

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Malcolm X: 'The oppressed
are shaking off the shackles'

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Workers in Argentina, Uruguay march for jobs

Protests in Southern Cone say 'no' to gov't austerity drives

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

Record unemployment levels and government belt-tightening demands fueled protests by workers and students in the capitals of Uruguay, Argentina, and Paraguay in early November. Each of these South American countries is being devastated by the worldwide economic depression.

In Uruguay, the trade union federation PIT-CNT organized a half-day general strike November 7 to protest the austerity policies of President Jorge Batlle.

With the official unemployment rate reaching an all-time high of 19 percent, thousands of workers in the capital city of Montevideo rallied to demand jobs, higher wages to compensate for price increases, and a response to the "food emergency" situation caused by plunging living standards. The workers opposed government moves against the railroads and other state-owned companies that threaten further layoffs, and demanded no funding cuts in health care and schools.

The unionists were joined by students mobilized by the Federation of University Students of Uruguay, as well as unemployed workers and debtors' organizations.

In May the International Monetary Fund had applauded the "impressive steps taken" by the Uruguayan capitalists "to reinforce the foundations for sustained growth" in the economy. But just weeks later the government abandoned the peso's exchange rate peg, letting the currency float. The peso lost 28 percent of its value, with devastating results for the living standards of working people and middle-class layers.

The same day as the Uruguayan general



Some 10,000 workers march November 7 in Buenos Aires, Argentina, to demand jobs and increased unemployment benefits. Imperialist investors want to squeeze working people further to assure payments on \$140 billion in foreign debt.

strike, more than 10,000 unemployed and retired workers marched through downtown Buenos Aires to demand jobs and government relief for the worst depression in Argentina in decades. The march tied up traf-

fic in the capital city for eight hours, as the procession traveled from the Ministry of Labor to the government house.

One of the main demands of the demon-

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UN gives cover to U.S. war drive against Iraq

BY PATRICK O'NEILL
AND BRIAN WILLIAMS

The United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted a U.S.-sponsored resolution November 8 that is designed to give Washington cover for carrying out its plans to launch an invasion of Iraq. The long-expected resolution dictates a rapid timetable of ultimatums to the Iraqi government to submit to open-ended "arms inspections" of any site in Iraq and sanctions effective control of the country's airspace exercised by U.S. and British planes since 1991. The demands serve as trip wires that the U.S. government can use to justify an armed assault.

At the same time, U.S. officials reiterated their position that Washington will carry out its war plans with or without a UN stamp of approval. U.S. military forces have continued unabated their buildup of troops and equipment in the Gulf region. On November 10, U.S. and British warplanes carried out their latest bombing attack on civilian and defense facilities in southern Iraq, this one near the town of Tallil.

The representatives of the governments of Britain, China, France, Russia, and the

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Students and farmers in Alabama hear Cuban revolutionary leader Victor Dreke

BY SUSAN LAMONT
AND BRIAN TAYLOR

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama—"Since 1963, when Cuban internationalist volunteers first went to Algeria, we have always gone to Africa when our help was asked for," said Victor Dreke, speaking to an audience of nearly 100 people at the University of Alabama School of Public Health here November 7.

Over the past 40 years, the Cuban revolutionary leader said, "we have gone not only with soldiers but with doctors, teachers, technical personnel, and many others."

In 1963, he noted, Cuban troops went to Algeria at the request of the revolutionary

government of Ahmed Ben Bella to combat an imperialist-backed invasion by the Moroccan regime. The Algerian people had just won their independence from French colonial rule after a long revolutionary war.

Dreke, who has been involved in Cuba's internationalist solidarity with Africa for nearly four decades, was in Alabama as part of a five-week speaking tour of half a dozen U.S. cities, speaking on "Cuba and Africa: 1959 to Today." Sharing the platform was Ana Morales, a doctor who has helped lead

Cuban medical missions in several African countries and who today is a professor at the Latin American School of Medicine in Havana.

Following the victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959, Dreke told his receptive audience, the Cuban people responded to liberation struggles throughout Africa, Latin America, and Asia. They were also inspired by the civil rights battles that ended the Jim Crow system of legal segregation in the

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N.Y. meeting discusses fight against imperialism, response by communists

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

NEW YORK—Some 370 people attended a public meeting here November 2 on the fight against imperialism and how socialist workers and young socialists are responding in action to the imperialist drive toward a series of wars and the depression conditions that are unfolding today.

Sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party National Committee and the Young Socialists leadership, the meeting drew participants from across the country, as well as some from Canada and the United Kingdom. The majority were active in working-class and other social struggles, from the fight for job safety by coal miners, to protests against "antiterrorist" detentions and secret trials, to actions in defense of the

Final push needed for
\$105,000 Pathfinder Fund.
SEE PAGE 6

Cuban Revolution.

Many participants had been campaigning for Socialist Workers candidates from California to Florida to Illinois. A number of students and young workers who came had only recently met the communist movement through their political activity. Three workers in attendance were involved in the recently successful fight by meat packers at Dakota Premium in South St. Paul, Minne-

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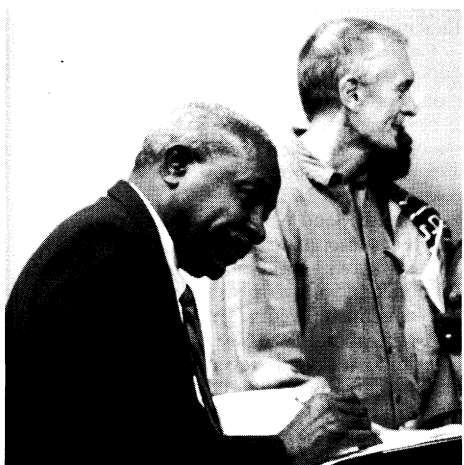
Boston-area GE workers strike to oppose layoffs

BY MAGGIE TROWE
AND ELLEN BRICKLEY

LYNN, Massachusetts—More than 2,500 unionists staged a four-day strike against General Electric Co. at the Lynn Riverworks aircraft engine plant here. The members of Local 201 of the International Union of Electrical Workers—Communications Workers of America (IUE-CWA) walked out November 7 to protest the aircraft giant's outsourcing of jobs, attacks on pensions, and the bosses' plan to lay off more than 10 percent of the workforce.

The Lynn plant produces engines for military and commercial aircraft, including the

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Militant/Dave Wulp
Victor Dreke signs a copy of his book, *From the Escambray to the Congo*, after November 7 meeting at University of Alabama.

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Working people in Uruguay, Argentina march for jobs

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strators was to double unemployment benefits from 150 to 300 pesos a month. With the plunge in the peso's value this year, these shrinking benefits don't come close to meeting the needs of workers, since prices for staple foods have doubled or tripled.

Argentine Minister of Labor Graciela Caamaño tried to calm workers with the announcement that "in the last two months more jobs have been created than eliminated."

While the unemployment rate declined a bit in two or three regions, the official jobless rate remains at a record 21.5 percent, which is much higher if the figures for "underemployment" are added. Today, half the population of Argentina lives below the government-defined poverty line.

Increasingly unbearable conditions for millions of Argentine working people sparked an explosion of protests last December, forcing the resignation of President Fernando de la Rúa. The current president, Peronist Eduardo Duhalde, ended the policy of pegging the peso to the dollar. The resulting devaluation dealt a body blow to workers' wages and benefits.

The IMF and other imperialist financial institutions have pressed the government to cut workers' social wage and other measures to guarantee payments on Argentina's more than \$140 billion foreign debt. The Duhalde government is seeking to negotiate the rescheduling of the debt payments, which de la Rúa suspended in December when it was unable to meet them.

IMF second-in-command Anne Krueger responded sharply when Argentine economy minister Roberto Lavagna, seeking not to appear completely subservient to the IMF, stated that "the world wouldn't end" if an agreement wasn't reached rapidly. Krueger declared that if Argentina doesn't stay current on its debts, then the World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank would halt funding for social programs.

