## THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Imperialist war against working people hits a snag

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# U.S. rulers' curbs on rights are aimed at working people, youth

Immigrants bear brunt of attacks; divisions sharpen in U.S. ruling class

#### BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

The Bush administration is facing mounting criticism from Democratic and Republican Party officials in its assault on workers' rights. Liberal and conservative figures in ruling-class circles are questioning unilateral moves by the White House that have a dramatic impact on the rights of people living in the United States.

U.S. attorney general John Ashcroft has been summoned to appear in early December at hearings of the Senate Judiciary Committee to explain the detentions of more than 1,200 immigrants, the ongoing interviews of 5,000 men of mostly Middle Eastern descent, and moves to establish military tribunals for people who are not citizens. Sen. Patrick Leahy, chairman of the Judiciary Committee and a persistent critic of Ashcroft, commented on the November 26 NBC television program "Meet the Press" that these steps, along with the new policy

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# Deaths in coal mines on the rise

BY TONY LANE

PITTSBURGH—Five fatal accidents in coal mines over the past month have brought the number of mine fatalities nationwide to 38 this year, equal to the total deaths in 2000. Company attacks on the United Mine Workers of America, a drive to produce more coal per man-hour, and cutting corners on safety are behind a steady rise in coal mining deaths from a low of 29 in 1998.

Four of the deaths in November have been in West Virginia, bringing to 13 the number of miners killed in the state this year. Three years ago the number of workers killed in West Virginia's mines was six.

The latest miner was killed and another Continued on Page 11

Books from
Pathfinder for
working people
and youth fighting
imperialism and
its war. Special
offers, see page 11

### Washington directs massacre of POWs; deploys thousands of combat troops

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The latest casualties in the imperialist war against Afghanistan are hundreds of prisoners of war massacred by U.S. forces and their Northern Alliance allies in a prison near the northern Afghan city of Mazar-i-Sharif November 25-28.

Some 800 prisoners, many of them from Pakistan and countries in the Middle East who had joined up with the Taliban to resist Washington's assault on Afghanistan, were being held in at the Qala Jangi fortress after surrendering to Northern Alliance forces in the nearby city of Kunduz.

According to the numerous press reports and interviews with Northern Alliance troops, the incident began when Taliban prisoners believed they were to be executed after seeing CIA operatives interrogating their comrades. Outraged at the American intervention, they rapidly overpowered their Northern Alliance guards. They took over sections of the prison, arming themselves with rocket-propelled grenades and machine guns. U.S. Special Forces troops and British soldiers in the area then took control of directing what turned out to be a brutal three-day massacre.

Without seeking the surrender of the prisoners, U.S. commanders on the scene called in U.S. air strikes as well as an AC-130 gun-Continued on Page 6

### California protest opposes Visa Entry Reform Act



One hundred protesters, mainly students from area campuses, picketed outside the offices of Sen. Dianne Feinstein in downtown San Francisco November 8 in opposition to the Visa Entry Reform Act. Feinstein says the legislation "tightens our borders to help ensure that Americans are safe at home." This bill will make it harder for international students to study in U.S. colleges, and would impose a moratorium on student visas issued to seven nations: Iran, Iraq, Sudan, Libya, Syria, North Korea, and Cuba.

Shadi Rahimi, a senior at the University of San Francisco, told the demonstrators, "By denying visas [the U.S. government is] denying certain groups of people an opportunity for higher education. Once they take away these rights, they can take away all of our rights." The University of California at Berkeley Stop the War Coalition was the main sponsor of the protest. Hoang Phan, a spokesperson for the coalition, called the bill "racist and part of [Feinstein's] generally xenophobic anti-immigrant agenda."

### Garment worker begins tour in free speech fight

BY CHARLES HUNTER

MIAMI—Supporters of the fight to reverse the political firing by Goodwill Industries of Michael Italie, a garment worker who was recently the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Miami, is gaining support here, as Italie beings a nationwide tour to expand the free speech fight. Washington's war drive and assault on workers' rights at home is meeting resistance among layers of working people and youth, and supporters of Italie are finding wide

interest in joining the fight.

"Brothers of the Same Mind is strongly against the firing of Michael Italie from Goodwill Industries for his beliefs about the war in Afghanistan. For the same reason Brothers of the Same Mind strongly opposed the suspension of the three Black Opalocka firefighters who did nothing other than express their opinions, we strongly oppose the firing of Michael Italie for doing nothing other than expressing his opinion."

The statement was issued November 21

by Leroy Jones and Max Rameau, representing this organization, which is based in Miami's Black community. The group fights for the rights of prisoners and former inmates, including to reverse the disenfranchisement of those convicted of felonies,

many of whom are African-Americans.
Tom Crumpacker, secretary of the MiamiDade Green Party sent another such stateContinued on Page 8

### Sharp rise in visits to food banks by working families as recession sets in

BY RÓGER CALERO

NEW YORK—More than 1.5 million people, one-third of them children, have visited soup kitchens and food pantries here so far this year. This three-fold increase over 1997 represents nearly one out of every five people in this city of 8 million. In a September survey one food bank found 64 percent of people requesting food were doing so for the first time from a charity.

Across the river in New Jersey, the Salvation Army in Perth Amboy also reports three times the number of people stopping by for food baskets over the past several months. A spokesperson said the center is

"seeing more people who are out of work" due to the recession. Officials at St. James AME church in Newark say the number of people seeking food has doubled in recent

And the number of homeless families seeking shelter in New York City has hit an all-time high, with applications for shelter up 30 percent. In July, some 6,252 families with 12,000 children sought residence in temporary homeless shelters, with many shuffled from one shelter to another on a daily basis by city officials or left to sleep on benches and floors at the Emergency

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### Interest high at Mexico book fair in discussing war, struggles in U.S.

BY NAOMI CRAINE AND ROSA GREEN

GUADALAJARA, Mexico—Tens of thousands of people poured through the giant ExpoCenter during the first two days of the 15th International Book Fair, which opened here November 24. Some 1,200 publishers are participating, with more than 80,000 titles on display. The most important such event in Latin America, the Guadalajara book fair features book

**Continued on Page 12** 

# Dominicans demand immigration waiver after airliner crash

BY VLADIMIR DE LA CRUZ AND CANDACE ROBBINS

NEW YORK—In Washington Heights, home to the largest Dominican community in New York, working people are pointing to a history of poor service provided by American Airlines to travelers to the Dominican Republic.

The profit drive by the airline companies was sharply highlighted November 12, when 265 people were killed after American Airlines Flight 587 crashed shortly after takeoff from JFK airport bound for Santo Domingo. Of the victims, more than 170 were Dominicans. Residents are demanding the federal government waive immigration rules to allow family members of the crash victims to travel between the United States and the Dominican Republic, a request that has so far fallen on deaf ears in Washington.

Safety problems with the A300 Airbus used by American on the route have been featured in the press since the crash. This includes jet engines whose blades crack and fly apart and the possibility that the vertical tail broke off the airplane during takeoff. The plane, nicknamed in the industry "The Regional Profit Machine," was used in what the airlines called the "fat runs" to the Caribbean, where people are herded like cattle onto jets filled to capacity.

The tail of the airplane is made of plastic, reinforced with carbon fibers. Claimed to be stronger than metal alone, the composite material also makes the plane lighter, allowing the companies to save on fuel costs. In an article posted in the AviationNow web site, Sean Broderick notes that although inspections of other Airbus 300 planes since the accident have turned up no problems in the tail fin, this particular plane originally had a faulty tail fin attachment piece that was repaired in the factory prior to being delivered to American in 1988.

In 1994, 47 people were injured when the same plane experienced severe turbulence in Puerto Rico. Possible damage to the tail fin, not caught in the follow-up visual inspection, is under consideration as a possible cause of the New York crash.

Prior to investigators focusing on the tail problem, information about a series of failures of the GE CF-6 engine that powered the plane came to light in the press. Five of the engines blew up in 2000, including two during takeoff from Newark, New Jersey, and São Paulo, Brazil. National Transportation Safety Board officials said the engine problems could result in a "catastrophic accident."

Washington used the disaster to put some kick into its security clampdown. Immediately after the plane went down authorities closed all bridges and tunnels into New York and shut down airports in the region.

#### Monopoly service

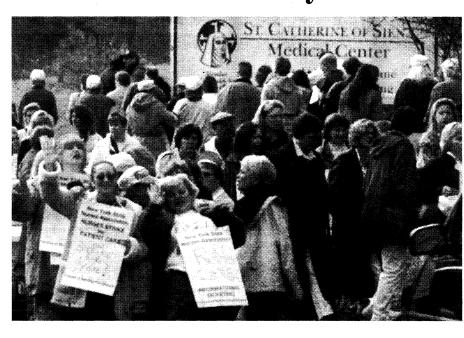
American and TWA, now owned by American, have a monopoly on the New York–Santo Domingo route. "Flight attendants don't speak Spanish and TWA only allows you to bring one suitcase," said José Henriquez, a worker in the garment industry here. "But the prices are the real abuse." A Christmastime round-trip ticket on American listed at \$893 this week. The same ticket to London cost \$534 for a trip more than twice the distance.

Dominicans are requesting visas to come to the United States to retrieve the bodies of their family members. Immigration officials "are being very selective of the persons that want to come to identify family members," said Romelinda Grullón of the Centro de desarrollo de la mujer Dominicana [Center for the Development of Dominican Women]." They investigate the person's finances to make sure that they won't stay in the United States."

"They have to give the Dominican people the visas," José Henriquez said. "In the case of Elian González they gave visas to the family to come here and bring him home. This is the same situation."

A serious problem facing many family members in the United States is lack of legal residency. Working people are asking for an amnesty to enable them to travel to the Dominican Republic to bury their family members and then return to their homes here. While New York senators and a congressman

### Nurses on Long Island strike for end to mandatory overtime



#### **BY SARA LOBMAN**

SMITHTOWN, New York—A steady stream of honks and waves from passing motorists greeted the two dozen strikers staffing the picket line outside St. Catherine of Siena Medical Center November 27. The day before, 474 registered nurses went on strike against the hospital, which is located in Suffolk County on Long Island. The nurses had been working without a contract since May.

According to Barbara Crane, president of the New York State Nurses Association at St. Catherine, the nurses are demanding an end to mandatory overtime in which the hospital administration can force nurses to work shifts as long as 24 hours without notice. "If you say you can't do it," Crane said, "they threaten to suspend your license or fire you."

Nurses are also fighting for retirement benefits and control over the nurse-topatient ratio. "I have worked here for 25 years, I could work another 10 years and still I would walk out of here with nothing," Crane said. An additional demand is the right to work a steady shift assignment for the life of the contract.

Hospital president and chief executive James Wilson says the extra hours and understaffing are due to a national nursing shortage. "Recruiting registered nurses has become very, very difficult for every health-care provider in the country," he told *Newsday*. Recruitment difficulties, however, haven't stopped Wilson and the rest of St. Catherine's management from bringing in 100 nurses to replace those who are on strike.

The striking nurses are seeking support for their struggle. A busload of supporters, primarily members of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 3, drove out from New York City and joined the picket line after work on November 27.

met with Dominican community leaders and promised to lobby for amnesty, there appears to be no motion towards granting this.

In an opinion piece on the "Townhall" web site, Michelle Malkin railed against the proposal for amnesty. "This is truly a heart-breaking predicament," she wrote. "But these family members are illegal immigrants who chose to break the law." Beating the pro-war drum, she asked, "How can we crack down on terrorist-linked aliens with fake papers and expired visas if our elected leaders go running to the feds every time some other politically connected constituency demands special treatment and new immigration-law loopholes for their alien population?"

Since the accident, *El Diario*, a Spanish language daily in New York, has been filled with full-page ads offering condolences to the families from law firms offering their services in suing American Airlines. Many lawyers have set up offices in Santo Domingo to more easily solicit business.

A full report on the causes of the Novem-

ber 12 disaster will probably not come out for many months, as is the case with TWA Flight 800, which exploded off of Long Island, New York, in 1996.

Newsday reported August 8 that five years later "a task force made up of the aviation industry and government regulators will issue a draft report today concluding that it is too expensive to make aircraft fuel tanks less flammable, a move that could have prevented the TWA explosion that killed 230 people." The U.S. government insisted for months that the explosion of the plane involved a terrorist act, a claim that made front-page headlines. The actual conclusions of the investigation received little exposure in the press.

The government report estimates the cost to fix the tanks would be between \$1.6 billion and \$10 billion, compared with a \$250 million price-tag on the cost of future fuel tank explosions. *Newsday* says the report concludes "that it is cheaper to allow the future explosion. The \$250 million figure includes a set dollar amount assigned to the value of each human life lost."

### THE MILITANT

### The struggle to defend workers' rights

The Bush administration is running into divisions in the U.S. ruling class over the extent of its assault on democratic rights. A small but growing number of workers and students are standing up to government victimization, pointing the way forward in defending workers' rights. Read about this struggle every week in the 'Militant.'



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### U.S. pushes talks, Israeli government steps up repression

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

As Israeli tanks and helicopters pounded Palestinian targets in the Gaza Strip on November 25, U.S. government envoys Anthony Zinni and William Burns traveled to Israel to hold talks with representatives of the Israeli government and the Palestinian Authority (PA). The White House messengers are implementing Washington's new push, announced by Secretary of State Colin Powell in a November 19 speech, to impose a "land for peace" agreement on the Palestinians.

The trip followed a week of escalating Israeli repression and Palestinian protest. Two days earlier, Israeli forces had killed Mahmoud Abu Hanoud, a leader of the Muslim nationalist Hamas organization. Tens of thousands of Palestinians took to the streets in the West Bank and Gaza to protest this latest Israeli assassination of a prominent Palestinian figure.

The marchers were also incensed by the deaths on November 22 of five Palestinian children, blown into unrecognizable pieces when one kicked an Israeli shell lying near a United Nations-run elementary school in Khan Younis. After several days, the Israeli military admitted that the bomb was a remote-control device they had planted.

In the week following Powell's speech, touted as an American "peace" initiative, at least 14 Palestinians have been killed, bringing the death toll among Palestinians in 14 months of heightened conflict to 770. Two hundred Israelis have also been killed, including two on November 27.

Powell's presentation represents another attempt by Washington to force the Palestinians to accept a "state" comprised of the Gaza Strip and disconnected cities on the West Bank surrounded by Israeli-controlled areas (see map). Since September 11 Israel has used the cover of Washington's war drive to accelerate its war against the Palestinians, including major military incursions into and occupations of most Palestinian-controlled cities in the West Bank.

In his speech, the U.S. secretary of state claimed that the "Middle East has always needed active American engagement for there to be progress." He spent much of his speech crowing about the retreat of the Taliban forces in northern Afghanistan. "Our armed forces and our intelligence services...have driven them from power," he said, stressing that the "war is not over."

"American leadership in foreign affairs has never been more important," said Powell. His support for negotiations in the Mideast reflected Washington's emphasis on drawing governments in the region behind its aggression and further war plans.

The United States has "an enduring and ironclad commitment to Israel's security," said the former military leader. Directing most of his criticisms at the Palestinian leadership, Powell said the PA "must make a 100 percent effort to end violence and to end terror.... Terrorists must be stopped before they act," he said, echoing Israeli demands for preemptive punishment of those accused

of preparing attacks on Israel. He described the ongoing Palestinian resistance against Israeli occupation as a "quicksand of selfdefeating violence and terror."

If the Palestinian Authority makes progress in cracking down on the wide-spread resistance, said Powell, Israel should respond by halting the construction of new settlements in the occupied territories.

According to media reports, the U.S. framework for new talks is little changed from that presented at the failed Camp David summit in July of last year. The West Bank and Gaza Strip would be connected by a "safe transit" route and the two areas declared a Palestinian state. Washington is demanding the Palestinian state be "demilitarized" and that three Israeli military surveillance posts be allowed in the border area with Jordan. A substantial number of Israeli settlements would be maintained in the West Bank and the Israeli government would retain control over a divided Jerusalem, which straddles Israel and the West Bank.

Palestinian Authority chairman Yasir Arafat and other representatives explained earlier this year that such proposals would not substantially alter the present setup, which leaves the Palestinian areas exposed to Israeli military and economic power.

Mohammed Dahlan, the commander of Palestinian preventive security in the Gaza Strip, told the *New York Times* that without an end to the closures or other concessions by Israel, the PA has little chance of bringing the resistance to a halt. The Israeli forces

Three Israeli listening posts would be set up in the Jordan rift valley. settlements, north LEBANON south and east of **l**em would be annexed to Israel The rest would be dismantled. **EGYPT ISRAEL** JORDAN n Miles 50 Control over the Old City would be divided. The surface area of the Temp Palestinian, below ground would be Israeli A "safe transit" route would connect the two **G**AZA STRIP

Map of Israeli state and Palestinian-controlled areas proposed by U.S. officials. The black dots show Israeli settlements. Shaded areas in West Bank are Palestinian-controlled. "Seven years with one result," said one Palestinian. "All we have is islands, prisons."

"hit Palestinian areas on a daily basis," he said, "and they are carrying out the assassination policy, and at the same time they are asking the Palestinian Authority to control its people.... That's not possible."

"Today what is going on?" asked Dahlan. "Seven years under siege—and I am one who believes in the peace process—seven years with one result: all we have is islands, prisons."

### New York students discuss socialism

BY ANGEL LARISCY

BROOKLYN, New York—"You and other young people can have an impact on the world. You can have a role in changing the world in the interests of humanity," explained Martín Koppel. "In times of war the last thing the wealthy rulers want for us to do is to think for ourselves, to read, to study. That is why meetings like this are so important."

Koppel, the recent Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of New York, was speaking to a November 19 meeting of 20 students at Brooklyn College sponsored by the Puerto Rican Alliance and the Black Student Union. The flyer for the meeting issued by the student groups said the event would be an "Open discussion on why: the U.S. war against Afghanistan is not a war against terrorism; students should demand an end to the U.S. Navy's bombing of Vieques; affirmative action should be supported."

In a talk prior to the lively back-and-forth discussion, Koppel explained how the war drive launched by Washington accelerated the major political trends in the world, from the assault on workers' rights to the growing centralization of executive power in the U.S. government, the capitalist economic downturn, and the political polarization evident in the emergence of fascist forces and

ultraright-wing groups. "The war and assaults by the employers and their government are not a malfunction, but how the capitalist system works," Koppel said.

