps be led to ask whether a people are not justified in attempting to expel the foreign conquerors who have so abused their subjects. And if the English could do these things in cold blood, is it surprising that the insurgent Hindus should be guilty, in the fury of revolt and conflict, of the crimes and cruelties alleged against them?"

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

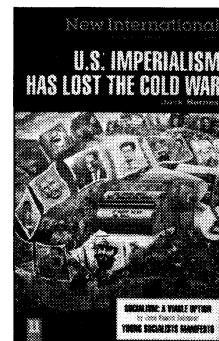
Peasants and workers in the West African country of Burkina Faso established a popular revolutionary government and began to combat the hunger, illiteracy, and economic backwardness imposed by imperialist domination. Thomas Sankara who led that struggle, explains the example set for all of Africa. **In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

The Eastern Airline Strike

Accomplishments of the Rank-and-File Machinists and gains for the Labor Movement
Ernie Mailhot, Judy Stranahan, and Jack Barnes
\$9.95

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**

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12.

Tel Aviv accelerates its war against the Palestinian people

Continued from front page during their speeches in the Knesset.

On October 15 Zeevi had announced his decision to resign from the cabinet "to protest what he regarded as Sharon's timid military response to Palestinian attacks," wrote the *Washington Post*. Following his killing members of his National Union party reneged on the decision, saying they would stay in the government coalition to "give the government a chance to prove its mettle."

Sharon, echoing U.S. president George Bush's cover for war, said, "We will wage all-out war on the terrorists, those who collaborate with them and those who send them."

Ultimatum to Palestinian Authority

Hours after Zeevi's death, Sharon's cabinet issued an ultimatum to the Palestinian Authority leader Yasir Arafat. Declaring that "a new era has begun," Sharon insisted that Arafat "hand over [Zeevi's] killers and dismantle terror organizations, or face a response more severe than any recent attack on the Palestinians," according to the *Washington Post*. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) has claimed responsibility for Zeevi's killing. One of its long-time central leaders, Mustafa Zibri, was assassinated by Israeli forces, which shot a missile from a helicopter into Zibri's office to kill him August 27. The PFLP belongs to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Pressing to justify Israel's repression of the Palestinians, Israeli embassy spokesman Mark Regev told the press that the PFLP has "an office in Damascus and it functions freely in the Palestinian Authority [PA]. Are not both Syria and the PA, in giving safe haven and acquiescence to this terrorist group, acting in a similar way as the Taliban in giving safe cover to terrorists?"

In response to Tel Aviv's demands, the Palestinian Authority, headed by Yasir Arafat, has outlawed the PFLP's military wing and arrested 33 PFLP members in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. "Every effort is being exerted by...President Arafat to bring those who killed Mr. Zeevi to justice under Palestinian law," said senior Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erakat. The PA authorities, however, say they will conduct trials on their own territory, and refuse to "extradite" any of those they have arrested.

PA figures have repeatedly called for the intervention of the United Nations and the U.S. government to help restart negotiations. "We need to come back to the negotiating table immediately without condition," said Erakat.

The Alternative Information Center, an anti-Zionist Israeli organization with offices in the occupied territories, described the recent Israeli military assault on the West Bank as a "major-scale invasion" in a newsletter written as the offensive was unfolding.

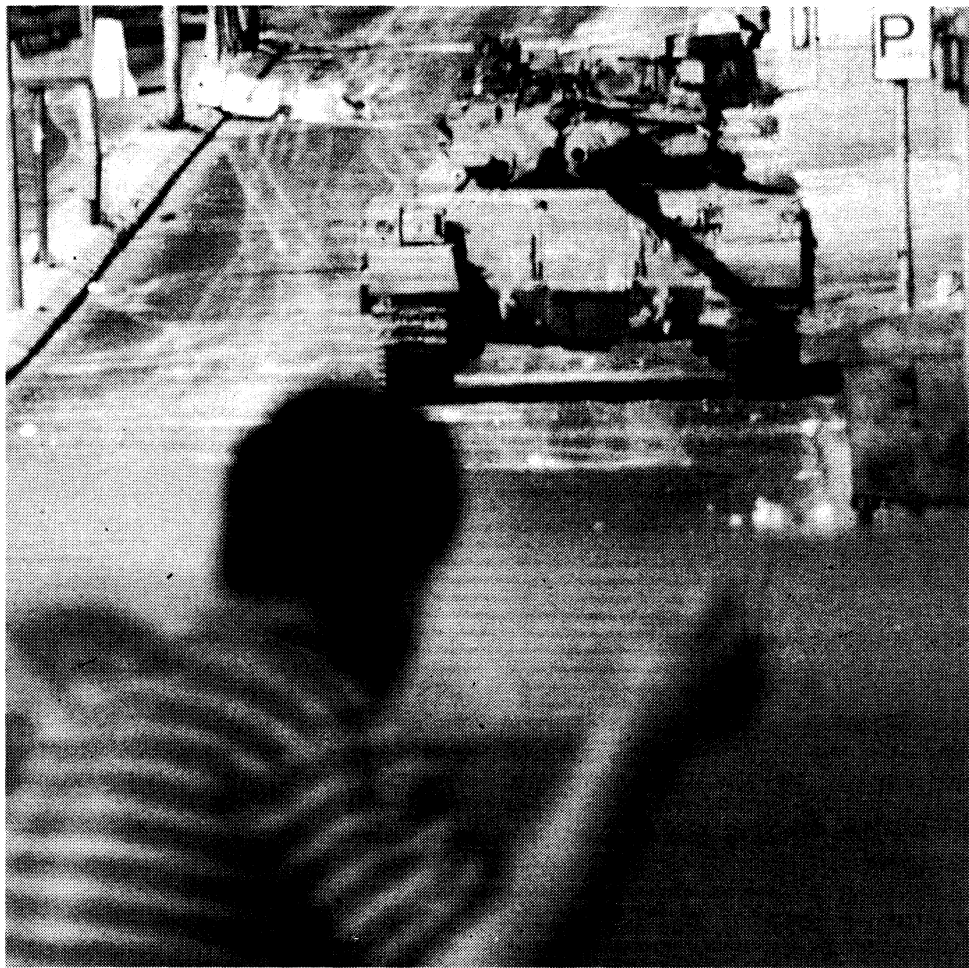
"On October 18, 2001, at 5:15 a.m.," it reported, "the Israeli Defense Forces began to deploy tanks into Palestinian territories and bombarded civilians [with] tank fire and heavy machine-gun fire. Israel laid under siege the Palestinian cities of Ramallah, El Bireh, Jenin, Nablus, and the area of Al-Azeria, near Jerusalem...."

"During the night of October 18th, Israeli tanks, engineering corps and infantry entered Palestinian Authority-controlled areas in Bethlehem, Beit Jala, and Beit Sahur.... Three civilians were killed in their homes as a consequence of Israeli shelling.

"These attacks and invasions follow a pattern of Israeli retaliations to Palestinian actions using collective punishment and excessive force: indiscriminate shelling of Palestinian civil targets, extrajudicial execution of suspected Palestinian activists, blockades and sieges of Palestinian cities and villages, home demolition, and crop destruction.... At least 64 percent of Palestinian casualties were non-fighting civilians, one-third of them minors under the age of 18."

While the Israeli government disavows any "ideological or strategic decision...to conquer these areas and stay there," in the words of Cabinet Minister Tsipi Livni, it has put no time limit on the occupation. "Everything depends on...how the Palestinian Authority will react," Livni said on October 20.

"If they act to prevent terror, Yasir Arafat and the PA can reduce the amount of time



Israeli tanks faced protests and resistance as they entered Bethlehem on October 20.

we stay there," cabinet secretary Gideon Sa'ar said, repeating the terms of Sharon's October 17 ultimatum.

Sharon tried to curry favor with the U.S. government by presenting the offensive as a counterpoint to Washington's brutal assault on Afghanistan, waged under the banner of the "war on terrorism." He appealed to the imperialist powers' common interests, suggesting "that Israel and the United States were waging symmetrical fights [and] calling Israel the 'U.S. bridgehead in the Middle East,'" reported the *New York Times*.

U.S. State Department spokesperson Philip Reeker stated October 22 that "Israeli Defense Forces should be withdrawn imme-

diately from all Palestinian-controlled areas, and no further such incursions should be made." Tel Aviv responded that their military forces would remain until their demands on the Palestinian Authority were met.