In Paraguay, President Luis González Macchi is also facing popular resistance to

his plans to carry out an austerity package in his quest for IMF approval of \$200 million in additional loans. A proposed cutback program has sparked repeated protests. The most recent took place November 7, when private schools—600 high schools and 12 universities—were shut down in a protest against a 30 percent tax on private educational institutions.

Protests in Paraguay

In mid-October, high school students spearheaded street demonstrations in the capital city, Asunción, against proposed cuts in funding for public schools.

In September, thousands of peasants, truck drivers, and other workers poured into the streets against the government's proposed Economic Transition Law, which would impose a 10 percent to 12 percent value added tax on consumer products and cut 5,000 public employees' jobs. They also demanded a reduction in the price of gasoline and a rollback in rate hikes for public utilities. A protest a week earlier was attacked by the police, leaving 130 injured.

The González Macchi government was pushed back in a previous attempt to make working people bear the brunt of IMF dictates. A two-week wave of strikes and marches this spring forced the government to back down on plans to sell off the state-run telecommunications, railroad, and water and sewer companies.

The protesters also succeeded in winning their other demands: the repeal of a value-added tax on agricultural products, suspension of a plan to sell off state banks and roadways, and the withdrawal of a repressive "anti-terrorist" bill.

To justify a crackdown on the mounting struggles by workers and farmers, the Paraguayan capitalists, backed by Washington, are promoting a "terrorism" scare as a pretext for increased restrictions on workers' rights and civil liberties.

A November 8 CNN report announced that "top terrorist organizations from Argen-



Thousands rally November 7 in Uruguay against record unemployment and IMF-dictated austerity measures. Uruguayan unions held a general strike to oppose government policies.

tina, Paris, Brazil and Paraguay," including "representatives of Al-Qaida, Hizbullah and other extremist Islamic groups" met in Paraguay's second-largest city, Ciudad del Este. Representatives of workers and peas-

ants organizations in Paraguay say that Washington is using the antiterrorist campaign to build a military base in the eastern region of the country, not far from Ciudad del Este.

Strikers oppose layoffs at GE

Continued from front page

Navy's F/A-18 fighter jet. GE, which employs 26,000 workers worldwide, has already announced it will lay off as many as 2,800 people by 2004, citing a "worldwide aviation slump" in orders for new engines.

In the third quarter of 2002, however, the employers reported a record net profit of \$4.1 billion, putting the company on track to earn its goal of \$16 billion this year, the union's web site stated.

Carrying a placard that read "Jobs Not Greed," Tony, 42, who gave only his first name, pointed to the company's failure to replace machine operators who quit or retire as one of its methods of cutting jobs. "They bring in subcontractors to the plant, too," as another way to reduce union jobs, he added.

Union officials and local capitalist politicians have also charged the company with sending jobs "overseas."

Local 201 is the third largest local union

organizing GE workers. Locals at GE's largest plant in Erie, Pennsylvania, and at the facility in Schenectady, New York, have also issued strike notices over company job cuts.

Local 201 strikers received support from other unionists in the area, including members of the Teamsters, and a delegation of Boston janitors organized by the Service Employees International Union, who recently carried out a month-long strike to win health insurance and a wage increase.

At the national level, delegates to the IUE-CWA/GE Conference Board meeting in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, voted unanimously on October 25 to authorize a national strike if the company persists with plans to increase health care co-payments for workers and retirees.

Negotiations over a new national contract are set to begin in 2003. It has been three decades since workers carried out a national strike against GE.

THE MILITANT

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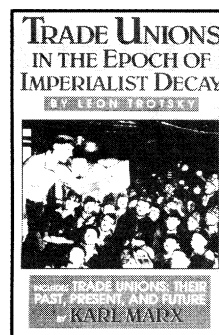
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In face of raisin 'glut' California farmers are squeezed by debt

BY ROLLANDE GIRARD
AND BILL KALMAN

KERMAN, California—For the third year in a row, raisin farmers in California's San Joaquin Valley are facing huge financial losses, farm foreclosures, and bankruptcies because of a crisis of overproduction of grapes. "I think this may be worse than the Depression," Harry Rustigian told the *Fresno Bee*. "Nobody is lending money to raisin growers. Not the banks, not the packers. It's all dried up." Rustigian farms the land his father settled in 1913.

Because of a "glut" of raisins—more than 430,000 tons this year—the raisin-packing companies are seeking to pay farmers less than their cost of production. The packers argue that there are more raisins than they can sell on the market for a profit, and that a decline in worldwide consumption and increased foreign competition are the reasons they can't offer farmers a better price. The San Joaquin Valley produces 40 percent of the world's raisins.

Last year the field price for a ton of raisins was set at \$880, but farmers received about \$550 per ton because of the amount that goes into a reserve pool. In 1998 farmers received \$1,264 per ton. The average cost to produce a ton of raisins is around \$800. So far this year, the packers have refused to negotiate a price with the growers.

The Raisin Administrative Committee (RAC), the panel that oversees the inventory and flow of raisins under the federal Raisin Marketing Order, regulates how many tons of raisins are placed on the market and how many are held in reserve. The growers receive money only for the raisins that are put on the market; the big packing companies like Lion Raisins and Sun-Maid Growers control the reserve. The majority

of the members of this panel are packers.

The farmers have not received money for several years from the raisin reserve, even when the packers sold off all of it. The packing companies have a huge economic advantage over small raisin farmers, who are reduced to being price-takers. The packers rent out the half-ton bins that farmers use to harvest grapes. While farmers are forced to pay \$17.50 a ton to fund the California Raisin Marketing Board, the packers pay nothing. And farmers pay a receiving, handling, and storage fee of \$46 per ton to the packers, in addition to an inspection fee of \$9 per ton.

The crisis of overabundance is also having an impact on farm workers. The farmers are hiring fewer workers and there is less work.

Elias Zaragoza, who has been a farm worker in the valley vineyards since 1979, said that this year was the worst. "We are told to work fast while we get paid only minimum wage," he explained. He said he works wherever he can now.

"Some pickers won't get paid if packers won't pay the farmers," third generation grape grower Mike Jerkovitch said during a phone interview. "This low price has an impact on everybody," he said, "because there are 5,000 growers who won't buy equipment, or parts to repair, it affects the economy. This is the worst I have ever seen."

Jerkovitch participated in two protests that were organized by Valley farmers in front of E. and J. Gallo Winery in Fresno this past summer. About 60 percent of California's wine grapes are grown in the San Joaquin Valley. Fifty farmers, carrying signs that read "Gallo wines made with growers' blood," protested the \$65 per ton price that Gallo gave them. It costs farmers about \$115 per ton to produce wine grapes.

El Salvador: workers, doctors strike to bar dismantling of state-run health care



La Prensa Gráfica

Tens of thousands marched October 23 in the streets of San Salvador, El Salvador's capital, demanding the government bar the dismantling of the state-run health-care system. The government initially backed away from privatization plans in the face of nationwide marches, road blocks and work stoppages. An ongoing strike by medical personnel against the Salvadoran Social Security Institute and state hospitals, which began September 19, has drawn support from other unions, peasant organizations, and students. The strikers are demanding legislative guarantees against any privatization measures and improvements in the health care system. The government has so far refused to negotiate. Facing parallel attacks on their living standards and on public health, thousands of health-care workers in Guatemala and Nicaragua went into the streets November 7 demanding pay raises.

Gallo, with \$1.1 billion in sales last year, sets the price for the other wineries.

Grape growers who produce Thompson seedless grapes are able to choose which grape industry to produce for: raisins, wine and concentrate, or table grapes. But now low prices for both raisins and wine grapes have hit small farmers here the hardest.