He pointed out that provisions of the 1996 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, along with the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, passed with bipartisan support under the Clinton administration, are now being used in full force and extended. He also noted how the recently enacted "USA Patriot Act" expands the powers of the FBI, allows the indefinite detention of immigrants under the flimsiest pretext of "suspicion of terrorism," permits the Attorney General to define political organizations in the United States as "terrorist," and allows for secret courts and warrants that will be used to target the labor movement and opponents of U.S. government policy.

"At the same time the capitalist government is stepping up its attacks on workers' rights, the employers are going after workers on the job," Koppel emphasized. In Miami, Michael Italie, the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor, was fired from his job as a sewing machine operator at Goodwill Industries because of his opposition to the U.S. war and his support for the Cuban Revolution and union struggles at home. Koppel urged those at the meeting to get involved in the fight to protest this assault on the First Amendment.

Omar Rodríguez, president of the Puerto Rican Alliance, who chaired the meeting, urged those present to sign and circulate petitions protesting the firing of Michael Italie.

While imperialism follows the path of new and wider wars, attacks on workers' rights, and conditions that breed fascist forces, the outcome of the world class struggle is not foretold, said Koppel. "As the Russian Revolution showed, under conditions of growing war it is possible to build a revolutionary movement to establish a government of workers and farmers. This movement is a part of the worldwide fight for a society based on human solidarity—socialism."

In the discussion many of the students indicated they had been closely following the news about the repressive measures being adopted by the government. One student said he appreciated Koppel's explanation that Clinton was a big-business president and not a friend of the oppressed, and

requested more discussion on Clinton's record during his two terms of presidency.

'Clinton was a war president and a lawand-order president from day one," said Koppel, noting that within days of his inauguration the new president bombed Iraq. Clinton also carried out his promise to "end welfare as we know it," depriving hundreds of thousands of working-class families of access to government benefits. In December nearly 40,000 families in New York will be cut off welfare, he said. Also under the Democratic president, the Immigration and Naturalization Service was expanded into the largest federal police agency, the prison population doubled, and state-sponsored executions grew to their highest level in decades, making the United States one of the world's top executioners. During his election campaign in 1992, Clinton demonstratively flew back to Arkansas to sign an order to execute a mentally retarded Black man, Ricky Ray Rector.

A young woman said the answer to building a fighting movement rested on beginning to look for ways to struggle with others and not just thinking of yourself, as this society promotes. Another asked how to go about making a revolution.

Koppel urged those present to join in the struggles taking place today, from the protests organized on the Brooklyn College campus against the war and the bombing of Vieques, to the fight of Michael Italie, to strikes and protests by workers. Working-class fighters and youth need to take on the big social and economic questions in the political arena, explained Koppel, noting how his campaign as the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of New York pointed to a working-class alternative to the capitalist parties.

"It is possible to take power out of the hands of the tiny class of ruling billionaires," said Koppel, describing the record of the Cuban Revolution and its living example today. "Today the working class is potentially the strongest it has ever been, but the rulers work hard to keep us divided. Our biggest challenge is in gaining the confidence that we can change things and run society."

Koppel urged everybody to read about the history of revolutionary struggles available in Pathfinder books and pamphlets, and to join the Young Socialists. After the meeting students spoke with Koppel about other such events they could organize on the campus.

### Vancouver rally condemns murder of gay man

BY JOE YATES

VANCOUVER, British Columbia—In a big outpouring of protest, 1,500 people turned out for a march and rally here November 18 in response to the murder of Aaron Webster, a 41-year-old gay man. Webster was beaten to death early the previous day in Stanley Park, in an area frequented by gays. Another 150 people joined a vigil in Victoria, the provincial capital, November 20.

Lorne Mayencourt, the Liberal Member of the Legislative Assembly for the area, chaired the Vancouver rally. The Liberal party, Canada's dominant capitalist party, is the governing party in British Columbia.

One of the speakers was Jim Deva, owner of the gay- and lesbian-oriented Little Sisters. A year ago the bookstore won a 10-year legal battle with Canada Customs over the right to import certain titles for sale in the store.

Deva challenged Mayencourt to come to the podium and say that the government will

do everything to combat homophobia. As Mayencourt tried to close the rally, some people in the crowd shouted, "What is the provincial government going to do about this?" In July, the Liberal government dropped out of a suit to allow marriage of same sex couples. The suit was launched by the New Democratic Party government before its electoral defeat earlier this year.

The federal parliament is using the incident to consider expansion of hate-crime laws to cover incitement of hatred against gays and lesbians. New Democratic Party Member of Parliament Svend Robinson said that as long as "hate propaganda legislation is silent on this issue, there's at least an implicit statement that it's acceptable." Justice Minister Anne McLellan said she would consider the proposal.

Opponents of the right to speak out against the imperialist assault on Afghanistan recently tried to use hate crime legislation against Sunera Thobani, a UBC professor who denounced the war on Afghanistan.

# At Miami book fair, youth respond to revolutionary books

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MIAMI—"Pathfinder books at 25 percent off? Sweet!"

That was the reaction of Jerry and Evan, two high school students, when they saw the sign promoting a sale at Pathfinder's booth on the last day of the Miami Book Fair International.

Both grabbed fistfuls of books, especially from the used book table, to add to their libraries of revolutionary literature. They later returned and spent all the money they had left to buy two issues of the Marxist theoretical journal *New International*—no. 7 with the feature article "Imperialism's March Toward Fascism and War" and no. 10 titled "Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq."

Tens of thousands of people attended the book fair, an annual event, which took place here November 11–18. Many visited the Pathfinder booth, as always, but the participation of high school youth was a distinctive feature this year. On November 17 high school students Horacio and Matt came to a class on "Opening Guns of World War III" organized out of the Pathfinder booth. Horacio, who has read *What Is To Be Done?* by V.I. Lenin, described himself as a communist. Matt said he considered himself an anarchist.

#### Currents in workers' movement

The next afternoon, Jerry and Evan came to a discussion at the booth about political currents in the workers' movement in the United States. They wanted to know more about the differences between the anarchists, Progressive Labor Party, Communist Party, and Socialist Workers Party. Both first heard about the SWP when they came to a Miami mayoral debate where SWP candidate Michael Italie spoke. After hearing about his firing, each personally telephoned Italie to offer their support. Evan is currently writ-

ing a paper for school about the case. Jerry has posted information about the socialist's firing on a youth-oriented web site that other students coming to the booth reported seeing.

The thirst for communist literature on the part of young people was fueled by the U.S. war against Afghanistan and the accelerated assault on workers' rights here. The Pathfinder booth displayed two large signs: "Imperialist roots of the U.S. war on Afghanistan" and "Stop the war on workers' rights."

Other literature booths, if they addressed the issue of the war at all, tended to feature lurid, rushed-to-press "exposés" of Osama bin Laden or the Taliban. Some dozen stalls were staffed by Cuban-American organizations dedicated to the overthrow of Cuba's revolutionary government. For the most part these seemed to attract fewer customers than the large booth of Publications Exchange, which imports music CDs, videos, and books by artists living in Cuba.

#### Another point of view

Many visitors to the Pathfinder booth, after passing by other stands featuring anti-communist or "antiterrorist" literature, expressed pleasure at seeing Pathfinder's titles. "Oh, good! Here's the other side!" said one man. A young woman approached the stand almost in disbelief as she saw titles by Karl Marx, Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, and Nelson Mandela. She said she had left Cuba five years ago. "Do you have *La Gaceta de Cuba*?" she asked. This is the magazine of the Union of Writers and Artists in Cuba. When shown the latest copy she said, "I'm so glad to see the printing has improved. That means things are getting better there."

A couple from Nicaragua visited the booth. The man mentioned that he had worked in the Nicaraguan government during the Sandinista revolution. "I used to see these books at the university in Managua



High school students and other youth turned out in large numbers at the Miami Book Fair International this year. Many stopped by the Pathfinder booth, came back for more discussion, and participated in classes at the local Pathfinder bookstore.

then," he said. "I'm glad to see them again."

Not everyone was happy to see Pathfinder books. One older Cuban-American woman strode by muttering, "The only good communist is a dead communist!" A man reading a Pathfinder book in Spanish looked up and asked, "What's her problem?"

Several librarians stopped by to carefully review the contents of the books and request catalogues for their acquisitions departments. A Cuban-American librarian from Miami paged through *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium* and said books like this, so carefully annotated and indexed, would surely be an asset to the county-wide library system. She urged staffers to contact the acquisitions office right away.

The best-seller for Pathfinder at the fair was *The Communist Manifesto*, with 11 copies sold in English and Spanish. The other highest sellers were *Capitalism's World Disorder, New International* no. 7, *Che Guevara Talks to Young People*, and books by Malcolm X. Eight copies of *New International* were sold, nine subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and four to the *Militant*. A total of \$1,151 in new Pathfinder books was sold, including a dozen titles on the Middle East, the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, and the Jewish question and several on the fight against police spying in the United States.

### Pathfinder sales in France rise five-fold

### BY DEREK JEFFERS

PARIS—During the past year more than 750 copies of Pathfinder books and pamphlets have been sold in France. Sales to bookstores have increased more than five-fold over the previous 12 months, as supporters of the publisher of revolutionary literature have organized to visit bookstores and other outlets across the country.

Over the October 21–22 weekend five supporters of Pathfinder Press in Paris met with Michel Prairie, director of Pathfinder's rapidly expanding French-language publishing program, and Tony Hunt from the publisher's London office, which is responsible for sales in Europe. Participants in the meeting reviewed the year's work and discussed plans to consolidate and expand the sales effort.

Bookstores make up the majority of the customers. Twenty-six stores in France currently stock some Pathfinder titles. Of these, 15 are new accounts opened in just the last year and three are outside Paris, in Nantes, Rouen, and Bordeaux. Many of the new accounts are with smaller neighborhood shops in working-class areas of the city.

To facilitate orders from outlets like these and to expand the range of stores that carry Pathfinder books, the London office has worked with the Paris supporters to set up a modest local pick-and-pack operation. This enables stores in France placing small initial orders to obtain the books without incurring exchange-rate fees and shipping costs from the United Kingdom. Other stores continue to order directly from Pathfinder, London, through accounts with its commercial distributor in the United Kingdom, and are encouraged to do so by the volunteer sales representatives.

Of the 430 books and pamphlets sold over the last year for which a breakdown is available, the two best-sellers were by or about Cuban-Argentine revolutionary leader Che Guevara: the French edition of *Socialism and Man in Cuba*, which sold 48 copies, and the French edition of *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to* 

Socialism, which sold 42. The third and fourth best sellers were French editions of two titles by Jack Barnes—Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium at 38 copies, and The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning at 22. Altogether 62 percent of the books sold were in French, 25 percent in English, and 13 percent in Spanish.

Supporters have also succeeded in listing all the French-language Pathfinder titles with Electre, the main database used in the country's book trade. As a result, stores from five cities have placed orders for clients looking for specific Pathfinder titles, and requests have also come in from Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, and Luxemburg. In the last month progress has been made in setting up an account with a major chain of 58 large bookstores in France.

### Literature tables at labor actions

Pathfinder supporters also organize tables at important labor actions and demonstrations, and have set up booths at large annual weekend events organized by the French Communist Party newspaper *l'Humanité* and Lutte Ouvrière (Workers Struggle), selling some 200 book and pamphlets.

During his stay in Paris, Prairie joined Pathfinder sales representatives in visits to eight bookshops. The current war campaign in Central Asia by the U.S. government and its allies, including the French rulers, has sparked renewed interest in a number of Pathfinder titles. Three stores placed orders for the French and English editions of New International featuring "Washington's Assault on Iraq: Opening Guns of World War III." Three stores also ordered the French edition of Cuba and the Coming American Revolution, and two ordered copies of To See the Dawn, Baku, 1920—First Congress of the Peoples of the East. One manager requested the latter title for herself. Each of the eight stores already carried a selection of Pathfinder titles and placed new orders totaling 55 books and pamphlets in all. This included 10 each of the two new pamphlets in French by West African revolutionary leader Thomas Sankara, Nous sommes les héritiers des révolutions du monde (We Are the Inheritors of the Revolutions of the World) and L'émancipation des femmes et la lutte de libération de l'Afrique (Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle.)

### **Expanding publishing program**

Pathfinder's French-language publishing program has expanded significantly over the last year. Aside from the six issues of *Nouvelle Internationale*, the French edition of *New International*, four of Pathfinder's other 13 French-language titles have been issued in just the last six months. A fifth title presenting Che Guevara's views on economics and politics in the transition to socialism was printed last spring in a new edition including a new introduction.

During the weekend meetings Prairie reported on plans to bring out three new French-language books in the coming year. They are James P. Cannon's History of American Trotskyism-1928–1938, Thomas Sankara Speaks, and a new issue of Nouvelle Internationale. Six supporters in France form part of the international translating team that helps put these titles out.

In Brussels, Belgium, Prairie also met with several volunteers helping with the translation of Pathfinder books into French and with a supporter of Pathfinder who has regularly visited bookstores in Belgium and the Netherlands. Over the last year he has placed some 250 Pathfinder books and pamphlets with 30 bookstores in these two countries.

The Paris group of supporters met again at the beginning of November to draw a balance sheet of the store visits in October and other work, and lay out plans to visit another 11 stores in November.

Derek Jeffers is a member of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) and works at the Peugeot auto assembly plant in Poissy.

### Now available from Pathfinder

#### Nueva Internacional no. 1 Los cañonazos iniciales de la 3ª Guerra Mundial: el ataque de Washington contra Iraq

(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** 

Available from bookstores inluding those listed on page 12

## Sales campaign on course to make goals

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

The momentum gained over the past three weeks in the international sales drive to win new readers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* has put the campaign on course to meet all the goals by December 9. After taking a break over the Thanksgiving holiday weekend, participants in the sales campaign are gearing up for the final stretch. Socialist workers and Young Socialists involved in the circulation effort in several areas have raised their goals, something supporters in every city that are in striking distance of their goal need to consider doing.

Special attention to selling *New International* nos. 7, 10, and 11 is also needed over the next two weeks. These titles feature, "Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault On Iraq"; "Imperialism's March Toward Fascism and War"; "Defending Cuba, Defending Cuba's Socialist Revolution"; and "U.S. Imperialism has Lost the Cold War." The three titles present a working-class assessment of the evolution of world politics over the past two decades, prospects for revolutionary struggles by working people to overturn capitalism, the place of the Cuban Revolution in the world today, and the centrality of building proletarian parties.

"We raised all our sales goals and this week we are planning to go door-to-door in the workers district where the Pathfinder bookstore is located," said Joe Swanson from Des Moines, Iowa. "We will also set up a literature table at the Grinnell College campus on November 28 where the Iowa director of the American Civil Liberties Union will be speaking. Socialist workers have been invited to speak at three high school classes in Des Moines on November 29 about the war in Afghanistan and the assault on workers' rights, including the fight against the political firing of Michael Italie."

"On the first day back on the job after Thanksgiving, socialists who work at the meatpacking plant in Marshalltown, Iowa, sold a copy of *New International* no. 7, which features the article 'Opening Guns of World War III.' They sold it based on a number of discussions they've had over the last month on the imperialist war drive. They called me tonight after participating in a house meeting in Marshalltown with one of their co-workers who has been a long-term subscriber to *PM* and reader of Pathfinder titles. She had invited three other co-workers to the discussion, some of whom may become future readers of revolutionary literature."

Socialist workers in Australia have made their goal on *PM* subscriptions and are closing in on the *Militant* and *NI*. "We sold another *Militant* subscription and a copy of *NI* no. 7 this week," wrote Joanne Kuniansky from Sydney. "Both sales were off tables in the workers district where the Pathfinder bookshop is located. A young workmate at the meatpacking plant who is reading *NI* no. 7 said he is also considering getting a subscription to the *Militant*." Kuniansky said a couple of co-workers attended their most recent Militant Labor Forum, including a meat packer originally from Nepal who lives near the bookstore.

In Philadelphia, a number of young people have been introduced to the communist movement during the subscription campaign, reports John Studer, a garment worker there. "Four students from the University of Pennsylvania attended the last Militant Labor Forum and one of them bought a *Militant* subscription. They are against the U.S. war and have become interested in the forums. We are going to make sure all of them get copies of *New International*. The stu-

dent who bought the subscription said she had already begun to look to the *Militant*, checking it out on the Internet. She said that she thought it would be better to get it regularly in the mail each week in a form easier to read and work from."

Studer said they raised their goal for selling *Militant* subscriptions and are organizing to meet their goals for *PM* subscriptions and *New International*. This weekend we are planning to send a sales team to Kennett Square where mushroom workers live. Many of them are Spanish speakers."

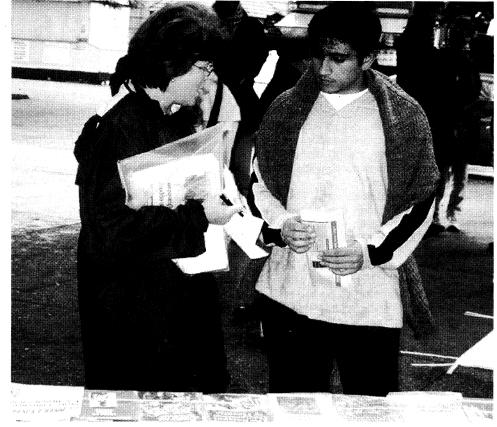
Studer added, "The headlines in the *Militant* on the war and attacks on workers' rights have been a big aid for selling subscriptions. This was true of two subscriptions

we sold going door-to-door in the working-class neighborhood where the Pathfinder bookstore is located. We sold one of our subscriptions to a young worker originally from Vietnam who looked at the headline and said 'I agree with that.' Another subscription was purchased by a worker who hails from the West Indies. He was getting out of his car as we came up to his house. He looked at the paper, said that he had noticed it in the bookstore in the neighborhood, and said, 'I want one of those.'"

"Last week a Black worker came by the literature table we set up near the bookstore," continued Studer. "He was interested in some titles, but didn't buy anything right there. He got in his car, started off, then made a U-turn and pulled up to the table waving a \$20 bill, saying he wanted to buy the book Capitalism's World Disorder he had seen on the table. Later we called him to tell him about the Militant subscription offer and he asked us to come over to get the money for the subscription."