The same day, Israeli artillery and warplanes bombarded Hezbollah positions in southern Lebanon. Hezbollah soldiers have also fired at Israeli soldiers in the Shebaa farms area occupied by the Israeli military on the border of Lebanon and the Golan Heights, which was seized by Tel Aviv from Syria in the 1967 war. The attack by warplanes firing air-to-surface missiles was the first since July, when Israeli fighter jets struck Syrian army positions in eastern Lebanon.

Venezuela is Cuba's biggest trading partner

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

Cuba and Venezuela have been increasing their trade ties in recent months. A bilateral cooperation pact, which includes a major oil supply deal for the island, has made Venezuela Cuba's biggest single trading partner, according to Cuban foreign investment minister Marta Lomas.

Two-way trade rose from \$461 million in 1999 to \$912 million in 2000, and reached \$541 million in the first half of this year, reported Lomas, who headed a Cuban delegation to a bilateral cooperation meeting in Caracas, Venezuela's capital, in early September.

Under the year-old agreement, Venezuela

has been supplying Cuba with up to 53,000 barrels of oil a day on favorable terms. Havana pays for part of the oil in cash and up to one-quarter of it under preferential financing terms allowing 15 years to pay and a 2 percent interest rate. The deal, similar to pacts Venezuela has signed with Central American nations, replaced part of the more than 100,000 barrels a day that Cuba previously had to purchase on the open market.

At the bilateral meeting on September 5, Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez hailed the accord and said the two countries' trade cooperation offered an alternative to the "neoliberal" economic integration proposal he said was being imposed on Latin America

through the U.S.-backed Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), which he described as the "cauldron of hell itself."

"I think Cuba is lucky that it's not being called" to join the FTAA, the Venezuelan president said. Revolutionary Cuba is excluded from the FTAA talks. Chávez has said his government will call a referendum on whether Venezuela should join the U.S.-dominated trade pact.

Venezuela, the third-biggest supplier of oil to the U.S. market, has sought to maintain its substantial trade relations with the United States, while establishing a certain distance from U.S. foreign policy.

The same week as its trade talks with Cuba, the Venezuelan government said it considered a 1961 military alliance with Washington to have expired and would not renew it, calling the agreement "a Cold War museum piece." After meeting with U.S. ambassador Donna Hrinak, Venezuelan foreign minister José Vicente Rangel said the U.S. military mission would be departing shortly.

Chávez is currently on a three-week tour of Europe and the Mideast to promote cooperation by oil-producing countries in an effort to support oil prices, which have fallen sharply this year because of the declining world capitalist economy. In Tehran, Chávez announced that the governments of Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Venezuela, the three largest producers inside OPEC, had agreed to a strategy to bolster oil prices, down 25 percent since the U.S.-led war drive began September 11.

Chávez's government has strongly defended its right to establish closer relations with several governments that have been labeled as "terrorist" by Washington, from Cuba to Iran, Iraq, and Libya.

"We're not against anything or anyone," Chávez said. "We're defending Venezuela's interests."

While Chávez has condemned the September 11 suicide attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon as acts of "terrorism and irrationality," he has distanced himself from the U.S.-led assault on Afghanistan. "No one has the global right to be attacking and making lists of terrorists according to his own view," he said October 18.

U.S. charges Canadian with breach of Cuba embargo

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

James Sabzali, a salesman from Ontario, Canada, is the first Canadian citizen to be charged with violating the U.S. embargo laws against Cuba. The case may become a disputed issue between Ottawa and Washington.

Working on contract to the U.S. chemical company Purolite, Sabzali traveled to Cuba numerous times between 1991 and 1995 and sold \$2 million worth of Welsh-made water purification chemicals to hospitals and factories on the island. He was later promoted to an administrative position at Purolite's main office in Philadelphia.

After a five-year investigation, the U.S. Justice Department brought a 76-count indictment against Sabzali and three other company executives in October 2000. He now faces trial and the prospect of a long prison sentence.

Thirty-four of the charges are for business transactions conducted while Sabzali was working for a registered Canadian company in Hamilton, Ontario. He argues that while in Canada he was legally barred from complying with the U.S. embargo under Canada's 1992 Foreign Extraterritorial Measures Act.

Canadian authorities have not leaped to Sabzali's defense. "Mr. Sabzali knew pretty well when he moved to the U.S. that he

might run the risk of getting indicted," said Foreign Affairs spokesman Reynald Doiron.

"Where we do object, of course, is for his being charged for activities that he did while he was residing in Canada, which is a different ball game," Doiron added. The indictment on the 34 charges "is objectionable under our laws." He noted that his government has "always objected to U.S. attempts at asserting jurisdiction extraterritorially in Canada of their own laws to enforce their embargo of Cuba." It remains to be seen which charges will eventually be used against Sabzali.

Another Canadian citizen, Claude Gauthier, who took over Sabzali's trade missions to Cuba after the latter moved to Philadelphia, was subpoenaed and threatened with prosecution by assistant U.S. attorney Joseph Poluka. But Canadian authorities objected, and Washington backed off and withdrew the court order. Unlike Sabzali, Gauthier has not set foot in the United States.

Meanwhile, as Sabzali awaits trial he is prohibited from traveling more than an hour from his home in Bala Cynwyd, Pennsylvania, without written permission. If convicted he faces 10 years in prison for each violation of the Trading with the Enemy Act and a \$250,000 fine.

With the U.S. government holding the

passports of his entire family and the deed to his house, Sabzali pointed out, "I'm a hostage here."

The "extraterritorial" character of the U.S. embargo laws against Cuba has added to the trade frictions between the imperialist governments of Washington and Ottawa. While hostile to the Cuban Revolution, Ottawa maintains diplomatic and trade relations with the island. The Cuban Democracy Act of 1992, known as the Torricelli law, prohibits foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies from trading with Cuba. The 1996 Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (Libertad) Act, or "Helms-Burton" law, allows U.S. businessmen whose property on the island was confiscated to sue companies abroad that invest in those properties.

One Canadian mining company, Sherritt International, has been found by U.S. authorities to have infringed the Helms-Burton law's provisions prohibiting foreign corporations from "trafficking" in property that Cuba's workers and farmers expropriated from U.S. capitalists.

In response to the U.S. embargo laws, Ottawa passed its Foreign Extraterritorial Measures Act, which prohibits Canadian citizens from complying with U.S. measures that infringe upon Canadian businessmen's "sovereign" ability to trade with other countries.

Books for working people and youth fighting imperialism and its war

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party

by James P. Cannon

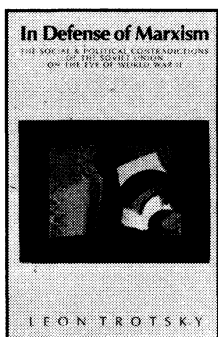
A founder of the communist movement in the U.S. and leader of the Communist International in Lenin's time defends the proletarian program and party-building norms of Bolshevism on the eve of World War II. "The workers of America have power enough to topple over the structure of capitalism at home and to lift the whole world with them when they rise," wrote Cannon. \$21.95

In Defense of Marxism

The Social and Political Contradictions of the Soviet Union

by Leon Trotsky

Writing in 1939-40, Trotsky replies to those in the revolutionary workers movement who were beating a retreat from defense of the Soviet Union in face of looming imperialist assault. \$24.95



Teamster Bureaucracy

by Farrell Dobbs

How the rank-and-file Teamsters leadership organized to oppose World War II, racism, and government efforts—backed by the international officialdom of the AFL, the CIO, and the Teamsters—to gag class-struggle-minded workers. \$18.95

Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International Documents, 1907-1916;

The Preparatory Years

Articles and letters from the political battle led by V.I. Lenin within the leadership of the international workers movement for a revolutionary course in the years leading up to World War I. Part of the Pathfinder series, The Communist International in Lenin's Time. \$32.95

Malcolm X Talks to Young People

Includes Malcolm X's condemnation of imperialist wars in the Congo and Vietnam. \$9 (regular price \$10.95)

Che Guevara Talks to Young People

Ernesto Che Guevara, drawing on his experience as a leader of the Cuban Revolution, talks as an equal with youth of Cuba and the world. In English and Spanish. \$12 (regular \$14.95)

