

THE MILITANT

NEW EDITION OF 'THEIR TROTSKY AND OURS'
'Getting ready with fellow workers
for titanic class battles ahead'
 — PAGES 8-11

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School voucher ruling an attack on public education

BY JACK WILLEY

In an attack on public education and the separation of church and state, the U.S. Supreme Court June 27 declared constitutional a Cleveland program that allocates public funds to pay for religious and other private schools.

The 5-4 ruling upholds the Cleveland education system's six-year-old school voucher program. Of the district's 75,000 students some 3,700 use vouchers of up to \$2,250 to pay for private education. Ninety-six percent of students with vouchers attended religious schools in the 1999-2000 school year. The money is paid out of the city school budget.

Of the private schools in Cleveland's voucher program, 82 percent are religious, and 46 of the 56 private schools approved for the voucher system are run by a religious denomination.

The court majority, along with the Bush administration in statements supporting the ruling, cynically cast its decision as one that aids working families, especially Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, because it supposedly provides the only way out of a crumbling public school system.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) issued a statement opposing the decision. Kweisi Mfume, the NAACP president, said vouchers "will mean fewer dollars for public schools where most Americans are educated. School voucher programs siphon scarce tax money away from struggling public schools."

The major teachers unions have also come out in opposition to vouchers and other moves that undermine public education. The National Education Association issued a statement calling vouchers "a divisive and expensive diversion from continuing progress" in public schools.

The ruling proclaimed that the Cleveland voucher program met Constitutional muster.
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West Coast longshore workers oppose bosses' antiunion assault



Five hundred longshore workers rallied June 27 at the Port of Oakland

BY EMILY PAUL
 AND BERNIE SENTER

OAKLAND, California—The conflict between West Coast longshore workers who are defending their union and the giant shipping companies sharpened last week as negotiators were unable to come up with a labor contract by the July 1 expiration date.

The bosses' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) is seeking to erode union control on the job, introduce advanced technology to help move work to non-union operations, enforce takebacks on health care, and eliminate the union hiring hall.

Some 10,500 members of the International Longshoremen's Association

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Afghan villagers protest U.S. attack that killed 40

BY GREG MCCARTAN

Working people in Afghanistan have condemned attacks by the U.S. military that left at least 40 people dead and 100 wounded in four villages. The July 1 air assault, apparently by an AC-130 gunship, was part of an operation involving 400 American and allied troops in the region.

"My heart is burning with anger," said Abdul Malik, whose father was killed in the attack on the Kakrak village, which bore the brunt of the assault. Malik's family and friends had gathered in the village to celebrate his wedding. The house where the celebration was taking place, along with a number of other buildings, was subjected to the air bombardment. "The Americans should be put on trial," he said.

Some 200 people in the capital city of Kabul protested against the bombing raid July 4. "We consider the Americans our liberators," one person said, "but after this, they may soon become our occupiers."

Afghan president Hamid Karzai called the commander of U.S. and allied forces in

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Bolivian farm leader rejects U.S. 'anti-drug' intervention

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The U.S. government's blatant intervention in the recent presidential election in Bolivia created quite a stir prior to the June 30 vote. U.S. ambassador Manuel Rocha stated June 26 that Washington's aid to Bolivia would be halted if voters elected Indian peasant leader Evo Morales as president of the country.

Morales leads the Movement for Socialism party and has pledged to stop payments on Bolivia's \$6.6-billion national debt and to renationalize industries that had been sold to foreign investors in the 1980s and '90s. He has won growing support from the indigenous population of the country with his

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Subs come in from miners and meat packers

BY JACK WILLEY

NEW YORK—Subscriptions from coal miners and meatpacking workers in the United States have increased in the final weeks of the subscription drive for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, as socialist workers introduce the two periodicals to co-workers and others in their unions. In Sweden and New Zealand a consistent effort has put supporters of the paper over the 100 percent mark, as we head into the final week of the campaign.

We still have 93 *Militant* and 59

Perspectiva Mundial subscriptions, and 187 copies of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* to go. Young socialists and socialist workers are seizing every opportunity to get the two papers into the hands of workers and youth on the job, in working-class neighborhoods, and from literature tables. The last week of the circulation effort is also a good time to follow up on individuals who expressed interest in the paper, to bring home the final subscriptions in the drive.

A big push is needed in sales to unionists whom socialists have targeted in the campaign.

In the United States, *Militant* supporters in the United Mine Workers of America are leading the way, and those in the United Food and Commercial Workers union registered a 22 percent increase in their sales this week.

The articles on page 5 point to the opportunities to expand our readership among industrial workers through sales efforts at plant gates where socialists work. In several cases, socialists who work inside the plants have joined the teams, netting subscriptions.

Twin victories in expanding reach of Pathfinder books: 75 percent digital and over \$500,000 in sales!

Supporters of Pathfinder Press and the distribution of revolutionary books can celebrate two victories reached July 1.

Volunteers who are working on the project to scan, proofread, format, put together the graphics, check the indexes, and deliver a totally digitized book on CD reached their goal of completing 75 percent of all Pathfinder books by July 1. *Leon Trotsky on Britain* and *Leon Trotsky on France* were the last two titles completed in time to put the volunteers at their goal. The steering committee of the project, based in the San Francisco Bay Area, will announce a new target soon.

Pathfinder book sales also topped the 18-month goal of \$500,000 by July 1. In all, \$501,700 in revolutionary books and pamphlets were sold around the world between Jan. 1, 2001 and July 1, 2002. This figure includes all sales to Pathfinder

bookstores, other commercial outlets, wholesale distributors, at international bookfairs, and through individual online purchases at www.pathfinderpress.com. Recently digitized books that had been out of stock for some time and for which there were substantial back orders helped increase sales.

A strong effort by Pathfinder bookstores pushed sales over the \$500,000 goal just hours before the July 1 deadline. Representatives attending the recent BookExpo in Toronto and the national convention of the American Library Association in Atlanta also contributed to the last-month push, helping to lay the basis to expand Pathfinder's customer base.

The *Militant* will feature reports on the accomplishments of the campaign to digitize Pathfinder books and on the sales effort in next week's issue.

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School voucher ruling is assault on public education

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ter because it is "neutral in all respects toward religion" due to the fact that government aid "reaches religious schools only as a result of genuine and independent choices of private individuals."

The dissenting judges pointed out that regardless of any Constitutional questions, the \$2,500 cap on tuition assistance only gives the illusion of choice because the cost of attending most private schools other than religious institutions is well beyond the reach of working families who receive the state funds.

In their decision the majority feigned concern for the deplorable state of Cleveland's school system. "Cleveland's public schools have been among the worst performing public schools in the nation," Chief Justice William Rehnquist declared. Ninety percent of the student body in Cleveland did not meet basic proficiency standards in the 1999-2000 school year. Sixty percent of the students who received vouchers were from families at or below the poverty line. None of the dissenting judges disagreed with the assessment; they simply pointed out it has nothing to do with the Constitutional question at hand.

Resegregation of public schools

To a greater or lesser degree, the wretched facilities and lack of ability to receive a basic education is the bitter reality for millions of other working-class students and their parents around the country. Resegregation of the schools has been on the rise for more than a decade. Seventy percent of the nation's Black students now attend schools that are made of up students from oppressed nationalities. And 36 percent attend schools where minority enrollment stands at 90-100 percent. Conservative researcher Jay Greene reported in a study that 55 percent of children in public schools attended classes where 90 percent of the students came from a single ethnic group.

In concurring with the majority, Clarence

Thomas, a right-wing justice of the Supreme Court who is an outspoken opponent of affirmative action, used quotes from Frederick Douglas and from the 1954 Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* that declared segregation of public schools unconstitutional.

"Despite this court's observation nearly 50 years ago in *Brown v. Board of Education* that 'it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education,' (1954) urban children have been forced into a system that continually fails them," he wrote.

"At the time of Reconstruction, blacks considered public education 'a matter of personal liberation and a necessary function of a free society.' Today, however, the promise of public education has failed poor inner-city blacks," he wrote. "Just as blacks supported public education during Reconstruction, many blacks and other minorities now support school choice programs because they provide the greatest educational opportunities for their children in struggling communities."

Calling Constitutional objections to the use of vouchers for private or religious schools "formalistic," Thomas wrote that universal public education is a "romanticized ideal" that only "resonates with the cognoscenti who oppose vouchers." Meanwhile, he asserted, "poor urban families just want the best education for their children, who will certainly need it to function in our high-tech and advanced society."

Picking up on this theme, President Bush told a rally in Cleveland that the Supreme Court ruling was "just as historic" as the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. Bush sought to include vouchers in a recent federal education bill, but withdrew them due to lack of Congressional support.

Bush asserted that the court ruling declared that "our nation will not accept one education system for those who can afford to send their children to a school of their



More than 30,000 people, including transit workers, teachers, construction workers, nurses' aides, and other unionists marched in New York, May 12, 1999, demanding pay hikes and opposing cuts in health care and education. Supreme Court ruling is part of series of measures that have weakened public education over the past several years.

choice and for those who can't. And that's just as historic." The president added that vouchers are a "constructive approach to improving public education."

The Supreme Court decision is part of a series of measures that have weakened public education under the banner of "school choice." Some 2,500 charter schools—private educational facilities that are funded by the government—have opened in the last decade. In addition, an increasing number of school systems, most recently Philadelphia's, have turned over control of their schools to multimillion dollar businesses like Edison Schools Inc., which now run more than 100 schools with 75,000 students in 22 states.

Separation of church and state

The dissenting justices largely focused their fire on the separation of the church and state. Justice Stephen Breyer argued against the decision, saying it provided public funds "to a core function of the church: the teaching of religious truths to young children."

John Stevens dissented, saying, "Whenever we remove a brick from the wall that was designed to separate religion and government, we increase the risk of religious strife and weaken the foundation of our democracy."

Both Justices Stevens and Breyer worried that the consequences of the ruling could open up "religious strife" in the United States. Breyer pointed out that the Cleveland program requires religious schools to accept students of all religions and that no school "advocate or foster unlawful behavior or teach hatred of any person or group on the basis of race, ethnicity, national origin, or religion." A superintendent of the schools can revoke a school's license if he or she determines it has violated one of these regulations.

"How are state officials to adjudicate

claims that one religion or another is advocating, for example, civil disobedience in response to unjust laws, the use of illegal drugs in a religious ceremony, or resort to force to call attention to what it views as an immoral social practice?" Breyer asked.

Citing the "conflict in the Middle East or the war on terrorism," Breyer asked how will the state respond to funding schools run by religions that take controversial stands on such issues.

"Efforts to respond to these problems not only will seriously entangle church and state," Breyer wrote, "but also will promote division among religious groups, as one group or another fears (often legitimately) that it will receive unfair treatment at the hands of the government."

"In a society as religiously diverse as ours, the court has recognized that we must rely on the Religion Clause of the First Amendment to protect against religious strife, particularly when what is at issue is an area as central to religious belief as the shaping through primary education, of the next generation's minds and spirits."

Breyer concludes the decision "risks creating a form of religiously based conflict potentially harmful to the nation's social fabric."

In 2000, referendums advocating voucher programs were overwhelmingly defeated in California and Michigan. Supporters of shifting public funds to private schooling have targeted Arizona, Colorado, Minnesota, Texas, and Utah as the next states to try to bring in vouchers.

In another decision, the high court went beyond a 1995 ruling that allowed drug testing of student athletes and upheld testing of students involved in extracurricular activities. The court majority suggested it would approve testing of all students under the guise of a school's "custodial responsibility" for the welfare of students.

THE MILITANT

On the scene coverage in South America

In the next several weeks teams of 'Militant' correspondents will be on the scene in Argentina, Paraguay, and Venezuela to provide firsthand coverage of the struggles of workers and peasants who massed in the streets to resist capitalist devastation driving down their living standards. You won't miss it if you...



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Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Washington tightens pressure on north Korea

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

Following a June 29 incident in the Yellow Sea, in which naval boats from north and south Korea exchanged fire, leaving a number of sailors dead and wounded, Washington and Seoul have tightened their military, economic, and diplomatic pressure directed at the workers state in the north. The 37,000 U.S. troops stationed in the south and Seoul's 650,000-strong armed forces have been placed on high alert.

On July 2, the U.S. government called off a State Department delegation's visit to north Korea that had been planned for the following week. The next day south Korea's Ministry of Agriculture said it would probably cancel a promised shipment of 300,000 tons of surplus rice to north Korea. The north still suffers from shortages of basic foods following a series of floods in the mid-to-late 1990s that disrupted agricultural production.

South Korean defense minister Kim Dong Shin proposed July 1 that the rules of engagement for Seoul's naval forces be altered to officially clear the way for them to open fire on vessels from the north. "The current rules are too long and complicated," said a south Korean military spokesman.

Japanese prime minister Junichiro Koizumi "gave full support for our measures," said an advisor to south Korean president Kim Dae Jung on a trip to Tokyo.

South Korea's defense minister had ear-

lier discussed the policy changes with Gen. Leon LaPorte, the commander of the U.S. forces in Korea. Under the terms of a "mutual defense pact" dating from the end of the Korean War in 1953, changes in "strategic military rules" cannot be implemented without Washington's say-so. At the time the south was occupied by a huge imperialist military force that had been fought to a standstill by the workers and peasants organized in the northern liberation forces.

On July 2 U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell alleged that the June 29 incident resulted from a "deliberate provocation" by north Korea. Pyongyang has denied responsibility, stating that the southern ships were the aggressors.

In the incident, patrol boats that were standing guard over fishing vessels exchanged rifle, machine gun, and rocket fire. Four sailors from the south were killed, 19 were wounded, and one man is missing, presumed dead.

Casualty figures for the north Korean combatants have not been released. Ahn Ki-seok, a Navy commodore with south Korea's Joint Chiefs of Staff, said, "Our formation leader said he saw hundreds of rounds of ammunition flying toward a north Korean patrol boat and most of the north Korean sailors operating the ship's guns being knocked down. We think the North's casualties number more than 30." One north

Korean vessel was towed away, billowing smoke.

Disputed fishing waters

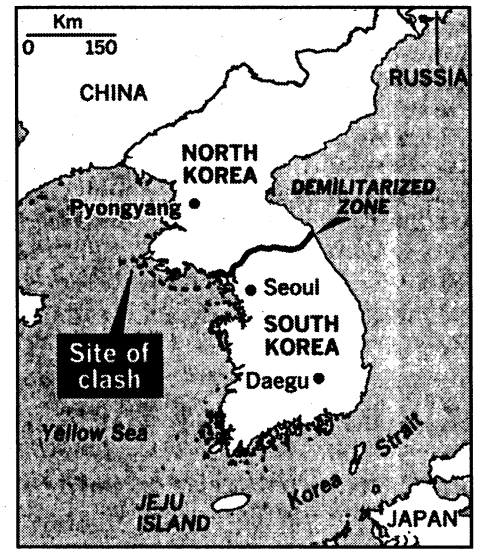
This was the most serious confrontation in the border area since June 1999, when south Korean naval vessels sank a north Korean torpedo boat, killing at least 20 sailors on board.

The area of the Yellow Sea where the clash occurred is a fertile fishing ground claimed by Seoul to be part of its territory. Thousands of fishermen from both countries depend for their livelihoods on the crabs and blue flower fish that populate the area.

The south Korean government's refusal to give boats from the north the right to fish these waters has caused disputes going back to the end of the Korean War, when the U.S.-dominated United Nations unilaterally declared the area to be part of the south.

The boundary imposed at the time, reported the *New York Times*, "curves northward to protect islands that have long been held by South Korea, even though they are much closer to the northern mainland." The government in the north has never accepted the border.

In spite of its aggressive stance during and after the incident, the south Korean government expressed unease at the Bush administration's cancellation of the announced visit to north Korea. "Talks be-



tween the United States and North Korea are a very important part of our policy toward North Korea," said a government spokesman.

The White House had made clear its intention to focus the meeting on U.S. opposition to the north's nuclear power plants and military policies, including both its conventional defensive forces and its alleged research into offensive missile and nuclear technology. In January U.S. president Bush named north Korea, Iraq, and Iran as members of an "axis of evil" of nations claimed by Washington to have developed "weapons of mass destruction."

Meanwhile, officials in Taiwan alleged on July 2 that north Korean naval vessels have helped to supply local drug smugglers with heroin. Presenting the assertions as proven facts, the government prosecutor said, "We cannot say for sure that this is the action of the north Korean government. It could be some vessels of their navy acting on their own." Citing the words of an "informant," the Taiwanese prosecutor offered no evidence to back up his claim.

The charges fit in with long-standing allegations by "western analysts and north Korean defectors [that] the Pyongyang regime is implicated in the production and sales of heroin and amphetamines, as well as other criminal operations," reported the *Financial Times*.

FBI starts secret searches of library records

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Library officials across the county are reporting that the FBI has begun snooping into library records under the authority of the USA Patriot Act signed by President George Bush last October.

The law allows the FBI to gain access to the library records of individuals who checked out books. The cops have only to submit a request for a search warrant to a secret court. To qualify for the warrant, the FBI is required to say simply that it suspects an individual is involved with a terrorist individual or plot. Agents do not need "probable cause," usually required for search warrants, or proof beyond a "reasonable doubt," necessary for convictions, to be granted the warrant.

In a move that has outraged many librarians, the law bars them for saying anything about their conversations with FBI agents, under threat of prosecution.

Sam Morrison, the library director of Broward County, Florida, said the FBI had recently contacted his office and specifically instructed him not to reveal any information about the request. "We've heard from them and that's all I can tell you," he said.

A survey conducted earlier this year by the University of Illinois found that federal or local cops had requested information about patrons from at least 85 libraries nationwide.

Kari Hanson, director of the Bridgeview Public Library in Chicago, told the press that an FBI agent had requested information about a person. The library had no record of the individual.

"These records and this information can be had with so little reason or explanation," said Judith Krug, the American Library Association's director for intellectual freedom. "It's super secret and anyone who wants to talk about what the FBI did at their library faces prosecution. That has nothing to do with patriotism."

Krug said that she has received hate mail after speaking out against the Patriot Act. People "think that by giving up their rights, especially their right to privacy, they will be safe," she said, adding that "it wasn't the right to privacy" that caused the attacks on the World Trade Center. "It had nothing to do with libraries or library records."

To defend against this government intrusion Krug encourages librarians to keep only the records they need and eliminate records that show which person checked out a book and for how long.

Court holds off open hearings

Meanwhile, the Supreme Court on June 28 put a stay on a federal court ruling that declared unconstitutional the Justice Department's secret hearings for immigrants detained since September 11.