"The banks have been taking people's

property," Jerkovitch said. "This is happening while poor people are going hungry, and here the grapes are rotting on the vines." His land is now for sale. An estimated 55,000 to 75,000 tons of California wine grapes have not been harvested this year, according to the winery Joseph W. Ciatti Co.

To combat the grape glut, the RAC proposed a crop-reduction plan on October 15 to be presented to the U.S. Department of Agriculture for approval. The plan would encourage growers to pull vines out of production amounting to between 12,500 and 25,000 acres. It also suggests a five-year moratorium before land can be replanted to grow raisin grapes after the vines are pulled.

The RAC, through the Raisin Diversion Program, which is financed by the growers, will also pay growers to prune off the canes that produce the fruit in exchange for raisins from the reserve.

Participating farmers would then pay \$50 for a certificate entitling them to a ton of raisins for every ton they do not harvest—harvesting costs average \$340 an acre. In 2001 there were 276,000 acres of raisin grapes in California, 480,000 for wine grapes, and 88,000 for table grapes.

Crop curtailment programs benefit wealthy capitalist farmers who unlike smaller working farmers, can afford not to harvest part of their crop. They also reinforce the myth that farmers would rather collect subsidies than produce food for the world.

"Farmers don't like to cut production," said Greg Patterson, who together with his wife works outside jobs to make ends meet. He explained that his 40-acre vineyard doesn't pay the bills. "But we have no choice. It's not that we don't want to produce, but we can't keep taking it out of our pockets. I'm not sure how long I can hold out."

Rollande Girard is a sewing machine operator in the Bay Area. Bill Kalman is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 120 in San Lorenzo, California.

Proposed pact on 'technology' issue reached in West Coast dockworkers' fight for contract

BY BILL KALMAN

OAKLAND, California—Officials of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) and the bosses' organization, the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), announced a proposed agreement on November 1 allowing new technology that would eliminate some union jobs on the docks. The agreement allows the maritime companies to use bar scanners, computers, and tracking devices that would replace some 400 marine clerks in return for a guarantee that the displaced workers would be offered other union jobs on the docks.

The pact is subject to agreement on remaining issues. These include wages and pension benefits, as well as union control over job conditions, safety, and the hiring hall. Union negotiators said they were demanding higher pensions for dockworkers and union jurisdiction over new dock-related jobs as a tradeoff for the job losses.

Five days after the proposed settlement was announced, federal mediator Peter Hurtgen called for a one-week break in negotiations because of an impasse over pension benefits.

Hundreds of unionists marched in Oakland November 7, among them dockworkers who chanted, "Contract now!" ILWU representative Trent Willis criticized the Bush administration's imposition of the antiunion Taft-Hartley Act to prevent a strike. Picket signs read, "Taft-Hartley is forced labor" and "Government hands off ILWU."

Because of a media blackout imposed by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, more details were not available at press time.

One union member told the *Militant* he wanted to see what was actually put down on paper before commenting on the technology agreement. An at APL terminal in the Port of Oakland, a member of the ILWU said she thought the shipping bosses just wanted to make sure the dockworkers worked the Christmas cargo season. Both workers said it was the PMA that was pri-

marily responsible for the current disorganization of the docks.

Since July 1 the ILWU, which represents 10,500 West Coast dockworkers, has been fighting for a contract at nearly 80 shipping lines and terminal operators represented by the PMA. An 11-day boss lockout of union dockworkers last month closed down all Pacific coast ports, which handle \$300 billion in cargo a year. The lockout ended October 8 when President George Bush invoked the Taft-Hartley Act, imposing an 80-day "cooling off" period. During the "cooling off" period unionists are legally barred from carrying out job actions or strikes.

The PMA has attempted to get a federal court in San Francisco to rule against the union, accusing it of staging slowdowns since their return to work. On October 29 the ILWU responded citing five reasons for the freight slowdown: space shortages on the docks; increased truck congestion; a shortage of trained workers; equipment shortages and breakdowns; and safety hazards. Dockworkers and their union have explained that they are not working "slow," but that they are working safe.

Declining safety conditions are a major concern for longshore workers. Five dockers have been killed on the job so far this year, and the maritime bosses have intensified the pace of work on the docks over the last few decades. In 1968, 13,279 registered longshore workers on the West Coast moved 54.5 million tons. By 2001 7,669 workers moved 253.4 million tons. Annual tonnage in this period increased almost six-fold. The new agreement on "technology" will allow the shippers to increase this speedup.

The Port of Oakland, for example, bought eight super-sized Panamax cranes this summer. Costing \$7 million apiece, these cranes have the capacity to lift 145,600 pounds at one time, and can load or unload over 30 cargo containers an hour. According to port director Jerry Bridges, this expansion will help Oakland get "a good share of the increase in international cargo movement."

In a related development, the U.S. House and Senate announced a compromise agreement October 17 on Senate Bill 1214, the Port and Maritime Security Act. Once passed into law, this legislation would require ports and shipping companies to collaborate with the U.S. Coast Guard to develop "terrorism response plans," set up special port security committees which would restrict access to the ports, and give the Department of Transportation the power to conduct background checks on all port workers and issue mandatory identification cards.

The big-business media has already pointed to the unions as among the targets of the new act. The *Long Beach Telegram* warned in a recent editorial, "As the recent West Coast labor shutdown so starkly demonstrated, ports are national assets. Their protection, then, is a national responsibility." The new law would provide almost \$100 million in grants for security for seaports, and another \$400 million for the Coast Guard, the U.S. Customs Service, and other agencies.

The Coast Guard has set up a National Vessel Movement Center, requiring foreign ships to provide a 96-hour notice of their arrival plus cargo and crew manifests. The Coast Guard has also created four Maritime Safety and Security Teams, which are federal maritime SWAT teams based at the ports.

At the same time, Customs is proposing that they be informed 24 hours before any U.S.-bound merchandise is loaded onto a ship in a foreign port, along with detailed descriptions of the cargo.

The Coast Guard has recommended that passenger ferries plying the waters in the state of Washington be targeted for more stringent security. It has proposed that vehicles, passengers, and luggage be screened before boarding the ferry. The plan includes the use of armed patrols.

Bill Kalman is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 120 in San Lorenzo, California.

From Pathfinder

The Fight for a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States

by Jack Barnes

The shared exploitation of workers and farmers by banking, industrial, and commercial capital lays the basis for their alliance in a revolutionary fight for a government of the producers. In *New International* no. 4.

\$12.00

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 14.

'The oppressed are shaking off the shackles'

First time in print: excerpt from 1964 Malcolm X speech in new Pathfinder edition

This month Pathfinder is issuing a new, expanded edition of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* as well as the first-ever Spanish-language edition, *Malcolm X habla a la juventud*. Printed below are excerpts of remarks presented by Malcolm X during a program sponsored by the Oxford Union, a student debating society at Oxford University in the United Kingdom on Dec. 3, 1964. The piece quoted below appears in print for the first time in the new edition.

The debate was televised to an audience of millions by the British Broadcasting Corporation. The proposition under debate was "Extremism in defense of liberty is no vice, moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue," a statement made by Barry Goldwater in his 1964 speech accepting the Republican Party nomination for president of the United States.

Malcolm X was the fifth of six speakers, and the second of three who defended the above proposition. The other two speaking for it were Eric Abrahams, a student from Jamaica and president of the Oxford Union, and Hugh MacDiarmid, a Scottish poet and member of the Communist Party. Among the three opposing the proposition was Humphrey Berkeley, a Conservative Party member of Parliament, who spoke directly before Malcolm. There was no question period. The audience, which included many students originally from Africa and Asia, greeted Malcolm's remarks with enthusiastic applause. The minutes of the meeting record that in the vote held after the debate, the proposition defended by Malcolm received 137 votes to 288 against.