MARXISM
&
TERRORISM

Marxism and Terrorism

by Leon Trotsky

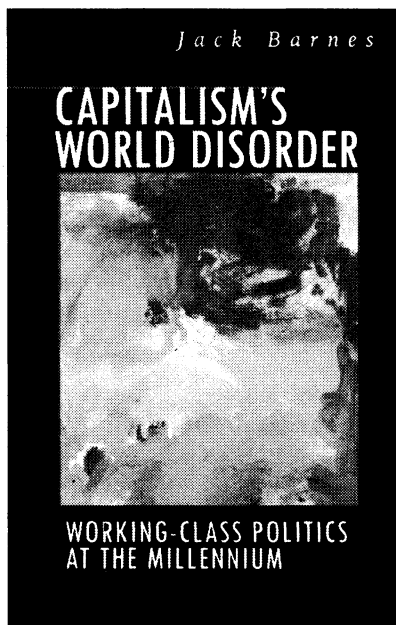
Whatever the intentions behind it, says Trotsky, individual terrorism relegates the workers to the role of spectators and opens the workers movement to provocation and intimidation. \$3.50

Capitalism's World Disorder:

Working-Class Politics at the Millennium

by Jack Barnes

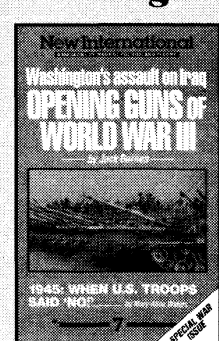
The social devastation and financial panic, the coarsening of politics and politics of resentment, the cop brutality and acts of imperialist aggression accelerating around us—all are the product of lawful forces unleashed by capitalism. But the future the propertied classes have in store for us can be changed by the united struggle and selfless action of workers and farmers conscious of their power to transform the world. Also available in Spanish and French. \$20 (Regular \$23.95)



Also by Jack Barnes

New International no. 7

Washington's Assault on Iraq:

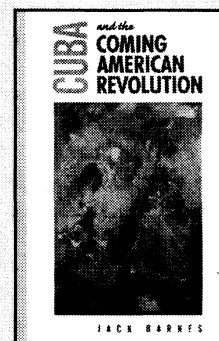


Opening Guns of World War III

The U.S. government's murderous assault on Iraq heralded increasingly sharp conflicts among imperialist powers, the rise of rightist and fascist forces, growing instability of international capitalism, and more wars. \$12

Cuba and the Coming American Revolution

This book is about the struggles of working people in the imperialist heartland, the youth who are attracted to them, and the example set by the people of Cuba that revolution is not only necessary—it can be made. It is about the class struggle in the United States, where the revolutionary capacities of workers and farmers are today as utterly discounted by the ruling powers as were those of the Cuban toilers. And just as wrongly. \$10 (Regular \$13.00)



The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions

A handbook for the new generation coming into the factories, mines, and mills as they react to the uncertain life, ceaseless turmoil, and brutality of capitalism today. In French, English, and Spanish. \$16 (Regular \$19.95)

The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning

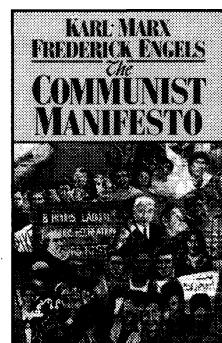
"Until society is reorganized so that education is a human activity from the time we are very young until the time we die, there will be no education worthy of working, creating humanity." In French, English, Icelandic, Spanish, and Swedish. \$3

Revolutionary Continuity

Marxist Leadership in the United States

Farrell Dobbs

How successive generations of fighters took part in the struggles of the U.S. labor movement, seeking to build a leadership that could advance the class interests of workers and farmers. vol. 1 \$16.95, vol. 2 \$18.95



The Communist Manifesto

Karl Marx, Frederick Engels

Founding document of the modern working-class movement, published in 1848. Explains why communism is derived not from preconceived principles but from facts and from proletarian movements springing from the actual class struggle. \$3.95

Fighting Racism in World War II

C.L.R. James, George Breitman, Edgar Keemer, and others

A week-by-week account of the struggle against racism in the United States from 1939 to 1945. \$20.95

Available from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014 and at bookstores, including those listed on page 12.

Malcolm X: there is no 'polite' rebellion

Printed below is an excerpt from *February 1965: The Final Speeches by Malcolm X*. The piece quoted is from a talk entitled "The oppressed masses of the world cry out for action against the common oppressor," presented by Malcolm at the London School of Economics Feb. 11, 1965, to a packed meeting sponsored by the school's Africa Society. Copyright © 1992 by Betty Shabazz and Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.

BY MALCOLM X

It is only being a Muslim which keeps me from seeing people by the color of their skin. This religion teaches brotherhood, but I have to be a realist—I live in America, a society which does not believe in brotherhood in any sense of the term. Brute force is used by white racists to suppress non-whites. It is a racist society ruled by segre-

gationists....

in the Black community, or community of nonwhite people, is at such a high level. It gives the impression or the image that everyone in that community is criminal.

And as soon as the public accepts the fact that the dark-skinned community consists largely of criminals or people who are dirty, then it makes it possible for the power structure to set up a police-state system. Which will make it permissible in the minds of even the well-meaning white public for them to come in and use all kinds of police methods to brutally suppress the struggle on the part of these people against segregation, discrimination, and other acts that are unleashed against them that are absolutely unjust.

They use the press to set up this police state, and they use the press to make the white public accept whatever they do to the dark-skinned public... They have all kinds of negative characteristics that they project to make the white public draw back, or to make the white public be apathetic when police-state-like methods are used in these areas to suppress the people's honest and just struggle against discrimination and other forms of segregation.

A good example of how they do it in New York: Last summer, when the Blacks were rioting—the riots, actually they weren't riots in the first place; they were reactions against police brutality.² And when the Afro-Americans reacted against the brutal measures that were executed against them by the police, the press all over the world projected them as rioters. When the store windows were broken in the Black community, immediately it was made to appear that this was being done not by people who were reacting over civil rights violations, but they gave the impression that these were hoodlums, vagrants, criminals....

But this is wrong. In America the Black community in which we live is not owned by us. The landlord is white. The merchant is white. In fact, the entire economy of the Black community in the States is controlled by someone who doesn't even live there. The property that we live in is owned by someone else. The store that we trade with is operated by someone else. And these are the people who suck the economic blood of our community.

And being in a position to suck the economic blood of our community, they control the radio programs that cater to us, they control the newspapers, the advertising, that cater to us. They control our minds. They end up controlling our civic organizations. They

end up controlling us economically, politically, socially, mentally, and every other kind of way. They suck our blood like vultures.

And when you see the Blacks react, since the people who do this aren't there, they react against their property. The property is the only thing that's there. And they destroy it. And you get the impression over here that because they are destroying the property where they live, that they are destroying their own property. No. They can't get to the man, so they get at what he owns. [Laughter]

This doesn't say it's intelligent. But whoever heard of a sociological explosion that was done intelligently and politely? And this is what you're trying to make the Black man do. You're trying to drive him into a ghetto and make him the victim of every kind of unjust condition imaginable. Then when he explodes, you want him to explode politely! [Laughter] You want him to explode accord-

ing to somebody's ground rules. Why, you're dealing with the wrong man, and you're dealing with him at the wrong time in the wrong way.

¹ The opening paragraphs of the 'speech have been taken from the February 27, 1965, *Manchester Guardian*. From this point in the speech, the text is transcribed from the recording.

² On July 16, 1964, a fifteen-year-old Black youth, James Powell, was shot and killed by a New York police officer. Two days later, a demonstration at a central Harlem police station demanding the officer's arrest was broken up by police, and the organizers were arrested. Police then rampaged through the area, beating, arresting, and shooting residents, killing one. For five days, police battled residents of Harlem and the predominantly Black community of Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

gationists....

[W]here the government fails to protect the Negro he is entitled to do it himself. He is within his rights. I have found the only white elements who do not want this advice given to undefensive Blacks are the racist liberals. They use the press to project us in the image of violence.

There is an element of whites who are nothing but cold, animalistic racists.¹ That element is the one that controls or has strong influence in the power structure. It uses the press skillfully to feed statistics to the public to make it appear that the rate of crime

—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

The 1917 Russian Revolution and the Awakening of Asia. Speaker: Bernie Senter, Socialist Workers Party, member, UNITE. Fri., Nov. 2, 7:30 p.m. 3926 Mission St. Tel: (415) 584-2135.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

End Imperialism's Afghan War, Stop Assault on Workers' Rights—Mayoral Candidate Speaks Out. Speaker: Martin Koppel, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of New York. Sat., Oct. 27, 7:30 p.m. Dinner at 6:30 p.m. 372A 53rd St. (at 4th Ave.). Donation: dinner \$8, meeting \$5. Tel: (718) 567-8014.