U.S. District Judge John Bissell in Newark, New Jersey, had ruled that secret hear-

ings were unconstitutional, and ordered that the government could only have them closed on a case-by-case basis.

More than 1,200 immigrants have been rounded up and secretly jailed, allegedly in connection with the investigations around the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

Claiming an "urgent threat to national security," the Bush administration's solicitor general Theodore Olson said the hearings should remain off-limits to reporters, family members, and others. He is seeking to have Bissell's order permanently overturned on appeal.

Olson said that if the hearings are opened,

"terrorist organizations will have direct access to information about the government's ongoing investigation." None of the post-September 11 detainees have been charged with terrorism-related crimes.

The closed hearings were challenged by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the Center for Constitutional Rights in a lawsuit filed on behalf of the *New Jersey Law Journal* and the New Jersey Media Group.

"More people will be tried in secret," said Lee Gelemt, an ACLU attorney handling the suit. "They're appearing all by themselves in front of a judge, facing a trained INS prosecutor in secret. There's no public scrutiny of the process."

Chemical workers, retirees fight lockout in Texas

BY STEVEN WARSHALL

TEXAS CITY, Texas—Locked-out workers and retired union members are deepening their fight against Sterling Chemical with a campaign to explain the stakes for all working people in their defense of the right to health care, safety on the job, and a decent contract. The 216 members of the Texas City Metal Trades Council Local 347 were locked out June 7 at Sterling Chemical's plant in this Gulf Coast city.

"This company is no different than Enron, WorldCom, Dynegy, and the rest of them," said pipefitter Barney Boudreaux. "We were all encouraged to buy up all kinds of Sterling Company stock while it was \$12 per share in order to 'protect' our 401(k) plans. Now that stock is not even worth six cents per share. I personally know a fellow who invested everything he had saved for retirement in 30,000 shares of Sterling. Now he has a grand total of \$1,800 to show for a life of hard work. The people who organized this disaster for us are now the ones getting rich."

Many of the retirees have been hit hard by the company's unilateral changes in the health care plan. Keith Bailey, a retired instrument technician, said, "Even though I have a medical retirement, I'm denied a drop in rate that, by rights, should come this year," he said. "My costs go from \$310 to over \$600 per month. They have even divided the retirees into different groups with different rates for their health care coverage."

"We're not bottles of Coca-Cola where you pop the top, sip on it till it's half used up and then toss us away," Boudreaux said. "We retirees have come together to help the union in this lockout. We raise money for the local and help with information to explain why the union rejected the company proposal."

"We had our first event, a barbecue here at the union hall, and sold over a thousand plates to people who have heard about our fight. We sold 50 to workers at one chemical plant about 30 miles up the road. It was



Militant/Steven Warshell

Retirees and supporters of locked-out workers at Sterling Chemical plan support activities July 1 at the Metal Trades Council Local 347 union hall.

a lot of work, especially for us retirees. But we had help from a lot of people, even teenagers and younger who were in here working like adults to help us out. It was inspiring. Everyone was together in this—from the kids to the old folks, and Black and white—all working for the same goal."

Boudreaux said teams of retirees are passing out flyers around town "explaining the truth about the lockout." They are starting a phone bank, canvassing door to door, so "everyone in the whole town knows about what's going on."

While the union and their supporters have been organizing solidarity with the locked-out members, the company reported to the local press that it had contacted the FBI about a bomb threat supposedly called into the chief spokesmen for Sterling and Dow Chemical. Dow workers are members of the same union local as Sterling and are also in the middle of negotiations with the company. The report of the threats resulted in

the closure of the Port of Texas City and the rerouting of two ships.

The port closure was the first since 1996, when bomb threats were also called in on the first anniversary of the Oklahoma City bombing. The local newspaper, the *Texas City Sun*, immediately pointed to the union, stating that the "threatening calls come while Texas City Metal Trades Council members have been locked out at Sterling and the union continues tense contract meetings with Dow."

Union leaders and members were quick to point out the absurdity of the charges explaining that pickets let the company know if they see any problems on the units so they can prevent safety problems. Many also thought it was convenient that both calls were to Dow and Sterling spokesmen, not to the plants themselves.

While negotiations between Sterling Chemical and the union have resumed, no progress has been reported.

Weak U.S. recovery hit by stock slump

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

Pressure on corporate profit margins, declining values in stock and other equity markets, the slipping value of the dollar, and persistently high unemployment are marking a relatively weak economic upturn in the United States.

Since the beginning of January the dollar has slid 10 percent against the euro, with the European common currency edging up toward parity with the greenback.

The Nasdaq composite, which lists the shares of high-technology companies, is down 72 percent from its peak in early 2000, while the Dow Industrials index is down 22 percent over the same period. The Standard and Poor's index of 500 companies has fallen 36 percent.

At the same time the markets have become more volatile, swinging widely as they decline. "A wild day ends in relief" and "More storms batter weary investors" read two recent headlines.

"For the first time since the 1920s, stock markets have been falling during the first few months of an economic recovery," reported the June 22 *Economist*. Despite this "correction" the big-business media and other pundits state that the major stock markets remain "overvalued" and that the slide will continue.

U.S. Treasury bonds have jumped in value as investors have withdrawn funds from the stock markets. "Investors Flock to Safety of Government Bonds," read one story. The yields of these government-backed notes have fallen to less than 5 percent, the lowest level for some months.

During the anemic recovery, now in its fourth month, the official rate of unemployment has continued to rise, reaching an eight-year high in April of 6 percent. Signs of an up-tick were registered the following month, when nonfarm employment grew by some 41,000 jobs. But more than half of these were temporary positions. Reporting a pickup in demand for industrial workers, the head of one temporary-worker agency said that the bosses are "reluctant to hire full-time employees because they're not sure how long [demand] will last."

Holding off new hiring of workers as long as they can, the bosses often add on overtime hours and increase the pace of work, where they can get away with it. Average factory overtime hours increased to 4.3 hours a week in May, the highest since November 2000.

Reporting the closure of a bacon processing plant in North Carolina by Tyson Foods, and the loss of 500 jobs, the *Wall Street Journal* noted the "newly intensified cost-cutting culture that is sweeping across corporate America. Factory executives...are finding ways to save every penny possible."

Of particular concern to the big-business

media and others in ruling-class circles is a series of financial scandals involving major companies that were prominent in the stock market boom of the 1990s.

The biggest such revelation has involved WorldCom, a Mississippi-based Telecommunications giant. WorldCom, embroiled in a \$3.8 billion accounting scandal, "is the most mainstream company that is lying," said one delegate at a fund managers' conference in Chicago, bluntly expressing the growing unease among capitalist investors.

Speaking at the Group of Eight meeting of representatives of the major imperialist powers two days earlier, U.S. president George Bush described the admission by WorldCom's owners of their maneuvers to inflate their profits as "outrageous.... We will fully investigate and hold all people accountable for misleading not only shareholders but employees as well.... Those entrusted with shareholders' money must strive for the highest of standards."

Terrence McAuliffe, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, said, "WorldCom and everything else has totally undermined consumer confidence in America." Democratic Party representatives have sponsored a Senate bill that purports to impose new restrictions on business practices. Each of the four major accounting firms that remain after the collapse of Arthur Andersen—recently convicted of "obstructing justice" in the Enron case—faces at least one investigation by the Securities and Exchange Commission, along with threats of probes by the Justice Department and lawsuits by private investors.

Layoffs and pension fund debacles

The first victims of WorldCom's looming troubles and possible bankruptcy have been its employees. On June 28 the company laid off 17,000 people, one-quarter of its total workforce.

Through massive investments by city and state pension funds, the retirement incomes of tens of thousands more working people have been jeopardized by the company's collapse. Total losses of these public funds are expected to run to more than \$1 billion dollars. The country's largest such fund, the California Public Employees' Retirement System, reported a loss of more than half a billion dollars. The New York City pension fund, which invested the retirement benefits of firefighters, teachers, and other municipal workers, stands to lose \$100 million.

By contrast, the severance package of WorldCom's chief executive, Bernard Ebbers, who resigned in April, provides him with \$1.5 million annually for life, the use of a company plane for 30 hours a year, and medical and life insurance.

More broadly, pension funds have taken a beating in the slump of the stock market.



Militant/Maggie Trowe

Workers at May 29 Verizon rally in New York protest layoffs announced by company. Thousands of workers are bearing brunt of bosses' economic troubles.

In 2001, public pension funds in the United States averaged a loss of 4 percent. "Because of the two-year slide...mayors and governors across the United States may have to fire teachers, close libraries and raise taxes—all to help cover shortages in public employees' retirement funds," reported the Bloomberg news service on May 7.

WorldCom's accounting sleight of hand, which involved the shifting of day-to-day line costs into the category of long-term capital expenditures, turned a bottom-line loss into a profit of \$1.38 billion last year. The adjustment in the company's books is expected to be one of the largest in U.S. history, and more than six times that of Enron Corp., the power and gas trading company whose bankruptcy last December was the biggest to date.

From 1989 to 1999, WorldCom grew into the country's second-largest telecom company through a series of 70 acquisitions and mergers. The price of its shares reached \$60 in mid-1999, but has plummeted to less than \$1 today.

In a June 20 article entitled "Why the Bad Guys of the Boardroom Emerged en Masse," the *Wall Street Journal* stated that "the scope and scale of the corporate transgressions of the late 1990s...exceed anything the U.S. has witnessed since the years preceding the Great Depression." The article listed 18 "big companies [that] face serious questions about their business practices." The companies included Xerox Corp., Adelphia, Global Crossing, Kmart, and Tyco International.

Xerox reported at the end of June it had overstated its pretax income by \$1.41 billion, or 36 percent, over the past five years. The move turned a 1998 pretax loss of \$13 million into a profit of \$579 million. The company's share price has fallen from \$60 in mid-1999 to less than \$7 today.

Some companies, reported the *Journal*, are guilty of "gross distortion of reality" in their profit claims. While noting that U.S. treasury secretary Paul O'Neill and some other commentators view the culprits as a "few bad apples," the paper reported that "there's another view: The headline making cases are symptoms of a broader disease, not exceptions, and a regulatory apparatus that isn't up to the challenge."

The exposés have contributed to "a crisis of confidence in the markets," said an economist at J.P. Morgan Asset Management.

Slide in value of dollar

Along with the continued decline in the stock markets and the relatively feeble character of the recovery to date, the slide in the U.S. dollar has helped to reveal the underlying weaknesses and instability in the U.S. and world capitalist economy. Since the beginning of the year the U.S. currency, which dominates world capitalist trade and investment, has declined 10 percent against the euro, and 8 percent against the Japanese yen.

Some U.S. exporting capitalists, whose competitive position is improved by the decline in the dollar's value, have celebrated the dollar's decline. By the same token their competitors in the imperialist powers of Western Europe and Japan have expressed growing concern.

The Japanese government has intervened in currency markets seven times since the end of May, selling off massive amounts of

its own currency in a futile attempt to halt the increase in its value against the dollar. The Japanese rulers fear that the yen's rise imperils their export-led recovery from a recession last year—a downturn which ranks as the worst in half a century.

The problems besetting the U.S. stock markets do not "mean that any new star has taken its place," editorialized the June 22 *Economist*.

Indeed, the euro's rise doesn't reflect a new strengthening of any of the capitalist economies in Europe. Relative to the price of gold, the euro has declined in value, along with the dollar.

At the end of 2000 the price of an ounce of gold stood at \$273. A year later it had risen about \$5 to \$278.70. But over the past year since the end of June 2001 the price for an ounce of gold has shot up almost \$50 to \$325.60.

Commenting on these trends, an editorial in the June 24 *Financial Times* of London noted that from 1995 to 2000, "the combination of a strong demand with a soaring dollar made the US the locomotive of world demand. That era is now over. It is essential for policymakers everywhere to adjust to this uncomfortable new reality."

Noting some of the trade advantages for U.S. corporations in a weaker dollar, the paper notes that the currency "remains very strong.... The real exchange rate remains higher than at any time in the past three decades, except for 1984 and 1985. The US currency seems to have a long way to fall."

The impact of this economic uncertainty and growing protectionist moves by the United States, and conflicts among the imperialist powers, is felt most keenly in the semicolonial world. Measured by stock market performance alone, prospects are increasingly grim for some of the largest economies in Latin America. While the value of stock markets in semicolonial countries as a whole declined by an average of 10.75 percent in the three months to June, the stock market indexes in Brazil and Mexico fell by around a quarter and a fifth, respectively.

By contrast, several of the Asian stock markets have risen significantly. The *Wall Street Journal* commented, however, that "given the global uncertainty...these highflying markets might be subject to extensive profit-taking in the quarter ahead."

Advance work pays off for Pathfinder at Canada Booksellers trade fair

BY KATY LEROUGETEL

TORONTO—Pathfinder joined more than 300 book publishers, distributors, and other industry professionals at Book Expo, the Canadian book industry's largest trade show sponsored by the Canadian Booksellers Association June 23–24. The Pathfinder Press Distribution table in the "small press" area was prepared and staffed by nine volunteers from four different cities.

Roughly 500 copies of a double-sided flyer highlighting a selection of Pathfinder titles were handed out to participants, as well as more than 100 catalogs. Five orders were placed at the show itself, two from new customers and three from established customers who took advantage of the special discount offered at the event.

Pathfinder sales reps had called bookstores and other book buyers the week before the show to let them know that Pathfinder would be there. The effort paid off.

Dozens of people left their names or business cards for sales representatives to follow up on in the coming months. "I want to help get your books into Alberta," said one as he left his card. "Please contact my local high school librarian," said a woman from northern Ontario who volunteers at the school. "Maybe if he takes some of your titles, we could have you come up for a book talk. You seem to know so much about them," she said to the Pathfinder volunteer

who was assisting her.

Many young sales people from major book chains and other stores dropped by the table to look over the Pathfinder selection and exchange information on how to get the books onto the shelves of the stores in which they work.

Buyers for two national chains made a point of coming by the table and discussing future orders. One of them had been informed of Pathfinder's participation by a sales rep the week before. This helped prompt his visit to the display. He took away the marked-up catalog with a suggested order that had been prepared for him in advance.

Contacts were established that may lead to a broader distribution of Pathfinder's Farsi-language titles in the United States. And Pathfinder volunteers may be able to collaborate with a new customer gained at the trade show in presenting Spanish titles at a major Latin American festival in Toronto this summer.

"The sales work we've done over the past year really made a difference," commented volunteer Vicky Mercier afterwards. "I knew people at the event and felt confident in presenting our books. The display was attractive, too. It was a lot of fun."

Follow-up work with the various book sellers and other contact people listed in Pathfinder's visitors' book has already begun.

Order revolutionary books on the Internet!

Looking for a fast and simple way to get the books you need delivered right to your doorstep? It's time to check out:

pathfinderpress.com

Subscriptions come in from coal miners and meat packers

BY JOEL BRITTON
AND DARRYL SHEPPARD

CHICAGO—Socialist workers and Young Socialists participating in the Socialist Summer School here are taking time from their studies to bring the socialist press to workers. These efforts are part of a drive to make all the goals for subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* and sales of the Pathfinder book, *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*.

On June 29, one team traveled to Rochelle, a small town an hour and a half west of Chicago. They sold one *Perspectiva Mundial* subscription at Rochelle Foods, a Hormel-owned meatpacking plant, where workers waged a militant and successful strike a little over a year ago. They sold another subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant* going door-to-door in the area.

A second team went to Navistar's International Truck and Engine plant in Melrose Park just west of Chicago to sell to members of the United Auto Workers. "Buy the *Militant*, Read about Navistar strike in Canada," read a sign carried by one person. Five workers, some of whom had not heard about the strike in Chatham, Ontario, bought copies of the *Militant* before Navistar security ordered the team to leave the roadside area where they were selling, claiming it was company property. Team members will return soon and sell nearby.

On July 1, socialists participated in a "National Protest to Demand Immigrant Rights," organized as the main activity on the last day of the convention of ACORN (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now). Two thousand ACORN activists, joined by members of the Service Employees International Union and others, marched from the Federal Building in downtown Chicago to the State of Illinois Building demanding "General Amnesty Now!" for immigrant workers, "Drivers Licenses for All," and "Stop the 'no match' letters from Social Security!"

Summer school participants met and spoke with two members of the Union de Braceros Mexicanos. León Esiquiel, worked in Indiana starting in 1944 as a maintenance of way worker for the Pennsylvania Railroad. Fidelio Vizarra, said that he picked tomatoes from 1959 to 1961. Both came to the action supporting the campaign to win moneys owed to the thousands of temporary contract workers who were part of this U.S.-Mexican program that started during World War II and ended in 1964.

Fifteen demonstrators picked up copies of the *Militant* and two bought subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

BY STEVE WOLF

CHARLOTTE, North Carolina —Communist workers at Pillowtex, organized by the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees, have reached out to co-workers to introduce them to the publications. A fixer (mechanic) bought a subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial* last week after she ran into her co-worker at a local store. *Militant* supporters here now always have a copy of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in their cars whenever they go shopping, since they frequently run into co-workers. Another textile worker bought a *Militant* subscription after attending a recent forum on the Palestinian struggle.

Several weeks ago Connie Allen, who works at Pillowtex, held a backyard barbecue. She sold a copy of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* and a *Militant* subscription to a co-worker there and they discussed the lies the U.S. government spreads about the Cuban Revolution.

Socialists have sold more than a dozen copies of the *Militant* to workers near the entrance of the Pillowtex plant 6 in Concord. Some workers have given their phone numbers to *Militant* supporters to further discuss the articles in the paper.

Students have purchased dozens of papers, some Path-

finder books, and *Militant* subscriptions on two campuses, Central Piedmont Community College and the University of North Carolina. On June 29 a UNC Charlotte student who had bought a copy of the *Militant* several weeks ago and signed up on a *Militant* Labor Forum mailing list, came to a forum after receiving an e-mail invitation. He brought with him a friend from Brandeis College near Boston who is visiting for the summer. The UNC student participated in the forum discussion, stayed for an hour afterwards to talk more, and bought a *Militant* subscription. He said it was a pleasure to be able to talk with people who think about political questions the same way he does.

This week a restaurant worker bought a subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial* and a copy of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*. *Militant* supporters selling the socialist press door-to-door visited him three weeks ago. He said he had just paid the rent and was tight on cash. But his eyes lit up when he looked at the Pathfinder titles in Spanish that the team had with them and he asked that they return in two weeks. The team returned, but he asked them to come a week later. On the third visit he purchased the subscription and a book and asked for a return visit to get more books.