Ted Leonard, a meat packer from Boston, said socialist workers there raised their goal after selling about 10 *Militant* subscriptions over the past week. "The Monday before the Thanksgiving holiday I went to see a co-worker who works a different shift than I do, in order to invite him to a rally later that day of hotel workers fighting for a contract. He couldn't go to the rally but did buy a *Militant* subscription. He had purchased a *PM* subscription and Pathfinder literature before and has been involved in the fight for safety in the union organizing drive at the plant."

Leonard said they sold 11 copies of the *Militant* at the hotel workers' rally and a subscription at a video showing about a meat packers' strike in 1954–55 in Boston. "We also sold the French and Spanish edition of *New International* and a subscription at a literature table at the University of Massachusetts," he added.



Militant/Janet Roth

Militant campaigner in Auckland, New Zealand, at October rally protesting imperialist war against Afghanistan. Sales campaign has attracted youth opposed to war.

### Militant/Perspectiva Mundial subscription campaign—week 8 Sept. 22–Dec. 9

	Milita	int		PM		N	ı
Country	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
United Kingdom	35	39	111%	10	11	20	25
Sweden*	18	18	100%	4	4	12	16
Canada						•	
Vancouver	15	15	100%	3	5	20	9
Montreal	12	11	92%	5	4	20	12
Toronto	17	16	94%	5	2	17	13
Canada total	44	42	95%	13	11	57	34
Australia	16	15	94%	4	4	16	15
United States							
Seattle	25	30	120%	10	7	25	21
Houston Miami	30 20	35 <sub>.</sub> 22	117% 110%	15 20	6	45	19
Atlanta	36	39	108%	15	18 16	25 35	22 23
Boston*	30	32	107%	13	11	25	16
Twin Cities*	45	48	107%	20	35	30	30
Pittsburgh	40	42	105%	5	0	25	10
Philadelphia	25	26	104%	10	6	20	8
Detroit	35	35	100%	10	8	30	18
Upper Manhattan	65	65	100%	50	29	40	22
Western Colorado*		30	86%	8	8	15	8
Charlotte	16	15	94%	6	2	25	7
Tampa	12	10	83%	5	5	14	11
Des Moines* Omaha	40 11	33 9	83% 82%	25 15	21 8	20 10	17 11
Newark	45	36	80%	30	12	30	12
Chicago	45	33	73%	30	7	35	20
Los Angeles	50	36	72%	30	16	25	21
San Francisco	50	35	70%	25	19	40	18
Tucson*	10	7	70%	2	1	6	6
Allentown	25	16	64%	5	4	10	6
Washington	25	16	64%	20	10	10	8
NY Garment Dist.	100	63	63%	50	24	55	32
Cleveland	25	12	48%	4	4	20	15
Brooklyn	60	28	47%	30	27	70	39
Birmingham U.S. total	20 <b>920</b>	8 <b>761</b>	40% <b>83%</b>	3 <b>456</b>	6 <b>310</b>	20 <b>705</b>	3 <b>423</b>
New Zealand	020		00 /0	400	0.0	, 00	420
Auckland	10	6	60%	1	1	8	5
Christchurch	7	4	57%	1	0	3	2
N.Z. total	17	10	59%	2	1	11	7
Iceland	8	4	50%	2	0		
Int'i totals	1058	889	81%	491	341	737	520
Goal/Should be	1100	880	80%	500	400	800	640
	IN	THE L	SNOIN				
	Militant			PM	_	NI	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
United States UAW	5	6	120%			4	1
UFCW	5 55	51	93%	55	59	70	44
UNITE	35	17	49%	35	15	55	10
UMWA	. 20	6	30%	2	0	15	3
Total	115	80	70%	92	74	144	58
New Zealand							
NDU	2	1	50%			1	0
MWU	2	1	50%			2	.0
Total	4	2	50%			3	0
Australia AMIEU	3	2	67%			1	1
MUA*	2	0	0%			5	3
Total	5	2	40%			Ü	
Canada							
UFCW	5	2	40%	1	0	8	5
UNITE Total	5	0	0%	2	3	3	0
	10	2	20%	3	3	11	5

### Palestinian rearrested in Florida

BY KARL BUTTS

TAMPA, Florida—Mazen Al Najjar, a Palestinian-born man released on bail last December after being held for

three and a half years in jail without charges, was rearrested without warning by INS agents outside his apartment November 24.

Federal authorities had kept Al-Najjar, a former University of South Florida teacher, in prison for 1,307 days claiming they had secret evidence tying him to terrorism. The government cited national security in its refusal to provide the evidence to Al-Najjar's lawyers, who were able to convince a federal judge that the detention violated due process. After reviewing a summary of the so-called evidence, an immigration judge ruled it was not detailed enough to allow Al-Najjar to defend himself and he was released on Dec. 15, 2000.

After his latest arrest on charges that his visa expired in 1985, Al-Najjar was taken to a federal prison 70 miles north of Tampa. An appeals court has given the go-ahead for Al-Najjar to be deported. However, as a stateless Palestinian without a country willing to accept him, it's likely he'll again remain behind bars indefinitely.

INS agents seized Al-Najjar with-

out allowing him to tell his wife, Fedaa, who was at work. His three daughters, ages 6, 11, and 13, were left at their apartment. According to the *Tampa Tri-*

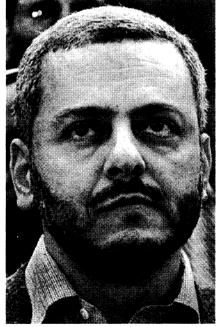
bune, his sister, Nahla Al-Arian, said the family did not know for hours where her brother was. "Everyone is very upset," she said, "The whole community is devastated."

David Cole, a law professor assisting Al-Najjar's defense, said he was never alleged to be a terrorist. Even government claims he was linked to terrorist organizations were never supported by evidence presented in an open court, reported the *Tribune*. Under the visa violation, after 90 days, the government could extend Al-Najjar's detention up to six months if prosecutors show he is a danger to others or poses a flight risk, Cole said.

Al-Najjar's request for political asylum in the United States has been denied.

According to relatives attending evening Ramadan observances at a mosque, no one has been able to contact Al-Najjar since his virtual abduction. His lawyers say the government is using the arrest as a test case for expanding its antiterrorism powers, the *St. Petersburg Times* reported.

raised goal\*



Mazen al-Najjar, Palestinian professor at the University of South Florida, who was rearrested in late November after being released last year from serving more than three years in prison based on "secret evidence."

5

### Washington directs massacre of POWs

#### Continued from front page

ship and a Blackhawk helicopter, killing hundreds. Alex Perry of *Time* magazine, who was at the prison at the time of the attack, reported, "The Americans and the British are coordinating air strikes from their positions inside the fort on another part of the fort. And they're also directing the commanders inside when to tell their men to attack."

"The mission," continued Perry, "has now become to kill every single one of them." A detachment from the 10th Mountain Division stationed in Uzbekistan arrived as reinforcements, and as of midday on November 26, 750 of the captives had been killed by ground fire and U.S. air strikes, with the remaining 50 continuing to put up resistance. Reports two days later said that among those killed were 50 with their hands tied behind their backs with black scarves. Northern Alliance commander Gen. Rashid Dostum warned journalists to stay away from the scene.

As many as 150 Northern Alliance soldiers were killed and uncounted others wounded in the battle, reported Perry. A massive bomb dropped by U.S. jets missed the Taliban position by more than 300 yards, striking close to a Northern Alliance post on the outskirts of the prison. The bomb blasted a large hole in the fortress's wall, killing at least six alliance fighters and wounding five U.S. personnel. One CIA agent was killed in the battle, the first U.S. citizen acknowledged to have died in combat since U.S. bombing began on October 7.

Hundreds of U.S. special forces continue to work with and to direct the military operations of the Northern Alliance, Washington's proxy force in control of the northern part of Afghanistan. With support from Washington, Alliance troops have occupied cities, set up local rulers, and carried out summary executions and massacres. These have included some 600 put to death in Mazar-i-Sharif, for example. In Kunduz, Alliance troops were conducting house-to-house searches looking for Taliban supporters, executing captured fighters, and looting the area.

### U.S. Marines enter south Afghanistan

Much of southeastern Afghanistan, including the city of Kandahar, remains under Taliban control despite nearly two months of bombardment by Washington. The U.S. imperialists have been unsuccessful in pulling together opposition groups in the area to serve as a proxy military force like the Northern Alliance in the north. On November 26 the Pentagon sent in 500 of a planned force of 1,000 Marines. They immediately seized control of an airstrip 80 miles southwest of Kandahar for use as a staging ground for combat operations in the area.

"The Marines have landed and we now own a piece of Afghanistan," proclaimed Brig. Gen. James Mattis, commander of the attack task force. The marines are a significant addition to the hundreds of special forces troops on the ground along with a 150-member CIA paramilitary unit.

The U.S. troops began sealing roads leading to and from Kandahar. *CNN Online* reported that the former Taliban ambassador to Pakistan stated that U.S. troops have moved into the town of Takhtapul by helicopter, cutting off a main road between Kandahar and the Pakistan border, and bringing in tanks to block the road.

U.S. forces are continuing daily bombing of Kandahar and surrounding areas.

### U.S. halts use of British, French troops

With the fall of Kabul in mid-October, the French and British governments rapidly set in motion plans to place sizable forces of their own in northern Afghanistan. But Washington has put on hold any such moves by its imperialist allies, making it clear that the Pentagon is in charge of military operations inside Afghanistan.

In mid-November London ordered some 6,000 troops on standby for deployment to Afghanistan on 48 hours' notice. But Washington has given no indication that such a deployment will happen anytime soon, leading Britain's defense secretary to finally take them off high alert on November 26. These forces, notes an article in the *Financial Times*, are separate from the 4,200 UK armed services personnel that have already been assigned to military operations in Afghanistan, who include 200 marines at sea with a battle group.

"For a week, a hundred-strong advance

unit of British commandos have been stuck at Bagram airport near Kabul, surrounded by several thousand Northern Alliance fighters whose leaders resent the presence of Western troops so close to the capital," noted an article in the November 26 *International Herald Tribune*. Washington, according to the paper, has "ignored appeals from London" for "U.S. intervention to help the British troops" secure the roads by the airport.

Similarly, the French government, which

of Japan's four destroyers equipped with advanced Aegis radar systems are scheduled to be part of this operation.

#### Moscow sets up shop

In contrast to the problems facing the French imperialists, Moscow has moved rapidly to enhance its presence in Kabul. The Russian government has provided the Northern Alliance with large amounts of weapons, ammunition, and heavy armor, and has fur-



Bodies of prisoners massacred at Qala Jangi fort during several-day rebellion beginning on November 25. U.S. and British forces took part in fighting, directed Northern Alliance commanders, and helped bombers target the prisoners.

unilaterally moved to station up to 2,000 troops in the region, has been unsuccessful in getting the green light from Washington to allow them to mobilize an advance guard of 58 marines to take up posts in northern Afghanistan by the Mazar-i-Sharif airport, which they're hoping to occupy.

These troops "have been stranded in a military base near Karshi in southern Uzbekistan," notes the *Financial Times*, and "there is little indication" of when an additional 200-odd troops will be able to make their way to Uzbekistan and then on to Afghanistan.

The Mazar-i-Sharif base that the French rulers have their eyes on is in use by U.S. forces for their military operations in northern Afghanistan. Paris says they want to secure the airport for humanitarian aid, but that claim has been undercut by the government's intentions to send six Mirage 2000D ground attack fighters plus two refueling aircraft to enhance their military presence.

The *Tribune* quotes an unidentified White House aide as saying that while the Pentagon is conducting its military operations, the Bush administration is "discouraging any peacekeeping or other moves that might dangerously interfere with our freedom of action" on the battlefield. "Nobody wants to see the war effort sidetracked because a bunch of European peacekeepers get taken hostage or caught in a firefight and have to be rescued by us," stated a government official.

Commenting on this relationship of forces, François Bayrou, a leading conservative French politician, told the *Le Parisien* newspaper that the European powers have no prospect of playing a significant role alongside the United States in future military actions unless European Union members move to develop an effective European rapid reaction force. Yet the timetable for getting such a force into fighting shape is still far from complete.

Berlin has announced that 3,900 German troops are ready to be dispatched to join Washington in military operations in Afghanistan. "German special forces contingents now are at the ready in Oman and await orders to decamp to Afghanistan," the Agence France Press news service reported November 26.

The imperialist rulers in Japan, though still banned by their post-World War II constitution from undertaking combat action abroad, are nonetheless making deep inroads around the war in Afghanistan in deploying their military forces. Tokyo has announced that 1,500 troops are being sent for Afghan "relief operations." The Japanese forces will include two transport ships, escorted by three destroyers, to provide logistical support, conduct rescue operations, and bring relief supplies into Afghanistan. Because of disputes within parliament, none

nished Washington with intelligence information. Moscow also gave the green light for U.S. forces to use airbases in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, facilitating an important expansion of the U.S. military's long-term presence and capabilities in Central Asia.

Twelve Russian military and cargo planes carrying equipment and troops to Afghanistan landed at the Bagram air base near Kabul in what Russian president Valdimir Putin described as a new stage of their "cooperation" with Northern Alliance forces running the government in the city. News reports indicate that many Afghans were astonished and angered to see Russian troops occupying the former Bulgarian embassy, where they are setting up a field hospital and diplomatic offices.

Referring to the brutal occupation by the Stalinist regime in Moscow in the 1980s, Dr. Farouk, a physician, said, "Two million people were killed in our country. I think they don't remember our previous jihad."

The Russian government's stand in support of Washington's military action in Afghanistan has also led to strengthening ties between Moscow and the U.S.-dominated NATO military alliance. According to the *Financial Times*, NATO secretary general Lord Robertson and Putin have discussed "a British proposal for extending the scope of the North Atlantic Council—NATO's decision-making body of 19 member-country ambassadors—to include Russia on issues such as fighting terrorism, arms control, and nuclear proliferation." While the proposal does not make Russia a NATO

member, UK prime minister Anthony Blair described the proposed body as a "Russia-North Atlantic Council."

On November 27 a conference orchestrated by Washington under UN cover began in Bonn, Germany, with the aim of legitimizing a de facto U.S. protectorate in Afghanistan. Factions in the Northern Alliance and the exiled former king, Mohammad Zahir Shah, apparently predominate among the hand-picked delegates.

Among those present is Burhanuddin Rabbani, the leader of the Northern Alliance who was president of the country until being swept out of power by the Taliban in 1996. The Tajik leader has remained the United Nations–recognized president of Afghanistan ever since. Among the Pashtuns, who make up nearly 40 percent of Afghanistan's population and are its largest ethnic group, Rabbani became a hated figure after troops under his command massacred up to 50,000 civilians in an orgy of looting and rape that destroyed Kabul in 1992.

"One of the reasons for the original popularity of the Taliban is that they brought peace and order to Afghanistan by driving Mr. Rabbani out of Kabul," noted one Pashtun tribal elder.

Meanwhile, tensions are also heating up in Kashmir, a province fought over by the governments of India and Pakistan ever since British imperialism carved up India in 1947 as part of its divide-and-rule strategy.

Islamabad has provided military bases for Washington's assault on Afghanistan, while New Delhi has offered full support for the U.S.-organized assault.

However, as Washington seeks closer ties with India, the U.S. ambassador to the country has made it clear that the White House backs New Delhi's drive to destroy groups in Kashmir that are fighting for independence against Indian forces.

"A terrorist is a terrorist," stated Ambassador Robert Blackwill. "They are not freedom fighters." Referring to Pakistan's support for fighters in Kashmir, Blackwill said, "No country will be permitted to provide sanctuaries to terrorists." The remarks come after Indian troops succeeded in killing six top leaders of one of these Pakistani-supported groups—Al-Badr—and arresting 13 others.

### **Bush threatens Iraq**

Buoyed by the success of their war against Afghanistan and seeking to capitalize on their present momentum, the U.S. rulers are discussing what new countries to assault next.

U.S. president Bush has stepped up his war talk with more pointed threats directed at Iraq. Calling the U.S. military operation in Afghanistan "just a beginning," Bush threatened Iraqi sovereignty by demanding that president Saddam Hussein once again allow "weapons inspectors" operating under UN cover inside Iraq "in order to prove to the world he's not developing weapons of mass destruction."

Reiterating his warning that other nations could expect military attacks from Washington, Bush arrogantly stated, "If they fund a terrorist, they're a terrorist. If they house terrorists, they're terrorists. I mean, I can't make it any more clear...to other nations around the world. If they develop weapons of mass destruction that will be used to terrorize nations, they will be held accountable."

### CIA steps up Afghan military role

### BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The CIA has been taking on an increasing military role in Washington's war against Afghanistan. Since September a 150-member secret CIA paramilitary outfit, known as the Special Activities Division, has been operating inside the country in cooperation with U.S. special forces units.

The CIA has long deployed the Predator, an unmanned reconnaissance and surveillance plane, to spy on Afghanistan. However, after September 11, a memorandum of understanding was reached with the Pentagon to authorize the agency to equip the aircraft with Hellfire missiles—an air-toground laser-guided weapon-for use against selected targets. Once Washington's bombing campaign against Afghanistan began October 7, the CIA was given broader authority by the military to fire their missiles as part of combat operations when they deemed it appropriate. "Intelligence officials have said they had fired well over 40 missiles since the war in Afghanistan began"

reported the *New York Times* on November 23.

The CIA has also worked with police agencies in 50 countries to arrest and detain 360 individuals on suspicion of being associated with terrorism. According to a report in the November 23 *Washington Post*, more than 100 have been detained in Europe, more than 100 in the Near East, 30 in Latin America, and 20 in Africa.

In one instance, authorities in one of these countries refused to provide the CIA with information on where the suspected individual was located. So a covert CIA team broke into a facility overseas and stole the information.

The 360 being held abroad as a result of this CIA sweep are in addition to the more than 1,200 taken into custody by the FBI and local police authorities in the United States. In addition, the FBI "through its own contacts and legal attachés overseas, has helped produce a separate, unknown number of arrests," notes the *Post*.

### Curbs on rights aimed at working people

#### Continued from front page

that permits government agents to eavesdrop on conversations between inmates and their attorneys, do not "get any support from me—no support whatsoever."

Under these growing pressures Ashcroft released on November 27 the names of 93 people who are charged with federal crimes in connection with the government's investigation of the attacks on September 11.