Garment District

Bosses' Profit Drive Kills 13 Coal Miners in Alabama. Miners Had Warned Company about Unsafe Conditions. Speaker: James Harlan, participant in *Militant* reporting team to Alabama. Sat., Oct. 27, 7:30 p.m. 545 8th Ave. Tel: (212) 695-7358.

Upper Manhattan

Stop the U.S. Invasion of Afghanistan! Speaker: Ma'mud Shirvani, Farsi editor of *Pathfinder* Press. Fri., Oct. 26, 7:30 p.m. 540 W. 165 St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 740-4611.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

Defending Workers' Rights in Wartime: Why the 1951 Referendum to Outlaw Communism Failed. Speaker: Doug Cooper, Communist League, member, Maritime Union. Sun., Nov. 4, 4:00 p.m. Level 1, 3/281-287 Beamish St., Campsie. Donation: \$4. Tel: (02) 9718-9698.

—CALENDAR—

NEW YORK

Garment District

Socialist class series. Sundays at 10:30 a.m. Nov. 4: "What the 1987 stock market crash foretold," from *New International* no. 10. 545 8th Ave., 14th Floor. Tel: (212) 695-7358.

Upper Manhattan

Socialist class series on *New International* no. 7. Sundays at 4:30 p.m. Nov. 4: "Washington's Third Militarization Drive." 540 W. 165 St. Tel: (212) 740-4611.

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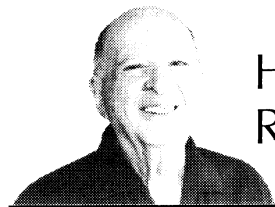
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Proportional representation plus—Latinos comprise 44 percent of Los Angeles County dwellers. They also comprise 60 percent of the people living next to the heavy-



Harry Ring

est pollution-belching industrial sites. That's the finding of a UCLA study which dubs it "environmental racism."

Irony?—Sitting next to its story on the "environmental racism" re-

port, the *Los Angeles Times* displays a large ad: "American Freedom—Flag Collection—Only \$14.95."

Bolstering British democracy—The United Kingdom's judicial system is moving to curb the right of defendants to choose a jury trial. Denial of this right would prevail in such "middle-ranking" cases as assault and theft, cases involving children, and cases of "complex" fraud.

Despite the preparation—"BOULDER, Colorado—A woman was turned away from the city's homeless shelter...because all of its 80 beds were filled—a sign that the county's homeless population of 1,000 may be in for a difficult win-

ter."—News item.

See, if everyone pitches in—Colorado state coffers have been fattened by \$106 million, thanks to its Temporary Assistance to Needy Families program. The program sets a five-year lifetime limit on welfare payments. Researchers found that 80 percent of those booted off welfare are earning less than the federal poverty level.

All's well—Despite the global airline slump, British Airways and Air France, are resuming Concorde supersonic flights to New York. They've been shut down for retrofitting since last July when a Concorde taking off from Paris blew a tire, igniting the plane and killing

113. Naturally, the current round-trip fare will increase—from \$6,100 to nearly \$7,300. But your meal does include caviar and champagne.

Inside, outside, or both?—Officials in Washington, D.C., are working on a plan to provide self-cleaning toilets on busy streets. They hope the operating costs will be covered by advertisements on the hi-tech privies.

And you think it's a big-biz gov't?—California's Imperial Valley sits on the southeast border of the state and Mexico. Across the border is the town of Mexicali. The Imperial Valley is in the grip of a handful of corporate lettuce and sugar beet growers. With king-size

farm equipment and massive use of pesticides, the valley produces some of the most lucrative agricultural profits in the country—and some of the dirtiest air. The incidence of lung disease is double that of the rest of smog-ridden California.

Wait, there's more—A year ago, environmentalists sued Imperial County officials for failing to act to curb the pollution. In response, the Environmental Protection Agency intervened, declaring this was a bum rap. The massive pollution, it asserted, is blown in across the border from Mexicali! And, besides, the Imperial growers are working on a cleanup plan. They agreed to do this nine years ago. No completion deadline was set.

Two strikes in Iowa stand up to employers' demands

BY KEVIN DWIRE

DES MOINES, Iowa—Two strikes in central Iowa are at the forefront of the resistance of working people in the state to the employers' offensive.

Some 2,250 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local

1526 went on strike September 23 at the Amana Refrigeration plant in Amana, Iowa. Amana was purchased by appliance manufacturer Maytag in August. Maytag is pushing to impose a two-tier wage structure with a lower wage for new hires, increase mandatory overtime from 160 to 240 hours per

year, and eliminate a planned wage increase while upping health-care costs.

Strikers say that many employees were working 10 hours a day, six days a week before the strike, and that the demand by the company to expand forced overtime was a big part of the vote against the contract. They also said that they were against the idea of paying new hires less than other workers, seeing it as a way to divide the union. Amana workers earn about \$5 an hour less than workers at the Maytag plant in Newton, Iowa, who are represented by the United Auto Workers (UAW).

In September, Maytag announced that they expect third-quarter profits to increase 15 percent over last year, "due in part to improved earnings from Amana sales," according to the *Des Moines Register*. Strikers said that when their negotiating committee put copies of a news report on the Maytag earnings in front of company negotiators, one of them made it into a paper airplane and threw it back to the union members.

In Marshalltown, Iowa, 44 members of UAW Local 893 unanimously rejected proposed contract demands by Marshall Engineering Product Company (MEPCO). The company proposed a three-year wage freeze, a 400 percent increase in health insurance

premiums, a reduction in the number of union stewards on the floor, and a cut in seniority rights.

Strikers also told the *Militant* that the company wants to tell the union how to elect its executive board, demanding that it include representatives from each department, instead of being elected shop wide. "They had negotiated with the intent to shut it down," UAW International service representative Dennis Walker told the *Marshalltown Times Republican*.

Strikers at MEPCO said that workers at the Marshalltown Veterans Home are also in a fight for a contract. The workers there, members of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 3746, work for ABM Industries Inc.

Their flyer says that ABM makes almost \$2 million a year on the contract with the veterans' home, while workers "earn approximately \$8 per hour, family health insurance costs about \$400 per month out of workers pocket and there is no retirement plan." Union members at the veterans' home were planning to hold strike training October 1.

Kevin Dwire is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1149 at Swift in Marshalltown, Iowa.

Peasants storm police station, and rally for land reform in Guatemala



Protest last month in Guatemala City against privatization of central market

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

A police station and five police cars were set ablaze during an October 16 protest in Concepción Huista, a village north of Guatemala City. Protesters mobilized in anger at police for failing to make an immediate arrest after the shooting death of a local man the previous day. A number of those present told local reporters that the evidence, including the caliber of the bullets used, pointed to police involvement in the slaying.

Hundreds of people began gathering around the police station shortly after midnight. After several hours of protest, 1,000 people stormed the building, forcing the cops inside to flee. The local police director promptly announced that all state forces would abandon the area.

Eight days earlier, thousands of peasants, many of them from indigenous peoples, had erected 100 roadblocks in a one-day protest supporting their demands for land reform. Indigenous peoples form the majority of the country's 11 million people. President Alfonso Portillo agreed to meet with peasant leaders, but refused to consider large-scale land reform.

Working people in Guatemala are being forced to bear the brunt of the semicolonial country's deepening economic problems. The Central America-wide drought laying

waste to many crops has compounded problems of landlessness, poverty, and low prices for crops. The United Nations Children's Fund reports that 46 percent of the country's 5 million children suffer chronic malnutrition. Some 16,000 families depend on supplements from the World Food Program.

According to the October 1 *Hoy*, Guatemala City "is filling up with people from rural areas, who gather on the corners to beg." Local radio in the Northwest of the country, reported the New York Spanish-language daily, has "revealed that a food shortage in the eastern communities of Jocotán and Camotán, on the border with Honduras, took 40 lives this year and that more than a dozen children were among the victims."

The coffee harvest, which is due in a few weeks, remains in the balance, stated the paper, as thousands of cash-strapped farmers grapple with the effects of the drought and the likelihood of low market prices.