BY MIKE FITZSIMMONS

CLEVELAND—A co-worker in the garment shop I work in bought a copy of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* and has already dug into it. Another co-worker who stopped by the Pathfinder bookstore a couple of weeks ago bought a Pathfinder catalog. Recently I have found increased interest in discussing the Cuban Revolution on the job since the recent mass mobilizations of the Cuban people to defend socialism. I also joined the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* sale at the plant gate where I work this week, which has opened up some more possibilities to spread socialist ideas.

Supporters of the socialist press reached out to farmworkers and other working people largely from Mexico who live in and around the town of Willard in northwest Ohio. They set up a table with communist literature in a commercial district in town with signs in support of immigrant rights, union fights, the Palestinian struggle and the Cuban Revolution.

Several passersby bought copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*. One worker who lives in one of the large farmworker settlements thought he would be in the area for about six months, so he purchased a subscription for that long.

BY ALYSON KENNEDY

CRAIG, Colorado—Socialists in the United Mine Workers of America have sold 20 subscriptions to the *Militant*, two subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and a copy of *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution*. A coal miner in Pennsylvania sold a subscription in front of the portal at the coal mine he works at. He had previously sold that co-worker an issue of the paper.

A worker at a nonunion mine in northeastern Pennsylvania got a subscription after meeting with



Militant/Jim Spaul

Militant supporters sell the socialist press at Grampian Country Pork meatpacking plant in Buckie, Scotland. Seventeen workers bought copies of the paper.

socialists for an hour and a half.

In Craig a young airport worker came into the bookstore and bought a subscription to the paper, a copy of *Capitalism's World Disorder*, and another book. He had been in the bookstore before, but had been out of the area for awhile fighting the forest fires in another region of the state.

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Subscription Drive April 13-July 7 (week 11)

	Militant			PM		Book	
Country	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
Sweden							
Gothenburg*	16	18	113%	3	3	9	7
Stockholm	10	11	110%	3	2	5	4
Sweden Total	26	29	112%	6	5	14	11
New Zealand							
Auckland	10	11	110%	1	0	5	4
Christchurch	8	8	100%	1	0	3	3
N.Z. total	18	19	106%	2	0	8	7
Canada							
Vancouver	30	35	117%	6	6	20	20
Toronto	30	25	83%	6	3	15	13
Montreal	15	8	53%	5	4	16	16
Other	5	2	40%				
Canada total	75	70	93%	17	13	51	49
United States							
Houston	30	33	110%	12	13	20	15
Cleveland	25	26	104%	5	4	20	16
Los Angeles	35	36	103%	15	17	10	10
Twin Cities	50	51	102%	25	36	25	3
Birmingham	20	20	100%	8	11	10	6
Miami	30	30	100%	15	10	15	15
Washington	25	25	100%	14	11	15	17
Charlotte	20	19	95%	7	6	10	9
Detroit	40	38	95%	13	12	20	17
Seattle*	48	44	92%	12	11	16	16
Pittsburgh	45	40	89%	5	1	20	4
NE Pennsylvania*	25	21	84%	8	5	10	4
NY Garment Dist.	80	67	84%	40	34	50	37
Des Moines	40	33	83%	25	22	21	13
Western Colorado	18	14	78%	8	7	12	10
Boston	30	23	77%	15	16	20	17
Omaha*	13	10	77%	22	16	15	13
Brooklyn	45	34	76%	35	15	35	22
Tampa	25	19	76%	6	5	12	8
Atlanta	40	30	75%	15	14	30	19
Newark	55	41	75%	25	29	35	24
San Francisco	30	22	73%	18	6	15	8
Upper Manhattan	75	55	73%	50	35	40	28
Brownsville	8	5	63%	3	1	0	3
Chicago	35	21	60%	20	19	25	8
Philadelphia	25	15	60%	10	8	15	1
Tucson	5	3	60%	1	0		
U.S. total	917	775	85%	432	364	516	343
Australia	20	18	90%	4	6	12	6
United Kingdom							
London	35	35	100%	12	13	20	17
Dundee	15	7	47%	0	0	5	3
UK total	50	42	84%	12	13	25	20
Iceland	6	4	67%	1	0	4	2
Int'l totals	1112	957	91%	474	401	630	438
Goal/Should be	1050	963	92%	460	422	625	573

IN THE UNIONS

	Militant			PM		Book	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
United States							
UMWA	15	20	133%	2	2	10	1
UFCW	50	30	60%	50	53	50	37
UNITE	50	11	22%	45	26	50	14
Total	65	50	77%	52	55	60	38
Australia							
MUA*	2	2	100%			3	0
AMIEU	3	2	67%			3	0
Total	5	4	80%			3	0
Canada							
UFCW	7	4	57%	1	0	4	3
UNITE	3	0	0%	2	1	3	1
Total	10	4	40%	3	1	7	4
New Zealand							
NDU	1	0	0%			1	0
MWU	2	0	0%			0	0
Total	3	0	0%			1	0
raised goal*							

AMIEU—Australasian Meat Industry Employees' Union; MUA—Maritime Union of Australia; MWU—Meat Workers Union; NDU—National Distribution Union; UFCW—United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA—United Mine Workers of America; UNITE—Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textiles Employees

Afghan villagers protest U.S. attack

Continued from front page

the country to his office to explain the deadly attack. The *New York Times* noted that the president "has previously accepted civilian casualties as a price to pay in the campaign against terrorism," but is now concerned that the attacks could help "turn the population against him and his American allies."

Foreign Minister Abdullah said that "civilians should not be killed" by U.S. forces. He reported that when the attack hit the wedding party, out of "a whole family of 25 people not a single person is left alive. This is the damage reflected by the operation of July 1."

Villages took reporters to buildings destroyed in the attack. Survivors said that two rockets hit the house where the wedding was being celebrated. Those who fled were hit from the air. "Everybody started running," said Ahmed Jan Agha. "The airplanes were shooting rockets at the people running away."

AC-130 gunships are fitted with Gatling guns, cannons, and 105 mm howitzers.

So far the Pentagon has refused to either accept respon-

sibility for the attack or to explain the devastation. A spokesman for a military investigating team told the press that antiaircraft fire had come from the villages, although none of the gunships had been hit. The investigators said they were skeptical about the casualty reports. "There should be more blood," one said. "Where are the bodies?" One U.S. military official said the damage may have been caused by antiaircraft fire falling back down on the village.

Despite this skepticism, U.S. military doctors confirmed they were treating about 20 civilians wounded in the assault, most of them children, at two hospitals in the regional center of Kandahar.

Bolivian farm leader rejects U.S. intervention

Continued from front page

calls to halt the government's coca eradication efforts that have driven tens of thousands of poor farmers deeper into poverty. He said he would end the operations of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) within the country, a move that would deal a blow to U.S. military intervention in the region under the guise of fighting the drug trade.

Earlier this year Bolivia's legislators—under pressure from the U.S. government—removed Morales from his seat in Congress. Since then his popularity has been on the rise. He has expanded his base of support from among coca farmers in Bolivia's east and south to the cities.

In the weeks prior to the election thousands of peasants have been marching across Bolivia toward La Paz, the capital, to demand Congress convene a popular assembly to rewrite the constitution. This is just the latest in a series of protests by workers and farmers over the past several months.

Morales came in third in the presidential contest with his support rising from 4 percent in earlier pre-election polls to nearly 18 percent of the votes cast. Manfred Reyes Villa, a multimillionaire and former army

captain who was mayor of Cochabamba, reportedly received 20.2 percent of the vote, and former president Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada received 21.7 percent. Since no candidate received more than 50 percent, Congress will choose the president August 6 from the top two vote getters. Morales has already stated that members of his party will not form coalitions with either Sánchez de Lozada or Reyes Villa. Voters also elected a new 157-member Congress the same day.

In his remarks U.S. ambassador Rocha stated: "I want to remind the Bolivian electorate that if they elect those who want Bolivia to go back to being a major cocaine exporter, such an outcome might jeopardize future U.S. aid to Bolivia." He added, "The only ones in the whole world who hate the DEA are the drug traffickers, for obvious reasons. We must rule out that unconsciously this gentlemen [Morales] is confessing his ties to this scourge of humanity."

Rocha also rejected comments by Morales that the U.S. embassy had issued death threats against him. The ambassador said that the only one who has received such a warning is Osama bin Laden. Such an accusation might indicate Morales's solidarity with the leader of the al Qaeda terrorist



More than 1,000 indigenous peasants demonstrated in La Paz, Bolivia, May 20 to demand the government convene a popular assembly to rewrite the nation's constitution. Seventy percent of the country's population live below the official poverty line.

network, he insinuated.

The U.S. ambassador's comments evoked an angry response within the country. Even the National Election Board and a gamut of Bolivian politicians, including President Jorge Quiroga, felt under pressure to take their distance from his remarks. Morales, for his part, stepped up his criticism of the U.S. government and as he won more support for this stance he described the U.S.

ambassador his "best campaign chief."

Bolivia, with a population of 8 million people, is one of the poorest countries in the world, with 70 percent of the country's inhabitants living below the government's official poverty level. The country in its majority is made up of indigenous peoples—30 percent Quechua, 25 percent Aymara, and 30 percent mestizo. Morales is an Aymara, and has gain wide support among the Quechua people.

The capitalist rulers of Bolivia were among South American countries in the 1980s to undertake the privatization of state-owned industries and other such "market reforms," measures that have had a severe impact on millions of the country's working people and farmers.

"Economically what we have is a total complete crisis," stated Rosendo Mamani, 53, who once mined tin and now sells sodas at a kiosk. "There is no source of jobs. There is too much poverty. People eat just once a day."

This backlash against greater intervention into the economy by imperialist investors has even led Reyes Villa and a fourth candidate, former president Jaime Paz Zamora of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left, to take their distance from the past two decades of "free-market reforms."

In response to the U.S.-sponsored coca leaf eradication campaign about 40,000 poor and largely indigenous families have had farm income destroyed with no alternative crop assistance provided to them. With no source of income, many are facing serious malnutrition.

The Bolivian government, armed with millions of dollars of U.S. military aid, began in 1998 moving into sections of the country like the Chapare region and simply uprooting the coca plants by force. Washington has funded and trained a group of mercenaries known as the Expeditionary Task Force, an armed unit of 1,500 former Bolivian soldiers, who are paid, fed, clothed, and trained by the U.S. embassy in La Paz.

These thugs have conducted a number of assaults against peasants in the area. They've carried out at least four killings and more than 50 instances of clubbings, beatings, and theft over the past eight months, according to Bolivia's human rights ombudsman's office.

Argentine cops kill two in unemployed protest

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

As an agreement over what new concessions the Argentine government must make to receive loans from the imperialist-backed International Monetary Fund (IMF) continues to elude Buenos Aires, police shot dead two people at a demonstration of unemployed workers June 26.

The protest was one of many in the country by workers and farmers who are demanding government action over the devastating impact of the deepening capitalist economic and social crisis.

The country has been mired in a recession for almost the past four years, unemployment is at a record 25 percent, the peso has lost 75 percent of its value against the dollar since the beginning of the year, and 50 percent of the population is now living in poverty. Most of any new infusion of funds from the IMF would be earmarked for payments on the interest past due on the country's \$141 billion foreign debt.

The June 26 attack by Argentine police was against a demonstration of unemployed workers who were blocking a bridge connecting Buenos Aires with the southern industrial suburb of Avellaneda. The workers were pressing their demand for jobs. Two

young workers were killed by the cops. In the ensuing battle, 90 others workers were injured and 170 arrested. A series of photos published in *El Clarin*, one of Argentina's major newspapers, showed the cops shooting the two youths—Dario Santillán, 21, and Maximiliano Costegui, 25—close up in cold blood and then dumping one of the bodies behind a newspaper stand.

The following day some 15,000 people, responding to a call from the Argentine Worker's Congress (CTA), marched through Buenos Aires from Congress to Plaza de Mayo to protest police brutality and call for the resignation of Argentine president Eduardo Duhalde. The march was supported by some Peronist members of Congress, signaling the increasing internal divisions within Duhalde's own political party over how to handle the growing working-class resistance and economic crisis.

As some 2,000 federal riot police squads were deployed in the city center, the protesters made clear that they would not be intimidated in their fight for justice and jobs. "Down with hunger and repression," read one of a number of handmade signs on display at the protest. "We want real jobs, not charity and we don't want any more death,"

stated Rodrigo, an unemployed construction worker, participating in the action.

Duhalde, for his part, tried to salvage his political credibility by publicly accusing the police of committing an atrocity in killing the two unarmed demonstrators. His police chief, Ricardo Degastaldi, resigned in wake of the incident.

Duhalde came to power in January after massive protests by working people brought down the Argentine government, with 27 people killed in battles with the authorities. He became the fifth president of the country in less than two weeks.

After a several-month grace period, the first strike against Duhalde's economic policies occurred in late May, and protests against the deteriorating economic situation confronting workers, farmers, and middle class layers have been on the rise since then. Groups of jobless workers have made clear their intention to conduct other such actions in the coming weeks.

Argentina's economy is in a free fall. It has contracted by 16.4 percent in the first quarter compared to the same time frame in 2001. With the peso's declining value, the price of basic household consumer goods has gone up 70 percent over the past half year. According to Equis, a private consulting group, 17,500 people a day are falling into the ranks of those classified by the government as poor.

Meanwhile, Economy Minister Roberto Lavagna made a trip to the United States at the end of June to try to convince the IMF to reinstate an \$18 billion loan that had been suspended in December after the country defaulted on most of its \$141 billion public debt. Upon returning, he announced that he had secured a promise from the IMF to postpone the deadline for receiving a \$900 million payment from Argentina that falls due in mid-July. The move would mean that Argentina does not have to officially default on the loans.

Horst Khler, managing director of the IMF, expressed his "irritation" and "disappointment" with Argentina over the negotiations, while officials from Buenos Aires said the imperialist agency kept shifting the goal posts over concessions it sought to extract as a condition for receiving new loans.

The IMF has now added a demand for the country to establish a "monetary anchor" to keep Buenos Aires from printing money as a means of bailing out banks that are on the ropes. There are also talks, the *Financial Times* reported, over establishing an "independent panel of 'wise men'—former senior economic officials from around the world that could advise on thorny topics such as restructuring Argentina's shattered banking system."

Supporters of socialist candidate in Houston protest ballot exclusion

BY PHIL DUZINSKI

HOUSTON—On July 1 the Texas secretary of state ruled Anthony Dutrow, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in District 18, off the November ballot. The government claims that the more than 1,700 working people who signed up to support his right to be on the ballot did not meet the state's requirements. The law says 500 registered voters must sign nominating petitions to place a Congressional candidate on the ballot.

Despite the fact that well over three times the number required were turned in, Texas state officials says the campaign fell short by 93 signatures. A large number of signers were ruled invalid because of a state law prohibiting participants in any party primary from signing ballot petitions for independent candidates.

"This is an outrageous attack on our rights by the Texas secretary of state and its elections division," Dutrow said in response to the decision. "The state threw out more than 1,000 names of workers, youth, and others who wanted to see a working-class alternative on the ballot."

Supporters of Dutrow's campaign have begun to protest this attack on democratic

rights. "The Socialist Workers campaign will vigorously reach out to protest this use by the bosses of the election arm of the state to silence my campaign," Dutrow said. "This is also a broad attack on working people's ability to organize political alternatives to the two capitalist parties and their candidates."

What's at stake, Dutrow said, is that "the state hopes to throttle my campaign's ability to speak out against the deadly bombings in Afghanistan and the denial of constitutional rights to U.S. citizens, all in the name of Washington's so-called war on terrorism."

"The state opposes our campaign's clear stance in calling for jailing the Baytown cops who killed Luis Alfonso Torres, a Mexican immigrant," the socialist candidate said. "The bosses and their government don't like the idea of a candidate who supports struggles of workers, such as the fight unfolding today in Texas City by unionists locked out by Sterling Chemical. These are the stands we take that attracted the more than 1,700 signers to support our place in the November election."

Phil Duzinski is a garment worker in Houston.

from Pathfinder

The Communist Manifesto
Karl Marx and Frederick Engels



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Nationalist campaign greets pledge ruling

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

U.S. capitalist politicians heaped a firestorm of bipartisan condemnation on a federal court ruling that declared the phrase "under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance unconstitutional. The court said the phrase violates the First Amendment's bar against government endorsement of religion. Within hours of the decision leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties tried to outdo each other with nationalistic statements.

Senate majority leader Thomas Daschle, a Democrat, and Republican Senator Trent Lott co-sponsored a resolution that was approved 99 to 0 calling for the decision to be reversed by the full appellate court or the Supreme Court. Daschle urged all senators to be present the next morning to recite the Pledge of Allegiance.

The House of Representatives voted 416 to 3 for a similar resolution. During the Senate vote Speaker of the House Dennis Hastert led dozens of Congress members down the steps of the Capitol for a recitation of the pledge followed by a rendition of "God Bless America."

"At a time when our troops are overseas in harm's way and our nation is under attack, the words of the pledge hold even more significance," said Democratic representative Nita Lowey.

In the months prior to the decision the U.S. ruling class used the September 11 events to accelerate its assault on working people at home and abroad. In the context of this drive, governments in Colorado, Illinois, Connecticut, Indiana, Minnesota, Mississippi, and Missouri promoted bills to make the Pledge of Allegiance mandatory in schools.

"This ruling is not only out of step with the Constitution and the founding principles of this nation, but is offensive to most Americans," asserted Republican senator Samuel Brownback.

Bush administration spokesperson Ari Fleischer said the court ruling "does not sit well with the president of the United States" and that the Justice Department would ask the full Ninth Circuit court to reverse the decision. Bush later added that the ruling helps highlight why "we need common-sense judges who understand that our rights were derived from God."

California governor Gray Davis, a Democrat, proclaimed that he was "personally offended" by the ruling and had instructed the state's lawyers to take "decisive action to overturn" it.

Given the stakes cited by these officials in overturning the ruling, none explained how U.S. imperialism was able to make it through two world wars and every military conflict from the Spanish-American War in the late 1800s to the brutal assault on Korea in the 1950s without "under God" as part of the pledge. The phrase was only added to the pledge by Congress in 1954.

The June 26 decision by a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit said both the oath, which is recited by millions of young students at the start of each school day, and a California school district policy requiring teachers to lead pupils in reciting the pledge, amount to not only state endorsement of religion but also a subtle form of coercion over children in elementary schools.