Many of the 93 people detained, whose names were published in the *New York Times*, are charged with minor offenses such as allegedly making "fraudulent statements." Three men indicted in New Jersey were charged with "conspiring to buy, receive and possess \$43,270 worth of stolen corn flakes." One serious-looking indictment for "carrying a dangerous weapon onto an aircraft," involves Salam Ibrahim el Zaatari (21), an artist of Lebanese birth who carries a utility knife for use in his work. El Zaatari has been in jail since October 28.

Ashcroft said the names of 11 people were sealed under court order and claimed that some are members of Al Qaeda, a designation that would allow Bush to put them before military tribunals. Ashcroft did not produce one shred of evidence to back up this assertion

The Attorney General also provided an accounting of the 548 people who remain in custody across the United States on immigration charges. Government officials say not one person has yet been charged with any crime in connection with the September 11 attacks or any other act defined as terrorism by the federal authorities.

This was an "abrupt—if partial—about-face from his position" the day before when "he defended his refusal to release the names of hundreds of people detained...on the grounds that doing so would violate their privacy," the November 27 New York Times reported. Ashcroft's assertion that he didn't want to disclose the names to protect people who have been rounded up from being blacklisted went down like a lead balloon.

#### **Continued protest**

Ashcroft's eventual release of the names failed to appease some of his critics, including Sen. Russell Feingold, another member of the Judiciary Committee, who remarked, "I continue to be deeply troubled by [the Justice Department's] refusal to provide a full accounting of everyone who has been detained and why."

"It is ironic that the government is now concerned about rights when it has arrested and jailed hundreds of people without giving the American public any proof that the detainees are being treated fairly and consistent with the protections of the Constitution and Bill of Rights," said Lucas Guttentag, the director of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) immigration rights project. "We have a large group of people who have been kept so anonymous that their own families and lawyers can't find them or learn if they've been charged with a crime."

It has also come to light that the Justice Department has rewritten federal regulations to broaden government powers to detain noncitizens even when an immigration judge has ordered them to be released. According to an October 26 regulation issued by Ashcroft for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), new laws authorize the attorney general to detain any noncitizen who he "has reasonable grounds to believe" is "engaged in any activity that endangers the national

### Pathfinder Fund events

COLORADO Craig

Struggles to Defend Workers' Rights and the Fight against Imperialist War Today: a Pathfinder Fund Event. Speaker: Jack Willey, staff writer for the Militant. Sat., Dec. 8, 7:00 p.m. Reception at 6:00 p.m. Donation: \$5.6 West Victory Way. Tel: (970) 826-0289.

### NEW YORK

Brooklyn The U.S. W

The U.S. War on Afghanistan and the Assault on Workers' Rights: a Pathfinder Fund Event. Speaker: Greg McCartan, staff writer of the *Militant*. Fri., Nov. 30, 7:30 p.m. 372A 53rd St. (at 4th Ave.) Tel: (718) 567-8014.

security of the United States." The new rule was published without public notice in the Federal Register on October 31.

The ACLU has announced that it plans to challenge the rule in court as an unconstitutional violation of the right of due process for noncitizens. "With this rule change, the government can lock someone up on very little or even no evidence and throw away the key until they decide to let them go," said David Leopold, an immigration lawyer in Cleveland, Ohio.

Washington's assault on civil liberties is bumping into other unexpected hurdles at home. Police departments in several U.S. cities are balking at the Justice Department's request that they help interrogate the 5,000 men from the Middle East, reflecting concern over potential lawsuits citing racial profiling and discrimination. In Portland, Oregon, acting police chief Andrew Kirkland said the local cops could not assist federal authorities with the interrogations because they violated a 1987 Oregon statute that prohibits the cops from questioning immigrants when there is no evidence that they are linked to any crime.

#### First trial by military tribunal

On November 13 Bush signed a military order establishing military tribunals by "the authority vested in me as President and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States." He defended the move after a November 18 cabinet meeting, saying, "I would remind those who don't understand the decision I made that Franklin Roosevelt made the same decision in World War II." During the Second World War Roosevelt ordered eight Germans who had entered the country to be tried by a military court inside the FBI headquarters. Six of them were executed.

Senior Bush administration official are floating a proposal to make Zacarias Moussaoui the first person to be tried before a military tribunal, the *New York Times* reported on November 28. Moussaoui, a French citizen of Moroccan descent, was arrested in Minnesota last August. He is among the 10 people currently held in U.S. prisons as "material witnesses" to the attacks who are considered likely to be among the first to face prosecution before a military tribunal.

As ordered by Bush, the tribunals could be held on U.S. warships at sea or on military installations like the naval base in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. The trial proceedings "promise to be swift and largely secret," reported the *New York Times*, with one military officer saying that the release of information could be limited to just the "defendant's name and sentence." Transcripts of the trial could be hidden from the public for decades.

### Not allowed access to evidence

Those who are charged with being terrorists would not be tried before a jury but instead by a commission composed primarily of military officers. The accused and their lawyers, who could be military officers appointed as legal counsel, would not have the access to evidence used against them that defendants in civilian trials have.

The military tribunal "will be separate and distinct from a civilian criminal trial. It will be separate and distinct from a court-martial," said an unnamed military official involved in the discussions to set up the bodies

Some media pundits like syndicated columnist George Will, seeking to justify this assault on the U.S. Bill of Rights, claim the tribunals are "implemented under provisions of the Uniform Military Code of Justice."

"Military attorneys are silently seething," declared conservative columnist William Safire, "because they know that...not one of the fundamental rights [of the Uniform Military Code of Justice] can be found in Bush's military order setting up kangaroo courts for people he designates...to be terrorists." Speaking of Bush's advisors, Safire says they "failed to warn him, however, that his denial of traditional human rights to citizens would backfire and in practice actually weaken the war on terror."

The Bush administration's plan to set up military tribunals is also facing obstacles from abroad. "The State Department for years has blasted the use of military tribunals and secret courts in countries such as Russia, China, Egypt, Peru and Colombia," stated an article in the November 27 Wall Street Journal. The big-business daily noted



that the State Department's human rights report for 2000 criticized at least 10 countries that routinely use secret courts or special military tribunal. "It is hard to see how the State Department will be able to preserve this language without opening itself to a charge of hypocrisy," said Kenneth Roth, executive director of the New Yorkbased Human Rights Watch.

The government of Spain announced on

November 23 that eight men it has charged with complicity in the September 11 attacks would not be extradited to the United States unless it received guarantees that the men would be tried in a civilian court.

"Extradition would be impossible," said a spokesman for Spain's Foreign Ministry. "If we're talking about a tribunal in the United States with summary procedures and

**Continued on Page 14** 

## Meetings planned to push Pathfinder Fund over the top

BY RÓGER CALERO

"We are aiming to bring the maximum number of people to our fund event, especially the high school students and other youth that have been attracted to the free speech campaign here," reported Mary Ann Schmidt, the local Pathfinder Fund director in Miami.

Heading into the last three weeks of the international \$125,000 Pathfinder Fund, sup-

porters are organizing to reach out to win more contributors and to meet their goals by December 15. This includes building a number of fundraising political meetings over the next two weekends. The events provide workers and youth with an opportunity to discuss developments in the class struggle and the importance of the revolutionary titles produced by Pathfinder today. The lessons contained in these books are all the more important as Washington deepens its aggression against the people of Afghanistan and its assaults on workers' rights at home.

So far, supporters have pledged \$102,049 to the fund, leaving a gap of \$23,000 to be raised to meet the international target.

Based on initial success in reaching out to a broader layer of potential contributors, supporters in five cities have raised their goals so far. Demonstrating the broad attraction to the books and pamphlets produced by Pathfinder, socialist workers in Western Colorado raised their goal last week to \$3,500. They already have obtained \$3,400 in pledges, a good example to emulate. "We sent out a mailing appealing for contributions to a broad number of readers and we got back a few nice surprises," said their report.

In Miami, Mary Ann Schmidt reported that socialists working in garment and meatpacking plants there are building their upcoming fund event on the job and approaching co-workers who have read Pathfinder books for contributions. She said that a co-worker who couldn't come to a recent meeting in defense of Michael Italie instead visited the Pathfinder stand at the book fair and took home a subscription to the socialist monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Supporters in Iowa have been busy organizing their fund event, scheduled for December 2. Their program will feature a panel of fighters from the Des Moines area, including workers, farmers, and revolutionary youth speaking on the importance of reading Pathfinder titles and its impact in their political life.

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.

### Pathfinder Fund

	Goal	Paid	%
Tucson	150	128	85%
Allentown	1,650	1,220	74%
Upper Manhattan	3,500	2,161	62%
Tampa	600	360	60%
Charlotte	3,650	2,090	57%
San Francisco	8,000	4,165	52%
Washington DC	3,000	1,530	51%
Birmingham	3,200	1,525	48%
Omaha	585	250	43%
St. Paul	3,000	1,220	41%
NY Garment District	6,000	1,865	31%
Seattle	8,000	2,960	37%
Los Angeles	8,000	2,795	35%
Houston	3,500	1,120	32%
Detroit	3,700	1,109	30%
Des Moines	1,400	420	30%
Newark	3,300	889	27%
Brooklyn	3,500	745	21%
Pittsburgh	5,000	1,210	24%
Atlanta	4,300	700	16%
Chicago	6,000	900	15%
Boston	4,000	500	13%
Cleveland	1,500	100	7%
Western Colorado	3,500	185	5%
Miami	2,200	100	5%
Philadelphia	3,000	125	4%
Other	0	1,042	0%
U.S. Total	94,235	31,414	33%
Australia	800	427	53%
Canada	4,774	1,863	39%
New Zealand	940	304	32%
Sweden	600	150	25%
France	200	0	0%
United Kingdom	500	0	0%
Iceland	0	20	0%
Int'l Total	102,049	34,178	33%
		,	
Total Should be	125,000	80,000	64%

### Socialist garment worker begins tour in free speech fight

#### Continued from front page

ment of support November 25 (see below).

Italie was fired October 22 by Goodwill a few days after he appeared on a televised candidates debate before some 400 people at Miami-Dade Community College. During the debate he stated his opposition to the U.S. war in Afghanistan, his defense of the Cuban Revolution, and his support for union organizing efforts. Italie was employed as a sewing machine operator at the nonunion factory, which contracts with the U.S. government to make military uniforms and U.S. flags.

Four days after the debate, Italie's supervisor called him into the personnel office. A company manager told the mayoral candidate, "I have been assigned to tell you that because of your views of the U.S. government, you are a disruptive force and cannot work here any longer. Get your belongings and go."

Goodwill chief executive officer Dennis Pastrana acknowledged that Italie had been fired because of his political statements, not because of his performance or conduct on the job, telling the *Miami Herald* October 30 that "we cannot have anyone who is attempting to subvert the United States of America" work at the plant. Responding to the growing support from prominent individuals and many workers and young people

for the fight to reverse Italie's firing, the Miami-based Committee to Defend Free Speech and the Bill of Rights is organizing a public forum here December 8. The committee was formed in response to Italie's firing and is coordinating the free speech fight. The initial list of speakers includes Howard Simon, executive director of the Florida American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU); John Due, attorney and veteran civil rights activist; Max Rameau, leader of Brothers of the Same Mind; and Michael Italie.

At the same time, supporters of this fight for democratic rights are organizing a nation-wide speaking tour of Italie and other representatives of the free speech committee to expand backing across the United States. In an interview with the *Militant*, Italie urged supporters of his fight to "consider forming local committees in their areas open to all who want to help. Holding events in locations accessible to all defenders of free speech and with the broadest number of speakers will make it possible to tap into the openings that exist to make employers like Goodwill pay the maximum political price for their violation of free speech rights."

As the *Militant* goes to press, Italie is heading to Los Angeles, the first stop in his nationwide tour. Among other events, he is scheduled to speak at a teach-in against the war in Afghanistan at California State Uni-



motivated firing. Inset, Michael Italie, who is waging a national campaign to defend freedom of speech after he was fired for expressing his political views.

sity in Long Beach. Fund-raising and

The Miami-based Committee to Defend

versity in Long Beach. Fund-raising and media work are an integral part of the tour. Italie will also be joining fellow garment workers in Los Angeles at a picket line to demand back pay for past work.

"The fight to defend free speech and the Bill of Rights is becoming more and more important for working people and other supporters of democratic rights across the country," Italie said in an interview. "I have talked to hundreds of workers, youth, and others who are outraged that Goodwill Industries fired me on October 22 because of expressing my 'views of the U.S. government,' and see it as at bottom a violation of the First Amendment."

Free Speech and the Bill of Rights is encouraging supporters of this fight to take advantage of opportunities across the country to meet with a half-dozen prominent individuals in their area to be sponsors of the committee and to send a letter urging the mayor and city government of Miami to demand Goodwill rehire Italie. Compiling a broad sponsors list will help put maximum pressure on the Miami city administration and Goodwill to reverse the firing. A petition is available from the committee, as are speakers for events around the country.

Financial contributions are also needed, Italie said. "Everyone who expresses support, whether they sign an endorser card or not, should be asked to make a financial contribution. The Miami committee needs to raise thousands of dollars to cover printing, publicity, travel, legal, and other expenses."

The defense committee is urging petitions and letters be sent in as they are collected to newly elected Mayor Manny Diaz, City Hall, 3500 Pan American Dr., Miami, FL 33133, and to Goodwill Industries, 2121 NW 21st St., Miami, FL 33142. Att: Dennis Pastrana. Copies can be sent to the Committee to Defend Free Speech and the Bill of Rights at: P.O. Box 510127, Miami, FL 33151.

The Miami committee now has an e-mail address for sending statements of support and other correspondence: defendfree speech@yahoo.com.

### Georgia protest opposes firing of rights fighter

**BY JAMES HARRIS** 

VALDOSTA, Georgia—Leigh Touchton, a prominent activist in the Peoples Tribunal of Valdosta, the president of the Valdosta NAACP, and an activist in the Valdosta State University (VSU) Living Wage Campaign,

### Miami group backs reinstatement of Italie

The following statement is signed by Leroy Jones and Max Rameau, for Brothers of the Same Mind, in Liberty City, Florida.

Brothers of the Same Mind is strongly against the firing of Michael Italie from Goodwill Industries for his beliefs about the war in Afghanistan. For the same reason Brothers of the Same Mind strongly opposed the suspension of the three Black Opalocka firefighters who did nothing other than express their opinions, we strongly oppose the firing of Michael Italie for doing nothing other than expressing his opinion.

It is not difficult for us to see that if this firing goes unchallenged, it will open the floodgate of private employers firing employees for a range of personal opinions, tastes and ideas which do not impact job performance. It is also easy to see that while Michael Italie is white, the policy of opinion-based firings will most adversely affect the Black community, whose members listen to different music, wear different clothes, style their hair differently, and support different political positions than their bosses.

As such, Brothers of the Same Mind joins the growing chorus demanding the reinstatement of Michael Italie.

In addition, while legal experts have declared the firing to be completely legal, the Italie firing makes it clear that like the Jim Crow laws of yesteryear, there is a vast gulf between what is legal and what is morally acceptable. In the same way that community galvanized to protect gays from firings due to their preferences, the time is far past due to extend the same protections to people with opinions. Brothers of the Same Mind is in support of granting protections against firings and other reprisals that are motivated by political oppression.

We also strongly condemn the practice of using the war as a pretext to purge the country of dissenters and those with different opinions. We defend everyone's right to their opinion in time of war and peace. has been notified that she will be released from her position as an instructor at the university.

Many in the Valdosta area say the firing of Touchton was politically motivated. They cite her prominence in various struggles. "She is a very outspoken person," said Gladys Williams, a leader of the Peoples Tribunal. "They think they can shut her up by taking away her livelihood. That is why [university president Hugh] Bailey decided to get rid of her. They want to start with her and see what will happen and what we will do."

The Peoples Tribunal is a civil rights organization that led a fight against police brutality and for justice for Willie James William, a Black man who was killed in police custody three years ago. The organization has campaigned in defense of workers and farmers in the region.

### Notice of termination

Touchton, 41, has been an instructor and laboratory coordinator for about three years in the university's biology department. She said she has received excellent yearly evaluations from her superiors. The university has given no reason for its failure to renew her contract. Touchton said she received a letter October 31 from the acting vice president for academic affairs that states, "I am writing to inform you that this is to serve as your nine months' notification that you will not be employed with Valdosta State University past July 31, 2002."

Touchton and other activists said that the letter itself violates her contract by giving her insufficient notice. The VSU administration says it does not have to comment on the firing. Area activists have responded by mounting a vigorous defense campaign.

More than 100 people turned out November 15 on the VSU campus for a demonstration organized by the Living Wage Campaign, an organization fighting to raise the wages of campus workers. The attack on Touchton was a prominent feature of the rally

"We cannot allow this university to continue business as usual until this issue is dealt with," said Rev. Floyd Rose, a founding member and a leading activist of the Peoples Tribunal, at a press conference earlier on the same day. "There was no announcement of downsizing. We can only speculate that her support of the Living Wage Campaign is the cause of her termination. [Supporters of the campaign] cannot allow this to go on without protest."

The fight for a living wage is becoming a volatile issue on the Valdosta campus. In a region where there are few unions and where wages have been historically low, incomes at the university are even lower than average, with many workers earning less than \$10,000 a year. Activists in the NAACP, the Living Wage Campaign, and the Peoples Tribunal all see the attack on Touchton as an attack on their right to organize effectively, and have promised to fight until her job is restored.

### 'We need to defend free speech,' say new supporters of Michael Italie fight in Georgia

BY ARLENE RUBINSTEIN

VALDOSTA, Georgia—The fight against the political firing of Michael Italie, a sewing machine operator and the recent Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Miami, is getting support from political activists in the Valdosta area.

Willie Head, a vegetable farmer and leader of the Peoples Tribunal of Valdosta, an organization of rural workers and farmers, is spreading the word and circulating the petition by the Miami-based Committee to Defend Free Speech and the Bill of Rights. Head, along with Gladys Williams, also a leader of the Tribunal, discussed Italie's fight at a recent meeting of the group.

Head sees the fight by Italie to protest his firing as joined with the fight by Valdosta State University instructor Leigh Touchton to regain her job.

"These are issues of free speech—having the right to say what's on your mind in the fight for justices—and we need to defend that right as well as define it so that everyone will be clear as to what the definition of free speech and constitutional rights really are." Leigh Touchton, the fired biology instructor who is also president of the Valdosta NAACP, has endorsed Italie's fight. Other endorsers include David Klier and Ben Speight, and activists in the Valdosta State University Living Wage Campaign.