The Guatemalan government has instituted a number of security measures at airports and foreign embassies following the September 11 attacks in the United States. Foreign Minister Gabriel Orellana claimed on October 7 that, given its position straddling the isthmus, the country is vulnerable to use by "international extremist groups."

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

25 CENTS
THE MILITANT
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

November 5, 1976

LOS ANGELES—Citing the legal precedents established in the federal suit of the Socialist Workers Party against government disruption of political activities, the Raza Unida party of Texas has demanded that the FBI immediately make available the complete secret files that it maintains on the party.

In a September letter to FBI director Clarence Kelley, Dr. Armando Gutiérrez noted that the presiding judge in the SWP case had ordered the FBI to turn over all files without exception. The same thing should be done for the Raza Unida party, Gutiérrez said, without the need for similar court action.

A professor of Chicano studies at the University of Texas at Austin, Dr. Gutiérrez is vice-chairperson of the Texas RUP and head of its Legal Defense Fund, which is handling the disclosure action.

The decision to take action on this issue was unanimously agreed to by the party's September state convention.

At the convention, Dr. Gutiérrez called the attention of the delegates to revelations of FBI harassment of the SWP and others stemming from the socialists' damage suit.

There is every reason to believe, Gutiérrez said, that the Raza Unida party has been the target of a similar FBI campaign.

The first evidence in this direction was already in hand with the receipt of a CIA file by José Angel Gutiérrez, founding leader of the Crystal City RUP and now Zavala County judge.

Last April, Judge Gutiérrez wrote to the FBI and CIA requesting, under the Freedom of Information Act, his own file and that of the RUP.

THE MILITANT
PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

November 5, 1951

Insurgent dock workers in the Port of New York are waging a magnificent struggle against great odds which has aroused the respect and admiration of every trade union militant. For three weeks now, they have fought off every attempt to break their strike against the sell-out agreement cooked up between union president Joseph Ryan and the employers.

From the beginning they had to beat back the gangs of professional strikebreakers and muscle-men recruited and led by Ryan's gun-toting henchmen.

Their picket line demonstrations in front of City Hall, held in defiance of out-of-bounds restrictions, compelled the city authorities to curb the brutality of the mounted cops.

They sent one of Truman's sharpshooting mediators back to Washington with his inflated ego punctured by their uncompromising rejection of his strikebreaking return-to-work-and-we'll-negotiate-afterwards plea.

When Truman himself called for a return to work on the basis of the Ryan contract in the interest of "national defense" the dock workers indignantly spurned the siren call of the White House strikebreaker.

The rebel strike against Ryan has raised a great hue and cry about corruption, racketeering and crime on the waterfront. Capitalist politicians are demanding investigations. Capitalist newspapers print pious editorials deploring the situation. All advise the men to return to work and let the ward heelers and editorial writers fix things up.

But the men have learned better... The dock workers have been the long suffering victims and it is the dock workers themselves who will have to clean up the filthy mess...

Defend workers' rights

The assault on workers' rights that the Bush administration and Congress have accelerated since September 11 is a threat to all working people and the labor movement. In addition to the range of bills on the state and federal level that build on Clinton-era legislation, the government, the employers, and their police agencies are probing to see how far they can go in eroding workers' rights.

At the forefront of this assault is the rounding up of more than 800 people, along with laws that allow the INS and federal and local cops to hold them indefinitely, with hearings and other proceedings in secret chambers. The government so far has been careful not to target U.S.-born citizens, instead going after immigrants from the Middle East and Central Asia.

The fact that not one person has been charged in connection with the attacks on September 11 helps highlight the real aims of the U.S. rulers: to press for working people to start to accept special repressive laws targeting sections of the oppressed and exploited in this country. And now FBI officials, voicing frustration at the fact that their detainees won't "confess," are floating proposals to restrict civil liberties and begin torturing people.

As in the case of Washington's widening use of air bases in Pakistan, once the U.S. rulers get their foot in the door they don't intend to stop there. "An injury to one is an injury to all" is a hard-won political reality for working people. Letting Washington throw constitutional rights out the window for some people today only sets up wider sections of the working class for similar treatment tomorrow.

As the war deepens and Washington sends ground troops

into "harm's way," the bosses will try to pressure workers into accepting more intrusive searches on and off the job; to not fight firings of those with views opposing the U.S. rulers' wars and the bosses' assaults, such as in the case of socialist candidate Michael Italie in Miami; and to refrain from striking, "given the war effort"—and, if they don't comply, pass no-strike laws. They aim to curtail the ability of working people to discuss and debate, raise different views, and organize in our own interests.

Washington is using the September 11 attacks, and now the anthrax scare, to make a case that people in the United States have to trade in some of their rights in exchange for "security," and to put up with cops opening their trunks, indefinite detentions as "material witnesses," more wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping, and other measures.

But there is no security for working people under capitalism, either from sudden layoffs, death and injury on the job, firings by the boss, or being sent to war against our class brothers and sisters abroad. It is capitalism that has brought social devastation and upheaval to the world, a reality that has for decades been more and more true inside the strongest imperialist powers themselves.

By fighting to defend every person from victimization by the government and employers—no matter how much they are demonized by the powers that be; to defend the right to speak out, organize, and take action in the interests of the working class; and to unite working people in the United States and across national boundaries, workers and farmers can begin to march toward a world where the assaults and degradations of capitalism are no more.

Support the Pathfinder Fund!

The *Militant* encourages all its readers to support and contribute to the \$125,000 Pathfinder Fund. The fund makes it possible for Pathfinder to publish new titles and keep in print over 300 revolutionary books and pamphlets.

The scope of titles published by Pathfinder means that working people and youth entering into struggle against an increasingly brutal imperialism have at their disposal the greatest weapons in the fight against the capitalist system: the lessons and history of the working-class struggle for power, from the Paris Commune of 1871, through the Russian, Chinese, and Cuban revolutions, to the battles of today. Never before in the history of the workers movement has a publishing house in a capitalist country been able to produce, keep in print, and distribute around the world such a wide range of titles.

The publishing and distribution of Pathfinder titles today is important because these books provide an explanation of imperialism and an understanding of anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggles—and, along with that, an assessment of the political conditions we face, and of the possibilities for workers and farmers to make a revolution in the heart of world imperialism.

By reading titles like *The Communist Manifesto*,

Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium, and *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*, working-class fighters can draw on the struggles of previous generations, generalize through our own experiences the class nature of the capitalist system and its institutions, and understand why it needs to be replaced with one that serves the interests of the toiling majority.

Combined with the efforts of hundreds of volunteers participating in Pathfinder's ambitious publishing and promotion schedule over the coming months, the Pathfinder Fund will provide greater opportunities to reach out to broader numbers of workers and youth.

Organizing Pathfinder Fund meetings in the next month to discuss books such as *Capitalism's World Disorder* and the issues of *New International* that explain the course that U.S. imperialism and the world class struggle have taken since the 1987 stock market crash can help illustrate how essential these titles are to understanding the world today. Supporters of the fund can encourage contributions from co-workers, young people fighting Washington's war, the many strikers standing up to the employers' assaults, and others. It's a fund whose benefits we'll keep seeing for years to come. Join in the effort!

Socialist fights political firing

Continued from Page 5

Cuban Revolution and oppose the Cuban Adjustment Act that cynically tries to entice Cubans to come to the United States outside of regular forms of immigration," the socialist candidate responded. In early September Italie had spoken out against the city administration's assistance to right-wing forces that wanted to protest near the entrance to the Latin Grammys award show, leading the organizers to move it to Los Angeles. Italie stated that "working people need full cultural exchange with Cuba, an end to the U.S. embargo, and the freedom to travel to Cuba." He also helped build a car caravan organized by the Antonio Maceo Brigade and other groups demanding freedom of cultural exchange with Cuba.

When the October 18 campus forum ended, the socialist campaign table was mobbed by people interested in learning more about the campaign. Fifteen people signed up for more information and to help out. Three of these young people attended a Militant Labor Forum on the history of imperialist domination of Afghanistan the next evening, where Italie participated as well.

The following day at work, Friday, October 19, a number of co-workers told Italie they had seen him on Channel 51, one of the Spanish-language TV stations, where he appeared briefly and was described by reporters as the socialist candidate for mayor. Several supervisors also approached Italie during the course of that day, and the next day, seeking to engage him in discussion about his campaign.