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BY MALCOLM X

Mr. Chairman, tonight is the first night that I've ever had an opportunity to be as near to conservatives as I am. [Laughter] And the speaker who preceded me—First, I want to thank you for the invitation to come here to the Oxford Union. The speaker who preceded me is one of the best excuses that I know to prove our point concerning the necessity, sometimes, of extremism in the defense of liberty, why it is no vice, and why moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue. I don't say that about him personally, but that type is the—[Laughter and applause]

He's right. X is not my real name. But if you study history, you'll find why no Black man in the Western Hemisphere knows his real name. Some of his ancestors kidnapped our ancestors from Africa and took us into the Western Hemisphere and sold us there, and our names were stripped from us and so today we don't know who we really are. I'm one of those who admit it, and so I just put X up there to keep from wearing his name.

And as far as this apartheid charge that he attributed to me is concerned, evidently he has been misinformed. I don't believe in any form of apartheid. I don't believe in any form of segregation. I don't believe in any



Malcolm X (in back) enters hall for debate at Oxford University on Dec. 3, 1964. He condemned U.S. and Belgian intervention that imposed reactionary regime in the Congo.

Oxford Mail

form of racialism. But at the same time, I don't endorse a person as being right just because his skin is white. And oftentimes, when you find people like this—I mean that type—[Laughter] when a man whom they have been taught is below them has the nerve or firmness to question some of their philosophy or some of their conclusions, usually they put that label on us, a label that is only designed to project an image which the public will find distasteful.

I am a Muslim. If there is something wrong with that, then I stand condemned. My religion is Islam. I believe in Allah. I believe in Muhammad as the apostle of Allah. I believe in brotherhood of all men, but I don't believe in brotherhood with anybody who's not ready to practice brotherhood with our people. [Applause] I don't believe in brotherhood—I just take time to make these few things clear, because I find that one of the tricks of the West—and I imagine my good friend, or at least that type [Laughter] is from the West—one of the tricks of the West is to use or create images.

They create images of a person who doesn't go along with their views, and they make certain that this image is distasteful, and that anything that that person has to say from there on in is rejected. This is a policy that has been practiced, pretty much, by the West. It perhaps would have been practiced by others had they been in power, but during recent centuries the West has been in power, they've created the images, and they've used these images quite skillfully and quite successfully. That's why today we need a little extremism in order to straighten a very nasty situation out. Or a very extremely nasty situation out. [Laughter]

I think the only way one can really determine whether or not extremism in defense of liberty is justified, is not to approach it as an American or a European or an African or

an Asian, but as a human being. If we look upon it as different types, immediately we begin to think in terms of extremism being good for one and bad for another, or bad for one and good for another. But if we look upon it, if we look upon ourselves as human beings, I doubt that anyone will deny that extremism in defense of liberty, the liberty of any human being, is no vice. Anytime anyone is enslaved or in any way deprived of his liberty, that person, as a human being, as far as I'm concerned he is justified to resort to whatever methods necessary to bring about his liberty again. [Applause]

But most people usually think in terms of extremism as something that's relative, related to someone whom they know or something that they've heard of. I don't think they look upon extremism by itself or all alone. They apply it to something. A good example, and one of the reasons that it can't be too well understood today: many people who have been in positions of power in the past don't realize that the power—centers of power—are changing. When you're in a position of power for a long time, you get used to using your yardstick, and you take it for granted that because you've forced your yardstick upon others, that everyone is still using the same yardstick. So that your definition of extremism usually applies to everyone.

But nowadays times are changing, and the center of power is changing. People in the past who weren't in a position to have a yardstick, or use a yardstick of their own, are using their own yardstick now. And you use one and they use another. In the past, when the oppressor had one stick and the oppressed used that same stick, today the oppressed are sort of shaking the shackles and getting yardsticks of their own. So when they say extremism, they don't mean what you do. And when you say extremism, you don't mean what they do. There's entirely two different meanings. And when this is understood, I think you can better understand why those who are using methods of extremism are being driven to them.

'They turn the victim into the criminal'

A good example is the Congo.¹ When the people who are in power want to use—again, create an image to justify something that's bad, they use the press, and they'll use the press to create a humanitarian image for a devil, or a devil image for a humanitarian. They'll take a person who's the victim of the crime and make it appear he's the criminal, and they'll take the criminal and make it appear that he's the victim of the crime. And the Congo situation is one of the best examples that I can cite right now to point this out. The Congo situation is a nasty example of how a country, because it is in power, can take its press and make the world accept something that's absolutely criminal.

They take American-trained—they take pilots that they say are American-trained—and this automatically lends respectability to them, [Laughter] and then they will call

them anti-Castro Cubans. And that's supposed to add to their respectability [Laughter] and eliminate the fact that they're dropping bombs on villages where they have no defense whatsoever against such planes, blowing to bits Black women—Congolese women, Congolese children, Congolese babies. This is extremism. But it is never referred to as extremism, because it is endorsed by the West, it's financed by America, it's made respectable by America, and that kind of extremism is never labeled as extremism. Because it's not extremism in defense of liberty. And if it is extremism in defense of liberty, as this talk has just pointed out, it's extremism in defense of liberty for the wrong type of people. [Applause]

I'm not advocating that kind of extremism. That's cold-blooded murder. But the press is used to make that cold-blooded murder appear as an act of humanitarianism.

They take it one step farther and get a man named Tshombe, who is a murderer. They refer to him as the premier or the prime minister of the Congo to lend respectability to him. He's actually the murderer of the right-ful prime minister of the Congo. [Applause] They never mention that this man—I'm not for extremism in defense of that kind of liberty or that kind of activity. They take this man, who's a murderer. The world recognizes him as a murderer. But they make him the prime minister. He becomes a paid murderer, a paid killer, who is propped up by American dollars. And to show the degree to which he is a paid killer, the first thing he does is go to South Africa and hire more killers and bring them into the Congo. They give them the glorious name of mercenary, which means a hired killer; not someone that's killing for some kind of patriotism, or some kind of ideal, but a man who is a paid killer, a hired killer. And one of the leaders of them is right from this country here. And he's glorified as a soldier of fortune, when he's shooting down little Black women and Black babies and Black children.

I'm not for that kind of extremism. I'm for the kind of extremism that those who are being destroyed by those bombs and destroyed by those hired killers are able to put forth to thwart it. They will risk their lives at any cost. They will sacrifice their lives at any cost against that kind of criminal activity.

I'm for the kind of extremism that the freedom fighters in the Stanleyville regime are able to display against these hired killers, who are actually using some of my tax dollars, that I have to pay up in the United States, to finance that operation over there. We're not for that kind of extremism.

And again, I think you must point out that the real criminal there is the—or rather one of the [Malcolm laughs]—one of those who

Continued on Page 10

New, expanded edition

Malcolm X Talks to Young People

"All over the world, it is young people who are actually involving themselves in the struggle to eliminate oppression and exploitation. They are the ones who most quickly identify with the struggle and the necessity to eliminate the conditions that exist." —Malcolm X, January 1965

This new expanded edition includes four talks given to young people in Ghana, the United Kingdom, and the United States in 1964 and 1965; a 1965 interview with the *Young Socialist* magazine; and an enlarged display of photographs. It concludes with two memorial tributes by a young socialist leader to Malcolm X. The new English-language edition is being released with the Spanish-language edition, *Malcolm habla a la juventud*.

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 14; or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690; or visit www.pathfinderpress.com.



Socialist miners and street campaigners push sales drive into the home stretch

BY PAUL PEDERSON

Partisans of the *Militant* newspaper and its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* are steaming into the home stretch of the 10-week international subscription and book sales campaign. With one week to go they are on course to make and surpass all of their international goals.

A glance at the "In the Unions" columns of the subscription drive chart shows the challenge that remains to close the gap between the goals and current low sales to co-workers and other unionists. Efforts in the past week by socialist coal miners in the United States are an example of what *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* supporters in the factories, mines, and mills can accomplish.