#### The following statement was issued November 25 by Tom Crumpacker, the secretary of the Miami-Dade Green Party.

Dear Mr. Italie:

I was shocked and dismayed to learn that you were fired from your job at Goodwill Industries for speaking out against the U.S. wars against Afghanistan and Cuba, and discussing how these wars affect U.S. workers. This must be part of the war hysteria being fostered by our government through a media blitz the like of which I haven't seen since I went to college during the McCarthy era. Journalists are being ordered to downplay casualties. Newspapers and TV stations are being censured. Well-known thinkers, writers, and speakers who are opposed to the war are not permitted to express their views in the mass media. Opposing and critical opinion is being suppressed.

Incidentally, the active Green parties in more than 80 countries around the world are in agreement with the positions you have been advocating regarding Cuba and Afghanistan. The U.S. Green Party has been calling for immediate ending of the Cuba blockade and the Afghan bombing, and our last year's presidential candidate Ralph Nader has been making speeches against these atrocities. Likewise the European Green Federation and the Hemispheric Association of Green Parties have been criticizing the U.S. and other governments on these issues.

Not only are you not alone, I suspect the vast majority of thoughtful people of good will everywhere are in solidarity with you.

### Imperialism's war on working people runs into resistance in the United States

#### BY JACK WILLEY AND GREG McCARTAN

Nearing the three-month mark of the latest U.S.-led imperialist war drive against working people, the Bush administration has made the furthest new inroads with its assault on workers' rights at home. This is also where they are beginning to run into divisions within the ruling class, as well as some initial resistance from working people and

Using the method of dividing the working class along lines of citizens and noncitizens, the Bush administration is vigorously

### **NEWS ANALYSIS**

The massacre of 800 prisoners of war who rebelled against being questioned by CIA agents, and the pushing back of the lightly-armed Taliban forces with a daily bombing campaign since October 7, are both outcomes largely to be expected when the most heavily armed and brutal empire goes to war against an underdeveloped country that is devoid of a revolutionary leadership capable of mobilizing workers and peasants to defend their country.

In his speech to the United Nations and in statements to the press, U.S. president George Bush is succeeding in getting across the point that the U.S.-led war is against the Taliban government, and that Washington will launch a similar assault on any other government it deems in violation of its dictates.

Bush and administration officials are now openly floating their next targets, testing the waters and laying the groundwork for new

when it comes to al Qaeda that Yemen could and should be taking." A CNN article November 28 noted, "U.S. officials praise the response of the Philippine government," which has sought deeper military collaboration with Washington and invited military advisers into the country, "but are privately critical of Indonesia's efforts.'

With Washington pursuing an unconditional surrender course with the Taliban, summed up by Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's statement that his "hope is that they will either be killed or taken prisoner," U.Š. imperialism is sending an unambiguous signal to every government on earth. In Central Asia, Washington is not running up against a relationship of forces that is preventing it from winning the war, setting up bases in Afghanistan, and expanding its military foothold in the Central Asian republics.

#### Garrison state

Regardless of the exact makeup of the new Northern Alliance-dominated government in Kabul (this will be decided by Washington as it continues its war in Afghanistan, not around a table in Bonn, Germany), the regime will be beholden to Washington and dependent on its continued military backing. The inability of the Northern Alliance to take a single city held by Taliban forces before they were pounded into surrender by U.S. warplanes is testimony to the dependence of the government-in-formation.

In the decline of the world's final empire, Washington has been forced more and more to shift its policy toward imposing garrison states with imperialist troops placed indefinitely as an occupation force. Although this appears strong at first, as it did when the Roman Empire imposed garrisons across its far-flung realm, it is a move from weakness.

Unable to keep tribute flowing into the coffers of the banks, corporations, and coupon clippers who live off the wealth produced by working people through an expanding world capitalist economy, the final empire of financial capital must now send

goslavia as an example for Afghanistan. 'UN-led; NATO-policed nation-building in places like Kosovo is entirely workable, but it requires lots of military force, lots of international administration, lots of economic aid—and even more patience," it stated.

As for Osama bin Laden, Washington prefers that he remain at-large a while longer. The longer they can use him as symbol of "terror" the more legitimacy they can bolster abridging workers' rights at home and continuing their war against the people

Washington has placed a \$25 million bounty on bin Laden's head in hopes that an Afghan, not a U.S. soldier, delivers him "dead or alive." Rather than making bin Laden a martyr murdered at the hands of widely hated U.S. forces, they prefer to have a local do the job for a bribe.

After all the folderol of the U.S. rulers' "war on terrorism," all that has transpired is another imperialist war and another garrison state imposed by brute military force.

#### Overreaching in the assault at home

Where the U.S. ruling class has run into trouble is at home—where they have overreached their moves to militarize the United States, establish tribunals by presidential military edict, and secretly lock up noncitizens without the right to due process. Although these moves were largely not opposed to begin with, the progress in the war is now being undercut by the lack of preparation for winning acceptance of the population for these sweeping measures.

For many youth and working people, the new repressive legislation and wider spying powers for U.S. police agencies, as presented by Attorney General John Ashcroft a known opponent of abortion rights and affirmative action—begin to smell of more of the same assault on civil liberties and past gains that the employers and their government have been pushing for years. Many workers and farmers don't like the idea of having to carry around a national ID card,

the idea that someone they know with a green card could be arrested and never heard from again, that a co-worker who immigrated from another country could be picked up and jailed indefinitely because they are deemed to be a threat to national security, or that a worker such as Michael Italie can be fired by a boss for

simply expressing his political views.

Hearings at the Senate Judiciary Committee this week are one reflection of the divisions engendered within the Democratic and Republican parties by the Bush administration's moves—divisions that also represent a break in what has been bipartisan backing to the imperialist war drive up to this point.

By pressing this assault, the Bush administration is building opposition to the imperialist war drive, the growing militarization of the United States, and the increasing centralization of power in the hands of the executive branch of government.

### **Synchronized recession looms**

Meanwhile, as the contradictions in world politics deepen, evidence is mounting that the world has entered a synchronized economic recession, affecting both the semicolonial and imperialist countries. In spite of a decade-long assault by the employers to push back wages and working conditions, accompanied by their government's assault on the social wage, the U.S. rulers have proven unable to reverse the long-term decline in their rate of profits. While they won a market edge over their imperialist rivals in Europe and Japan as a result of the blows they dealt labor, they only temporarily held off the inevitable economic downturn. Eliminating the business cycle under capitalism, despite all the bourgeois economists who made a living off predict-

ing that it was a thing of the past during the 1990s "boom," was never in the cards any-

The Washington Post announced that the United States has been in recession since April. Industrial production fell by 1.1 percent in October, the 13th consecutive month of decline and the longest unbroken fall since 1932. Output was 6.3 percent lower than a year ago. The consumer price index fell by 0.3 percent, the largest drop since 1986.

Inflation fell to just 2.1 percent in October. During the 1992-2000 economic upturn, inflation never exceeded 3.5 percent over a





Mamdouh Bayoumy (top), an Egyptian citizen living in Texas, and Ossama Elkoshairi, an Egyptian-born U.S. citizen who resides in Virginia, both say that discrimination lay behind dismissal from their jobs. A number of those who have been victimized since September 11 have protested their treatment.

consecutive 12-month period. In previous booms inflation rose as high as 6 percent or more. Also in October, manufacturers used just 74.8 percent of their production capacity, continuing their decline to the lowest

The New York Times pointed to growing fear that "the United States, like Japan today, could suffer an extended period of declining prices—that is, deflation—which could deepen what economists anticipate will be the economy's first recession in 10 years."

Although the cost of services is still rising, consumer prices have remained flat over the last six months, the first time in 15 years they have failed to rise over a sustained period. The prices that businesses pay for raw materials have fallen for six consecutive

This reflects mounting deflationary pressures on the economy, which are already beginning to lead to declining prices for commodities, a more rapid fall in the capitalists' rate of profits, and the always accompanying squeeze on workers through major layoffs and plant closings, longer hours for those employed, and deteriorating working conditions.

One example of the deflationary pressures and intensified price competition that working people are barraged with is the proliferation of interest-free loans for automobiles, computers, home electronics, and numerous other commodities. Department stores are already marking down items 20 percent or more, and computer prices continue to plummet.

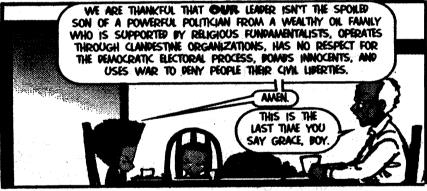
The Times, in an article titled "The World's Economies Slide Together into Recession," reported that world economic growth this year has dropped below 2.5 percent, the indicator the International Monetary Fund uses to declare a recession. Germany's gross domestic product fell in the third quarter after remaining flat in the second, as unemployment hovered at 9.5 percent. Japan reentered recession after a brief respite from what has been a decadelong economic crisis. Industrial production was down by more than 12 percent in September and wages declined from last year.

9

defending far-reaching attacks targeting working people. These include a military order setting up tribunals—called kangaroo courts by even some conservative Republicans—anywhere in the world with power to execute people, and instituting a range of measures that allow unlimited detention of

### THE BOONDOCKS Aaron McGruder





strikes. Included are Iraq—where Bush is now expanding his mandate to countries that possess weapons of mass destruction—and Somalia, Sudan, and Yemen, claimed by the administration to be countries where the Al Qaeda organization operates.

With imperial arrogance, Washington is bluntly telling sovereign governments what to do. For example, Bush toldYemeni president Ali Abdullah Salih at the White House November 27 that "there are additional steps its military forces out to do the job. It will only bring with it an increasing toll on the lives of workers in uniform, a drain on the population through taxation, and devastation of country after country as the imperialists seek to salvage their declining system.

Although disguised in UN or NATO garb, the imperialist powers have set up protectorates in Bosnia and Kosova in the 1990s. A recent Washington Post editorial pointed to the imperialist occupation troops in Yu-

### Public meeting in Miami to Defend freedom of speech!

Speakers will address the recent violations of free speech including firings for political advocacy of Michael Italie at Goodwill Industries, Mohammad Rahat at the University of Miami, and others around the country. They will also examine how these fit with military tribunals, intrusive wiretaps, and indefinite detentions by the government.

Speakers include:

Howard Simon, Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union of Florida (ACLU); Khurrum Wahid, Director of Civil Liberty, Florida Council for American Islamic Relations (CAIR); Philip Lane, Professor of Journalism and Mass Communication, Miami Dade Community College; John Due, Attorney; longtime civil rights activist; Michael Italie, Fired from Goodwill Industries for political advocacy, recent Socialist Workers candidate for mayor; **Max Rameau**, Brothers of the Same Mind.

#### Saturday, Dec. 8, 7:00 p.m. Florida International University South

Sponsored by the Committee to Defend Freedom of Speech & the Bill of Rights

### Lessons from the fight against sedition law

Printed below are excerpts from Teamster Bureaucracy by Farrell Dobbs. The author was a central leader of the labor struggles in the Midwest in the 1930s that built on the 1934 strike for union recognition by members of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544. This struggle opened the door to massive battles by workers in the trucking industry to establish the union on an industrial basis across the Midwest. As the U.S. imperialists drove to enter World War II, the Franklin Roosevelt administration moved to break the fighting capacity of growing ranks of labor and purge the labor movement of class-struggle leaders who opposed the imperialist slaughter.

In 1941, 28 leaders of Local 544 and of the Socialist Workers Party were put on trial for sedition under the Smith Act, passed into law a year earlier. Eighteen were convicted and served 12- to 18-month sentences in prison during 1944–45. The Minneapolis case was the first peacetime federal prosecution for sedition in American history and the first under the Smith Act.

The charges under the thought-control act were: 1) Advocating overthrow of the government by force; 2) Publishing and circulating literature advocating this; 3) Forming organizations "to teach, advocate and encourage" such overthrow; 4) Becoming members of such organizations; 5) Distributing publications which "advised, counseled and urged" insubordination in the armed forces.

The Smith Act remains on the books to this day. As part of a broad nonpartisan campaign in the labor movement, the convictions of the 18 were appealed all the way to the Supreme Court, described below by Dobbs.

The Communist Party, which backed Roosevelt's entry of U.S. forces into the war, supported the Smith Act prosecutions of the Teamsters and SWP leaders. Just a half decade later in 1949, several Communist Party leaders were convicted under the same act in the opening years of the anti-communist witch-hunt.

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### BY FARRELL DOBBS

Our petition cited the first of the original ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution, which are known as the Bill of Rights. The First Amendment explicitly states: "Congress shall make no law...abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." That provision, we contended, was violated by the Smith Act, which abrogated our right to freely express our views.

But the U.S. Supreme Court refused even to review the case of the eighteen, and its antidemocratic stance exposed a myth about the judicial process. According to capitalist propaganda the highest court acts objectively and consistently to interpret constitutional principles in the light of changing times and conditions. In reality, this is not the case, as its attitude toward us demonstrated.

Basically, the judicial process is designed to serve ruling-class needs. The only constant involved is the upholding of constitutional guarantees extended to capitalists—the right to private property in the means of production, and comparable matters. On paper, the Bill of Rights is just as explicit as the constitutional protection of capitalist property. But the high court's history shows

for further reading...

### Teamster Bureaucracy

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

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12



Meeting to welcome home the Smith Act defendants after their release from prison in 1945. The Civil Rights Defense Committee, which sponsored the event, conducted a nationwide defense campaign centered in the labor movement to win release of the 18 Teamster and SWP leaders framed-up under this thought-control law.

that supposedly inviolable guarantees to the exploited masses have been undermined and whittled down through a variety of legal devices, each one designed to meet specific capitalist needs at a given juncture. Workers' rights have been infringed upon through court action, then partly restored, only to be violated anew; and this consistent pattern of inconsistency has been attuned to the ebb and flow of the class struggle. Taken as a whole, judicial interpretation of the Constitution has reflected two opposite trends: increasingly specific protection of capitalist interests, and ever-deeper erosion of the workers' democratic rights.

The class approach used by the judiciary can be seen in its overall handling of the Smith Act. When our case reached the Supreme Court in 1943, the country was deeply involved in a world imperialist conflict. The masses generally were under the illusion that it was conducted as a progressive struggle against fascism, and there was wide disagreement with our reasons for opposition to U.S. participation in the war. In those circumstances a large section of the population tended to acquiesce in the use of the Smith Act against us, the first time it was invoked.

At the same time, though, many others became concerned about the witch-hunting aspects involved in the conviction of the eighteen. Most people in that category supported the war, but they didn't want precedents set in the name of the "war effort" that would serve to weaken their own democratic rights. So they responded to our appeal for protests against the sedition frame-up.

The Supreme Court—which, as Finley Peter Dunne's "Mr. Dooley" said, "follows the election returns"—was thus confronted with a dilemma. It wanted to sanction our imprisonment, but not at the risk of stirring up a political hornets' nest by formally declaring the Smith Act constitutional. In that contradictory situation, the top judges decided, their best course was to do nothing. They simply allowed the decision of the lower court to stand, thereby causing us to be jailed in accordance with ruling-class needs of the moment; and through that procedure the way was still left open for them to make one or another pragmatic ruling on the thought-control law itself later on, as might be required under changed political circumstances after the war.

### Smith Act used against CP

It took only a few years for such an occasion to arise. In 1949 the government tried the Stalinists on sedition charges, a move that demonstrated the evil consequences of the CP's unprincipled conduct in supporting the earlier imprisonment of the eighteen. During that year several leaders of the Communist Party were convicted on counts under the Smith Act. They appealed the convictions to the U.S. Supreme Court, and in opposing them the Justice Department cited the outcome of the Minneapolis case as legal justification for the move against the CP.

The federal assault on the Stalinists took

place in a political climate marked by a "cold war" against the Soviet Union and other workers' states and by witch-hunt attacks in this country on those who opposed the imperialist line. The political atmosphere worsened when the Korean War broke out and a wave of ultrarightism, led by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, began to dominate the U.S. scene. Under such conditions the sheer weight of reaction seriously obstructed the development of a movement in defense of the victimized Communist Party leaders. Actions on their behalf had been made twice difficult, moreover, because of the extent to which the CP's finky conduct during World War II had alienated labor and liberal circles. Consequently, not many were ready to emulate the Socialist Workers Party in defending the CP's constitutional rights as a matter of democratic principle.

When the appeal from the 1949 convictions reached the Supreme Court during the Korean War, the court took full advantage of the isolation the Stalinists had earned for themselves. Their case was used as a convenient vehicle for a decision upholding the constitutionality of the Smith Act. The court ruled that the law in question was directed at "advocacy" of violent action against the government, not at mere "discussion" of ideas; that the Communist Party was a "highly organized" formation engaged in a "conspiracy" to seize power; and that use of the law against that party was necessary because of the "inflammable nature of world conditions."

Later on, though, the foregoing interpretation of the thought-control law was sharply modified. This took place between 1957 and 1961, as still other convictions under the Smith Act reached the high court. All the defendants in these later instances were alleged to be members of the CP. Yet the court now found it impolitic to automatically reconfirm the ruling it had made in the first case involving Stalinists.

The political climate was changing. The Korean War had ended and McCarthyism had fallen into disrepute. Mass actions were developing in the Black struggle for full

equality. A student radicalization was beginning that would later serve to trigger massive protests against the U.S. intervention in Vietnam. New signs of dissidence were cropping up in the trade unions. In sum, a spirit of nonconformity was arising, with a marked tendency to evolve toward widespread opposition to ruling-class repression.

#### Thought-control act softened up

Faced with those developments, the Supreme Court judges decided to shift gears on the Smith Act issue. The primary object was to forestall a massive campaign for outright revocation of the vicious thought-control measure, and steps were taken accordingly to soften it by means of a rewriting through judicial interpretation. The revised rulings made between 1957 and 1961 can be summed up along the following lines:

Advocacy of forcible measures against the government could not be prohibited so long as there was no effort to instigate action toward that end. Where plans to use force and violence for the overturn of capitalist rule were alleged, the organization in question had to be of sufficient size and cohesiveness to pose a substantial danger of achieving its goal. That organization had to be presently inciting its members to action aimed at overthrow of the government at the first propitious moment. Only those active members of the accused organization having guilty knowledge and intent could be convicted. Mere membership was not in itself sufficient grounds for conviction.