The ruling affects nine western states under the appellate court's jurisdiction—Alaska, Arizona, California, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington. The National Conference of State Legislatures says half the states in the country require the oath as part of the school day and half a dozen more recommend it.

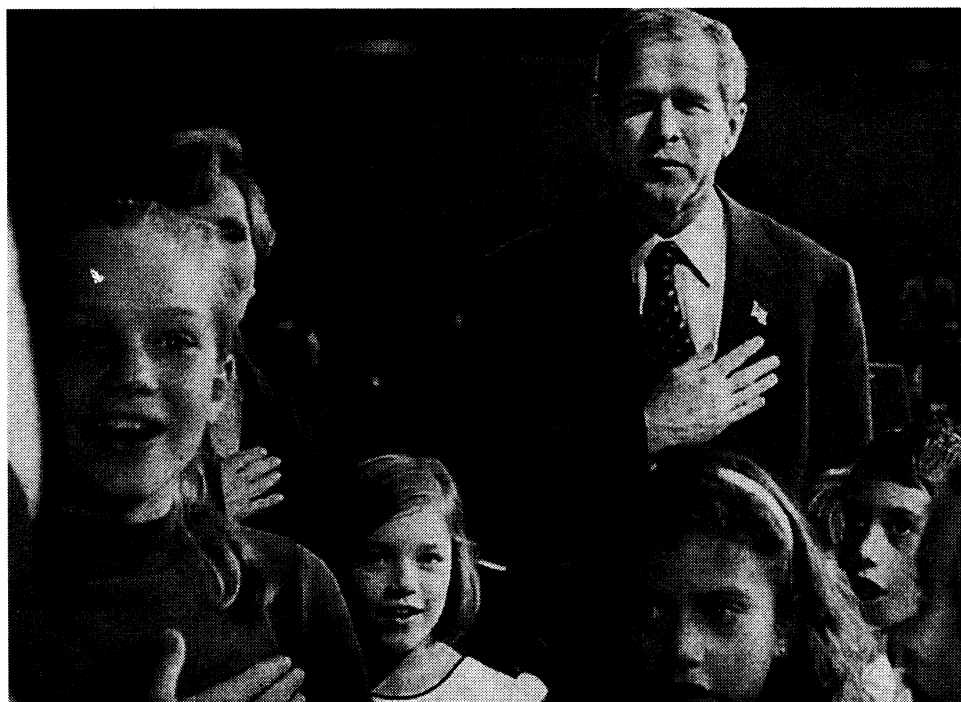
First Amendment

The First Amendment, which is part of the Bill of Rights, maintains a separation of church and state. It declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

"In the context of the pledge, the statement that the United States is a nation, 'under God' is an endorsement of religion. It is a profession of a religious belief," declared Judge Alfred Goodwin, who wrote the majority opinion for the three-judge panel.

Amid the chorus of denunciations, Goodwin put a stay on his own decision, which means the ruling would not be implemented while the case is being appealed.

The court decision came from a lawsuit filed by Michael Newdow, whose daughter was compelled to recite the pledge at the



Bush condemned court ruling barring Pledge of Allegiance in public schools and later recited pledge at Washington school June 29 as part of promoting patriotic campaign.

elementary school in Sacramento, California, that she attends. A federal judge dismissed his lawsuit, but the Ninth Circuit ordered the case to proceed to trial.

"This is my parental right to say I don't want the government telling my child what to believe in," said Newdow, an emergency room physician. Newdow said he filed the suit to draw a line between church and state. He said that forcing children to pledge allegiance is unconstitutional and ostracizes those who are not religious. "Could we say we are 'one nation under David Koresh'? Or Mohammed? No. And we can't say we are 'one Nation under God.'"

The original pledge of allegiance, written in 1892, made no reference to religion. The phrase "under God" was added by Congress and signed into law by President Dwight Eisenhower on June 14, 1954, as part of the U.S. rulers' preparations for imperialist interventions abroad and assaults on workers' rights at home. "Millions of our schoolchildren will daily proclaim in every city and town, every village and rural schoolhouse, the dedication of our nation and our people to the Almighty," Eisenhower declared at a ceremony when he penned the legislation.

The change in the pledge was made to draw a distinction between the U.S. capitalist government and "godless Communism," said Sen. Robert Byrd who was a member of the House of Representatives in 1954.

June 1954 was the month in which

ultrarightist senator Joseph McCarthy testified in the Army-McCarthy hearings. McCarthy led the continuation of the assault on constitutional liberties that had begun before World War II under the Roosevelt administration in the name of vigilance against subversives. In the hearings McCarthy declared the Truman administration guilty of "five instances of treason" that helped lead to Washington's defeat in Korea.

But the Senate hearings were part of the unraveling of McCarthy's power, after he overreached himself with the establishment of a spy network in the U.S. armed forces and the targeting of sections of the military with his charges. Dominant sections of the ruling class then began repudiating him.

Despite preparing the groundwork for McCarthy's demise, the Eisenhower administration worked overtime with both parties to get reactionary legislation passed. Measures that were either approved or under consideration in the spring of 1954 included a bill requiring organizations that had been ordered to register as "subversive" to give the attorney general a list of all their printing equipment; a bill to legalize use of evidence obtained by wiretapping; a measure to punish peacetime espionage by death; and legislation to take citizenship away from people, including native-born citizens, convicted of "conspiring to advocate" force and violence against the government.

Other legislation included proposals by

Attorney General Herbert Brownell to give him the authority to dissolve unions and other organizations that he considered to be "communist infiltrated." He also proposed a measure that would allow bosses to fire any worker who they deemed "might" commit sabotage or espionage at some future date. Giving employers this legal sanction to fire union militants at will was a direct extension of the McCarthyite policy adopted by large corporations such as General Electric. A number of GE workers had lost their jobs for refusing to "cooperate" with McCarthy when he demanded they turn over the names of past and present associates.

One representative, Katherine St. George, introduced a bill on May 25, 1954, that would have allowed the postmaster general to revoke second-class mailing rights of publications that "contain material advocating political and other doctrines contrary to the best interests of the United States." She admitted that this was a "long first step" to outright censorship since second-class rights permit the circulation of newspapers and magazines at a discount.

In response to these probes against workers' rights, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen issued a statement July 12 warning working people to "beware" of the legislation "pending before Congress that would make this country over after the pattern of totalitarian regimes, with a government 'labor front' like Hitler's."

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court issued its ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*, striking down Jim Crow segregation in the public schools. The court ruled that the "separate but equal" doctrine violated the Constitution when applied to public schools. Washington's international diplomatic needs in face of the rising anticolonial struggles, combined with the Black-led fight for civil rights, had forced the hand of the court.

Washington's aggressive course abroad continued as well. Under the pretext of confronting a new "communist threat" in Vietnam, the Eisenhower administration began discussing sending U.S. ground forces to Indochina to suppress the rising revolutionary movement for national independence that had defeated the French imperialists at Dien Bien Phu.

On June 18, 1954, the U.S. State Department in collusion with the United Fruit Company engineered the overthrow of the elected government of Guatemalan president Jacobo Arbenz by a mercenary invasion force. Washington's campaign for intervention had been mounting ever since land reform measures were enacted by the Arbenz government in 1952.

Telephone workers protest layoffs in Miami

BY REBECCA ARENSEN

MIAMI—Several dozen workers at the BellSouth telephone company and their supporters picketed in downtown Miami to protest company layoffs, carrying signs such as "BellSouth: 20 years or more, hit the door."

In a company-wide e-mail, BellSouth said it will cut between 4,000 and 5,000 jobs within the nine-state region it serves, blaming a weak economy, tougher competition, and regulatory pressures. The plan includes reducing the number of call centers from 10 to 4, leaving only centers in Miami, Fort Lauderdale, Jacksonville, and Pensacola open. Tony Dorado, president of Communication Workers of America (CWA) Local 3122 in Miami, says the company's aim is to eliminate well-paid workers who have some seniority but are not ready for retirement.

"The company is using 9/11 as an excuse when they're actually reporting profits," says Teri Sands, who has 22 years with the company. "They want to lay off employees while the CEO got a 43 million dollar bonus."

"They want to replace the most senior workers," says Fran Thomas who has worked in customer service for 30 years. "They say they want to close our department for restructuring but they really want to hire new people so they can pay them less. My only choices are to take the buyout package or transfer to another state."

Several sales representatives described the new quarterly evaluation process instituted by the company in February. "If you don't sell enough and the monthly fees for advertising in the Yellow Pages go unpaid, you lose your job. Ten people have already lost their jobs and after this quarter there

will be 10 more," stated Gloria Mayshack, a sales rep with 22 years experience. Over the last month, workers have held a rally in front of BellSouth Yellow Pages every Friday to protest this speed up.

According to the *Orlando Sentinel*, the union has charged that the company will close the collection center in Miami and force collection representatives who speak only English to choose between transferring to the Jacksonville call center, moving to another job within BellSouth, or quitting with no severance package.

Workers at the rally had different responses to the company plan. Rebecca Coile, who has 32 years with the company, said, BellSouth is "using the bilingual issue as a way to di-

vide us. When a customer calls, they could be talking to someone in Miami or Minneapolis. It depends on the call volume. They don't have to have only bilingual workers in Miami. They just want to get rid of us and hire people they can pay less to."

"I have 22 years of service," said Jose Perez. "They don't fire you but they say your choice is to move to Birmingham, Alabama. Well, I have my family here. They aren't only firing English speakers. They fired 51 in the bilingual unit of the Yellow Pages. This is about the company trying to break our union."

Mary Ann Schmidt also contributed to this article.

Philippine vice president to resign in protest over deeper U.S. military ties

BY JACK WILLEY

Teofisto Guingona, vice president of the Philippines, announced July 2 that he would resign as foreign secretary over policy differences with President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo concerning broader ties with the U.S. military. Guingona's resignation came as Manila and Washington began talks over a mutual logistics support agreement that would allow the U.S. military to set up storage facilities in the country.

The vice president reportedly opposed the planned pact because it would help pave the way for reestablishing U.S. military bases in the Philippines. Washington closed its

bases in 1992 after mass opposition forced the Philippine Senate to reject a treaty allowing the military forces to stay in its former colony.

Guingona butted heads with Arroyo in January, when the two governments were drafting an agreement to put some 1,000 U.S. troops in the Philippines—under the banner of the "war against terrorism"—to help Filipino soldiers fight the Abu Sayyaf rebel group. The joint war exercises are scheduled to end July 31, but the U.S. and Philippine governments are working on a plan to bring in a smaller number of imperialist troops later this year.

'Getting ready every day with fellow for the titanic class battles that lie

Introduction to new edition of 'Their Trotsky and Ours'

The following is the introduction to *Their Trotsky and Ours*, which will be published by Pathfinder in July. Copyright © 2002 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.

BY JACK BARNES

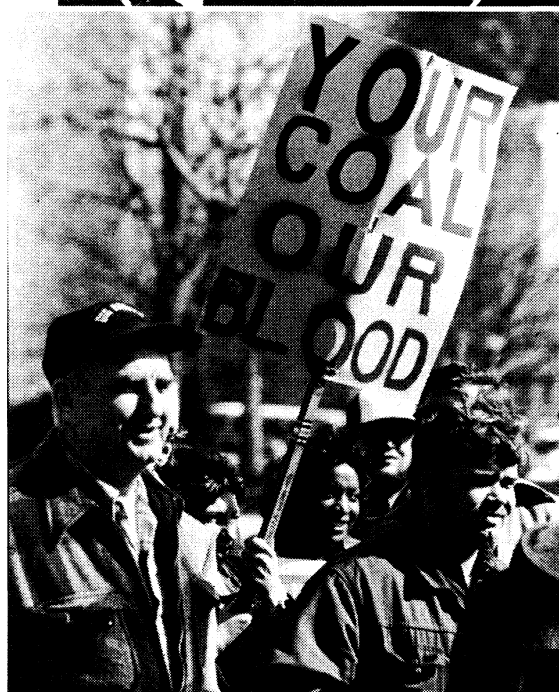
To this day I have a vivid memory of looking out at the 1,000 people gathered in the auditorium at the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago on New Year's Eve 1982-83. It was the second evening of a socialist educational conference held in conjunction with the twenty-second national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. I had entitled a talk I had been asked to give "Their Trotsky and Ours," but the meeting that night was not about Leon Trotsky. It was about the members of the Socialist Workers Party, young socialists, co-workers, and party supporters—what they had accomplished, who they had become, in the midst of momentous world events they had responded to over the past half decade. It was about the coming American revolution.

Some four years earlier, at the beginning of 1978, the Socialist Workers Party had made a political turn to get the overwhelming majority of our cadres and leaders into the industrial working class and unions. We were shaking off residual forms of what Farrell Dobbs called the "semisectarian existence" imposed on us since the retreat of the working class at the end of the 1940s and the ensuing postwar expansion of finance capital. We had begun rebuilding organized units of party members in the industrial unions—nationwide trade union fractions. Communist political work in the labor movement was being carried out by women and men most of whom had been won to the revolutionary party over the previous two decades as young socialists actively engaged in battles for Black and Chicano rights, the anti-Vietnam War movement, the defense and distribution of

the ideas of Malcolm X, struggles for women's liberation, and the defense of the Cuban Revolution. Above all, they were determined to emulate the intransigence and esprit de corps of those who made the Cuban Revolution. These were the people who formed the big majority of those present in the auditorium. They enjoyed proletarian politics; they looked forward to enjoying class combat.

The SWP and YSA were deeply involved at the time in getting out the truth about the advancing popular revolutions in Grenada and Nicaragua, and defending the workers and farmers governments in those countries against Washington's economic sabotage, CIA operations, and military aggression. Fewer than three years before, in 1979, these regimes had come to power through revolutionary struggles, and with those victories, prospects for extending the socialist revolution in the Americas—opened some two decades earlier with the triumph in Cuba—had been utterly transformed. The liberation struggle in El Salvador had gotten a powerful boost from the Nicaraguan victory. Half a world away, the "Peacock Throne" of the shah of Iran—U.S. imperialism's strongest bastion in the Arab/Persian Gulf—had also been toppled by a mass popular insurrection at the opening of 1979. The historic victory of the Vietnamese people over Washington's murderous war was still part of our common experience, and our fight to get the U.S. troops out was still fresh in our minds. Freedom forces in southern Africa, with the aid of a powerful contingent of volunteers from the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba, were making new advances.

Socialist workers in the United States



Militant: Above, Stu Singer; left: Nancy Cole
Above: Steelworkers union members celebrate victory in strike at Newport News shipyard in Virginia in 1999. "Since the closing years of the 1990s there has been a rise in resistance among vanguard workers and farmers," Jack Barnes writes. Left: striking coal miners in the United Mine Workers march in Washington in 1978. Beginning in that period, "communist political work in the labor movement was being carried out by women and men who enjoyed proletarian politics; they looked forward to enjoying class combat."

were deeply involved in the fights of working people against the employers' giveback demands. We were campaigning inside and outside the unions, and among workers, farmers, and youth, to mobilize solidarity with working people and their revolutionary battles in Central America and the Caribbean, and were taking co-workers to these countries to see for themselves. The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* had become the most reliable sources of accurate information on these revolutions, and the party was making special efforts to sell these periodicals on the job and in front of factory gates and mine portals. Pathfinder Press was expanding publication of writings and speeches by Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara, as well as the words of leaders of the workers and farmers government in Nicaragua and of Maurice Bishop in Grenada (and soon, with the Burkina Faso revolution in western Africa, the words of its outstanding leader Thomas Sankara).

The Socialist Workers Party was becoming more proletarian in composition—in daily life—as well as in program. The unfolding revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean were underlining for us once again how, with working-class leadership, the toilers can use a workers and farmers government to advance toward the expropriation of the exploiters and oppressors, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As we lived through these revolutionary struggles day by day, we were becoming better equipped to draw clarity and strength from our communist political heritage. We could see and understand more richly and act with greater confidence on the continuity of our program and strategy, a program and strategy going back to the origins of the modern communist workers movement in 1847-48, when Karl Marx and Frederick Engels first shouldered leadership responsibilities in a revolutionary workers organization. We were hungry to

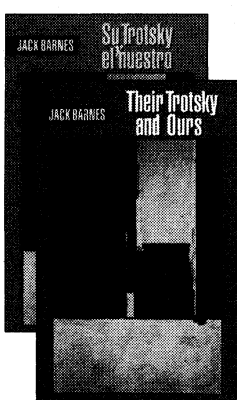
better arm ourselves with the programmatic and strategic conquests of the Communist International, established sixty years earlier under the leadership of Lenin and the victorious Bolshevik party.

The SWP in 1980 had launched a leadership school where twice a year some dozen members of the National Committee leading the turn to industry took six months away from other party responsibilities to study the political writings of Marx and Engels—and, as a bonus, to study Spanish as well. Over the year prior to the Chicago meeting that New Year's Eve, each party branch had begun organizing schools in which every member, young socialist, and candidate for membership in the area participated in systematic study of the political works of Lenin, including the Comintern reports and resolutions that between 1919 and 1922 he and Leon Trotsky more than anyone else had shaped. In a sense, the night was a graduation exercise for all of us across every generation in the party who had together systematically worked our way through the first term in the Lenin schools.

These schools had helped us understand the twin foundations of Bolshevism: a communist, world program and a proletarian cadre. Following Lenin's death in early 1924, Leon Trotsky had led the fight in the world communist movement to continue the Bolshevik course in face of the assault on it by a growing, privileged bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union.

"In our epoch, which is the epoch of imperialism, i.e. of world economy and world politics," Trotsky had written in his 1928 criticism of Stalin's increasingly nationalist and class-collaborationist course, "not a single communist party can establish its program by proceeding solely or mainly from conditions and tendencies of developments in its own country.... An international communist program is in no case the sum total of national programs or

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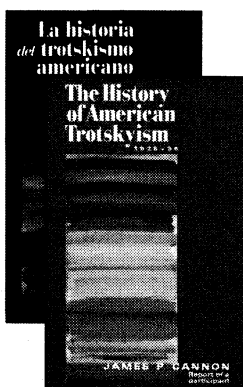
Their Trotsky and Ours Jack Barnes

"History shows that small revolutionary organizations will face not only the stern test of wars and repression, but also the potentially shattering opportunities that emerge unexpectedly when strikes and social struggles erupt. As that happens, communist parties not only recruit. They also fuse with other workers organizations and grow into mass proletarian parties contesting to lead workers and farmers to power. This assumes that well beforehand their cadres have absorbed and grown comfortable with a world communist program, are proletarian in life and work, derive deep satisfaction from doing politics, and have forged a leadership with an acute

sense of what to do next. *Their Trotsky and Ours* is about building such a party. **Special price: \$12** (normally \$15). Also in French and Spanish.