Tony Lane, an underground coal miner and member of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) in southwestern Pennsylvania, took advantage of the Veterans Day holiday to meet with five of his co-workers. Two of them decided to renew their subscriptions and a third bought a copy to check out. Lane has made plans to meet up with another miner before the end of the drive.

A worker at the McKinley mine on the Navajo Nation, near Gallup, New Mexico, bought a *Militant* subscription. In 2000 workers at that mine and in Kemmerer, Wyoming, waged a successful strike against Pittsburg and Midway, the company that owns both pits. Jason Alessio, a union miner who recently ran as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for congress in Colorado, met with a co-worker over the weekend and signed him up for a subscription as well.

Betsy Farley, a surface miner from Hazleton, Pennsylvania, joined a team of socialists selling the socialist press door-to-door near the site of this summer's Quecreek mine disaster in Somerset, Pennsylvania. Miners are standing up to pressure from the coal company and the government, and telling the truth about the bosses' responsibility for the flood that nearly took the lives of the nine mine workers who were trapped underground for three days.

People in that community bought several copies of the *Militant* with coverage on the state mine safety hearings

where Quecreek miners testified. Farley spoke with one retired miner, a longtime member of the UMWA, who worked for many years in the abandoned Saxman mine, adjacent to Quecreek and the source of the flooding. He bought a six-month subscription to the *Militant* after explaining he was tired of the lies being printed in local newspapers claiming that the company is not to blame for the near-fatal disaster.

Farley has also talked to several co-workers about Washington's war moves against Iraq. Two of them decided to purchase copies of *New Internationalist* no. 7, which includes "Opening Guns of World War III; Washington's assault on Iraq."

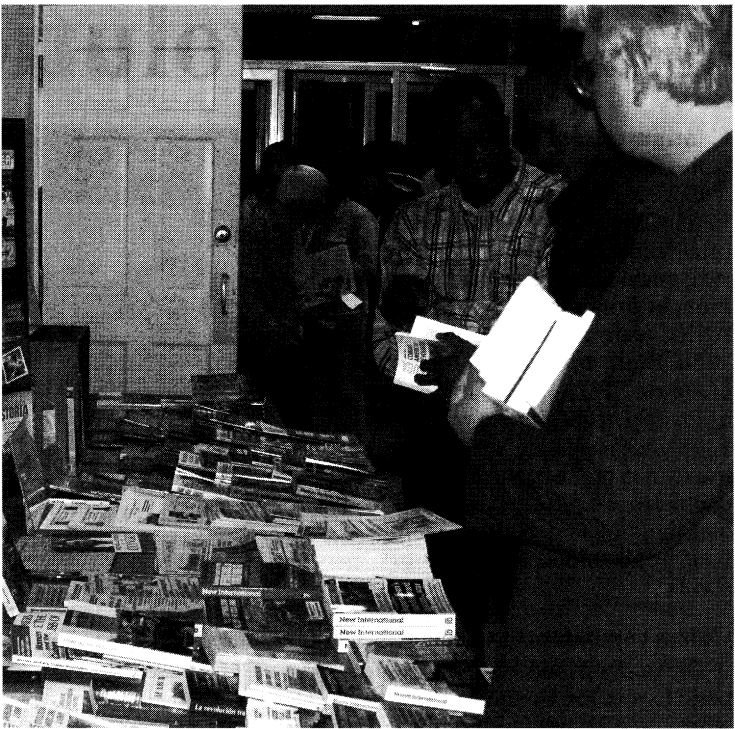
These efforts over the past week added six subscriptions toward the goal set by miners in the United States.

Street campaigning continues

In what has become a familiar sight on several street corners in New York City, four socialist street agitators set up a table Saturday, November 9. They took turns speaking through a bullhorn in English and Spanish while standing on a milk crate—often drawing a small crowd to their table.

Garment workers, messengers, office workers and students stopped on the crowded sidewalks of Manhattan's garment district to hear the socialists present a program to defend working people against the consequences of the deepening economic depression, explain the underpinnings of Washington's war moves against the people of Iraq, and take up other political issues.

One college student bought the pamphlet *Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle* by Thomas Sankara, central leader of the Burkina Faso revolution in the early 1980s. A copy of *New Internationalist* in each of three languages—English, Spanish, and French—two *Militant* subscriptions, and one subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial* were also purchased by those who stopped to talk



Militant/Maceo Dixon

Selling revolutionary literature at Atlanta meeting for Cuban revolutionaries Víctor Dreke and Ana Morales. Some \$1,400 in Pathfinder books was sold at this and similar events in the area.

with the socialists.

"Unlike the big business parties that stop campaigning when the elections are over," said Laura Anderson, a sewing machine operator in a New York garment plant who participated in the sales activities that day, "the socialist campaign doesn't stop on election day. We keep going out into the streets to build the communist movement."

Youth from U.S. will attend OCLAE meeting

BY OLYMPIA NEWTON

LOS ANGELES—Dozens of young people here are preparing to go to Guadalajara, Mexico, for a student conference that will attract young people from across the Americas. The event, to be held November 29–December 2, is sponsored by the Continental Organization of Latin American and Caribbean Students (OCLAE), and hosted by the Federation of University Students of Guadalajara.

The Los Angeles delegation already includes 30 people, with students from six different campuses. The delegation was initiated by the Los Angeles Coalition in Solidarity with Cuba and the Latin America Society at California State University in Los Angeles. The youth are raising funds and looking for inexpensive ways to travel to the conference.

The 13th OCLAE congress includes a session on "The Imperialist Presence in Latin America and the Caribbean" and a plenary session called "Another America is Possible." Another feature of the gathering is several working commissions of delegates from different countries on eight dif-

ferent topics, including Education in the Era of Trade Agreements, Culture as an Expression and Form of Popular Struggle, and Gender and Identity. Regional meetings of the delegations, as well as cultural and social events, will also be part of the four-day program.

The OCLAE congress is part of the continuing effort led by Cuban youth organizations and groups in other countries to build an worldwide anti-imperialist youth movement. Among the delegates from Central and South America, the Caribbean, and North America, many will be attending as a way to link up with other young people engaged in the struggles against imperialist oppression and exploitation.

This year's OCLAE congress coincides with the opening of the annual Guadalajara International Book Fair, the largest trade book fair in Latin America. The schedule for the congress includes a visit to the book fair. Cuba is the featured country at the fair this year.

The \$70 registration fee for the conference includes lodging in a four-person hotel room for November 28–December 2, two meals per day, conference registration, and a pass to visit the Guadalajara book fair. Registration forms should be sent in by November 10. For more information and registration forms, visit the website of OCLAE at www.oclae.org



BY STEPHANIE TAYLOR

BROWNSVILLE, Texas—At an October 14 rally at the University of Texas here to oppose the U.S. war drive in the Mideast, attended by 50 people, an announcement was made about the upcoming conference in Guadalajara, Mexico, sponsored by the Continental Organization of Latin American and Caribbean Students (OCLAE), as a way to join with hundreds of others in an international conference that will draw many anti-imperialist-minded youth.

After the rally several students stuck around to discuss how they could participate in the upcoming OCLAE meeting. Several signed up for a delegation planning meeting, which was held a few days later. Seven students turned out for that meeting and discussed the purpose of the congress as well as fund-raising. One of the professors who spoke at the rally offered financial sponsorship of two students. It was also reported that an inexpensive bus can be taken from Matamoros—across the border from Brownsville—to Guadalajara.

Olympia Newton is a member of the Young Socialists in Los Angeles. Stephanie Taylor is a member of the Young Socialists in Brownsville.