In an interview, Italie stated that on the following Monday, October 22, he reported for work as usual at 7:00 a.m. and worked on his sewing machine all day. At 5:00 p.m., half an hour before the end of the shift, said Italie, "The top supervisor in the department told me that they wanted to talk with me in the personnel office. When we got to the office, we met with a manager."

The manager had a paper with a few handwritten lines

on it, Italie said, and seemed to use it as his text as he proceeded to announce the firing. According to Italie, this manager said: "I have been assigned to tell you that because of your views against the U.S. government, you are a disruptive force and cannot work here any longer. Get your belongings and go." The manager stated that Italie's views were contrary to those of "this agency," referring to Goodwill Industries, but would not specify which of Italie's views in particular the clothing manufacturer objected to. Italie asked for a copy of what the manager had read from, and for his business card, but the company representative refused. Company personnel escorted Italie out of the plant at that point.

"I will not be intimidated and I will continue to use my campaign to speak out for workers and farmers fighting to organize and defend our unions, protest police brutality, and stand up to the U.S.-British imperialist war in Afghanistan," Italie said. "This war is the central issue in politics today. It's important for workers and farmers to be able to discuss this without fear of losing their jobs, in order to be able to organize and defend our rights."

Italie's campaign is planning a press conference for October 26 outside the factory to protest this political firing by the Goodwill bosses, and demand his job back. Supporters of the socialist campaign are inviting unionists, civil rights fighters, and all defenders of free speech to join him at the news conference and in this fight. Mayoral candidate Danny Couch and longtime community activist John Due pledged their support on October 24.

Italie will also take advantage of media coverage of his campaign to press for reversal of his firing, including free one-minute air time offered to all mayoral candidates by the local NBC affiliate for its 6:00 p.m. newscast.

Argiris Malapanis is a meat packer in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida.

Our struggle is against imperialism

BY JACK WILLEY

Three letters on the opposite page raise questions about the *Militant's* stance toward protests against the imperialist war in Afghanistan and the article, "What course is needed in antiwar protests?" published in the October 22 issue of the *Militant*.

Communists always begin with how to advance the struggle against imperialism through a course of action that strengthens the organization, class consciousness, and self-confidence of the working class and its allies, pointing to the need for a revolutionary struggle to replace the capitalist government with one of workers and farmers. This is true both in "peacetime" and in times of brutal military assaults that more and more mark the course of the U.S. ruling class.

Since September 11, Washington's war drive and war

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

have accelerated the major trends in world politics, from the employer and government assault on the unions and workers' rights in the United States, to moves by German and Japanese imperialism to deploy their military forces abroad, to conflicts between Washington and various imperialist rivals in Europe.

This helps highlight the importance of building a revolutionary workers party, rooted within the resistance of workers and small farmers, as the only instrument capable of leading working people and the oppressed to take power out of the hands of the ruling rich and begin building a new society. That has been and continues to be a goal backed by the *Militant*.

Today, in the midst of a new imperialist onslaught, members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialists are joining workers involved in strikes, union organizing drives, protests against police brutality, and other actions in defense of workers' rights. Because these struggles are against the same ruling class that is waging war abroad, they are at the center of the fight against imperialism. They objectively weaken imperialism, as do strikes and protests against the government in Pakistan by working people there.

SWP and YS members also keep a lookout for picket lines, rallies, and marches against the U.S.-British war. In my earlier article I explained some of the anti-imperialist slogans and signs they bring to such protests—actions that reflect a broad range of political views. These protests are where many young people have an opportunity to express their opposition to Washington's war in Afghanistan and moves to broaden its assault, whether it be in the Philippines or against Iraq. The *Militant* has reported on these protests and socialists' participation in them, from the September 29 protest in Washington, to New York mayoral candidate Martin Koppel's speech at State University of New York in Stony Brook, Long Island.

Socialists bring Pathfinder books, *New International*, and the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to all those they meet, whether it be on the job, on street tables in working-class districts, at protest rallies, and elsewhere. These books and periodicals are essential in learning the truth about imperialism, the history of the working-class movement, and a scientific understanding of current developments in world politics.

Along these lines, the *Militant* made a special appeal for all its supporters to take a day off work last month in order to spend a day on a college campus meeting and bringing a working-class perspective to students. Consistent work along these lines in several cities is resulting in numbers of youth interested in joining and learning more about the Young Socialists. Good numbers of students and workers are also participating in Militant Labor Forums each week to discuss the struggles of working people and oppressed around the world as well.

There is one point to clarify in Stan Smith's letter on the vigils. Shortly after September 11 various local governments and other institutions held candlelight vigils to "mourn our heroes." These were designed, as the article described, "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." At the same time some forces opposed to Washington's bellicose war moves also organized "peace" vigils under the banner of both opposing the U.S. war drive and "mourning the dead." These did not serve to clarify questions involved in Washington's propaganda campaign, and, if continued, would have helped to disorient workers and youth seeking to fight against Washington's war drive. But over the past weeks most organizations involved in the protest actions are putting forward demands that are more unambiguously against the war.

For those seeking to oppose imperialism and its war today, it is helpful to recognize that Washington's war against the people of Vietnam was not ended by an antiwar movement in the United States alone. Washington was

Continued on Page 6

Bombs over Baghdad?

U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, John Negroponte, and his Iraqi counterpart, Mohammed Aldouri usually have nothing to do with each other. But CNN reported last week that Negroponte arrived at Aldouri's private residence to deliver an official statement. The statement warned the Iraqi government that if it takes advantage of the current world situation and makes attacks on Israel or the Kurdish population the United States would "reply very strongly to defeat [Iraq]." Initially one would laugh at the hypocrisy of such a statement, but then after one examines it closer, it becomes scarier.

The United States is the one in this situation that has taken advantage of this abnormal time to threaten Iraq with excessive force. The U.S. government is blatantly feeding off people's fears in order to win support for any kind of military action.

The U.S. statement also warned against use of chemical and biological weapons. That is not an unwarranted warning, but does the U.S. government not realize that the number one killer of Iraqi children is diarrhea? One could argue that U.S. sanctions and bombings of water treatment plants, which are killing people daily, is a form of biological warfare. It is all terribly hypocritical, but the official Iraqi response put it best when it described the warning as "naive, silly and arrogant."

Ari Paul

Ann Arbor, Michigan

What is imperialism?

Please describe to me "imperialists." I ask this of Brian Williams, who used this label for the United States. It is true, but it does not account for the significant evolution the United States represents for the human race of this violent world.

Tajar Ryzen
by e-mail

Antiwar movement I

It is not clear from reading the latest *Militant* if you are in favor of an antiwar movement in the United States. The lead editorial in the October 22 issue called on people to support strikes and labor battles and sell the *Militant*, with no mention of mobilizing opposition to this war through demonstrations, teach-ins, picket lines, etc.

In addition, perhaps it was in sections I did not see, but it seems there is no coverage of the antiwar efforts that have happened across the country. In Portland alone we have had marches of over 2,000 twice, numerous rallies, and educational events with speakers from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and Palestine. The antiwar movement here is the center of the editorial page letters column almost daily with war hawks condemning the movement in the traditional fashion and those speaking out about the truth of American foreign policy.

John Olmsted
Portland, Oregon

Antiwar movement II

On September 11 my students watched as people jumped from the World Trade Center, as fire engulfed the building, and

feared that their parents were lost. Every day they come to school with their lungs filled with smoke that still permeates Chinatown. Their lives and the lives of all children in New York have been irrevocably changed. All children in New York have lost their innocence—their right to feel safe in the world. I am shocked that the *Militant* barely acknowledges the pain that has been caused by the bombing of the World Trade Center.

This is not to say that I don't support and worry about the children around the world. It is not to say that I don't agree with much of your analysis.

In addition, I have attended many of the vigils and the demonstrations in New York. Unlike your reporting, these demonstrations have had a solid antiwar focus. The peace buttons that Jack Willey misinterprets mirror the same type that existed during the beginning of the anti-Vietnam War movement. They don't resemble in any way the yellow ribbons worn during the bombing of Iraq. The people at these demonstrations represent the beginning of a grassroots organization against the war. At the candlelight vigils people talked not only about their personal losses, about the firefighters who are gone, but also about their concern for the people of Afghanistan. They talked about what could be done to stop the bombing. They are organizing against the war.