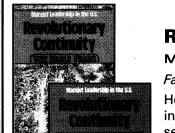
On the basis of the above reinterpretation of the Smith Act, convictions of alleged CP members were in some instances reversed by the Supreme Court. The freeing of those victims tended to discourage further prosecutions under the given law for the nonce, and that served, in turn, to alleviate pressures for its repeal.

This thought-control device has thereby been kept alive. So it continues to present a statutory medium through which people can be prosecuted, in violation of the Bill of Rights, on charges of "advocacy" aimed at "eventual" overthrow of the government by force and violence; and to serve that purpose the law can be given all the necessary teeth by judicial fiat, whenever the capitalist overlords so desire.

As the class struggle grows sharper in the future, the ruling class can be expected to call for new legal devices on the part of the judiciary like those manifested between 1943 and 1961. It can also be anticipated that the Supreme Court will comply with such political demands. Its erratic handling of the SmithAct for witch-hunting purposes leaves little doubt on that score. If, for instance, the legal interpretation developed by 1961 had been applied in the case of the eighteen, a decision would have been in order to set us free. But at the time, when we asked the top federal judges to protect our constitutional rights, their reply was curt and cowardly: "Petition denied."

An order was then issued requiring us to present ourselves for incarceration about a month later, on December 31, 1943, and we responded to the court's antidemocratic ruling with a public statement which declared:

"History proves that prisons and force have never destroyed progressive ideas. We go to jail confident that our socialist ideas will ultimately be adopted by the masses who have suffered under a dying capitalism. We shall come out of prison ready to continue the struggle on behalf of the working masses."



### for further reading

### **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 small farmers and link up with fellow toilers around the world. Vol. 1 \$16.95, Vol. 2 \$18.95

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

## More workers are visiting food banks

Continued from front page

Assistance Unit. Homeless advocates say landlords in many large cities are simply rejecting the federally subsidized Section 8 vouchers because they can make more money charging high rents.

The increasing numbers of working people who have to turn to charity in order to make ends meet is a graphic indication of the impact of massive layoffs triggered by the capitalist economic downturn. Industrial production fell in October for the 13th consecutive month, the longest such decline since the Great Depression. Output from U.S. factories, mines, and utilities dropped by 1.1 percent on top of a 1 percent decline in September. The official unemployment rate shot up to 5.4 percent, the highest level in five years, sending the ranks of the unemployed to 7.7 million, up from 7 million in one month. The number of people working part-time jobs soared from 1.1 million to 4.5 million in just 60 days.

Compounding the layoffs is the impact of widespread cuts in welfare, food stamps, unemployment benefits, and other federal and state government programs. The five-year lifetime limit imposed under the Clinton administration for any individual to receive welfare is rapidly approaching, threatening the ability of tens of thousands of working families in the state who rely on this benefit to meet their basic food, rent, and transportation costs.

In his campaign to end "welfare as we know it," President William Clinton won bipartisan backing in 1996 for eliminating the federally funded entitlement Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and limited access to other social benefits.

By the end of the year some 38,800 families in New York are due to be cut off from federal aid, joining at least 120,000 who have already lost benefits nationally. Thirty-two percent of those slated to lose their benefits in New York are families where at least one parent is currently employed.

New York state and city officials have said that those no longer eligible for federal aid will be able to apply for a state-financed program in the spring of 2002, when it starts up. Commenting on a recently approved three-month extension in food stamps benefits for families whose aid was already cut, the governor of New York, George Pataki, said that the extension "could help working families to achieve independence."

Angel Martinez, visiting a food pantry with her family, didn't quite see it that way. "Somehow I've got to find a way to skimp on the food to pay the light bill," he told a *New York Times* reporter. "None of those welfare bureaucrats' kids is going to go hungry and cry themselves to sleep. My kids are." he added

A survey release in mid-November by America's Second Harvest, the country's

### Workers win \$315,000 in back wages from greengrocers in N.Y.

NEW YORK—Thirty-one immigrant workers won a back-pay settlement of \$315,000 here on November 20 from three corner grocery stores in Lower Manhattan. The store owners had paid the workers less than \$3, well below the \$5.15 minimum wage.

The announcement of the settlement in the suit brought by State Attorney General Eliot Spitzer was made at the Mexican consulate here. Most of the employees in this and several related cases are Mexican, and the Mexican government worked on the

One of the plaintiffs, Mr. Ramirez, told the press that the workers "finally achieved something. There was justice, finally recouping what we deserve for all the time we worked there." From the Mexican state of Puebla, he said he put in 84 hours a week and earned \$200 before receiving a raise to \$250.

State investigators determined that the workers were paid between \$180 and \$360 for 12-hour shifts, six or seven days a week. The back-pay settlement is the largest reached among the city's 2,000 greengrocers.

largest organization of emergency food providers, found that nearly half of the 32,000 individuals surveyed choose between paying utilities and buying food, and more than 35 percent decide to either buy food or pay their mortgage. The study also found that 23.3 million people in the United States sought and received emergency food assistance this year, an increase of nearly 2 million since 1997.

#### Official coldheartedness

Despite a number of welfare advocate organizations voicing concern over the fate of families facing the five-year limit, New York City officials have insisted they are committed to carry through the cuts.

"We now have a welfare system in which time limits will be hitting in a majority of states at precisely the time when the labor markets are the weakest and when families are in the most trouble," said Deepak Bhargava, of the National Campaign for Jobs and Income Support, a coalition of social service organizations.

In response, New York City welfare commissioner Jason Turner said in a typically coldhearted statement: "Individuals should use the five-year milestone as an important opportunity to reassess their lives and their progress towards achieving self-sufficiency."

New York Times columnist Bob Herbert voiced apprehensions about the social conflict possible as working people face the combination of an economic downturn and lack of programs previously available.

"Government officials who expect poor and working families to sort of roll over and quietly accept their dismal economic fate may get surprised this time around," Herbert wrote in a November 19 piece. "There is a



Food line during holidays at the Morristown Interfaith Food Pantry in New Jersey. Increasing numbers of working people are turning to charity to make ends meet.

growing sense of militancy among struggling families in the United States. Pushing people to the limits will produce that."

He added: "The cynicism that resulted in millionaire senators cheering the passage of welfare reform is now being confronted by the cold reality of a take-no-prisoners recession that threatens to leave millions of American families jobless, and all but helpless."

Herbert points out that "unemployment insurance, which was established to ease the pain of temporary joblessness, covers less than 40 percent of the people who are out of work...; the food stamp program, which was supposed to slam the door on hunger in the world's greatest nation (and which once served 90 percent of eligible families), now serves just 60 percent of poverty-stricken folks who qualify for help"; and "between now and next July we'll see welfare benefits exhausted for large numbers of families in at least 26 states."

#### Loophole in Medicaid bureaucracy

In what some have called the biggest one-

time enrollment increase in Medicaid history, thousands of working people are taking advantage of a temporary program designed to speed up applications for assistance for people who lost their jobs and income because of the September 11 attack.

Instead of the bureaucratic delays, eightpage forms, and extensive documentation workers usually face when seeking Medicaid coverage, the emergency program allows enrollment for four months on the spot to those who have a Social Security number and photo ID, and fill out a one-page document swearing they meet the income criteria.

Government officials have not publicized the program and they say it was forced on them because their computer system was damaged September 11. Somehow the word spread, and more than 75,000 people in New York City got themselves signed up over the last six weeks. Welfare advocates estimate that about 1 million of some 3 million eligible families in New York are kept out of the system because of the normal bureaucratic practices.

### Deaths of workers in U.S. mines jump in 2001

Continued from front page

seriously injured when they were conducting maintenance work on a stretch of track at the Consol-owned McElroy mine in northern West Virginia, the biggest coal producing mine in the state. They were hit by a vehicle traveling on the tracks, according to the company. The other fatalities have been in the southern West Virginia coalfields.

Six of the 13 fatalities this year have involved roof or rib (mine wall) falls. A report issued this month calls for action around underground mining roof control plans. Davitt McAteer, former chief of the U.S. Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA), issued the report, which was

commissioned by West Virginia governor Robert Wise. McAteer's report calls for the elimination of the use of three-foot roof bolts to secure the roof of the mine shaft. According to the report, West Virginia is the only state that allows roof bolts this short. The report also questions the use of the retreat pillar mining method, where blocks of coal left to hold up mine roofs are removed.

The report also takes aim at how the growing use of subcontractors by the mining bosses hides the real safety record of specific mines. A growing number of mining companies are using subcontractors in order to weaken the unions, get around the prevailing wage scale, and sidestep safety

measures and obligations for benefits.

Because the mine owners don't list workers employed by contractors as employees, the accidents usually aren't recorded against them. Contractors are often used to carry out support work for coal mining crews. Safety training for their employees is lacking. A MSHA report in 1996 found that workers employed by contractors are victims of about 30 percent of all fatal accidents and probably 30 percent of all nonfatal accidents at underground mines. They also account for 70 percent of all accidents at surface mines. McAteer's report proposes holding mine owners accountable for the actions of the subcontractors they hire.

### Books for working people and youth fighting imperialism and its war

#### Che Guevara Talks to Young People

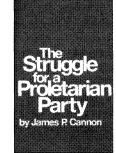
Ernesto Che Guevara, drawing on his experience as a leader of the Cuban Revolution, talks as an equal with youth of Cuba and the world. In English and in Spanish. **\$12** (regular \$14.95)

#### Malcolm X Talks to Young People

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

### 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 during Lenin's time defends the proletarian program and party building norms of Bolshevism on the eve of World War II. \$21.95

### Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium by Jack Barnes

The accelerating social devastation, police brutality, and military assaults are the inevitable forces unleashed by capitalism.

But the future capitalism has in store can be changed by the united struggle of workers and farmers conscious of their power to transform the world. In French, English, and Spanish. \$20 (Regular \$23.95)

#### New International no. 7 Washington's Assault on Iraq: Opening Guns of World War III

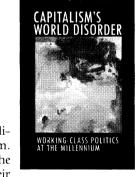
The U.S. government's murderous assault on Iraq heralded increasingly sharp conflicts among imperialist powers, the rise of rightist and fascist forces, growing instability of international capitalism, and more wars. **\$12** 

### Also by Jack Barnes

#### **Cuba and the Coming American Revolution**

Discusses the struggles in the imperialist heartland and the example of Cuba that revolution is not only necessary—it can be made. **\$10** (Regular \$13.00)

See directory on page 12



### 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

### War, U.S. politics discussed at Mexico fair

Continued from front page

sales to the public, literary and academic programs, and music.

Brazil is the featured country at this year's fair. Those entering the exhibition pass through a pavilion festively decorated with hundreds of birds found in Brazil. There are special displays of Brazilian books and magazines, a buffet of Brazilian food, and nightly concerts and dance programs with artists from the South American country.

Each year organizers present a writer with the Juan Rulfo Prize for Latin American and Caribbean Literature. This year's went to Mexican writer Juan García Ponce, author of poetry, plays, stories, novels, and essays.

More than 300 Mexican publishers are here along with others from throughout Latin America, the United States, and Canada. A large number of publishers came from Spain, and others are here from Germany and Britain. The Publishers Association of Japan has a booth at the fair for the first time in five years.

The fair is open to the public the first two of its nine days. Three days are devoted to the book publishing trade, allowing librarians, distributors, and publishers to concentrate on business. The rest of the days, and every evening, are open to the public.

#### **Interest in Pathfinder books**

Pathfinder Press has a booth for the entire fair. Representatives from the New Yorkbased publishing house are meeting with distributors and book buyers from Mexico and other countries and introducing the publishing house's range of titles to many librarians from the United States.

In the first two days, a team of Pathfinder representatives from New York, San Francisco, Toronto, and North Carolina sold 125 books. There was broad interest in political discussion, especially among students and young workers passing through the fair. Many people wanted to talk about the U.S. war in Afghanistan and the growing worldwide economic crisis and to read the explanation of these developments presented in many Pathfinder books.

Pathfinder titles point out that the wars and assaults on working people stem from the natural workings of imperialism in the world that has been unfolding long before September 11.

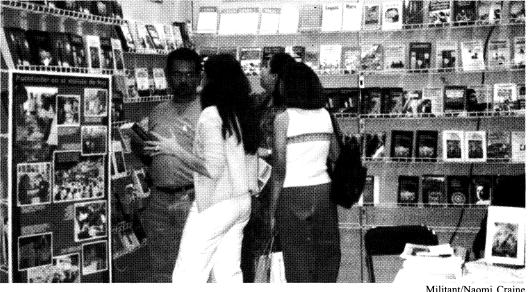
The book Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium by Jack Barnes drew a lot of attention. Many who stopped by the booth thought this was a particularly timely title.

Some people wanted to discuss the increased attacks on workers' rights and living conditions within the United States. Pathfinder supporters staffing the booth pointed to a section of Cuba and the Coming American Revolution by Jack Barnes that explains how these attacks by the U.S. ruling class have increased over the last five years. Books on the Cuban Revolution also continue to be very popular. The first book many people picked up was Che Guevara Talks to Young People.

Pathfinder's best-seller so far is the booklet The Working-Class and the Transformation of Learning: The Fraud of Education Reform under Capitalism, with 17 copies sold. The next titles on the list are Cuba and the Coming American Revolution, which 12 people bought, and 11 copies of Che Guevara Talks to Young People. All three titles are available in Spanish. Six people bought copies of Capitalism's World Disorder and five got Nueva Internacional no. 5 featuring "U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War." Another five people bought *U.S.* Hands off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations, registering the interest in Pathfinder titles on the Middle East.

### Women's liberation

One of the new titles available in Spanish this year is Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle by Thomas Sankara, leader of the 1983-87 revolution in Burkina Faso. Eight copies have been sold so far, putting it fourth on Pathfinder's "bestseller" list. There is real interest in titles on the fight for women's rights. Three people bought Abortion: a Woman's Right to Choose in Spanish, and one person got Problems of Women's Liberation and Is Biology Woman's Destiny? in English, both by Evelyn Reed. A growing number of titles were sold in English, compared to the previous two years.



Pathfinder booth at book fair in Guadalajara, Mexico, drew students and young workers eager to discuss world politics. Books like Capitalism's World Disorder were of particular interest.

Several young people are visiting the Pathfinder stand for the second or third year in a row, saying, "I bought this book last year, what else do you have?" There are also many new young people and others who are pleasantly surprised to see the display of these books, especially coming from the United States. Some spend half an hour, or much more, looking through the books and talking with members of the team staffing the booth. Four people have bought copies of the pamphlet Pathfinder Was Born with the October Revolution to learn where Pathfinder Press comes from, what it publishes,

Among the visitors at the Pathfinder booth during the first weekend of the fair was a student from Guadalajara whose brother is a restaurant worker in New Jersey and is looking for political activity in that area. The student exchanged e-mails with a member of the Young Socialists who was staffing the booth. This was not uncommon—many young people wanted to learn about the YS. Staffers pointed them to the article, "Aims of the Young Socialists" in Nueva Internacional no. 5.

Two young people involved in a cultural society in the central Mexican state of Guanajuato spent more than an hour at the Pathfinder booth discussing the struggles of workers and peasants in Mexico and working-class fights in the United States. They said last year they organized reading and

discussion on speeches by Cuban revolutionary leaders Ernesto Che Guevara and Fidel Castro, which attracted workers from the area. They got a copy of Perspectiva Mundial and took two Pathfinder catalogs to mark up, in order to come back and buy some books before the end of the fair.

Early on the first day a young worker in a restaurant at the fair visited the Pathfinder booth. He came back that evening with two co-workers to show them the books and buy Capitalism's World Disorder.

A chemical engineer who works in a textile factory an hour and a half from Guadalajara visited the booth on his own and then with his wife. He said there have been substantial layoffs in his plant, typical in that industry in both Mexico and the United States. After discussing the possibility to transform the unions into revolutionary instruments of struggle, he bought The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions in Spanish.

Many discussions when selling Pathfinder books take up the crisis facing farmers in the United States. A lot of Mexicans are surprised to learn that small farmers in the United States, like their counterparts in Mexico, are being pushed off the land. An especially helpful section in Cuba and the Coming American Revolution takes up the challenge of closing the gap between town and country. It points to the example of the Cuban Revolution in meeting this challenge, from the literacy campaign to the land reform.

Programs this year include presentations of a number of books on the theme of "globalization." There will also be a "Chicano Encounter," including discussions on Chicano literature and immigration between Mexico and the United States.

Under the umbrella of the Cuban Book Chamber, an array of Cuba publishers exhibit at an expanded booth, several of which will be presenting some of their newest titles at this year's fair. In 2002, Cuba will be the book fair's honored country.

### -MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

#### **NEW JERSEY**

#### Newark

Europe vs. America: Imperialist War in Afghanistan Accelerates Major Trends in World Politics. Speaker: Mark Gilsdorf, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 30, 7:30 p.m. 506 Springfield Ave., 3rd Floor. Tel: (973) 643-3341.

#### **CALIFORNIA**

#### San Francisco

The Bill of Rights vs. Imperialist War: the Myth of 'American Democracy.' Speaker: Sarah Katz, Socialist Workers Party; member, Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees. Fri., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m.

Working People in Mexico and Central America Respond to the Crisis of Capitalism: Reportback from Book Fair in Guadalajara, Mexico. Speaker: Deborah Liatos, participant in book fair. Fri., Dec. 14, 7:30 p.m. Dinner at 6:30 p.m. All events at 3926 Mission Street. Tel: (415) 584-2135.

#### **AUSTRALIA**

#### **Svdnev**

Anniversary of 1951 New Zealand Waterfront Lockout: Workers' Resistance to the Employers' Offensive in Wartime. Speaker: Rob Gardner, Communist League. Sun., Dec. 9, 4:00 p.m. Level 1, 281-287 Beamish St, Campsie. Donation: \$4. Tel: (02) 9718-9690.

### **NEW ZEALAND**

### Christchurch

The Use of Food as a Weapon of Political and Economic Pressure. Fri., Dec. 7, 7:00 p.m. Gloucester Arcade, 129 Gloucester St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (03) 365-6055

### -IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP -

Where to find Pathfinder books and distributors of the Militant, Perspectiva Mundial, New International, Nouvelle Internationale, Nueva Internacional and Ny International.

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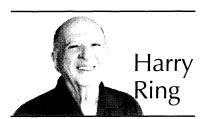
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### **SWEDEN**

Stockholm: Domargränd 16 (T-bana Västertorp) Postal code: S-129 04. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.E-mail: 100416.2362@compuserve.com **Don't trust Uncle?**—A poll conducted for *USA Today* asked people if they agreed that "to make it easier to combat terrorism," the



feds should be given the right to tap and intercept their e-mail without a court order. A thumping 54 percent "strongly disagreed," and 19 percent "somewhat disagreed."