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'militants & ahead'

an amalgam of their common features. The international program must proceed directly from an analysis of the conditions and tendencies of world economy and of the world political system taken as a whole in all its connections and contradictions, that is, with the mutually antagonistic interdependence of its separate parts. In the present epoch, to a much larger extent than in the past, the national orientation of the proletariat must and can flow only from a world orientation and not vice versa."

"Their Trotsky and Ours" is a reaffirmation of that truth. And it was a registration of what the cadres of the Socialist Workers Party were accomplishing as our lives became more marked by involvement in struggles by working people in mines, mills, factories, and fields across the United States, and by our deepening collaboration and exchange of experiences and ideas with revolutionists elsewhere in the Americas and worldwide. At the same time, it was a salute to the veteran combatants in the party, those who had been won to communism during the labor battles and working-class social movements of the 1930s and had taught us to act, and live, as proletarian revolutionists.

A few months later, in the spring of 1983, Mary-Alice Waters and I drove with Farrell Dobbs, the party's national secretary from 1953 to 1972, down to King City, a small town in California's Salinas Valley, to get away from the pressures of daily responsibilities in order to work with him in putting the finishing touches on the sec-

the 1980s in the same way as he did the historic events he was writing about, that is, from the standpoint of forging the leadership of communist workers parties competent to lead the toilers to victory. As he wrote in the preface to that second volume of *Revolutionary Continuity*, "the efforts by the Marxist wing of the workers' movement to gather the cadres of a proletarian revolutionary party needed to lead the fight to end capitalist rule, establish a workers and farmers government, and open the road to a socialist order" are decisive. Farrell dedicated the book "To the leadership of the Cuban Communist Party," "To the men and women of the New Jewel Movement of Grenada and the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua," and "To the heroic combatants of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front" of El Salvador.

Another irreplaceable contribution to "Their Trotsky and Ours" was made by veteran party leader Joseph Hansen. Joe completed the introduction to his book *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution* as we were generalizing the turn to industry in the spring



Militant/Michael Baumann

Peasants in Nicaragua rally in support of the land reform, December 1983. The unfolding popular revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada underlined for the SWP how, with working-class leadership, the toilers can use a workers and farmers government to advance toward the expropriation of the exploiters.

regimes had emerged after World War II with the revolutions in Yugoslavia and China, despite their Stalinist leaderships. (Because of the massive weight of the peasantry in the Chinese revolution, Joe considered it the biggest theoretical challenge of all, and it took him longer—to 1969—to be satisfied that its dynamics fit the workers and farmers government analysis.) The popular revolutionary governments established in Cuba in 1959 under the leadership of the Rebel Army and July 26 Movement, and in Algeria in 1962 under the forces in the National Liberation Front led by Ahmed Ben Bella, confirmed the pattern.

All these governments, notwithstanding differences in the class structure and in the caliber of leadership in each country, did serve as "the first form of government . . . to appear as the result of a successful anti-capitalist revolution." They were an antechamber to the dictatorship of the proletariat—that is, they provided a bridge to the overturn of capitalist social relations by the toilers and consolidation of a workers state, an instrument with which to advance that goal. But history also taught us, Joe stressed—and the case of Algeria demonstrated—that this outcome is not settled by the initial revolutionary victory itself. It is far from automatic, very far. The central communist leadership task in such a government is to mobilize and raise the political consciousness of an increasingly weighty fighting alliance of workers and farmers, responding to and leading the initiatives of the toilers as they deepen the inroads into the privileges and prerogatives of property in the hands of the landlords and capitalists.

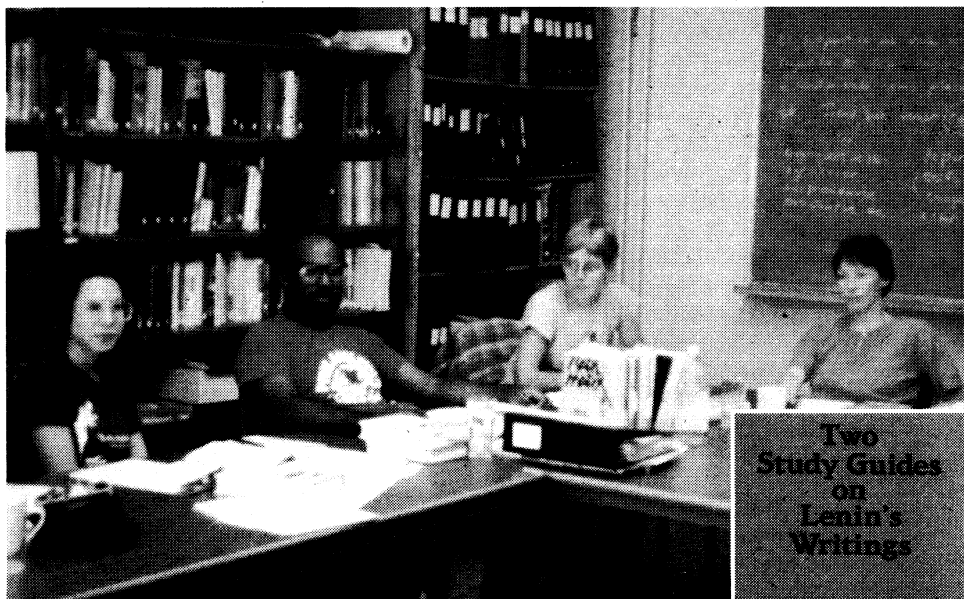
In coming to these conclusions, which were incorporated in reports and resolutions adopted by the Socialist Workers Party, Joe kept reaching for the lessons of the fight for power, and the exercise of power, that had been drawn by the Communist International in Lenin's time. Neither Joe nor Farrell had been old enough to be politically active during the early years of the Russian Revolution. But each of them had been a young party member in the mid-1930s when our movement concluded, following Trotsky's initiative, that Hitler's uncontested rise to power demonstrated that it was no longer possible to reform the Stalin-led Comintern and instead turned our efforts to build a new revolutionary international. The German Communist Party had let the working class go down to defeat without a fight, refusing to campaign for a united front with the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions to take on the national socialists' goon squads in combat. On top of that, the Comintern and its parties were already so politically corrupted

that there was no rebellion in their ranks against the disastrous course that led to the greatest defeat of the twentieth century.

Both Joe and Farrell had been trained by Trotsky to understand that the new world movement that had to be built needed no new program and strategy. Pull together the reports and resolutions hammered out in struggle by the Bolshevik leadership of the Comintern, under Lenin's political guidance, Trotsky told his secretariat in exile in 1933. *That's our program.*

James P. Cannon—a founding leader of the SWP who had been a pioneer of American communism and a delegate to congresses of the Communist International—opened his book *The History of American Trotskyism: 1928-38—Report of a Participant* with precisely that point: "We have no new revelation: Trotskyism is not a new movement, a new doctrine, but the restoration, the revival of genuine Marxism as it was expounded and practiced in the Russian Revolution and in the

Continued on page 10



Militant

Above: session of the Socialist Workers Party's national leadership school launched in 1980. Inset: pamphlet containing study guide for schools organized by each party branch in which every member, young socialist, and candidate for membership in the area participated in systematic study of the political works of Lenin.

ond volume of the series of books he was in the midst of writing, *Revolutionary Continuity: Marxist Leadership in the U.S.* We also wanted to get his political suggestions for editing "Their Trotsky and Ours" for publication in the new magazine of Marxist politics and theory, *New Internationalist*. These were the last two major political projects Farrell was able to work on before his death in October of that year.

As we were out walking one evening, Farrell told us he wouldn't have been able to write that second volume of *Revolutionary Continuity* with anything approaching the same life and concreteness if he hadn't simultaneously been reading the Lenin selections that party branches around the country were using in their schools. Rereading Lenin was like a "refreshing shower," he said. That volume of *Revolutionary Continuity* tells the story of the birth of the communist movement in the United States during the first years of the Soviet workers and peasants republic and of the Communist International.

Farrell looked at the changes our movement was going through at the beginning of

of 1978. He died in January 1979, a few months before the victories in Grenada and Nicaragua. The contributions he had made for several decades, however, as part of the central leadership of the party and world communist movement—on the key programmatic question at the heart of "Their Trotsky and Ours," the nature of a workers and farmers government and its relation to the toilers' fight to overturn capitalist social relations and establish a workers state—provided the political tools we needed to understand and respond to those revolutions and join forces with them as communist partisans.

In the 1960s Joe had helped blaze a trail for the SWP leadership in understanding the political dynamics of the workers and farmers governments that came to power during post-World War II revolutions, especially in Yugoslavia, China, Algeria, and Cuba. He concluded that these transitional regimes are "the first form of government that can be expected to appear as the result of a successful anticapitalist revolution." This had been true of the initial Soviet government established under Bolshevik leadership in Russia in October 1917. Similar

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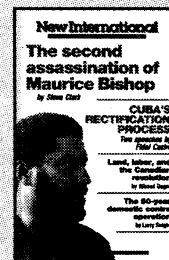
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Continued from Page 9

early days of the Communist International."

Our movement has not referred to itself as Trotskyist for many years. The reasons are explained in this book. But to this day we still have "no new revelation." In fact, less so than ever. Since the 1970s, as we have deepened our proletarianization, concretized our understanding of workers and farmers governments, and solidarized with the proletarian internationalist course of the leadership of the Cuban Revolution, we too have turned back to the political record and conquests of Bolshevism and the Communist International in Lenin's time. "Their Trotsky and Ours" is a product of that political course.

At the time the talk was given and first published, it was treated as a sensation, a virtual scandal, by the leaders of most of the organizations in the world that called themselves Trotskyists, a number of whom sent emissaries to the gathering with concealed tape recorders. The majority leadership of the Fourth International, with which the Socialist Workers Party was then fraternally associated, was among them. But in fact it was a tempest in a tea cup. None of those who voiced the greatest outrage were actually interested in the political and strategic questions addressed in these pages. They had long before turned away from the struggle for a proletarian party. They rejected the perspective of the fight for workers and farmers governments.

vik foundations on which our world movement had been launched a half century earlier—and on which the SWP and its sister communist leagues in a number of countries stood. Well before the end of the 1980s we had gone our separate ways—they, deeper into the centrist swamp of middle-class radical politics, and we, toward building proletarian parties and advancing the prospects of a new communist international.

As the turn to industry expanded the day-by-day life and work of SWP members with broader and more geographically diverse layers of working people across the United States, we also took a new look at the centrality of the worker-farmer alliance to revolutionary prospects in this country. In 1967 the party had dropped "farmers" from the "workers and farmers government" slogan. But the deepening involvement of party cadres in the 1970s and early 1980s in struggles of working people in town and country—our experiences, as unionists, with farmers—convinced us that this had been an error. We recognized that farmers would have substantial political weight in building any mass revolutionary movement in the United States, and that the class political alliance captured in the workers and farmers government slogan concretized a



Granma

Hundreds of thousands of people in Havana march June 12 to condemn Washington's slanders against the Cuban Revolution. "The courage, political consciousness, class solidarity, and implacable determination of millions of working people in Cuba and their leadership continue to set a revolutionary example for workers and farmers the world over," Barnes writes.

der to establish a workers and farmers government, which will abolish capitalism in the United States and join in the worldwide struggle for socialism."



As this twentieth anniversary edition is being produced, together with new Spanish and French translations of it, "Their Trotsky and Ours" is one of the readings that is being studied and discussed in socialist summer schools organized in cities across the United States and internationally. Young socialists and others are participating alongside communist veterans of the turn to industry and party cadres from several generations. The purpose of the school, as explained in its syllabus, "is not just to read or reread a book or an article, but rather to approach these works through the lens of experiences the party and YS are living through today in the United States and internationally and the unfolding opportunities we can take advantage of."

It is those experiences and opportunities, in fact, that seemed to push us toward this new edition of "Their Trotsky and Ours."

When an imperialist power goes to war, all organizations that claim to speak for the interests of the working class are put to the test. Those without a communist program and proletarian composition are whipsawed by the patriotic pressures of bourgeois public opinion, either succumbing to them politically, or even beginning to shatter under the blows.

In early 1991 the U.S. government waged a brutal war against the people of Iraq, in which as many as two hundred thousand Iraqi civilians and soldiers were killed during six weeks of daily bombing and missile attacks and a one-hundred-hour invasion. The outcome of that murderous war was politically demoralizing to workers and farmers the world over, even more so to those in Iraq itself, since the Iraqi regime, following its indefensible invasion of Kuwait, organized virtually no resistance against Washington's final assault. The U.S. rulers did not succeed in imposing an imperialist protectorate in Iraq in order to compensate for the loss of the shah's regime in Iran twelve years earlier—their goal in the war—but at the same time they paid little price for their uncontested blood-letting.

Because of the roots the Socialist Workers Party and other Communist Leagues had put down through the turn to the industrial working class and unions for more than a decade, the cadres of our organizations passed the test of the Gulf War, confidently moving more deeply into our class in the midst of the conflict to carry out a working-class campaign against imperialism and its war.

Since the closing years of the 1990s there has been a rise in resistance among vanguard workers and farmers in the United States. Other imperialist countries, with the

exception still of Japan, have been marked by a similar shift. It took us a while to recognize the small beginnings of these changes, adjust to them, and start acting on the new opportunities. The pressing need to do so was the central question before a joint conference of the party and Young Socialists held in Los Angeles in December 1998. In the summary talk to that gathering on behalf of the SWP leadership, I pointed to the political importance for building our movement of these initially unconnected openings among vanguard working people in various industries and regions. That talk was published a few months later, under the title "A Sea Change in Working-Class Politics," as the opening chapter of the book *Capitalism's World Disorder*.

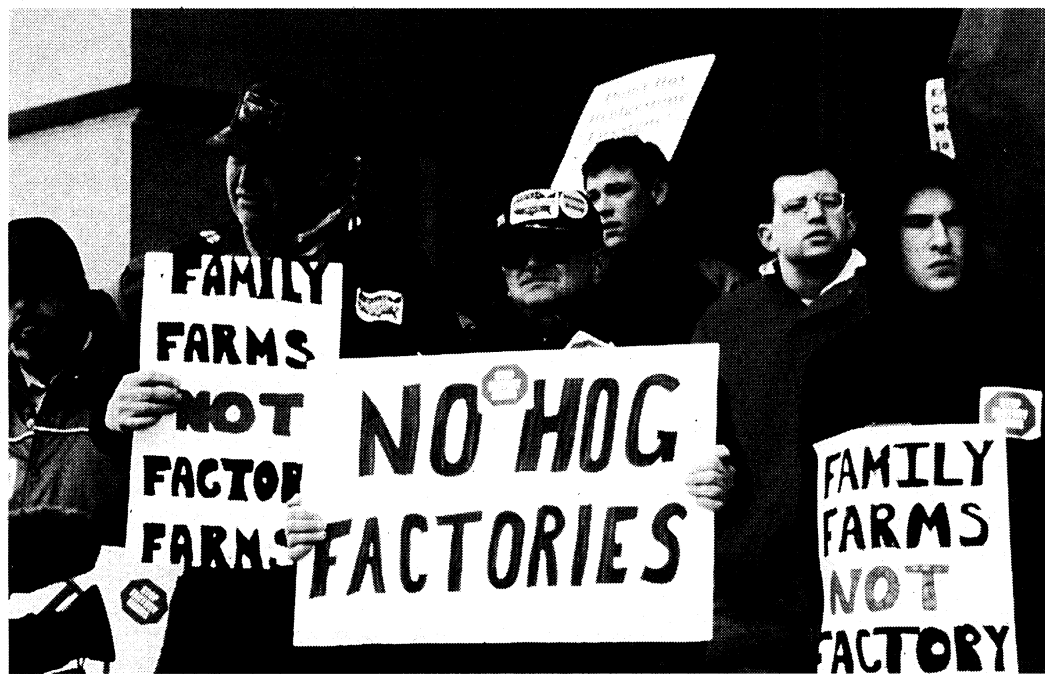
It had become clear, we emphasized, "that no matter what the legacy—in an industry, in a union, in a region, among any segment of working people—no matter how limited the results of previous struggles, what happens now in any struggle has less and less connection to earlier defeats. Using your peripheral vision to find the fighters in the working class and among its allies becomes more and more valuable. They are often there. It's like becoming a good point guard. Develop your peripheral vision. Teammates are there!"

In her 1999 preface to the Spanish translation of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*, which is the record of the party's turn to the industrial working class and unions from 1978 through the early 1990s, Mary-Alice Waters developed this point further. Together with "A Sea Change in Working-Class Politics," that preface was discussed in party branches and then adopted as a guide to action by the April 1999 SWP convention. The preface is now included in the new 2002 English edition of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*, and appears in a new 2002 edition of the French translation.

The vanguard currents and individuals we keep running into among layers of workers and farmers, Waters says,

are meeting each other in the course of this resistance, hungry for solidarity and unity in struggle, hungry to march shoulder to shoulder, as together we strengthen and learn from each other's fights against the effects of wage slavery and debt slavery. Through the actions we are involved in, we learn to know and trust each other. We find ways to communicate, even if we don't yet know each other's languages well. We read and discuss explanations for and alternatives to the devastating future working people increasingly anticipate the capitalist system has in store for us all.

As we've followed these lines of resistance among working people in city and countryside, we've also displayed the courage of our convictions, adjusting the party's organizational forms to meet political needs. We've established new and smaller units of the party in areas of the country where we've become part of vanguard layers of coal miners, garment and textile workers, packinghouse workers, and others engaged in struggles. We've relocated



Militant/Ruth Nebbia

1995 rally of hog farmers at Iowa state capitol in Des Moines. Through involvement in the struggles of working people of town and country, the party understood more concretely how the class political alliance captured in the workers and farmers government slogan concretized a political course necessary for a victorious proletarian revolution in the United States.