AMIEU-Australasian Meat Industry Employee's Union; 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 Textile Employees. MUA-Maritime Union of Australia

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Subscription Drive Sept. 7–Nov. 17: Week 9

Country	Militant			PM		Book	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
Australia	28	25	89%	6	3	15	15
Canada							
Vancouver	30	27	90%	5	5	15	10
Toronto	30	24	80%	5	2	25	5
Montreal	15	12	80%	10	3	20	16
Canada total	75	63	84%	20	10	60	31
Iceland*	15	15	100%	1	1	25	12
New Zealand							
Christchurch	12	13	108%	1	0	7	7
Auckland	20	18	90%	1	0	7	8
N.Z. total	32	31	97%	2	0	14	15
Sweden							
Stockholm	12	15	125%	3	4	5	8
Gothenburg	15	12	80%	3	2	10	9
Sweden Total	27	27	100%	6	6	15	17
United Kingdom							
London	45	32	71%	15	13	60	50
Dundee	10	8	80%	0	0	15	16
UK total	55	40	73%	15	13	75	66
United States							
San Francisco	30	36	120%	20	24	30	28
Washington	30	34	113%	12	14	25	24
Seattle	40	42	105%	12	5	30	18
Boston	33	33	100%	20	15	45	42
Des Moines*	30	29	97%	15	15	18	21
Los Angeles	45	42	93%	30	20	30	18
Omaha*	15	14	93%	23	28	20	22
Twin Cities	55	51	93%	45	42	35	31
NE Pennsylvania	30	27	90%	7	2	15	15
Western Colorado	30	27	90%	10	7	12	14
Atlanta	35	31	89%	15	5	25	14
Philadelphia	25	22	88%	10	4	15	11
Charlotte	20	17	85%	8	9	20	18
Upper Manhattan	75	62	83%	45	30	50	46
Chicago	45	37	82%	30	29	25	28
Cleveland	28	23	82%	10	7	15	12
Detroit	43	35	81%	12	10	25	18
Tucson	5	4	80%	1	3	5	4
Pittsburgh	40	31	78%	4	1	15	13
Houston	35	27	77%	15	5	30	29
NY Garment Dist.	80	61	76%	45	24	70	47
Newark	65	47	72%	40	22	40	37
Birmingham	22	15	68%	10	8	12	5
Tampa	25	17	68%	8	1	12	4
Miami	30	18	60%	10	7	25	17
Brownsville	8	4	50%	2	2	6	3
U.S. total	919	786	86%	459	339	650	539
Int'l totals	1151	987	90%	509	372	854	695
Goal/Should be	1100	990	90%	400	360	725	653

IN THE UNIONS

	Goal Sold %			Goal Sold		Goal Sold	
Australia							
AMIEU	3	2	67%			2	1
MUA	3	3	100%			3	0
Total	6	5	83%			5	1
Canada							
UFCW	9	2	22%	1	1	8	1
UNITE	6	1	17%	7	2	7	1
Total	15	3	20%	8	3	15	2
New Zealand							
MWU	3	1	33%			1	0
NDU	2	0	0%			1	0
Total	5	1	20%			2	0
United States							
UFCW	50	29	58%	65	60	60	28
UMWA	25	12	48%	4	0	13	3
UNITE	50	11	22%	40	19	60	24
Total	125	52	42%	109	79	133	55
raised goal*							

Eastern Germany

Continued from Page 9

within three years. Official joblessness has hovered at around 4 million for four consecutive months.

During his election campaign Schröder appointed Volkswagen personnel director Peter Hartz to head the commission. Among its proposals, the commission recommended the establishment of "personnel service agencies"—temp agencies—that would employ anyone who had been unemployed for six months.

Workers hired by the agencies would be obliged to take the short-term work they were given or have their unemployment benefits docked. Every jobless person would be expected to accept a lower wage than before or face a cut in benefits. Single workers would be required to move anywhere in the country for a job or face similar deductions. The plan would force workers to report to "job centers" or face unemployment payment deductions for every day they delay.

The Schröder government has set up a labor and economics "super-ministry" charged with implementing the commission's labor market "reforms." The ministry is also promoting cuts to social security benefits, reductions in job security for older workers, the creation of a "low wage sector" of the workforce, and measures to make it easier for bosses to fire workers.

Meanwhile, the head of the Confederation of German Trade Unions has warned of "a winter of labor unrest over health service and public sector pay," Reuters reported. The German Medical Association has called on health-care workers to protest planned cuts in health spending that have been backed by Schröder and Health and Social Affairs Minister Ulla Schmidt.

Cuban revolutionaries speak in Alabama

Continued from front page
United States.

Cuban revolutionary leader Fidel Castro, Dreke said, "has often explained our debt to Africa, since slaves who had been brought from many countries in Africa were among the first to shed their blood in Cuba's struggle for independence against Spain, beginning with the 1868 independence revolt. We must never forget that the cobblestone streets and beautiful buildings of Old Havana were built by the blood and sweat of slaves."

Cuban combatants in Congo

Dreke described his own experiences in the Congo in 1965, where, as a 28-year-old combatant, he served as second in command to Argentine-born revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara, who headed the mission.

The 128 Cuban volunteers had gone to the Congo at the request of leaders of the national liberation movement who were followers of Patrice Lumumba, the assassinated leader of the Congo's fight for independence from Belgium. The task of the Cuban column was to help train forces combating proimperialist troops and U.S.-



Victor Dreke, second from right, and Ana Morales, far left, speak with farmers November 4 at Federation of Southern Cooperatives Rural Training Center in Epes, Alabama.

backed mercenaries in that country.

The meeting at the University of Alabama in Birmingham (UAB) drew a mix of students, faculty, workers, and political activists from around the city and beyond. The meeting was punctuated with applause and laughter from the audience as Dreke and Morales answered with humor one question after another on topics ranging from public

health in Cuba to the impact of the U.S. embargo to the question of religious freedom.

"We cannot say there are no racists in Cuba," said Dreke, in response to a question about how the Cuban Revolution has combated racism since 1959, "because that is something that may still exist among some individuals. But discrimination and racism do not exist as a social problem today" in the way they do in capitalist countries.

Revolution transformed social relations

From the beginning, the Cuban revolutionary leadership set an example by enacting laws barring racist discrimination and enforcing them. The revolution has transformed social relations and attitudes in Cuba. "There used to be an expression in Cuba, before the revolution, that someone 'looked Congo,' if they were dark-skinned. That is not something you hear today," Dreke pointed out.

Earlier in the day, Ana Morales was the guest speaker at the UAB School of Nursing lunch-time lecture series. She spoke on "Medical Education and Health Care in Cuba."

"The advances we have made in health care since 1959," Morales said, "have been possible only because we have a socialist system in Cuba. In 1959, average life expectancy was 44. Today it is 76."

There was special interest in her description of Cuba's family doctor/nurse system—in which a doctor and a nurse live and work in each community—through which primary health care is made equally available to the population in city and countryside.

That same day, Dreke spoke to a group of about 15 students and faculty organized by the

UAB African American Studies Program, one of the tour sponsors. His presentation, drawing on his own experiences, dealt with the realities facing youth in Cuba in the early 1950s. "Young people grew up in the streets shining shoes or washing cars or doing other things they shouldn't be doing," Dreke said. "Those were times when Cuba was capitalist. If your parents got sick, most people could not take them to the hospital. If they needed a blood transfusion, you would have to find friends to donate blood and you couldn't offer that friend even a cup of coffee in return. That was what it was like in Cuba, and it was worse for Blacks."

Fulgencio Batista, the U.S.-backed dictator overthrown by the 1959 revolution, "had the features of a Black person. Some Black people used to say, 'Now we have a Black government.' But Batista never said he was Black," Dreke noted. "In fact, even though he was as dark as this young man"—

Final push needed for fund drive

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

With less than a week remaining, a final day-by-day push is needed to complete the Pathfinder Fund campaign to raise \$105,000 by the November 17 deadline. At press time more than \$79,000, or 75 percent of the goal, has arrived in New York, leaving supporters of Pathfinder almost \$26,000 to raise and send in on time.