**Barren bins**—Italian cops held a big rig for 10 hours after spotting the word, *laden*, on its papers. Explosive experts circled the truck until someone realized it was German for "load."

Assistant civilizers—In England and Wales, 11,167 prisoners are jammed two to a cell designed for one.

Learning experience—In England and Wales, a study sponsored by the National Union of Teachers found that nearly 60 percent of trainees quit within three years after entering the profession.

The principal reasons turned up in the study were workloads, pupil behavior, and government "initiatives." [cutbacks?].

Don't stop us if we said it before—Those who have already read *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning* would be miffed if we failed to urge you to read this illuminating and, yes, sparkling booklet by Jack Barnes.

Kind of a ho-hum routine—"In past months members of the Ball State University Police Department [in Muncie, Indiana], have been the focus of a state police probe...[for]

failing to arrest a drunken police officer [and] beating a student who was having a diabetic seizure"— Muncie Star Press

Problems, what problems?—
"The fact that you have a number of incidents that have occurred in a small time frame, makes it appear that there is a problem."—Ball State U. prez Blaine Brownell.

Emergency action—The Idaho Board of Health & Welfare voted against a 30-year cleanup plan proposed by the feds to clean up the toxic waste in the Coeur d'Alene Basin. The board favors a five-year moratorium on the \$359-

million cleanup plan so it can monitor the blood levels of adults and children.

Brought to you by Flat Earth Society—The Alabama Board of Education voted unanimously to continue adding stickers to biology textbooks warning students that evolution is a "controversial theory" they should question.

Thought for the week—"According to the Energy Department, the United States released 1,583 million metric tons of carbon from fossil fuel burning in 2000, or 47 million metric tons more than in 1999."—News item.

### Farmers rally in Greece to oppose subsidy cuts

BY GEORGES MEHRABIAN

ATHENS, Greece—Ten thousand tobacco farmers from the regions of Thrace and Macedonia rallied in the northern city of Thessaloniki November 19 and thousands more cotton and tobacco farmers also rallied in the town of Trikala the same day.

These protests were a culmination of a week of farmer protests that included a 3,500-strong tractorcade of cotton growers in the town of Karditsa. The actions have been organized by the main farmer organizations in the country to protest the low prices of cotton and the planned cancellation of tobacco subsidies by the European Union Commission. Tobacco and cotton are two of Greece's main cash crops.

The European Union (EU) Commission was due to cut subsidies for tobacco production by 20 percent each of the next five years. The price of cotton is so low that farmers are simply storing it in their barns and on their fields. Roads in the area are lined with trailers full of harvested cotton, which farmers are not shipping to processing firms.

"My parent's barn is full to the limit," said Despina Siropoulou, who works as a janitor working at a factory in Athens. Siropoulou worked on the family farm in the Karditsa region prior to moving to Athens. "They will not sell at the ridiculously low price farmers are being offered," she continued. "The problem we face is that this year's harvest was very good.

"The continuing fall in cotton prices has been devastating to our village. In the last two years, three out of about 50 families went bankrupt and their farms were auctioned off. This was the first time auctions were held for us!" Siropoulou said. "Two families are buying everything. One lives in Thessaloniki, and he now rents out the land to some of the same people who used to own it

"The situation is desperate," she said, "and so many young people have been forced to migrate to Athens, Thessaloniki, and other big cities. Those that stay behind are forced to also get part time jobs in order to make ends meet. You can't make it off of your farm income unless you are a big producer," Siropoulou said.

#### Maintain tobacco subsidies

Among the demands being raised by the farmers are that the tobacco subsidies be maintained; elimination of rules that levy fines against small- and medium-sized cotton farmers for "overproduction"; that controls be placed on multinational corporations to check the high cost of production; that the Agricultural Bank renegotiate terms of the farmers' debts and eliminate debt accrued on interest and interest on late payments.

Minister of Agriculture Giorgos Drys spoke at one rally, declaring he would fight on the side of the tobacco farmers at the next EU agriculture ministers meeting. As for the price of cotton, he stated that he would clarify the situation after November 24 when a clear picture of the harvest is available.

Following the protests the November 21 EU Commission meeting decided to postpone implementation of the phasing out of tobacco subsidies by three years.

### Garment workers in Los Angeles demand back wages, overtime pay



Militant/Elizabeth Lariscy

Eighty people picketed in Los Angeles on November 17 against Forever 21, a popular teen clothing retailer. Joined by others, the garment workers, formerly employed at shops doing work for the company, launched a public campaign to demand back wages, overtime pay, and better working conditions.

### Hotel workers in Boston vote to strike against concession demands

BY TED LEONARD

BOSTON—"They are using September 11 to push through a bad contract," said Westin Roach at a November 19 rally of hundreds of hotel workers here. "They are ignoring the profits they have made the last couple of years, profits that surpassed their expectations."

"The hotels just want to make more money," an airport driver for the Hilton Hotel explained as he marched around the Park Plaza Hotel. The march culminated in a rally held at the historic Arlington Street Church in downtown Boston.

Members of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union (HERE) Local 26 voted 1,261 to 13 to authorize a strike. Their current five-year contract expires November 30.

The union represents 3,000 workers at eight Boston hotels. Since September 11,

#### The Communist Manifesto

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels
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and proletarian movements springing from the actual class struggle.

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the hotels have laid off 1,000 union members and industry analysts say they expect a 10 percent drop in occupancy rates this year.

The hotel owners are demanding concessions from the union, such as elimination of the eight-hour shift and the right to schedule employees for either less or more than eight hours depending on the needs of the bosses. The companies also want the right to subcontract work in any department and pay benefits to the union's Health and Welfare Plan at a level that would put the plan into bankruptcy.

Local 26 president Janice Loux told the rally, "The hotels want to talk about September, October, and November, but what about the previous 60 months?"

With contracts coming up in Houston, Chicago, and Las Vegas, HERE International Union president John Wilhelm said the negotiations in Boston represent "the first bigcity hotel contract since September 11. If the hotel owners jam a concession contract down your throat they will be encouraged to do the same across the country." He pledged the support of the 275,000 members of the union in the United States and Canada.

The featured speaker at the rally was Rev. Jesse Jackson, founder and president of the Rainbow PUSH Coalition and a past candidate for U.S. president in the Democratic Party primaries.

Voicing the high morale of the workers at the end of the rally and march, Joseph Charles, a housekeeper at the Sheraton Hotel, explained, "We are ready!"

Ted Leonard is a meatpacking worker in the Boston area. Laura Garza contributed to this article

### –25 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### THE MILITANT

THE MILITANT

ORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CE

**December 10, 1976** 

NEWARK—Advocates and adversaries of the right to abortion clashed in a debate at Rutgers University here November 22. The event was sponsored by more than a dozen campus groups, including the Women's Litigation Clinic, Black Organization of Students, Puerto Rican Organization, and Young Socialist Alliance.

Judy Novack, of the New Jersey "Right to Life," and Stephen Foley, an attorney, argued for outlawing abortion. Speaking for women's right to choose were Nadine Taub, a lawyer and professor at Rutgers, and Judith Lambert, a former staff member of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition.

Novack spoke while a slide projector flashed pictures of what she claimed was an aborted "baby." This was designed to convince the 100 viewers that abortion is the same as infanticide.

Judith Lambert spoke next.

The woman, Lambert [said], "is the one that has to make the decision [about abortion]. Neither the church nor the state is going to step in to save her job, pay her bills, or support that child. It will be her burden. It must be her decision."

Lambert explained that majority public sentiment, along with demonstrations, teach-ins, and rallies organized by the women's movement, won legalization of abortion. Activities like these are needed again, she said because "the anti-abortionists continue to use every means...to chisel away" at legal abortion. As an example, she cited the Hyde amendment, calling its supporters racist because Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicana women would suffer disproportionately if denied Medicaid abortions.

### **December 10, 1951**

Syngman Rhee's regime has opened a new drive to "exterminate" thousands of guerrillas admittedly still operating behind the lines in South Korea. This drive by "our murderous allies"—as a *Life* correspondent once described the South Korean soldiers and police—is also serving to screen a campaign of terrorism against the South Korean populace, who are bitterly hostile to the Rhee dictatorship and U.S. intervention.

Announcement of the drive on the guerrillas, who can operate only with popular support, was preceded by proclamation of martial law in half of Korea. This military rule is so "extreme," reported Greg McGregor, N.Y. Times correspondent in Pusan, that "residents were forbidden to move from their villages." The United Press reported on Dec. 2 that "house-to-house searches were ordered by the Defense Ministry" and "police were ordered to arrest and jail anyone caught with hidden weapons."

Anyone who offers resistance will be charged with "rendering aid and comfort to the enemy" and will be shot or imprisoned. Anyone caught with arms "will be assumed to be a guerrilla," reports McGregor.

Most guerrillas are not "communists," McGregor says. "About 90 percent are simple 'outlaws,' not necessarily communists. The other 10 percent are Communists." A Dec. 2 UP dispatch from Pusan affirmed that many guerrillas were merely "antigovernment Partisans who had little or no connection with the Reds." A Dec. 2 UP story from Taegu reports that on their way into the mountains the South Korean troops first "searched about 100 villages along the way."

### Help broaden free speech fight

The fight against the political firing of Michael Italie in Miami is an important one for all those who defend free speech and workers' rights. A national campaign to back Italie's demand for reinstatement is an effective tool with which to oppose imperialism's war drive against the working class and to stand up to the employer and government assault on civil liberties.

Many workers and youth find the fact that Goodwill fired a garment worker who had won ballot status as a candidate for mayor of Miami for statements he made at a televised candidates debate an affront to free speech. It stands as a threat to any working person who decides to challenge the two parties of the bosses and speak out against government policy.

The Goodwill bosses' firing of Italie goes hand in hand with other assaults on the Bill of Rights, from the detentions of noncitizens and moves to jail them indefinitely, to the ongoing FBI interrogations of thousands of men of mostly Middle Eastern descent, to the preparations for putting alleged terrorist suspects on trial in military tribunals where they have no constitutional rights. The establishment of a domestic military command and the deployment of National Guardsmen at U.S. airports across the country portend the rulers' war at home as they carry out their war abroad.

Despite the pressure from Washington's brutal war in Afghanistan, protests by workers from the Mideast against harassment and unfair treatment are mounting. A growing number of young people, workers, and others victimized by the employer and government attacks are speaking out. And many more don't buy into rationalizations by President Bush and the attorney general for the drive against workers' rights.

The Militant encourages our readers to help broaden support for this fight by signing up co-workers, union members, students, and prominent defenders of democratic rights to endorse the Committee for Free Speech and the Bill of Rights. Statements of support from around the country to the mayor of Miami and Goodwill Industries will help bring added pressure on government authorities to act in defense of the First Amendment.

Such an effort can lead to speaking engagements and other meetings for Italie as part of a nationwide tour. Given the opposition to the government moves, meetings on college campuses over the coming weeks on the case can become a unique opportunity to discuss the character of the government assault and how to fight it. Others who have been targeted by the employers or local, state, and federal police agencies may be interested in joining such a platform. The panel at the December 8 event in Miami is a good example of the kind of meeting that can be organized today.

The defense committee in Miami is encouraging people interested in supporting this fight to write for material on the case, including petitions and endorser cards. Funds are also needed to help broaden the effort, get the national tour underway, and pay for legal expenses. Readers of the Militant can make a real difference in making this fight an effective one across the country. In Florida, readers can join in the December 8 meeting. Write the defense committee, whose address is on page 8, and start making plans to invite Michael Italie to your city soon.

### Workers face economic crisis

At the end of November leading government economists admitted what many working people through their experiences already know—that the U.S. economy has been in a recession since April. In response to this downturn in the U.S. economy—the first in 10 years—the bosses have resorted to mounting layoffs, cutting work hours, and plant closings. The downturn, combined with government cuts in the availability of vital social services that many working people need, such as unemployment insurance, food stamps, and the programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, has had a growing impact on hundreds of thousands of working

A recession in the United States compounds what has already been for hundreds of million of toilers living in Asia, Africa, and Latin America—an economic and social catastrophe for much of the past two decades.

A number of bourgeois commentators have worried about the potentially explosive impact that the cutoff of federal welfare at the end of December will have upon tens of thousands of working people. "There is a growing sense of militancy among struggling families in the United States. Pushing people to the limits will produce that," New York Times columnist Bob Herbert noted.

In response to this crisis, the labor movement needs to take the lead in fighting for the right of all working people to have a decent paying job. Workers should demand a massive program of government-funded public works, to build housing, schools, hospitals, daycare centers, and upgrade public transportation and roads, at union-scale wages.

Labor must also demand a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, binding on all employers as federal law. This would spread the available work around and allow workers, not just the capitalists, to enjoy the benefits of any advances in the productivity of our labor.

Working people must also help lead the fight to substantially increase the minimum wage, as wage levels on capitalism are set from the bottom up, not from the top

Our strength lies in international solidarity. The labor movement in the United States must demand an immediate cancellation of the more than \$2 trillion foreign debt that Washington and other imperialist governments have imposed on semicolonial countries. Making payments on these unpayable debts simply means transferring wealth produced by workers and farmers in these nations to the coffers of banks in the imperialist centers.

### **Waivers for Dominicans!**

The crash of American Airlines flight 587, killing 265 people on their way to the Dominican Republic, has revealed both the disregard by airline companies for safe travel and the second-class treatment by the U.S. rulers, their government, and the airlines toward workers who

Airline officials have admitted the disaster was caused by a mechanical failure and are focusing on the tailfin, which tore off in midair. The crash came three months after Newsday reported that a task force of aviation industry and government regulators investigating the 1996 crash of TWA flight 800 determined it was "too expensive to make aircraft fuel tanks less flammable" and is cheaper for the airline industry to allow future explosions, with the resulting deaths. This is yet another example of how safety and human life are being sacrificed on the alter of profit for big business.

Airline safety will continue to deteriorate under the profit drive of the aerospace and airline companies until the labor movement wages a fight for safer operations of the industry. Only when the unions fight for universal social security protection, real health and safety enforcement, and effective protection of the environment-regardless of the consequences for any boss—will we be capable of reversing the disastrous trend in the airline industry.

The crash has also brought into the open how American and TWA use their monopoly over travel to Santo Domingo to gouge Dominican workers with outrageously expensive airfares.

All working people should denounce the inhumane treatment by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), which is denying visas to Dominicans who want to come to the United States to retrieve the bodies of their relatives and loved ones. We should denounce the federal government's refusal to grant amnesty to all Dominicans without papers who want to bury their family members in their own country and come back to the United States where they live and work, and join the demand by Dominicans for immediate immigration waivers.

The response by the INS to the crash is simply an extension of the everyday attacks on the dignity and rights of a growing section of the U.S. working-class, Long-standing strict limits on legal immigration force hundreds of thousands of toilers from the semicolonial world to enter the U.S. without papers each year. Under the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, signed into law by William Clinton, the INS was expanded into the largest federal cop agency, one that has stepped up factory raids and deportations which have reached record numbers in recent years. Also in 1996, under the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, the government is allowed to hold immigrants in "preventative detention" indefinitely on the basis of "secret evidence."

These repressive measures, far from aiming to stem the inflow of labor from the Americas and elsewhere, are intended to heighten insecurity and fear among immigrants. The wealthy rulers hope to intimidate this layer of the working class, and make them believe they are "illegal," in order to maintain them as a superexploitable labor pool and discourage their involvement in the labor movement and other social struggles.

The harassment of Dominicans surrounding the American Airlines crash an outrage of the American "justice" system that must be answered.

Equal rights for all immigrants! Grant immediate waivers to the Dominicans now!

### Sweden protest

#### **Continued from Page 16**

ingposten that the police officer "has killed Idris Demir with a shot in the back. There is nothing that can change this fact, although a great deal of energy has been put into the case to obscure it."

Describing the many letters of protest sent to the Jönköping Courthouse the day after the cop was freed, Seyran Öncü, Idris Demir's sister, said, "A lot of people sent faxes and wrote letters to the media. The media said they thought Idris's relatives had done it, but those who wrote the letters are people we don't know."

One of Sweden's two main evening newspapers, Expressen, published an article by Süleyman Demir November 15, entitled "Why did the police shoot my little brother?" In the article, Demir writes: "A couple of months after Idris's death I was granted asylum by the Swedish state. I am not sure if I can live with that kind of comfort. I wish that we were sitting in a Turkish prison, that we had never looked for shelter in Sweden." Demir continues: "I am talking of powerful men, the guardians of justice, who protect each other, lie, falsify and construct to cover up a murder. I am not talking about Swedish people. They have been at our house, had tea with us, tried to comfort us and

In the article, Demir reports that the police repeatedly threatened Idris Demir's friend who witnessed the shooting. On November 16 the friend told Jönköpingsposten that when he called an ambulance one day to get medical attention for his pregnant wife, a gang of cops showed up after an hour and a half with the ambulance. "A police officer pulled out his gun and put the barrel to the side of my head to frighten me," he said.

Seyran Oncü told the Militant about a teacher in her Swedish-for-immigrants class, who is also a court official at the Jönköping Courthouse. "When I was leaving class to go to court one of the days of the trial, she told me that I couldn't go, and that this Swedish class costs the state money. After that, I quit going to that class," she said. This incident was printed in Jönköpingsposten November 17.

"If we sit around and do nothing, this will happen to someone else. Either a Swedish person, or a person from another country," said Süleyman Demir.

Chief Prosecutor Ulf Barck Holst has until mid-December to appeal the judgement and request a new trial of the cop who killed Idris Demir. The Demir family has said that if there is no new trial, they will turn to the European Union Court of Human Rights.

Daniel Ahl is a member of the Industrial Union in Stockholm, Sweden.

### Assault on workers' rights

### **Continued from Page 7**

military judges," he added, "these are not the same conditions that would characterize a trial in Spain or France or England or anywhere else in Europe.'

Judge Baltasar Garzón, who brought the charges against the eight men, criticized the use of secret evidence in an opinion column published in the October issue of *El Pais*. "It is not sufficient to say 'I have evidence but I cannot make it public for fear of endangering my sources," " he wrote. "That is not a serious approach—it is illegal."