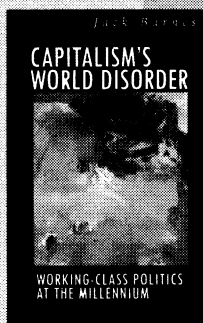
None ever attempted to answer the arguments raised here. Over the next several years the programmatic positions and organizational methods of most of the groups in the Fourth International bore less and less connection to the Marxist and Bolshe-

political course necessary for any victorious proletarian revolution here. At our 1984 convention, the SWP voted to amend Article II of the party constitution to read: "The purpose of the party shall be to educate and organize the working class in or-

Capitalism's World Disorder WORKING-CLASS POLITICS AT THE MILLENNIUM Jack Barnes

The social devastation, financial panics, political turmoil, police brutality, and military assaults accelerating all around us are the inevitable forces unleashed by capitalism. But the future capitalism has in store for us can be changed by the timely solidarity, courageous action, and united struggle of workers and farmers conscious of their power to transform the world. Also available in French and Spanish. **\$23.95**

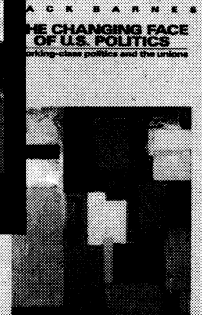
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The Changing Face of U.S. Politics WORKING-CLASS POLITICS AND THE TRADE UNIONS Jack Barnes

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. It shows how millions of working people, as political

resistance grows, will revolutionize themselves, their unions and other organizations, and all of society. Also available in Spanish and French. **\$19.95**



bookstores so we can organize our political work out of workers districts in cities across the country. Where we've had branches for many years, we've used these trimmer units as models. All these steps are taking us more deeply into the union skirmishes and initial stirrings of social movements of our class and its allies that are harbingers of working-class resistance that will be mounted in face of increasingly violent capitalist assaults.

At the same time, young socialists have been meeting youth in the United States and other imperialist countries who are attracted to these proletarian struggles, as well as young people engaged in fights against imperialist oppression and exploitation from Haiti to the South Pacific islands of Kanaky (New Caledonia), from countries across the Middle East and Africa, to Venezuela and elsewhere in the Americas. The openings to win layers of these revolutionary-minded youth to communism have increased with the disintegration in the early 1990s of the world Stalinist movement, which for more than six decades, under the hijacked banner of Marxism, had organized from one continent to the next defeats of revolutions, assassinations of proletarian leaders, and demoralization and depoliticization of militants deeply immersed in struggles for national liberation and socialism.

These are the reasons, above all, why there is a need and a demand for a new edition of "Their Trotsky and Ours," which will also appear almost simultaneously in Spanish and French. These are the reasons it is

could not have maintained and expanded a communist publishing program and printshop that enables us to get the invaluable lessons of 150 years of working-class struggle into the hands of vanguard fighters who recognize the need for broader political perspectives in order not only to fight successfully but also to win.

Nor would we have been able to build an auxiliary organization of supporters of the communist movement worldwide that has taken in hand the digital preparation, proofreading, graphics work, and other tasks that must be accomplished in order to keep revolutionary books and pamphlets in print and to produce new ones such as this in a timely way to meet pressing political needs and opportunities.

Much has happened in world politics since "Their Trotsky and Ours" was first published. The mold-shattering events of the last two decades have increased both the timeliness and political urgency of the fundamental points dealt with in these pages.

Neither the workers and farmers government in Grenada nor the one in Nicaragua went forward to the expropriation of the capitalists and landlords and establishment of a workers state. In October 1983 the work-



Pathfinder Mural/Malcolm McAllister
Leaders of the Communist International (Comintern) as depicted on the Pathfinder Mural. From left: Gregory Zinoviev, Nikolai Bukharin, Leon Trotsky, V.I. Lenin, and Karl Radek. "Pull together the reports and resolutions hammered out in struggle by the Bolshevik leadership of the Comintern, under Lenin's political guidance, Trotsky told his secretariat in exile in 1933. That's our program."

proletarian internationalists. Their courage, political consciousness, class solidarity, and implacable determination continue to set a revolutionary example for workers and farmers the world over, including here in the United States. "They are communists. And that is what we are, too"—that simple statement remains as true today as when it was asserted to young socialists and others in Chicago twenty years ago.

As this book goes to press early in the summer of 2002, the administration of President George W. Bush, with broad bipartisan backing, has announced plans to take "preemptive action" against those, at home and abroad, whom the U.S. rulers brand as "terrorists" or as linked to a worldwide "axis of evil." After hundreds of non-citizens have been held without charges in U.S. jails, many for nearly a year, Washington has now begun throwing U.S. citizens into military prisons as well. They are being denied even their most basic constitutional rights to know the charges against them, to legal counsel, or to the presumption of innocence. Washington is laying the political and military groundwork for "preemptive action" against Iraq and other governments and peoples the U.S. rulers consider strong enough to develop meaningful defenses against the assaults Washington is pressing.

History has shown that small revolutionary organizations will face not only the stern test of wars and repression, but also the potentially shattering opportunities that can emerge unexpectedly—and explosively—when strikes and social struggles erupt. As that happens, communist parties not only recruit many new members. They also fuse with other workers organizations moving in the same direction and grow into mass proletarian parties contesting to lead workers and farmers to power. This assumes that well beforehand their cadres have absorbed and grown comfortable with a world communist program and strategy, are proletarian in life and work, derive deep satis-

faction from—have fun—doing politics, and have forged a leadership with an acute sense of what to do next. These cadres must already be functioning as part of a disciplined proletarian party, at one with those toilers being targeted by the employers and their state. Otherwise these organizations will be disoriented and broken in face of wrenching crises and enormous opportunities alike.

Farrell Dobbs, Joe Hansen, Jim Cannon, and other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party have all been firm believers in the fact that we'll never succeed in building a proletarian combat party in the United States if we start looking around for somebody other than the ranks of our own organization to hammer out concrete tactics and a political line on the class struggle. Or, conversely, if we start trying to dictate program and tactics to revolutionary-minded working people and youth in other countries. Joe explained this course of conduct in his 1975 talk, *James P. Cannon the Internationalist*, an invaluable companion to "Their Trotsky and Ours."

Proletarian internationalism understood and carried out in that way—by integrating the cadres of the communist movement into the rising resistance of vanguard workers and farmers in the United States and the world over—is at the heart of "Their Trotsky and Ours." It is about building proletarian parties and a new world communist movement in which the political contributions of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, and more contemporary revolutionary leaders can all be taken up and put to use by militants who come from different political origins and who judge each other not on the basis of preconception or prejudice but on the basis of deeds.

It is above all about getting ready every day with fellow militants for titanic class battles that lie ahead, and continuing to transform ourselves and our organizations as we do so.

June 2002



Militant/Janet Roth
Militant seller talks to worker at plant gate at giant Kinleith pulp and paper mill in Tokoroa, New Zealand, February 2001. Proletarian internationalism is "above all about getting ready every day with fellow militants for titanic class battles that lie ahead, and continuing to transform ourselves and our organizations as we do so."

being studied across the country at socialist summer schools, along with *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* and James P. Cannon's *The History of American Trotskyism: 1928-38—Report of a Participant*, which is being produced simultaneously with this one in a new edition—and for the first time ever in Spanish and French.

The text and footnotes of "Their Trotsky and Ours" have been brought in line with subsequent and improved translations and printings of some of the quoted material. As it more and more becomes the norm for many Pathfinder titles to be published simultaneously in English, Spanish, and French—for use by workers doing political work in these languages—the collective effort on the translations helps clarify and politically sharpen elements of the original as well. Further editorial work has incorporated the fruits of these labors and eliminated unnecessary obstacles to reading and understanding "Their Trotsky and Ours" today.

From the translations, to the formatting and proofreading, to the final printing of the text and covers, the publication of books such as this one would not be possible without the efforts of hundreds of volunteers around the world who are members or organized supporters of the communist movement. Without the proletarianization of the party over the past quarter century, we

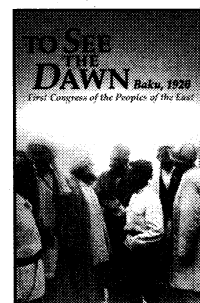
ers and farmers government in Grenada was overthrown in a coup organized by a Stalinist faction in the governing New Jewel Movement. The revolution's central leader Maurice Bishop, along with dozens of other revolutionary leaders and Grenadian citizens, were murdered. By 1988 the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua had united around a course that sharply reversed the proletarian trajectory of the opening years of the revolution. With the defeat in Nicaragua, the revolutionary advances in nearby El Salvador eroded further and were soon reversed.

Our movement has produced, and actively campaigned to circulate, the record of the achievements of these revolutionary struggles and Marxist explanations of the lessons from their defeats. These materials can be found in the Pathfinder books *Maurice Bishop Speaks* and *Sandinistas Speak*, as well as in several issues of *New Internationalist* magazine: "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop" by Steve Clark; "The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution," a collection of reports and resolutions adopted by the Socialist Workers Party; and *U.S. Imperialism Has Lost the Cold War* by Jack Barnes.

Despite these blows in Central America and the Caribbean, and despite enormous political and economic pressures bearing down on the Cuban Revolution over the past twelve years, millions of working people and their leadership in Cuba continue to act as

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Longshore workers oppose antiunion assault

Continued from front page
tional Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) at 29 major Pacific ports remained on the job as union officials extended the contract on a day-by-day basis. The union tops say they have no plans to organize a strike vote.

A June 27 rally of 500 longshore workers at the Port of Oakland won the support of Teamster truck drivers and Service Employee International Union members who work at the port. Similar rallies were held in Long Beach, California; Seattle; Portland, Oregon; and Tacoma, Washington.

West Coast ports handle \$260 billion

worth of cargo a year, making them crucial export and import hubs for major U.S. corporations. Federal and state governments have spent tens of billions on the waterfront facilities for the companies, including upgrading docks, cranes, and rail links to increase efficiency and the flow of commerce.

Because of the bosses' unrelenting productivity drive and antiunion assaults over the past decade, many dockworkers know the importance of the union and the conditions the companies would impose if they could get away with it. The fact that it took a major strike battle in 1934 to organize the docks and impose some union control over safety

and the pace of work is also widely known among longshore workers. Strikes also shut down ports in 1936-37, 1948, and 1971.

With the expansion of containerized shipping, the bosses have sought to use more and more nonunion labor to move goods in and out of the ports, sparking a response among workers. Thousands of truck drivers who were paid a pittance to haul containers between the ports and rail terminals mobilized in 1996 as part of an organizing drive at the Los Angeles and Long Beach harbors, the two largest in the nation. Together the two facilities make up the world's third busiest port. In 1999 truck drivers in Tacoma went

on strike, also demanding union recognition.

A feature article in the *Los Angeles Times* on the eve of the contract expiration gave readers a glimpse of the ways in which the bosses seek to erode past union gains. Writer Nancy Cleeland was given a tour of the port by one of the bosses. Under the heading "strict work rules," Cleeland described a "noisy, outsized, and frenetic" scene at the port. "Then, at 11:30 a.m., it came to a sudden halt. Time for lunch. Industry consultant Frank Hanley, who was leading the management tour, chuckled and shook his head. He couldn't have asked for a better demonstration of the union's power."

"As the average U.S. workweek grew through the 1990s, and 24-hour operations and staggered work shifts became routine, the ILWU managed to maintain work rules much as they existed a generation ago," the *Times* continued. What are these outrageous restrictions on the bosses? "They include a common hour-long lunch break, double-pay for night shifts and the guarantee of a work pace that the union calls healthy and sustainable, but the shippers deride as simply slow."

Threatened lockout

In the days leading up to the contract expiration, PMA president Joseph Miniace threatened to lock out workers if they engaged in a work action. Calling a work-to-rule campaign a "strike with pay," Miniace said if slowdowns occurred the bosses "will

Continued on Page 14

Strikers in Canada battle company thugs

Continued from Page 16

in replacement workers, we requested they not do so at this time," she said. "The situation is very volatile and it can't be managed. This is really the first time this legislation has been tested. It's a national issue and unfortunately Chatham-Kent is the battle zone."

The Local 127 union hall near the plant bustled with signs of solidarity from other union locals. Photographs of the action on the picket line cover a wall in the union hall lobby. A table filled with donated food and cold soda and water was available to help cool down the pickets, who have endured several sweltering days in the sun. In another corner is a donation box for Don Milner and his family and solidarity cards to sign.

Strikers flowed in and out of the headquarters to ask about Milner and make contributions, sign up for extra picket duty to cover hours when the picket lines are augmented, and look at the latest photos. Many just checked in before and after their picket duty. They wanted to talk about what to expect in the next few days.

The resolve of the strikers and their supporters was succinctly expressed in a letter by a laid-off Navistar International worker to the *Chatham Daily News*.

"It appears that the company will do what it takes to try to get the scabs in," wrote Lorrie Couture. "I bet they have been sitting in their big offices trying to figure out how to get these scabs in day-in and day-

out.... You will never get these scabs into the plant. The local and its supporters are going to fight to the end to save their jobs. I hope for the best for the injured CAW members and their families who came to support our jobs and theirs. If Navistar can do this to a plant this size, then they could go after the others also, so we are fighting for everyone, not just Navistar in Chatham."

John Steele is a meat packer and member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 175 in Toronto. Ilona Gersh, a member of United Auto Workers Local 157 in Detroit, contributed to this article.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Oppose Washington's Moves to Escalate War against Iraq. Speaker: Brian Taylor, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., July 14, 3:00 p.m. 3029-A Bessemer Road. Donation: \$4. Tel: (205) 780-0021.

COLORADO

Craig

Capitalism's World Disorder: Government and Employers' Attacks on Health Care. Workers Fight Back for the Their Health and Their Lives. Speaker: Tom Leonard, Socialist Workers Party, retired seafarer. Sat., July 13, 7:30 p.m. Dinner at 6:00 p.m. 6 West Victory Way. Tel: (970) 826-0289.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

U.S. Hands Off Iraq: Oppose New Provocations against Baghdad. Speaker: Laura Garza, Socialist Workers Party, garment worker. Fri., July 12, 7:00 p.m. 12 Bennington St., 2nd Floor, East Boston. Tel: (617) 569-9169.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

The Economic Crisis in South America and Working-Class Resistance. Speaker: Don Mackle, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Food and Commercial Workers union. Fri., July 12, 7:30 p.m. 4208 W. Vernor. Tel: (313) 554-0504.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Palestinians Reject U.S. Dictates. For a Democratic, Secular Palestine. Speaker: Naomi Craine, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 5, 7:30 p.m. 168 Bloomfield, 2nd Floor. Donation: \$4. Tel: (973) 481-0077.

NEW YORK

Garment District

Support Palestinian Rejection of Bush's Demands. Israel Out of Occupied Lands; for a Democratic, Secular Palestine. Speaker: Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 5, 7:30 p.m. 545 8th Avenue, 14th Floor. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 693-7358.

Upper Manhattan

Oppose the Continuing U.S. War Drive against Iraq! What's Behind the "Axis of Evil" Label, Assassination Threats, and Preemptive Strike Doctrine. Speaker: Richard Sorrentino, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 5, 7:30 p.m. 599 W. 187th Street, 2nd Floor. Donation: \$5. Tel: (212) 740-4611.

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte

Why Working People Should Oppose Attacks on Immigrant Rights. Speaker: Steve Wolfe, Socialist Workers Party.

Sat., July 13, 7:00 p.m. 2001A N. Cannon Blvd. Tel: (704) 932-0821.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

Oppose Canberra's Role in East Timor, Papua New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands. Speaker: Bob Aiken, Communist League, member, Australasian Meat Industry Employees' Union. Sun., July 14, 4:00 p.m. **Labor Party "Reform": What Does It Mean for Workers and Our Unions?** Sun., July 21, 4:00 p.m. Both events 1st floor, 3/281-287 Beamish St., Campsie. Donation: \$4. Tel: (02) 9718-9698.

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Strand, have been under siege for several weeks from loyalist thugs. *Republican News*, the paper that reflects the views of Sinn Fein, said June 20 the community was being subjected to "a nightly invasion...by hundreds of masked loyalists armed with bricks, bottles, and petrol bombs." These attacks involved the "complicity of...the RUC/PSNI and the British Army," the paper reported.

Meanwhile, on June 29 PSNI cops used water cannon against nationalists in the Springfield Road area of west Belfast. The nationalists had been protesting a rightist march that had been allowed to proceed near their community.

AUSTRALIA

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More, more.—“Job speed-up is emerging as a top complaint for low-wage employees as diverse as food processing and tourism [hotel



Harry Ring

workers]. It has become a pivotal bargaining issue in some union contracts. And increasingly, health and safety experts consider it a source of injury and illness.”—*Los Angeles Times*, June 19.

Not enough—“In Los Angeles

pork-processing plants, workers once limited by union contracts to boning 60 hams an hour are up to 70 an hour. “Maids at a Las Vegas strip resort have in five years gone from cleaning 14 rooms to 17 rooms per shift.”—Same.

No more!—“Speedup takes its toll in many ways, such as a veteran food service employee being fired for failing to keep up with new production quotas or a young immigrant’s fatal slip of a knife on a fast meat-cutting line. In small but growing numbers, many workers are taking a stand and saying ‘no more.’”—*Los Angeles Times*.

Check in mail—The recently deceased queen mother of the United Kingdom did not depart

with a bank overdraft of some \$10 million as rumored. In fact, a Buckingham Palace spokesperson firmly declared, the overdraft was under \$1.5 million. And while she left little cash, her art works and jewelry she left behind put her fortune well past the \$60 million mark.

Gourmet fare—Officials at an Indiana state prison warned inmates to stop eating pigeons. A prisoner told the press the prison cut back on the amount of food being served. Prison officials said there was no cutback in the amount of nutrition.

Read it and retch—With a fund being set up for September 11 survivors and relatives of victims, Oklahoma City shysters are busy.

Families of victims of the bombing of the city’s federal building have been advised that the lawyers are lobbying to get them into the fund. If they succeed, the lawyers say, they would like a 25 percent cut, plus “expenses.”

And if they pass?—In a none too subtle move to bar women from seeking to become firefighters, a new physical fitness test in Jackson, Mississippi, includes wearing a 50 pound vest and dragging around a 165-pound dummy. (That’s the guy who administers the test?)

Busy defending ‘homeland’?—Two years ago, the General Automation company in Irvine, California, laid off 100 workers, neglecting to pay two weeks wages, vaca-

tion time, or back medical payments due them. The local, state and federal authorities seem powerless to aid them. So far, 11 employees have filed claims. No comment from the company.

Clinton can’t stiff them?—Ex-prez Clinton earned \$9.2 million in speakers fees last year. But he and his spouse still owe “millions of dollars in legal bills stemming from probes of White House shenanigans.

How grand—“We think moving faster on head count reductions is good for employees, particularly when it reduces uncertainty.”—Carly Fiorina, #1 at Hewlett Packard, announcing that 10,000 employees will take “voluntary” early retirement, with more to follow.