Anne Powers
New York, New York

Antiwar movement III

It is remarkable that your article, "What course is needed in antiwar protests?" in issue no. 40 makes no mention whatsoever of the national protests on September 29 against the war, nor of the national day of action against the war on October 27. These protests were never mentioned in any *Militant* articles. Your general views on the war and slogans against the war are quite similar to the local coalition's here—except that we welcome the participation of all who oppose the war.

Your article claims that the protests against the war are basically pacifist protests, which only seems true in the article—because you have excluded the national protests against the war which are not pacifist. I must also object to the dishonest reporting of the International Action Center (IAC) group in your article. Your article makes it seem that the IAC organizes "peace vigils," and adapts "to imperialist war pressures and disorient many young people who genuinely want to fight against imperialist aggression." Peace vigils "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."

In fact, unlike other more cowardly groups who were organizing a September 29 protest against the IMF and World Bank, and then canceled their demonstrations after September 11, the IAC did not, but changed its demonstration to one against the war. Their demands were "No War on Afghanistan, No Racist Attacks on Arab and Muslim peoples, No Attacks on Civil Liberties."

Stan Smith
Chicago, Illinois

Washington State meat packers on strike for wage increase, 'respect'



Militant/Mark Severs
Members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1439 picket outside Washington Beef in Toppenish, Washington, in defense of their strike. Some 250 workers from a workforce of 500 walked out September 19 after the company stalled in negotiations to replace the old contract, which had expired three days earlier. The workers are demanding a wage raise and adequate medical benefits. They are also protesting the cranked-up line speed and unsafe working conditions. Signs on the picket line read: "We are not machines, we are humans," and "We are out for a good cause: Respect."

London demonstration

Congratulations on the last few issues of the paper which, in contrast to most papers that claim to be socialist or communist, has put forward a clear anti-imperialist program in opposition to the U.S. and British aggression against Afghanistan. Moreover those opposed to the war will find much needed ammunition in the clear presentation of the facts about the current world situation found in the pages of the *Militant*; the truth is always on our side.

In that regard I must point out that an error occurred in the report of the demonstration in London on October 13 which referred to "Thousands of Muslim youth" occupying Trafalgar Square. Whilst undoubtedly the most important feature of this protest against the war, it would be more accurate to have said "Hundreds of Muslim youth," this development does not gain anything by exaggeration.

Pete Evans
London, United Kingdom

Analysis of terrorist act

The *Militant* has provided outstanding coverage and analysis on the US war drive in Afghanistan but a poor job of providing any political analysis of the specific terrorist attacks on September 11 and terrorism in general despite several letters written to you since the attacks. The working class is clearly asking for a political analysis of terrorism but if the *Militant* continues its silence on this issue it will leave a political vacuum likely to be filled by big business

media. Please explain how revolutionaries can explain the terrorist attacks and how to fight terrorism in addition to the fine analysis of the U.S. war drive.

E.F.
Seattle, Washington

Editor's note: The articles in the October International Socialist Review address the questions raised by E.F. It is available online or from the *Militant* for \$1, plus 50 cents postage, by writing: 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Propaganda against Sudan

The imperialists are readying a pretext to extend their war of aggression to Sudan sometime in the future. There is a steady stream of articles telling of the atrocities and cruelty of the Khartoum regime and depicting the civil war in the country as a race war between Arabs and "blacks" or occasionally between Muslims and Christians and Animists. All the people of Sudan are Africans and Black.

The aim of the media campaign is to provide a pretext for military action in Sudan and convincing the Black liberal establishment in the United States to go along with Yankee troops massacring Africans. The danger is real if not imminent.

Neil Callender
Cambridge, Massachusetts

'To See the Dawn'

Recently, I was reading *To See the Dawn: Congress of the Peoples of the East*, which brings today's current world political situation in sharp relief as to the historic possibilities inherent in the call by the Baku congresses for unity of the toilers in opposition to imperialism. The questions and answers are fundamentally the same. If possible, excerpts from the speech given by John Reed should find their way into the *Militant* since they discuss food as weapon by the United States along with the U.S. colonial conquests.

Robert Robertson
Bloomfield, New Jersey

A contribution

Please find a contribution enclosed. This is my donation to the best political newspaper on earth. Do as you please in whatever area this money can help.

Greg Hodges
Santa Cruz, California

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.

Black news service: 'Whites-only press conference at White House'

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

Following U.S. president George Bush's October 12 news conference, the National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA), a Black news service, issued a story entitled, "Whites-Only Press Conference at the White House."

"President Bush urged Americans to exercise racial tolerance while pointing out only White reporters to ask him questions during a White House press conference about the war against terrorism in Afghanistan," wrote Hazel Trice Edney, the NNPA's Washington correspondent.

Bush used the bulk of his remarks at the event, scheduled one month after the September 11 attacks, to drum up support for his government's war on Afghanistan. Near the end, Edney reported, he appealed to "my fellow Americans not to use this as an opportunity to pick on somebody that doesn't look like you or doesn't share your religion."

During the conference, attended by nearly 100 reporters, Bush "called on eight white men and two white women of the White House press corps, while an invited multicultural group of about 26 reporters sat excluded from the dialogue in assigned seats to his left," she observed.

"On one hand, the press conference updated America's response with tough talk and a recap of some of the actions taken. On the other hand, except for the two women, it appeared to be a chat among the White House

press corps 'good ol' boys.' At one point, the president held up his left hand to silence the increasingly aggressive, but professional reporters, to his left," Edney reported.

"Excuse me. I'm having trouble hearing John," he said.

"One dark-complexioned reporter with a Spanish accent seemed so frustrated that he continued to shout his question after the president had left the podium."

"Two Egyptian-American reporters quietly discussing the exclusion as they left the East Room agreed that it was 'not intentional,' but systematic," wrote Edney. Bush had said "from the outset that he would 'be glad to take questions from the White House Press Corps,'" she noted. "It happens that the press corps, decades after major media organizations began desegregating its ranks in the late 1960s and early 1970s, remains almost lily white, despite applications backed up as far as last March."

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Nurses strike to improve health care

BY JENNIFER KYNG

SYDNEY, Australia—"The health system is a mess," said Mark Murphy, a registered nurse from Westmead Hospital in Sydney. "Nurses are in crisis; we're underpaid and overworked."

Faced with a chronic and severe shortage of nurses, along with budget cuts, reductions in bed numbers, and an increasing workload, 24,000 New South Wales nurses in the public health system walked off the job for eight hours on October 18. This, the first statewide strike in a decade, went ahead in spite

Strike and rally in Australia demands wage increase, fewer hours.

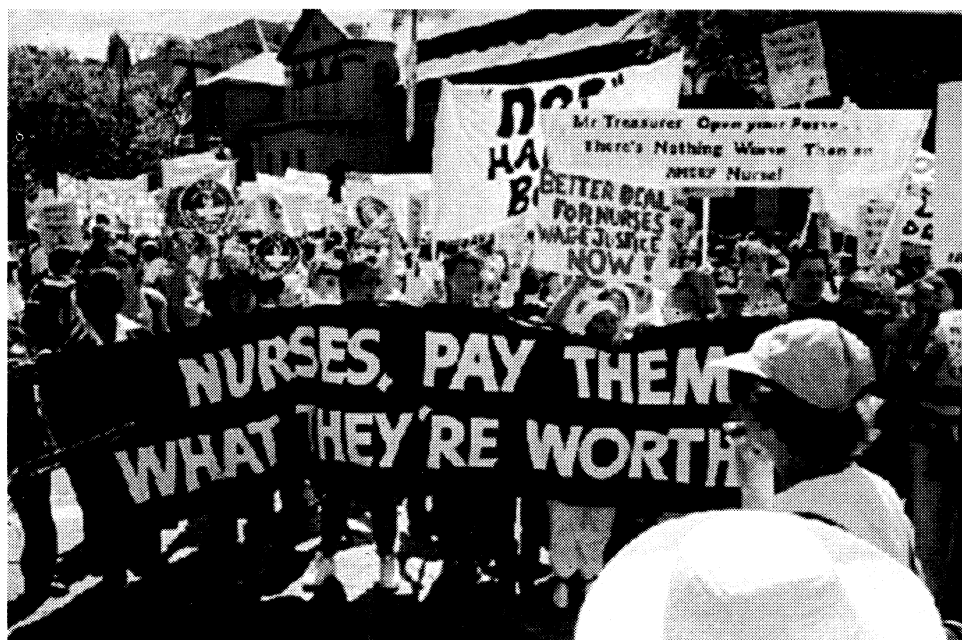
of state government attempts to stop it.