As the White House spearheads the assault on the U.S. Constitution, it is becoming clear, as in the case of Zacarias Moussaoui, that the kangaroo courts will be used against those whom the government does not have enough evidence to bring up on charges for trials in civilian or military courts. The New York Times noted that in a military tribunal "the evidence of their guilt does not have to meet the familiar 'beyond reasonable doubt' but must simply 'have probative value to a reasonable person." Without the right to appeal the verdict, wrote columnist Frank Rich, "those currently in captivity [could] move from internment to execution without anyone ever learning why or how they disappeared."

### **Corrections**

In the November 19 issue, the Militant inadvertently identified female coal miner Deb Acres as a "he" when quoting her comment about the September 23 explosion at an Alabama mine.

In the December 3 issue the headline "Auto workers in Detroit protest forced overtime" should have read "Auto workers in Toledo protest forced over-

### **NEW INTERNATIONAL NO. 11**

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### Pathfinder books contain rich lessons for today

#### BY BARBARA BOWMAN

The Pathfinder printshop produced 11 reprints last month, giving Pathfinder bookstores an opportunity to stock up on a range of important books on working-class politics and revolutionary struggle.

Among the titles released were Pathfinder bookstores' best sellers for the month of October: *New International* no. 7 featuring the article "Opening Guns of World War III" by Jack Barnes, *Marxism and Terrorism* by Leon Trotsky, and *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning* by Jack Barnes.

Other reprints produced in October were: Thomas Sankara Speaks; Che Guevara habla a la juventud; The Assassination of Malcolm X by George Breitman; New International no. 8 featuring the article "The Politics of Economics: Che Guevara and Marxist Continuity" by Jack Barnes and Steve Clark; The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution by Leon Trotsky; Revolutionary Continuity: Birth of the Commu-

### BOOKS OF THE MONTH

nist Movement 1918–1922 by Farrell Dobbs; El socialismo y el hombre en Cuba (Socialism and Man in Cuba) by Ernesto Che Guevara; and Genocide against the Indians: Its Role in the Rise of U.S. Capitalism by George Novack. Through December 31, Pathfinder will make each of these titles available at a special 60 percent discount to Pathfinder bookstores.

The publishing house is also featuring the four titles reviewed below as its December Books of the Month specials for members of the Pathfinder Readers Club.

The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution contains the resolution adopted as the party's program at the founding convention of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938. The document was then submitted by the SWP for adoption by the Fourth International, the world movement the party helped lead at that time. The resolution, often called the Transitional Program, was

drafted by Trotsky, a central leader of the October 1917 revolution in Russia who led the fight after the death of Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin to continue applying Lenin's communist course against a privileged, petty-bourgeois layer headed by Joseph Stalin

#### Fight for jobs for all

The program was drafted during a depression-marked period in which the working class still faced prospects of making a socialist revolution and halting capitalism's march toward fascism and a new world war.

"It is necessary to help the masses in the process of the daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist program of the revolution," Trotsky wrote. "This bridge should include a system of transitional demands, stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat."

Trotsky applied this method to the fight around the most pressing issues facing workers in the United States during the Great Depression and buildup toward World War II.

"Against unemployment, 'structural' as well as 'conjunctural,' the time is ripe to advance, along with the slogan of public works, the slogan of a sliding scale of working hours," the program states. "On this basis all the work on hand would then be divided among all existing workers in accordance with how the extent of the working week is defined. The average wage of every worker remains the same as it was under the old working week. Wages, with a strictly guaranteed minimum, would follow the movement of prices."

Anticipating objections that such solutions are unrealistic, Trotsky answered: "Realizability' or 'unrealizability' is in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery."

In Birth of the Communist Movement, the second volume of Revolutionary Continu-



In the early 1930s a mass movement of the unemployed developed across the country. Trotsky applied the Transitional Program to the fight around the most pressing issues facing workers during the Great Depression and leading up to World War II.

ity: Marxist Leadership in the United States, Dobbs describes how Lenin and the Bolshevik leadership of the October revolution helped form the Communist International and provide leadership to working people around the world—including in the United States—who sought to emulate what the workers and peasants had accomplished in Russia.

One of the Bolsheviks' greatest contributions was to help the U.S. communist movement discard its initial infantile ultraleftism, which was isolating it unnecessarily from the working class.

In the year of its founding, for example, the ultraleft stance of the CP leadership prevented the party from relating effectively to large-scale strikes that took place in 1919. This ultraleftism also made it easier for U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer and the FBI to carry out a witch-hunting victimization of party cadres in the wake of defeats in those class battles—the so-called Palmer Raids. Based on his own later experience as a leader of the communist movement for some 45 years, Dobbs explains that Marxists "mobilize the maximum support to resist in every possible way capitalist efforts to isolate them from legal, public political life. They fight to uphold their own democratic rights and those of the entire labor movement and its allies. Moreover, Marxists strive to win expansion of those rights for all the exploited and oppressed. They recognize that such a course is imperative if the working-class vanguard is to maintain close touch with the working class as a whole and carry out the all-sided political activity basic to its objectives.... In this country the communists were also in a position to use election campaigns in the

fight against capitalist repression."

Genocide against the Indians: Its Role in the Rise of U.S. Capitalism by Novack presents a materialist explanation of the evolution of Native American culture, social and property relations, and the murderous treatment meted out on a mass scale to American Indians at the hands of European settlers.

Novack polemicizes against bourgeois historians who are incapable of understanding there was a stage of history *before* capitalism in North America, just as there will be one *after* capitalism. He challenges their interpretation of the first American Revolution of 1776–83.

"The colonial uprising, for all its importance, was neither the first social transformation in America, nor can it be considered the most fundamental one. It was preceded, interwoven, and followed by the white invasion and penetration which overthrew the Indian tribal network. This process of struggle, undertaken to install the rule of private property and its corresponding institutions in place of communal property and its specific institutions, was an even more radical social upheaval than the contest between the colonists and the mother country."

The fourth book of the month is *El socialismo y el hombre en Cuba* by Ernesto Che Guevara. Pathfinder also publishes and distributes this work in English, French, Swedish, and Farsi. This pamphlet contains lessons drawn by Guevara—based on the actual experience of the Cuban Revolution—of the political tasks and challenges of workers and farmers in organizing the transition from capitalism to socialism. Also included is Fidel Castro's 1987 speech on the 20th anniversary of Guevara's death.

### December BOOKS OF THE MONTH

### \* \* \* \* Pathfinder Readers Club SPECIALS

### The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution

LEON TROTSKY

Contains discussions between leaders of the U.S. SocialistWorkers Party and exiled revolutionary Leon Trotsky in 1938. The product of these discussions, a program of immediate, democratic, and transitional demands, was adopted by the SWP later that year. This program for socialist revolution remains an irreplaceable component of a fighting guide for workers today. \$23.95, special price: \$18.00

### **Revolutionary Continuity**

Vol. 2: Birth of the Communist Movement 1918–1922. 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 struggle interests of workers and small farmers and link up with fellow toilers around the world. \$18.95, special price: \$13.50

### Genocide against the Indians: Its Role in the Rise of U.S. Capitalism

GEORGE NOVACK

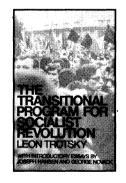
How the campaign of genocide against the Indians was linked to the expansion of capitalism in the United States. \$4.00, special price: \$3.00

### El socialismo y el hombre en Cuba

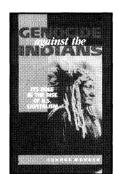
(Socialism and Man in Cuba)

CHE GUEVARA

Guevara's best-known presentation of the political tasks and challenges in leading the transition from capitalism to socialism. \$14.95, special price: \$11.00



DISCOUNT



Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12

Join the Pathfinder Readers Club for \$10 and receive discounts all year long

### -*LETTERS*

### 'Militant's' steady course

Those whose sideline criticisms of the Socialist Workers Party state or suggest that the party is short on sympathy, voice a familiar, though slanderous refrain favored and spread by the bosses since the time of Lenin, and echoed by the Social Democrats.

Without the steady course charted by the *Militant*, how would we learn what is actually taking place in Afghanistan, and on the picket lines, and about the parliamentary measures being put into place to restrain working people from exercising the rights they have fought and died to win? The truth in the old adage, "Actions speak louder than words" should impel readers to write a check to the Pathfinder Fund so that it too can keep up the good work. The economy and sense of proportion modeled by the September 11 statement by Socialist Workers New York mayoral candidate Martín Koppel is to be applauded.

Toba Singer by e-mail

### General Dynamics strike

I was interested to read in the October 29 issue that a number of workers at General Dynamics Land Systems were striking for the reinstatement of medial benefits to the retirement package. I can sympathize with their efforts to win better conditions. However, it seemed ironic to be reporting on workers in a munitions factory when the rest of this issue denounced the U.S.-led imperialist war or attack against Afghanistan.

It seemed disturbing that some of the workers "would return to their jobs immediately if equipment they make is needed in Afghanistan." U.S. jingoism and propaganda, for example the misuse of the word "freedom" (freedom for whom?), seems to blind people to the reality of your government's policies.

I would like to see workers for U.S. companies which "design, manufacture, and support land and amphibious combat systems" and other weapons striking on behalf of their suffering sisters and brothers, and for the innocent children of Afghanistan, one of the poorest countries in the world. Then we might go some way to seeing this barbaric, unwise, and unjust war stopped.

Aotearoa, New Zealand

### Truth about Washington's war

The *Militant* has done a fine job of explaining the truth about Washington's war against the people of Afghanistan and within Uncle Sam's own borders. Enclosed is a contribution. Keep up the good work. *Amy Lowenstein* 

Yardley, Pennsylvania

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.

### UK rulers go after workers' rights

**BY ANNE HARTE** 

INVERNESS, Scotland-The government in the United Kingdom has announced plans for a wide-ranging assault on workers' rights. In the name of "fighting terrorism" Home Secretary David Blunkett is rapidly pushing through Parliament legislation that includes giving police the power to detain immigrants without trial.

To carry this out, Westminster had to do some fancy footwork to free itself from provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights, which it is supposedly bound to uphold. The convention says signatories must respect the right to a fair trial, a fundamental provision that the new repressive legislation will breach. To get around this little problem, the government has declared a "public emergency" in the context of its joining the U.S.-led war against Afghani-

stan. The new government powers are due to be in force by mid-December.

Detention without trial, also called internment here, has been used by the British ruling class in the past, and is hated by layers of fighters, especially those backing the Irish freedom struggle. London used internment during the 1990-1991 Gulf War and before that in its mass roundups of nationalists in the north of Ireland in the 1970s.

The new law, which has met with considerable debate in ruling-class circles, will allow the indefinite detention of foreign nationals who are suspected of "terrorism" by the authorities but who cannot be deported under asylum legislation because they would face torture or death if returned to their country of origin.

Those detained will not be informed of the evidence against them, and their cases will be reviewed only every six months. Hearings on the charges will be held without press or public present and any appeals will be restricted to points of law. The laws will allow the substance of asylum claims made by socalled "terrorist suspects" to be ignored.

The legislation also gives police extended powers to photograph and fingerprint people, and to oblige protesters to remove disguises, communications service providers to retain data such as e-mail and mobile phone logs, and airlines to hand over information about passengers and freight and to detain aircraft. Laws against incitement to racial hatred will be extended to include hatred based on religion, and new offenses will be drawn up for "carrying out a hoax involving noxious substances" and of "assisting a foreign power in developing nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

In response to criticism of the proposed new measures by civil rights organizations, Blunkett dismissed opponents as living in an "airy-fairy libertarian" world. In a press briefing on the new legislation, the rights group Liberty points out that of the "more than 7,000 people detained in Britain (i.e. not including Northern Ireland) under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the vast majority have been released without charge and only a tiny fraction have ever been charged with anything remotely resembling terrorism."

The Liberty press release also refers to the arsenal of existing repressive measures principally contained in the Terrorism Act 2000, enacted by the Labour government last year, and the various Immigration Acts. The law contains provisions:

\*Granting the Secretary of State the power to proscribe organizations and naming offenses relating to association with such organizations.

\*Extending detention prior to charges being laid in cases the government deems related to terrorism.

\*Under a broad definition of terrorism, creating offenses relating to inciting and funding terrorism.

\*A procedure under the Special Immigration Appeals Commission that allows an immigration/asylum appeal to be tested by a special advocate in closed session.

When moving the legislation in the House of Commons November 19, Blunkett made a strong nationalist appeal. "This is our home. It's our country.... I am willing to take whatever critics may throw at me, as long as history does not judge that our Labour government failed to do its best to protect us against those who would destroy our lives and our democracy," he said.

### Swedish protest: 'Stop police violence'

STOCKHOLM, Sweden—Chanting "Stop police violence!" and "Justice for Idris Demir!" 50 people rallied in downtown Stockholm November 19 to protest the dismissal of all charges against the cop who shot and killed Idris Demir, a 27-year-old Kurdish immigrant from Turkey. The action, called by the Young Socialists, was co-sponsored by the Kurdish Council and Kurdish National League, the main federations of Kurdish organizations in Sweden, and the Communist League.

Last March two traffic cops in Jönköping made Idris Demir and a friend return with them to their home after Demir failed to provide the police with identification. Once there, Demir, faced with the threat of deportation after his two asylum appeals had been turned down by the government, ran out of the apartment. He got only halfway down the stairs before one of the cops shot him in the back.

"Everyone knows that the policeman who was cleared by the court is guilty, and that he has killed a defenseless, innocent Kurdish refugee," Keya Izol told the rally. Izol is the president of the Kurdish National League, which consists of 38 Kurdish organizations. "If you are guilty you must be punished, whether you are a policeman or another citizen. We demand that Sweden and its government, authorities, and voluntary organizations respond to this, and demand a fair trial of Idris Demir's killer."

Young Socialists leader Claudio Burgos also addressed the rally. "It is no coincidence that the cop was freed in the midst of a war campaign being carried out at home by the Swedish rulers, who are also backing the imperialist war against Afghanistan," he said. "This is what Swedish imperialism has to offer working people in the future—more cop brutality, more racism, and more attacks on democratic rights." Burgos pointed to the protests against police brutality in New York City and Cincinnati in the United States as examples to be followed by other working people.

Idris Demir's brother and two sisters drove from Jönköping to take part in the rally. The protest received national coverage on TV4 News. Commenting on the trial, Süleyman Demir, Idris Demir's brother, told the reporter, "The people who made the decision, the officials who were involved, seemed to have made up their mind to free him [the cop] from the first moment on." Demir added, "We had heard that here in Sweden you die when God says so. Now I feel regret, and I wish I had never come

On October 30, the last day of the trial, an investigator from the State Technical Criminology Laboratory told the newspaper Jönköpingposten that "the clothes [worn by Idris Demirl were not handled as material evidence. Because of this, it is not possible to determine the exact shooting distance by measuring gunpowder stains on the

This made possible a defense based upon



"Sentence the cop who killed Idris Demir in Jönköping" reads a sign in Stockholm protest against the police shooting of a 27-year-old Kurdish immigrant from Turkey.

the false premise that the cop shot Idris Demir at close range in self-defense after being attacked with a knife.

Replying to these charges, Süleyman Demir said, "Isn't it obvious that he knew that if he used a knife against the police it would have been impossible for him to stay

in this country? In court, the police were in agreement, they were just laughing. The cop himself went abroad on vacation before the trial was finished."

The legal representative of the Demir family, Thomas Nilsson, told Jönköp-**Continued on Page 14** 

#### Tories back new law

There was some criticism of the internment aspect of the new legislation in the bigbusiness media, with a number of Labour MPs and leaders of the Liberal Democrats opposing the measure. The Conservative Party leadership expressed some doubts but went along with the government's propos-

Oliver Letwin, the Tories' shadow Home Secretary, said that Blunkett "believes he needs these powers now to protect us against what may be an appalling attack. To the extent that proves right, I am unwilling on my part and the part of my party, to put this country at the risk of the Home Secretary being right."

In the end, the Tories backed the law and the Liberal Democrats, the third largest party in the House of Commons, abstained. The vote on the second reading ran 458 in favor and 5 against. The third and final reading passed with 79 opposed. The measure now goes before the House of Lords.

### Canada farmers demand government aid

BY TONY DIFELICE AND JOHN STEELE

LONDON, Ontario—Some 70 farmers and supporters met here at the annual Rural-Urban Conference organized by Catholic Rural Life, an organization of working farmers in Canada and the United States.

Speakers and participants in the November 17 meeting addressed the growing crisis facing working farmers, and the need for farmers to press their demands for government aid despite the September 11 attacks and the U.S.-led war against Afghanistan that has won backing from the Canadian imperialists.

'Drought assistance should not be sidelined because of the Sept. 11 tragedy," stated an editorial in the Fall 2001 issue of Rural Life News, the official newsletter of the Catholic Rural Life Conference (CLRC) of the Diocese of London, which was available at the conference.

'In the wake of Sept. 11 it seems the likelihood that farmers will receive anything but indifference from the Federal level have heightened—particularly if we don't continue to insist that the government recognize the immediate and long-term necessity of keeping family farmers on the land," a lead editorial pointed out. The newsletter also said Ottawa will probably increase spending on "military and other security measures," and "survival of the farmers" will "drop even lower on the government's list

When farmers hurt most, corporations make more profits," said CLRC coordinator Marie Carter in her opening remarks to the meeting. Carter reported that 80 percent of working farmers rely on nonfarm income to make ends meet.

"As September 11 illustrated, we ignore the poor at our peril," she said, "and Third World-type poverty is happening here." In addition to the situation facing farmers, Carter pointed to the worsening conditions faced by workers in the meatpacking industry at the hands of the corporations.

Prairie grain farmer Nettie Wiebe, a former president of the National Farmers Union, gave the keynote address. Wiebe had just returned from meetings in Rome

held to prepare for the upcoming World Food Summit sponsored by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. She condemned "world leaders" for prioritizing the recent meetings of the World Trade Organization over the World Food Summit, both had been postponed following the September 11 attacks. The World Food Summit will now be held in June 2002 in Rome.

Government officials "prioritized discussions on trade and transnational corporate rights over the most important problem facing people—a world of plenty with millions of children who are starving," she said. Wiebe reported that since the last World Food Summit in 1996 there are still 800 million people in the world without enough to eat. The last summit adopted a goal of cutting to 400 million the number of hungry people in the world by 2015. "The problem is not lack of production," Wiebe said. "It is the lack of distribution of food."

Tony DiFelice and John Steele are meat packers and members of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union.