Georgia libel suit ruling is blow to cop brutality fight

BY ARLENE RUBINSTEIN

VALDOSTA, Georgia—Workers and farmers and other supporters of the People’s Tribunal of Valdosta have fought for almost four years to win justice for the family of Willie James Williams. On Sept. 1, 1998, Williams was stopped by Deputy Sheriff Kevin Farmer on a traffic violation and taken to Lowndes County jail where he died in police custody.

This fight now has a second front. On June 21, after a four-day trial here, a jury ruled in favor of Deputy Farmer, the arresting officer, in a libel suit he brought against the *Post* newspaper, its publisher Al Parsons, and reporter Charles Moore. Farmer was awarded \$225,000 in compensatory and punitive damages, with the three defendants each having to pay him \$75,000.

Farmer said that he sued the paper because it called him a “murderer” and accused him of beating Williams with a long metal flashlight. “It hurts to read something like that,” Farmer claimed in his testimony before the court.

Cops have used libel laws before to target newspapers in cases of police brutality. The object of such suits is to intimidate or financially ruin a media source that gives “bad press” to the cops.

Charles Moore, a 51-year-old unpaid columnist for the *Post*, said the suit was “about control and fear played out in a small town in Georgia. Fear that if the masses can understand that they have power, the few who control the world can no longer control it. The purpose of the suit is to financially destroy the paper. Needless to say, I don’t have that kind of money and they know it. I will fight this all the way.”

According to Moore, the damages are based on what it would take for Farmer to pick up and move elsewhere. Over the three years since the murder of Willie James Williams, Farmer has received promotions and raises. “He had no stripes and now he is a staff sergeant with four stripes,” stated Moore.

“Why did Kevin Farmer sue the *Post*? That’s the question,” said Rev. Floyd Rose, a leader of the People’s Tribunal. The Tribunal is a civil rights organization that has campaigned in defense of workers and farmers in the region. It was formed in the fight to gain justice for the family of Willie James Williams.

“Why?” Rose asked. “Well, all you have to do is ask who is paying for the suit. Kevin Farmer admitted he wasn’t paying for it. Kevin Farmer didn’t even know he was suing the *Post* until somebody told him. He learned about it when he read it in the *Post*.”

Lawyers for the *Post* fought to learn in pretrial discovery who is financing and directing the libel suit, but their efforts were stonewalled. Lowndes County deputy sheriff Capt. Sam Temples testified in a pretrial

hearing that he had raised \$90,000 in cash from 70 individuals for Farmer’s defense.

The high-priced legal team included former Georgia attorney general Michael Bowers and William Langdale, who is from a wealthy local family with interests in timber, lumber, the automotive industry, and land.

‘Verdict is a blow’

“The verdict is a blow,” stated Leigh Touchton, president of the Valdosta National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and a prominent member of the People’s Tribunal. After attending two days of the trial Touchton is convinced that Parsons and Moore did not receive a fair trial. “Neither the judge nor the jury seemed to understand the first thing about freedom of the press, and the judge all but instructed the jury to convict them. Mike Bowers did not successfully prove libel, which must include reckless disregard for the facts and malice,” continued Touchton.

Among the statements made by Moore in his *Post* column was that “the murder of Willie James Williams was nothing but an old-fashioned lynching conducted by a mob wearing badges.”

Moore may have been referring to the fact that the medical examiner’s report ruled Willie James Williams’s death a “homicide,” and photos and the written report listed a total of 32 injuries over Williams’s body. The medical examiner’s report ruled the cause of death “blunt force head trauma.” A coroner’s inquest ruled the death “accidental,” with the three jury members who are white outvoting the two who were Black over the designation. Judge Harry Altman ruled the testimony of the two Black jurors inadmissible and they were not allowed to testify at the libel trial.

According to Moore, Willie James Williams told four people that he was beaten by the police: the woman he was living with who he phoned, an emergency room nurse, a jail nurse, and an inmate. The full extent of the beating he received is not known because the police booking tape from the jail for the period after Williams was brought to the Lowndes County jail has disappeared.

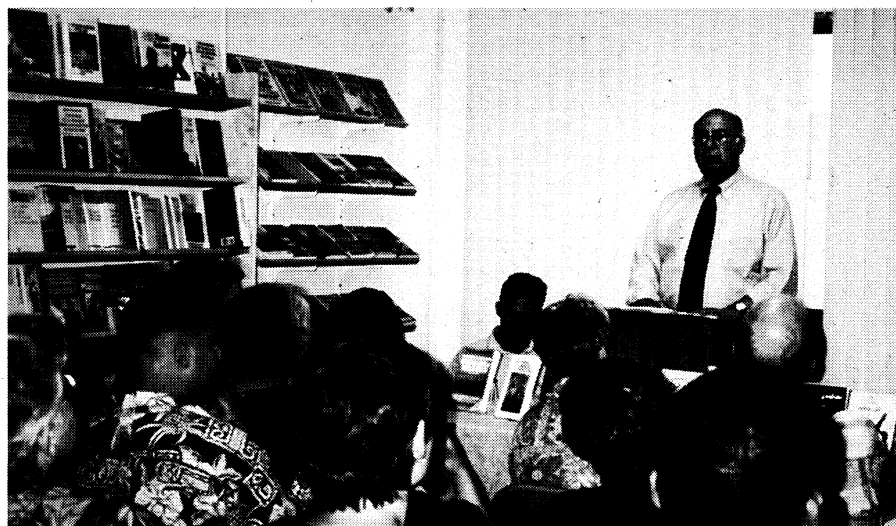
“Whether Kevin Farmer struck Willie James Williams on the back of the head, or whether he slammed him face first onto the pavement, or struck him at all with a flashlight, it is important that this community understands that Willie James Williams is dead as a direct result of the contact that he had with Kevin Farmer on Sept. 1, 1998,” said Rose.

“Kevin Farmer acknowledged under oath on the witness stand that Willie James Williams’s death resulted from his taking him to the pavement, in his words—slamming him onto the pavement in the words of at least three witnesses,” continued Rose. “Our position has not changed. If Willie James Williams had not been slammed to the pavement that night, his teeth knocked out, his ribs separated, neck broken, he would be alive today.”

The family of Willie James Williams has announced a \$12 million civil suit. Parsons and Moore say they will appeal the verdict of the libel suit.

Arlene Rubinstein is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1996 in Atlanta.

New Pathfinder store opens in New Jersey



Militant/Naomi Craine

This bookstore “is an armory to liberate humanity from the claws of capitalism,” said Ma’mud Shirvani at a meeting June 29 to celebrate the opening of the Pathfinder bookstore at a new location in Newark, New Jersey. Shirvani, the featured speaker at the event, pointed to the key role of oil and rail workers and impoverished peasants in the 1979 Iranian Revolution, which overthrew the U.S.-backed shah. Some two dozen participants attended the celebration. On display were photos from the recent Tehran book fair and a sample of Pathfinder titles in Farsi.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

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

July 15, 1977

BARCELONA—Spain might seem like a long way to go to find out the real meaning of the proposal being batted around in Washington to give every American a computerized identification card. The supposed purpose of the card is to help you prove you’re not an “illegal alien” when you try to get a job.

But Spain is a good place to find out about ID cards. Because what you’re talking about here is not a smiling Jimmy Carter promising that the card is for your own good and will never be used for police-state repression.

“Without a card you can’t do anything,” says Miguel, a Catalan in his mid-twenties who is a central leader of the Liga Comunista (LC—Communist League), a sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party.

“The simplest things become impossible. An apartment, a job, a car, a bank account, medical treatment. You constantly have to be on the lookout for police, and if there’s a heightening of repression, you can’t even go around town for fear of a checkpoint.”

Miguel explained that at the age of fourteen everybody has to get their National Identity Document, which has your photograph, your address, and other information.

Every time you move, you have to go down to the police station and get a new one. If you haven’t moved for five years, you also have to go down and get a new one.

“The police keep very meticulous records of who is where, cross-indexed with fingerprints,” Miguel said. “Everyone gets fingerprinted each time they get a new document.”

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

July 14, 1952

A story that should have been headlined in the Negro press last week was buried in the back pages of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, as a letter to the editor. In an account that was both vivid and factual, a Negro soldier stationed in France punctured the current political balloons about integration in the Army with the ugly truth about Jim Crow conditions as they are.

“We are the only colored troops here at this post,” the soldier writes of himself and his companions. “The rest are made up of Southern whites who have brought to Europe their malicious ‘down home’ traits. All the MPs that patrol the city are white and go out of their way to embarrass the Negro soldier when he visits the city.”

As an example, he describes a recent incident:

“One of our men was attacked on a Saturday night while he was visiting the local city by a couple of drunken white soldiers. The colored soldier was walking down the street with two Frenchmen when they (the whites) remarked, ‘That n——r, who does he think he is?’ and proceeded to fight. Another colored soldier, seeing the attacked man’s predicament, came to the rescue. The white soldiers ran.”

The only Negro officer in the company was discharged and replaced with a white lieutenant. Removal of the colored officer, Lieutenant Vincent, was a blow to his men since, before his appointment, the unnamed soldier writes, “we lived in drafty tents with no flooring, had no proper mess hall to sit and eat, and were up to our necks in mud. The CO even went so far as to have the men at the gate search us, going out and coming in.”

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Defend public education!

The Supreme Court ruling declaring constitutional the use of public funds to pay for religious and other private schools is an attack on both public education and the separation of church and state. It reinforces the reactionary notion promoted under capitalism that education—just like health care, child care, and pensions—is an individual, not a social question. It aims to reinforce the drive by the wealthy ruling class to make workers and farmers bear an ever greater share of the burden of the capitalist economic crisis on their backs.

Both the Supreme Court and President George Bush play on the declining state of public schools in which resegregation, overcrowding, dilapidated buildings, and lack of books and other basic supplies are commonplace. Proponents of vouchers cynically compare the ruling with the historic 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, claiming that the latest measure helps working families, especially Blacks and other oppressed nationalities find a way to true educational opportunity.

The ruling cuts across the separation of church and state—a conquest registered in the Bill of Rights—by allowing public funds to be given to private institutions that teach religious doctrine. Even the idea that vouchers give working families a “choice” is undercut by the facts about the makeup of private schools in Cleveland’s voucher program: 82 percent are religious. And aside from religious schools, dissenting Supreme Court justices point out, the \$2,500 cap on tuition assistance provided in Cleveland doesn’t begin to touch what it costs to send a student to a private school.

Vouchers, charter schools, and public schools operated by for-profit corporations gain a hearing among layers of the working class because of the condition of public education, although many working people reject these schemes. Some have been swayed into thinking that through individual actions, their child can rise above the lot.

But as in our struggles against concession demands by the employers, protests against police brutality, struggles to oppose limitations in health care and pension plans, and other battles, working people do not have to accept the wretched framework of the capitalist politicians. We have our own class interests and can organize to fight for them.

On the battle around education, workers have an important tool that can help answer this argument and explain the role of education under capitalism. That is the pamphlet *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning: The Fraud of Education Reform Under Capitalism*.

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

As the pamphlet explains, the capitalist class does not need workers to be educated. They need them to be obedient; to work hard, long hours for less pay; not to be critical; to lose any desire over time to broaden their scope and become citizens of the world. This is what “education” under capitalism is supposed to teach.

Militant readers can use *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning* on the job to initiate discussion on this issue. Students will find it equally valuable in discussions with others.

Class-conscious workers should expose the truth about the Supreme Court’s attack on public education, its blow against the separation of church and state, and the fraud of individual “school choice” measures as a solution to the crisis in public schools.

Oppose FBI snooping in libraries

A number of librarians across the country have expressed opposition to the FBI’s snooping into public library records and the fact that they are being barred from saying anything about their conversations with the federal secret police. And for good reason.

Despite cutbacks in government funding and curtailed hours, public libraries are used by tens of millions of working people across the United States as a place to find and read literature of interest at no cost. To Ashcroft’s Justice Department, even the thought of having such a public resource is probably an idea that must be suppressed. The Attorney General could well be staying up nights worrying about what someone might find among all those magazines and books, or what ideas a person might come up with after being exposed to a broad range of world history and literature.

But it is precisely because of how public libraries are used that the Justice Department’s moves to send in the secret police is such an affront to working people, and one that needs to be condemned by all defenders of civil liberties.

The wealthy class and its political servants seized on September 11 to accelerate their drive against workers’ rights and attempt to erode civil liberties. While their free ride from this event is long gone, they continue to press the erosion of democratic rights. One example is the recent antiterror legislation signed by the governor of New Jersey that tars anyone government officials deem is “a member of a terrorist conspiracy.” Similar bipartisan measures have been promoted by capitalist politicians across the country.

Under the pretext of fighting the “war against terrorism” the U.S. rulers are pressing ahead with probes to see how they can push back gains won in past battles. FBI prying into library records goes hand in hand with the Justice Department announcing that it will allow FBI agents to spy on public gatherings, church events, and web sites. These moves are tied to the jailing of citizens and noncitizens without charges by labeling them “enemy combatants.” The inmates are held in military prisons or the concentration camp in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, for an indefinite period, with no access to legal counsel.

These encroachments on the Bill of Rights ultimately target workers and their unions, which are defensive organizations established to protect gains won through previous struggles by the working class.

Recently the director of “homeland security” reportedly phoned an official of the Longshoremen’s Union on the West Coast to advise him that a strike would undermine the country’s “national interest.” Similar methods attempting to intimidate unions involved in labor disputes have been tried in the past, such as government declarations of “national emergency” or when former president William Clinton invoked the Taft-Hartley Act to end the American Airlines strike in 1997.

The labor movement and defenders of constitutional rights need to step up protests against government encroachments on privacy and constitutional guarantees. We need to defend our right to privacy and demand the FBI stop snooping in libraries. This will strengthen the unions against attempts to weaken our ability to resist the bosses’ assaults on our living standards and working conditions.

Cancel the Third World debt!

From one end of South America to the other workers and farmers are resisting the deepening capitalist social and economic crisis. The impact of capitalism’s growing world disorder in this hemisphere, which has been felt most sharply in Argentina, is now spreading to other countries—from Brazil, to Uruguay, to Paraguay, to Peru to Bolivia.

In Argentina, strikes and protests against rising unemployment and the growing impoverishment of the working class led to the resignation of four presidents in a two-week period in December. Now the several months grace period for president number five—Eduardo Duhalde—is over, and workers and farmers are once again taking to the streets in militant protests in defense of their rights. The police killing of two young workers has only deepened the protesters’ resolve to fight for jobs and justice, and down with the Duhalde government. Duhalde, for his part, has responded by moving up the elections so he can step down much earlier.

A significant aspect of the recent election in Bolivia is the strong showing of a candidate who repudiated Washington’s “market reform” policies and privatization moves, which the Bolivian rulers since the 1980s have aggressively implemented with disastrous results for work-

ers and farmers in that country.

The massive foreign debt the imperialists have imposed upon these countries and the entire semicolonial world—now exceeding \$2 trillion dollars—serve as a mechanism for transferring wealth out of the hands of workers and farmers of these countries and into the coffers of the banks in the imperialist centers. The U.S.-funded banking institutions like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank demand deeper cutbacks in the social wage of working people as a condition for floating new loans to meet the rising interest payments on the old ones.

Under the guise of fighting drugs, Washington is deepening its military intervention in these countries as well—from Columbia to Bolivia to Peru.

Workers and farmers in the United States can back the struggles of their class brothers and sisters in South America by demanding that Washington and other imperialist governments cancel the foreign debt and lift all tariffs and other obstacles to trade erected by the U.S. rulers. By leading a fight around these issues working people in this country can strengthen our unity with toilers of these lands and together build a movement against our common enemy, the imperialist ruling families who exploit us all to maintain their wealth and power.

Public workers in Toronto strike

BY ROBERT SIMMS

TORONTO—Some 6,800 city workers—who collect garbage, maintain city parks and swimming pools—and paramedics went on strike June 26 to fight for job security.

The members of Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) Local 416, are fighting the city government’s demand for a three-year pact that allows them to contract out to nonunion outfits the jobs of workers with less than 10 years of service now or 13 years at the end of the proposed agreement. Union negotiators have said the city’s offer of a 9 percent wage increase is acceptable.

On the picket line at a “transfer site” on Lakeshore Boulevard, set up by the city where the union is allowing residents to dump up to 10 trash bags into city garbage trucks without waiting, strike picket captain Tom Dupont told the *Militant* that job security is the key issue the union is fighting to defend. Dupont, a street sweeping machine heavy equipment operator, noted that the local represents a large number of workers who were hired under minority hiring targets, including employees who are mentally handicapped or deaf. He pointed to one of his fellow workers on the picket line who is deaf. “If the city gets its way what would happen when their jobs are contracted out? No one will hire them.”

Deputy Mayor Case Ootes said the city’s position is firm and that the job guarantee proposal is “fixed.” The city has adopted a report to study the contracting out of jobs in four service groups. “Council has made a clear decision that, over time, it wants to have the flexibility to look at other ways of delivering services to ensure the services provided in-house are cost-competitive. That’s why it’s important to phase out the jobs-for-life clause that exists within the past contract,” Ootes said.

According to city figures from December 2001, the council’s demand would eliminate 16 percent to 25 percent of those jobs, meaning that roughly 860 to nearly 1,400 union members would be thrown on the streets.

Dupont referred to the Navistar strike by truck assemblers in Chatham, Ontario, where a van driving scabs into the plant rammed the picket line and severely injured workers. He said a CUPE member was injured at the Dufferin Street and Finch Avenue transfer site on June 27 when a private commercial garbage contractor didn’t want to wait the 30 minutes required by the picket line and drove into a striker. “That wasn’t covered anywhere in the newspapers,” he said.

The CUPE Local 416 strike committee head Dave Hewitt said that the worker’s kneecap was dislocated and up to a dozen strikers have suffered minor injuries in similar incidents.

Local 416 president Brian Cochrane told the press that tensions were heightened by the council’s approval of the privatization study in the week before the strike and the settlement with police that raised their pay at least 11 percent over three years, plus bonuses. “It seems that every other service gets treated with enormous respect and our people, the front-line workers, are left to chew the crumbs,” he said.

The issue of garbage piling up is the one that government officials have used to try and whip up resentment against the union. Ontario’s Conservative premier, Ernest Eves, has indicated he is willing to introduce back-to-work legislation to force the workers to end their strike if city officials claim that public health is at risk.

Meanwhile, 17,000 workers organized in CUPE Local 79 are also in contract talks, but that local’s negotiators have indicated they were willing to postpone a strike deadline to allow the city’s lone negotiating committee to meet with Local 416 officials. Local 79 represents Toronto’s public health nurses, restaurant inspectors, ambulance dispatchers, city day care staff, parks and recreation workers, and others.