Murphy was among 3,000 nurses who attended a mass meeting at Sydney's Town Hall and then marched to the state Parliament House to push for a wage increase to address the nursing shortage. The meeting was telecast to striking nurses across the state. Skeleton staffs were maintained at all facilities.

As part of the campaign organized by the New South Wales Nurses' Association (NSWNA), nurses first gathered outside the Town Hall, waving handmade placards and chanting. Passing motorists honked to show their support.

Sue Briggs, a community nurse from western Sydney, explained, "There are not enough resources to do what we have to do. Nurses are fed up."

The shortage of nurses, part of the ongoing



Some 3,000 striking nurses outside state Parliament House in Sydney, Australia, protest worsening working conditions and demand a 15 percent wage increase. The October 18 strike was the first statewide walkout in 10 years.

ing long-term crisis in the public health system, is widely known. Patient deaths from errors attributable to worker stress and exhaustion are a common occurrence. A study in 1996 by Dr. Ross Wilson revealed that 18,000 patients die from complications each year in Australia, or 16.6 percent of those admitted. Half of these are considered preventable. This is four times the rate for U.S. hospitals in a similar study.

Inside the hall, speeches by union officials were interrupted by cheering, applauding, and stamping of feet. NSWNA Gen-

eral Secretary Sandra Moait received a huge response from the crowd. "This is about safe patient care," she said. "Nurses are working compulsory overtime and double shifts. There's no replacement for staff on leave. Angry nurses are voting with their feet."

The government has underplayed the extent of the shortage, claiming that only 1,600 nurses are needed. In fact, 2,500 full-time positions are being staffed by people hired on a casual basis. With permanent staff leaving, casual nurses are stuck in a blind-leading-the-blind situation, Unable to rely on

regulars to keep them up to date, they struggle to gain the information needed to look after their allotted patients for the shift.

Nurses are leaving at all stages of their careers, with new nurses now leaving after one or two years. The average age of a working nurse is now in the mid-40s.

The NSWNA is demanding a one-time 15 percent wage increase to bring wages into line with those who have equivalent levels of training, such as dietitians and physiotherapists.

Also at issue is the increasing violence nurses face, particularly in emergency departments—often at the hands of patients frustrated by delays and substandard attention.

The state Labor government is refusing to negotiate. "They are hiding behind the fact that we are in the middle of a wage agreement previously negotiated—16 percent over four years," Moait said. "They say, 'Don't renege on your current agreement.' They say we are too expensive! We say, we cost what we cost because we are the lifeblood of the public health system!" Nurses roared their approval.

The union is also demanding extra pay for additional qualifications, ranging from \$40 per week for nurses holding a hospital or graduate certificate to \$75 per week for those with postgraduate degrees. Currently these attract no premium. As further encouragement, the union proposes a retention allowance of \$10,000 to be paid after two years service.

The government is expected to rebuff these demands, at which point, according to Moait, the case will go before the state Industrial Relations Commission for arbitration.

Despite the antiunion atmosphere fostered by the conservative federal government on the eve of the November 10 general election, involving talk of further "industrial reforms" and much focus on the likelihood of Australian casualties in the war against Afghanistan, NSWNA assistant general secretary Brett Holmes reflected the fighting mood when he explained, "Unions have never been more relevant than in these uncertain times. We must maintain worker solidarity. A united voice is always heard over one voice!"

After the rally the nurses marched to Parliament House, blocking major city streets and again attracting honks of support from motorists. The state premier, Robert Carr of the Labor Party, and his health minister, Craig Knowles, declined to speak to the rally. The nurses chanted: "We're not happy, Bob!" and "Nurses, united, will never be defeated!"

Manly Hospital nurse Lyn Hopper summed up the stakes: "Patient lives are already at risk."

Jennifer Kyng is a member of the NSW Nurses' Association.

Algeria wins one in Paris match

BY NAT LONDON

PARIS—As shocked government ministers, politicians, and assorted personalities looked on, hundreds, then thousands, and finally many thousands of young people greeted the singing of *La Marseillaise*, the French national anthem, with a growing crescendo of whistles, boos, and catcalls. According to participants, most of the 80,000 sports fans who filled the Stade de France soccer stadium to overflowing approved the action. "We booed *La Marseillaise* to give encouragement to our soccer team," one young sports fan from a working-class Paris suburb told a national television network. "We did it to support our country—Algeria."

The October 6 exhibition match between the national teams of France and Algeria—billed as an act of "reconciliation"—was the first such event since Algeria won its independence from France in 1962 following a bitter seven-year conflict.

The stadium was a sea of Algerian flags. With France leading 4-1, hundreds of supporters of the Algerian team, some of them shouting, "bin Laden, bin Laden," invaded the playing field, forcing the cancellation of the match. Two government officials, Labor Minister Elisabeth Guigou and Sports and Youth Minister Marie-George Buffet, a leader of the French Communist Party and

principal organizer of the exhibition match, were slightly injured by flying projectiles, while Prime Minister Lionel Jospin was evacuated by his bodyguards. "I only wanted to bring about a Franco-Algerian rapprochement," said Buffet.

"Our working-class suburbs have become an Islamic fifth column," complained Philippe De Villiers, the president of the right-wing party, Mouvement pour la France. "Almost all the 70,000 'Algerian' supporters were French citizens.... There are 5 million Muslims in France, not all of whom are terrorists or even religious fanatics. But they are easy prey for recruitment to networks led from Afghanistan or Saudi Arabia."

The Algerian national soccer team was formed in clandestine conditions in 1958 when Mohamed Boumezrag, a leader of the

section of the National Liberation Front of Algeria based in metropolitan France, returned from the 1957 International Youth Festival. Using the contacts he had made during the festival, Boumezrag recruited nine of the best known French national champion players to secretly leave the country and go to Tunisia where the Algerian national team was formally proclaimed on April 13. The World Football Federation announced that any team that played the Algerians would be expelled from the world championships, and the French government succeeded in arresting other players who tried to leave the country to join the team. Despite this harassment, the Algerian team played 91 matches over the next four years and helped win international recognition for the Algerian struggle for independence.

Australian gov't moves to end right to remain silent

BY DOUG COOPER

SYDNEY, Australia—In a broadside attack on the right to remain silent, Attorney General Daryl Williams has called for compelling people to answer questions by agents of the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), the main domestic spy agency. He would make "the refusal to do so a criminal offence, with a maximum penalty of five years in jail for failing to answer a question," according to an October 3 report on the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's online news service.

Williams' trial balloon, which has received little attention in the big-business media, is part of a package of proposals the government says it will introduce in Parliament if it is reelected in the upcoming November 10 federal election. Other proposed measures that attack workers' rights were widely reported. These include increasing the time a "suspect" can be detained by ASIO without charges from four hours to 48, and permitting ASIO agents to interrogate people not considered "suspects."

The major opposition party, the Australian Labor Party, quickly lent support to the proposed legislative changes. A spokeswoman for leader Kim Beazley said, "On the limited details available, the measures appear appropriate. Some of them could go further."

In Australia, the right to remain silent and the presumption of innocence are part of common law. The constitution does not include a bill of rights and permits both state and federal parliaments to pass specific legislation overriding the common law rights that working people have won over many decades.

For example, commissions that are established by acts of parliament, such as the Independent Commission against Corruption in New South Wales, can include provisions eliminating the right to remain silent for those who testify. These commissions are similar to grand juries in the United States, where—despite both common law and a Bill of Rights "guaranteeing" the right to remain silent—working people who refuse to answer questions are regularly imprisoned for

the remainder of the period the grand jury sits, which can sometimes be years.

"As Canberra moves to drag working people deeper and deeper into the imperialist war against the Afghan people, in the name of 'freedom,'" said Communist League candidate Ron Poulsen, "these proposals would dramatically expand the powers of the secret police at home to coerce people into collaborating with them." Poulsen is a wharfie [dockworker] and member of the Maritime Union. He is standing in the November 10 election for the seat of Watson.

"While they are supposedly aimed at the 'terrorist threat,' their real target is workers' organizations, groups that defend immigrant or refugee rights, or anyone who opposes the rulers' course to war," he said. "Now is the time to speak out against these draconian proposals and increase the political price the rulers will have to pay if they enact them," Poulsen said.

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

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