The substantial sales of Pathfinder books—more than \$2,100—at recent meetings in Georgia and Alabama to hear Cuban revolutionary leader Victor Dreke underscore the potential to gain contributions to the Pathfinder Fund from those who value these political weapons.

Fund campaigners from several areas report they are taking the steps needed to meet their fund-raising goals, through final public events promoting the Pathfinder Fund or

following through on consistent work they have been carrying out all along.

At a November 9 Pathfinder Fund event in Seattle, featuring Socialist Workers Party leader Tom Leonard speaking on the imperialist war drive in the Middle East and Washington's attacks on working people at home, two longshore workers were among those attending. The unionists had heard about the program at a table of Pathfinder literature on the docks the day before. The two, members of the International Longshore Workers Union, have been part of the fight by West Coast dockworkers for a contract in face of government intervention. They explained that the border cops had prevented them from entering Canada as they tried to join union picket lines north of the border.

Some 50 people attended the Seattle event, including a number of workers and young people from Vancouver, British Columbia. The fund collection at the program helped Pathfinder supporters in Seattle surpass their goal of \$7,500. Tom McCarthy, a young worker, spoke at the event, explaining how Pathfinder books have helped him to understand the importance of the revolution the Cuban people carried out 43 years ago against the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship, and the history of the labor movement in the United States.

Reaching out to long-term *Militant* subscribers who value Pathfinder literature has helped campaigners in western Colorado approach their goal. They report that they sent out a mailing to subscribers in the region in September, and have received a number of contributions.

In the past week one *Militant* reader from Denver and another from one Nucla, Colorado, each sent in payments of \$100 toward maintaining Pathfinder Press's ambitious publishing plans. Another long-term subscriber, a press operator in Denver, made one in a series of contributions he has sent in during the fund drive. He has decided to contribute the money he receives for company-paid lunches, and his total contributions to date stand at \$120.

By carefully organizing to collect the final payments on pledges from contributors over the next few days, Pathfinder supporters around the world can bring home a success.

Contributions to the fund can be made out to Pathfinder and mailed to the *Militant*, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.



Cuban revolutionary leader Victor Dreke speaks to students and faculty at University of Alabama School of Public Health in Birmingham. To his right is Ana Morales.

The citywide meeting was opened by Dr. Sten Vermund, director of the Sparkman Center for International Public Health Education at UAB, one of the sponsors of the visit to Alabama.

"Among my colleagues are several doctors from Zambia," Vermund said, "and I asked them what they thought about the Cuban doctors in their country. They told me the Cuban doctors would go to parts of the country where even Zambian doctors would not go. So we have the most favorable impression of the work of Cuban doctors there."

Welcoming remarks were also made by representatives of the UAB Black Student Union and Bodypolitik, a student group that was one of the sponsors of the tour. The meeting was chaired by Niyi Coker, chair of the African American Studies Program, and Lynda Law Harrison, professor at the school of nursing.

Four students from Alabama A&M University, members of the Pan African Alliance, made the 90-mile drive from Huntsville to attend the event. A young woman and her mother made the drive up from Tuscaloosa to hear Dreke, after learning about the tour while voting two days earlier.

After the program, Dreke and Morales were swamped for another hour by people who wanted to continue discussion and ask Dreke to autograph copies of his book, *From the Escambray to the Congo: In the Whirlwind of the Cuban Revolution*, published by Pathfinder Press.

pointing to an audience member—"his birth certificate said he was white. Batista was responsible for killing 20,000 people." He cared nothing about the well-being of Blacks in Cuba, Dreke concluded.

Dreke, who as a teenager was active in the student protests against the Batista dictatorship, described some of the challenges of organizing the revolutionary movement in the initial period. "The student struggle was not easy," he said. "You would try to organize a student strike and few would participate. Parents would be afraid that their children would get brutalized by the cops or that they would lose their jobs. But eventually we came to the conclusion that you had to protest and fight for the overthrow of the government."

"Many were exploited, but at first not many were ready to be on the front lines. So we began with a few. The most important thing is the quality of the movement that is built in the beginning stages. It may not start big. But it's more important to be small and correct than to be large and wrong."

Several people asked how it is possible that Cuba achieved its independence and is able to move forward on a number of social programs.

"People wonder, 'Why can Cuba do all these things when other countries that are so wealthy and cannot?'" Dreke said. "It's because in your countries workers don't hold power. Ordinary Blacks and whites don't hold

Continued on Page 15

\$105,000 Pathfinder Fund Sept. 1–Nov. 17 Week 10

	Goal	Paid	%
Twin Cities MN	5,000	5,057	101%
Tucson AZ	150	150	100%
NY Garment District	6,000	5,960	99%
Western CO	2,600	2,436	94%
Philadelphia PA	5,000	4,648	93%
Newark NJ	4,300	3,809	89%
Des Moines IA	1,200	1,020	85%
Northeast PA	1,200	1,015	85%
Detroit MI	3,000	2,449	82%
Charlotte NC	3,500	2,835	81%
Chicago IL	5,500	4,154	76%
NY Upper Manhattan	5,000	3,725	75%
San Francisco CA	8,500	6,320	74%
Tampa FL	2,000	1,447	72%
Cleveland OH	1,700	1,210	71%
Birmingham AL	3,100	2,161	70%
Seattle WA	7,500	5,090	68%
Omaha NE	900	590	66%
Boston MA	3,500	2,245	64%
Atlanta GA	4,250	2,640	62%
Pittsburgh PA	4,200	2,450	58%
Los Angeles CA	9,500	5,250	55%
Miami FL	2,100	1,125	54%
Washington DC	3,000	1,523	51%
Houston TX	4,500	1,895	42%
Other		1,021	
U.S. total	97,200	72,223	74%
New Zealand	1,500	1,527	102%
Canada	4,500	3,847	85%
Australia	1,500	1,245	83%
France	400	265	66%
Sweden	1,400	100	7%
Iceland	150	0	0%
United Kingdom	1,200	0	0%
International total	107,850	79,208	73%
Int'l goal/should be	105,000	95,550	91%

Protesters condemn Australian cop raids against Indonesians

BY JOANNE KUNIANSKY

SYDNEY, Australia—Some 50 people from among six families whose homes were raided by police conducted a sit-down protest November 3 in front of Kirribilli House here, the prime minister's official Sydney residence. Hundreds of demonstrators also marched on the Australian Embassy in Jakarta two days later to condemn the Australian police raids. Protesters blocked the entrance to the embassy, waving banners, including one that read, "Indonesia under attack."

The protesters were responding to moves by Australian Federal Police (AFP) and Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) agents, who in the aftermath of the bombing on the Indonesian island of Bali in mid-October that killed 190 people, have raided the homes of numerous Indonesian families in Sydney, Perth, and Melbourne. The cops claim they're searching for individuals with links to the organization Jemaah Islamiah (JI). Police have spent hours at each home seizing computers, mobile phones, documents, and family videos.

The Australian government October 27 listed JI as a "terrorist" group after prompting the United Nations to do so several days earlier. Last June the Australian parliament amended the Crimes Act to outlaw United Nations-designated "terrorist" organizations, and to make joining or supporting them a criminal offense.

Warrants for the raids were issued October 27 under the Crimes Act and ASIO Act, which allow such operations in cases alleged to be important to "national security." Heavily armed and masked police pointed guns at four children, one as young as four, during a raid on the home of a Perth Muslim family.

The oldest daughter, Yulyani Suparta, 17, said the family had been in bed asleep when federal agents and armed police in riot gear burst into their home on October 30 early in the morning. "We heard this loud bang and we all woke up," Suparta said. "All of a sudden our door broke down and all these policemen with big handguns screamed at us to get down. One of them pushed me and told me to get down on the floor. He pointed the gun at my face."