Longshore workers

Continued from Page 12

be forced to consider a defensive shutdown.”

The *Los Angeles Times* reported, “Shipping lines say longshoremen staged slowdowns just after the last two contracts expired—in 1996 and 1999—while both sides remained at the table, cutting productivity in half at some port terminals.”

“They worked the way they were suppose to work,” said union spokesman Steven Stallone. “They just didn’t bust their butts overtime. And that is what the PMA describes as a slowdown.”

A big issue in the strike is the introduction of new technology to increase productivity. “They have the right to introduce new technology,” said Peter Peyton, a third-generation longshoreman. However, he said, it can’t be used to make the work more difficult or move it outside union jurisdiction.

ILWU business agent Jack Heyman stated, “The big thing is the hiring hall. The PMA wants to computerize the hall. Longshore workers died in the 1934 strike for the hiring hall. It dictates who controls distribution of jobs, who controls the waterfront.”

Under the guise of national security, the Bush administration has intruded into the dispute. In an article entitled “Strikers as Terrorists?” the magazine *CounterPunch* reported that Thomas Ridge, the director of the Office of Homeland Security, has phoned Jim Spinosa, head of the ILWU, “saying that a strike would be bad for the national interest.”

What is independent working-class politics?

Printed below is an excerpt from *The Lesser Evil?: Debates on the Democratic Party and Independent Working-Class Politics*. The book is one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for July. The item quoted is from a presentation by Jack Barnes, currently the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, at a conference on political action held Oct. 30, 1965, in New York City. At the time Barnes was the national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance. Copyright © 1977 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY JACK BARNES

The term *independent political action*, unfortunately, almost like the term *peace*, is very abstract and very algebraic. You

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

know, just think of the word *peace* for a moment. Lyndon Johnson is for peace; everyone is for peace. In fact, the more they slug it out the more they are for peace. In some ways, the term *independent political action* is almost the same.

Walk up to almost anyone on the street and ask, "Do you want to be independent politically or dependent politically?" They'll say, "Independent." To put any meaning, any concrete meaning in the formula independent political action, we have to go back to the basic question I discussed earlier, the class character of the party. The Democratic Party carries out the policies and the needs of the American capitalist class; this defines its basic character.

If we are going to talk about independent political action, we have to begin to define it as independent of this party *and* the class it serves. In other words, stop talking about independent political action and start talking about independent working-class political action, or independent socialist political action.

This is important because the entire ques-



Protesters marched in Washington, D.C., Nov. 15, 1969, against Vietnam War. Demand by antiwar activists to bring troops home clashed with Democratic Party, which served interests of U.S. capitalist class, and with privileged layers of labor movement and civil rights groups whose existence depended on maintaining coalition with Democrats.

Militant/Dick Roberts

tion cannot be separated from the electoral arena, as I've shown. The major fallacy is that there is a way to outsmart and outwit the Democratic Party. These people say they are not really coalitionists but it's a tactical question whether they are in or out. But it always ends up the same way. At the same time, the question is certainly not isolated to the electoral arena.

This is another common fallacy: When revolutionary Marxists put forth the concept of independent political action, they are merely talking about their own election campaigns every couple of years. That's totally false. For revolutionists, education, propaganda, and agitation for working-class political action, for a labor party, for a socialist party, for a break with capitalist politics is part and parcel of the struggle against the Meanys and Reuthers, the Rustins and Kings, the Thomases, the Harringtons, the anonymous editorial writers of the *Worker*.

The mere algebraic call for some form of

independent political action still leaves the door open back to coalitionism. There are many examples of this. The easiest way to put it is: The call and the demand and the insistence on independent labor political action, and independent socialist political action, are part and parcel of the struggle against the leaders and privileged layers of the working class, the trade union movement, the civil rights organizations, whose very existence is tied up with the maintenance of this coalition and the maintenance of dependence. And they will go an awful long way to salvage this when they have to.

One of the best examples of this was the American Labor Party in New York. I don't have time to go into it in detail. But when the Social Democratic fakers in New York were faced with the problem that a lot of their workers still hadn't become "sophisticated" enough to understand they were supposed to vote for capitalist politicians in 1936, they formed a labor party, the American Labor Party. That's independent political action, isn't it? It had one small twist—it voted for Roosevelt. In other words, there's more than one way to prevent the establishment of real independent politics. There have been many other examples in the so-called reform movements. The Progressive Party in 1948 is a very educational example of this. But that's a topic for later on.

Thus these forms of so-called independent politics—the American Labor Party forms, the forms of uniting with the existing leaderships of these movements for a "socialist" program—are steps right back to coalitionism through the back door. And what this does is to bring us back to where we started. That is, to the antiwar activists, to these new radicals whose actions have thrown this question once again to the fore in the last few months.

I don't call them the New Left or a New Left. Because they are not this. This is one of the misused and abused terms. What they actually are and what we actually see in front of us is a new layer of radicals. A small but

significant and growing radicalization in American society. A layer whose political physiognomy is not yet determined in any significant way. What is important about their current activity—other than the fact that it is a protest which is almost unique in American society: against a war while that war is still going on—is the fact that their demand to bring the troops home is a confrontation with Johnson and with this entire layer of coalitionists, and that threatens the coalition. Their mere existence and their mere refusal to compromise threatens this coalition. This explains not only the attacks they receive from the press and from the government, but the vicious and now unanimous attacks that the leaders of American labor have come out with against antiwar demonstrators.

Their problem is not a rejection or an acceptance of an Old Left—again an imaginary, false, homogeneous concept—but understanding how to reject the reform-pressure-coalition perspective that the Communist and Socialist parties developed to a fine art from the thirties on, in place of a program of revolutionary opposition to the Democratic Party and its allies. That is, the program that the revolutionary socialists fought for in the 1930s, in the 1940s, in the 1950s, and that we still fight for today.

What they don't need is an American Labor Party, Progressive Party, Community Party, Peace Party back-door path back to coalitionism. But education and organization for socialism to understand the need for class independence and for no compromises with the defenders of coalition. In other words, we need to win, recruit, and train out of this layer not more Reuthers but more revolutionists.

It is very important that this layer of young radicals understand that first and foremost what determines the character of any organization's politics, what's most basic of all, is the program. There is no shortcut, there is no easy way around establishing a set of principles and a set of demands and an approach, and there is no way around the fact that these will be in the interests of one layer of society—one class—or another. They must recognize what they must be after, that is, the abolition of capitalism, for it doesn't make much difference how big a party or how big a constituency they form, it'll have the same results. I'm always struck by this fallacy, the big number fallacy. The idea that, in essence, first you draw together the people and then later you tell them what the program really is, or later they discover what the program really is. I think we have had our best example of the horrendous effect that such an approach can have in Indonesia the last couple of months.

Here was an organization, the Indonesian Communist Party, that claimed three million members; three million members in its youth group; and a following of over twenty million in the mass organizations of the workers, peasants, women, students, and government employees that it led. And it is currently undergoing an utter annihilation at the hands of an army of about 350,000. The problem of the Indonesian Communist Party is not its constituency. It's hard to imagine a much bigger constituency for any radical party, as a percentage of the toiling population. The problem is, you can't turn a sponge into a sword overnight, no matter how large the sponge is.

LETTERS

Indian revolutionists

I recently read a newspaper article on the movie *The Legend of Bhagat Singh*. I was surprised I had never heard of him before. While in college Bhagat Singh joined a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist group called the Hindustan Republican Association which called for complete independence from the British. In 1927 the party changed its demands from independence to a complete socialist revolution. The name changed to the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association and was led by Bhagat Singh.

In 1929 Bhagat and one of his comrades, Sukhdev, threw a bomb into the Central Legislative Committee as they met in Delhi, as a ploy to get arrested and use the British and bourgeois press to reach the people, to spread the Inquilab revolution. Throughout the story there were references to the Russian Revolution, to the works of V.I. Lenin, Hindu-Muslim unity, portrayals of women

in the revolutionary movement, and absolute camaraderie and dedication to the revolution.

In 1931 Bhagat Singh, age 23, Sukhdev and another colleague, Rajguru, were hanged, despite popular national and international opposition. At the time Bhagat Singh and the HSRA had a following that rivaled Gandhi. I would like to see an article in the *Militant* about this amazing fighter and movement, especially now with the tensions in the Indian subcontinent.

Emily Paul
San Lorenzo, California

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

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

July BOOKS OF THE MONTH

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THOMAS SANKARA

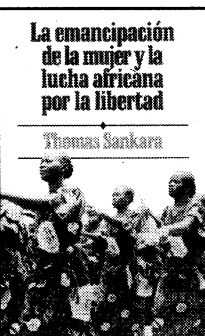
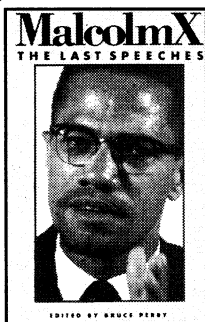
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London backed Irish death squads

BY TERRY HEALY

LONDON—The brutal methods used by British imperialism to sustain its occupation of Northern Ireland have been spotlighted here on BBC TV's *Panorama* and in leaks from a police investigation to a national newspaper.

The media publicity concerns long-standing allegations that the British army, secret police, and intelligence services collaborated with rightist death squads in the brutal murder of dozens of Catholics. The revelations have given millions a glimpse into London's dirty war against the Irish people. The wide publicity given these allegations reflects divisions in the ruling class over how to stabilize British rule in Northern Ireland and tame the unbroken nationalist resistance.

According to the *Guardian* newspaper, an investigation led by John Stevens, the head of the London Metropolitan police, has "uncovered astonishing levels of collusion between terrorists and the security forces" in Northern Ireland. Stevens concluded, the

paper said, that the pro-British thugs—known as loyalists—"were incapable of carrying out targeted assassinations without significant help."

The current investigation by Stevens is his third since the 1980s into the relationship between loyalists and the occupying forces. The first inquiry said there was collusion between loyalists and the police but not the army. The second commission's findings were kept secret. According to *Panorama*, Stevens's view is that "the undercover war in Ireland had to get dirty, 'but never this dirty.'"

British agent

The current affairs program was broadcast in two segments. It focused on a secret British army intelligence unit then known as the Force Research Unit (FRU) and the Royal Ulster Constabulary's (RUC) secret police, called the Special Branch. In particular, the program described the activities of Brian Nelson, a former British soldier from

Belfast who was recruited as an FRU agent in 1987. His mission was to infiltrate the Ulster Defence Association (UDA), a loyalist death squad.

The British agent's job inside the UDA, according to *Panorama*, was, under the guise of saving lives, to "ensure the proper targeting of Provisional IRA members prior to any shooting." The Provisional IRA (the Irish Republican Army) was waging a military campaign at the time to end British military occupation and for a united Ireland.

Nelson's British Army "handlers" set him up as a cab driver, which enabled him to drive through nationalist areas of Belfast without suspicion. He was able to spy on potential targets on whom he kept card files with photographs and personal details.

British army intelligence helped Nelson update files on Irish Catholics received from the UDA and provided information from intelligence bulletins posted inside army barracks. "RUC sources provided a considerable number of targeting files. Fifty came from

an officer in the RUC's Special Branch," the program noted. In addition, according to Nicholas Benwell, a cop who worked for the Stevens inquiry, Nelson copied his targeting files and circulated them to other loyalist death squads in Northern Ireland.

According to *Panorama* "at least 80 people listed on Nelson's targeting files were attacked. Twenty-nine were shot dead." Most in fact were not members of the IRA or connected to its activities. The program said that after Terry McDaid was killed in 1988, Nelson realized he had sent the murderers to the wrong address. His army handlers then lied to him, saying the murdered man had connections with the IRA in order to justify the killing and reassure their agent.

One person whom Nelson deemed a "legitimate" target for assassination was Alex Maskey, who is today a leader of Sinn Féin, the party that leads the struggle for Irish freedom. Maskey was recently elected the first ever nationalist Lord Mayor of Belfast.

In 1988, according to Nicholas Benwell, after seeing Maskey enter a restaurant, the British agent "went around north Belfast trying to recruit an assassination team." A loyalist gang eventually arrived, but Maskey had already left the restaurant. With the full knowledge of his army handlers, Nelson planned to have Maskey murdered the following week had he returned to the restaurant, the cop said.

Murder of lawyer Pat Finucane

Another "legitimate" target was lawyer Pat Finucane. Because of his work to defend republican activists, Finucane was hated by pro-British forces. Members of Finucane's family had also been involved in the freedom struggle. The lawyer was brutally murdered in 1989 by the UDA who falsely claimed he was an IRA leader.

The *Panorama* program aired allegations that loyalist thug Kenneth Barrett carried out the killing at the request of an RUC Special Branch officer, who let Barrett and his gang know when the roads around Finucane's home in Belfast were clear of police and the army. According to *Panorama*, Nelson provided the killer a photograph of Finucane and the British agent drove the loyalist thug past the lawyer's house in preparation. The Finucane family—which has not collaborated with the Stevens investigation—is campaigning for a public inquiry. They believe that ultimate responsibility for Finucane's murder lies with top British officials.

In 1990, Nelson was arrested by police from England working under Stevens and brought to trial in 1992. Under a deal, murder charges were dropped and Nelson pleaded guilty to the lesser charge of conspiracy to commit murder. He received a relatively light 10-year jail sentence. The judge said he had taken into account the alleged "mitigating" circumstances that his activity as a British army agent had "saved" lives.

According to *Panorama*, the main British secret police force, MI5—"supposedly the eyes and ears of Whitehall"—was also complicit in the activities of the loyalist death squads. The program's reporter said: "MI5 is operated extensively in Northern Ireland. Twelve years ago...MI5 signed statements to say they knew virtually nothing about collusion. That was quite simply untrue.... Because MI5 had direct access to all the army's damning secret files on a daily basis."

Calls for public inquiry

Sinn Féin leader Martin McGuinness said the public revelations underlined the case for a full international public inquiry into the killing of Pat Finucane. This call has been backed by a variety of organizations, including the Irish government.

Meanwhile, the Relatives for Justice Group, an organization based among nationalists in west Belfast, also issued a call June 24 for an independent judicial inquiry into more than 100 killings by loyalist paramilitaries.

The British government of Anthony Blair, however, is using delaying tactics to prevent

Auto workers in Canada confront strikebreakers, goon squad attacks

BY JOHN STEELE

CHATHAM, Ontario—"We are not just fighting for ourselves, we're fighting for people across Canada," said Ken Burke, a member of the Canadian Auto Workers union (CAW) Local 127. The local's 600 members are fighting to prevent the Navistar International Corporation from using scabs to break their strike at the truck assembly plant.

"There is no turning back now," Burke said to a *Militant* reporting team June 30. "The company is playing hard ball. They aren't interested in building trucks. It's a political fight now. They want to use the law to set a precedent by getting scabs into an assembly plant."

In 1995 the Ontario Conservative government legalized the use of scabs, throwing out an anti-scab law adopted by the previous New Democratic Party government. CAW officials point out that no major corporation has attempted to use scabs to break a strike in auto or truck assembly since 1945.

The union took strike action to push back \$14 million of concessions in wages, benefits, and working conditions sought by the bosses. Burke told *Militant* reporters about the escalating violence instigated by Navistar International since the walkout began June 1.

That very day, Burke reported, a worker injured by company-hired goons from London Protection International (LPI) in an attack two weeks earlier, underwent an operation on a blown knee cap. In that same attack another striker had his face split open by a hired thug's boot.

The strikebreakers' attacks culminated June 24 when an LPI van hit six strikers and supporters who were attempting to intercept a busload of scabs headed towards the plant. One auto worker, Don Milner, a 37-year-old skilled trades worker at DaimlerChrysler in Windsor and a member of CAW Local 444, is in a coma suffering from multiple fractures and internal injuries. His condition is classified as critical.

Strikers reported that the union has a videotape of the speeding LPI van knocking Milner and other strikers to the ground. After the front wheels of the van ran over Milner, the driver stopped the vehicle and then backed up over him.

Many union members are outraged that the driver was only charged with dangerous driving. "He should have been charged with attempted murder," said one striker. Milner's wife and two small children were with him at the time.

Since the June 24 attack, the company has not tried to bring in any more scabs. The plant is now supposed to be on a previously-sched-



Strikers march in front of Navistar International truck plant. The company has used hired thugs to assault workers. Six strikers and supporters were recently hit by a van.

uled annual two-week production shutdown. However, the strikers are expecting further attempts by the company to bring in scabs.

On July 4 a judge will rule on whether or not to extend court injunctions won by the company against the union limiting pickets at the company's numerous plant gates to a total of 50. The injunctions have not stopped the workers from mobilizing to deter the scabs. Three hundred workers were gathered to turn back the expected busload of scabs some distance from the plant June 24, with hundreds more prepared to meet them at the plant gate.

Many union members have canceled their vacation plans to volunteer for picket duty. Pickets are receiving weekly strike support payments of \$150 to \$200.

Growing unity and increasing solidarity

After previous company layoffs, two-thirds of the workers have 25 or more years of seniority. Many are veterans of previous walkouts, such as the 13-week dispute in 1974 in which workers won a "30-and-out" clause giving them the right to retire after 30 years on the job. That was the last big strike at the Chatham plant. Since then two strikes have occurred, each lasting a few days.

"I hired on just before the 1974 strike," said Gerry McKeon, who works as a stock person and will retire soon. "Now I'm going out in a strike."

The strikers said their unity and determination have been firmed up since the June

24 attack. They are also winning support from other workers and the community as a whole.

"This is a real test," said Owen Bray, who mounts tires and has worked at the plant for 14 years. "It woke a lot of people up who wanted to let sleeping dogs lie."

"This strike has more or less united the older and younger workers who are learning that we had to fight for what we have and that we have to fight to keep it," said another worker.

Another striker said that the local had been strengthened by the company's challenge. A farmer himself, he reported that about 30 percent of the workers farm land in the area, which is part of the southwestern Ontario agricultural belt.

One striker reported proudly that the previous week Local 127 members had joined a picket line of CAW members who were on a wildcat strike against the Westcast Industries auto parts plant in Brantford. "The next day the company settled," he said.

The plant's office workers, who also belong to the CAW, face the expiry of their contract in August. Many of them walk the picket line in the evening after they get off work. They say that if the company succeeds in bringing in scabs they will walk off the job.

Chatham Mayor Dianne Gagner, who is not regarded by many strikers as a union supporter, issued a statement asking Navistar to stop bringing in scabs.

"Although it's in their legal rights to bring

Continued on Page 12