Men in the homes raided by cops were purported to have attended lectures in Australia given by Abu Bakar Bashir, a Muslim cleric from Indonesia who was arrested in Indonesia soon after the Bali bombing. Bashir frequently visited Australia between 1993 and 1996. He would stay several weeks each time to lecture and lead prayers among the Indonesian immigrant community. ASIO claims that Bashir is the spiritual leader of Jemaah Islamiah.

Among those participating in the protest in Sydney was Jaya Basri, the target of the first raid. He faced Mecca and led the mid-afternoon call to prayer outside the locked gates of the prime minister's residence, flanked by uniformed and plainclothes security officers. The protesters were demanding an audience with Prime Minister John Howard. "We are trying to tell him they

don't have to come to our houses, we will cooperate with them. We have nothing to hide," stated Romzi Ali, secretary of the Islamic Society of Manly Warringah.

Stephen Hopper, a lawyer for the six families, said, "The raids are a vulgar and base example of racial profiling of innocent and defenseless community members who are being made scapegoats." He added, "We've had more than 40 raids by ASIO since September 11 [of last year], and not one has resulted in an arrest or a charge in relation to terrorist activity."

Raids met with outrage in Indonesia

The raids, which are downplayed by politicians and described by the media in Australia as "investigations," have been highly publicized in Indonesia, where they have met with widespread outrage. These assaults on people from Indonesia who are Australian citizens or residents have heightened tensions between Jakarta and Canberra.

Dr. Marty Natalegawa, a spokesman for Indonesia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, called the Australian embassy in Jakarta to find out why "the basic norms of international conduct" had not been followed by the Australian government. He said Indonesia's embassy in Australia found out about the searches from media reports.

In addition to the recent raids, Natalegawa said, two other "anti-terrorist" proposals by Australia's rulers could undermine relations between the countries. First is a suggestion made by Defense Minister Robert Hill that Australian troops might be sent to Indonesia to join local troops there in fighting "terrorism." Second is a report stating that ASIO may open a new office in Jakarta.

Civil liberties groups and Muslim leaders condemned the force used in the raids. Liberty Victoria vice president Greg Connellan said the raids went against freedom of association and expression.

New South Wales Council of Civil Liberties president Cameron Murphy said that on the surface the raids looked like a cam-

New York demonstrators demand release of Palestinian activist



Supporters of Palestinian activist Farouk Abdel-Muhti protest in front of Immigration and Naturalization Service building in New York demanding his release. The protest was reported in the *Hoy* newspaper November 11. An outspoken critic of U.S.-backed Israeli brutality, Muhti was arrested in April by INS agents and cops. Without any criminal charges filed against him, he was sent to three different prisons in New Jersey. Before his arrest Muhti was preparing a radio show featuring Palestinian leaders from the occupied territories.

paign of harassment. "The fact that there have been so many raids and that no one has been charged suggests that there is no evidence. It suggests that it is a fishing exercise or a publicity stunt," he stated.

Gabr Elgafi, chairman of the Supreme Islamic Council of NSW, expressed alarm that innocent people caught up in the raids might not be able to clear their names. "The after-effects will remain with these families for years to come," he said.

Stepped-up immigration roundups

Alongside the ASIO raids, immigration officials have picked up 80 Indonesians since the October 12 Bali bombings. This included six Indonesian workers apprehended on visa violations at a Sydney factory.

In the face of criticism, Prime Minister Howard reiterated, "There were reasons for those raids and I defend 100 per cent what ASIO has done. I find it amazing that people

could seriously question the national need for this to occur." The raids were also supported by Labor, with the Opposition Leader, Simon Crean, saying that "if the authorities have evidence on which they have to act, we totally support them."

The only candidates speaking out against the raids were Robert Aiken, the Communist League candidate for Lakemba, and Douglas Cooper, the Communist League candidate for Canterbury, in the New South Wales state elections.

"The government is using the Bali bombings as a pretext to step up its two-front war against working people at home and abroad," said Aiken. "Our campaign condemns these raids which are ultimately aimed at the struggles of working people as a whole."

Joanne Kuniansky is a member of the Australasian Meat Industry Employees Union.

'Big three' auto sales plunge as layoffs loom

BY PAUL PEDERSON

U.S. auto sales plunged in October, down 27.4 percent from the previous year. The Big Three auto makers were among the hardest hit, with Ford Motor Co. announcing a 34.9 percent drop from last year, General Motors down 31.9 percent, and the Chrysler division of DaimlerChrysler falling 30.9 percent.

The news comes at a time when Ford, the second largest U.S. auto company, is in deep financial trouble. Ford's stock has fallen to its lowest level in 10 years, dropping 25 percent just in the first two weeks of October. "The company has barely been making enough money to cover its interest" payments, said an analyst at Egan-Jones Ratings, which recently downgraded Ford to junk-bond status. "Ford is right on the edge

of a precipice."

Ford's financial arm, Ford Motor Credit, is the largest issuer of corporate debt in the nation. It has a long-term debt of some \$170 billion. As this debt balloons, banks are increasingly wary of extending the loans—totaling between \$22 billion and \$32 billion—that Ford is asking for to cover expenses in 2003.

The bosses at Ford are discussing plant closings and layoffs in the 110 plants they own worldwide. The auto giant's "staggering debt load," *New York Times* business reporter Gretchen Morgenson wrote, raises "concerns about its ability to finance long-term pension and health-care obligations to workers."

This situation comes after three years of high sales, in which 50 million new cars were sold. For the past year U.S. auto makers have been offering special loan packages and cash-back incentives that have lured millions of people into purchasing new cars. GM began the trend last year with the introduction of the now-familiar "triple zero" campaign—zero down payment, zero interest, and zero payments for three months. Shortly after these loan packages were announced, new car sales shot up to the all-time record of 21.3 million annual rate set in October 2001.

Many of those attracted by these loan offers into buying a new car have discovered that within a year or two its value has plummeted. Wholesale prices on used cars dropped 6.3 percent in August.

For example, in 2000 the price of a new Ford Taurus was \$19,440. Two years later the book value is \$8,302—42.7 percent of its new value. Buyers, unable to sell their cars for even a fraction of what they paid for them, are often left paying off thousands of dollars in debts on a car they no longer own.

Now, in an effort to reverse the declining

sales, the major U.S. auto makers are extending the incentive packages. But as more working people feel the effects of the spreading depression, fewer are buying. "Zero-percent financing and other incentives only worked because the economic backdrop remained essentially favorable," said Paul Ballew, GM's head of industry sales and analysis.

The changing economic backdrop Ballew is talking about includes the decline in October of U.S. manufacturing as a whole for the second consecutive month. In the same month 49,000 manufacturing jobs were eliminated. Thirty-three steel companies filed for bankruptcy or ceased operations between 2000 and 2002. Over the past year 116 textile plants have closed.

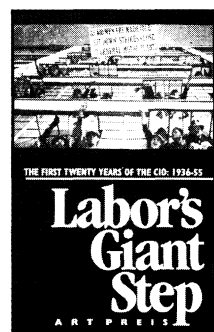
Unemployment reaches 13 percent

These pressures were registered in the official unemployment rate, which rose to 5.7 percent in October. John Crudele of the *New York Post* noted, "That 5.7 percent unemployment rate—or what the government calls the U-3 rate—only includes people who are actively looking for work. The jobless rate soars to 9 percent when you include anyone who has given up looking for work because they can't find a job."

"And that figure—called the U-6—doesn't include people who've given up looking for employment for more than a year. Washington disregards them entirely."

"Add up all the various levels of unemployment and you easily go over 10 percent. A better guess would be about 13 percent."

Leading bourgeois commentators are warning that the bosses will be bringing the ax down on thousands more workers in the coming months. The cover feature of the November 4 *Business Week*, titled "The Painful Truth About Profits," advises bosses to "look for massive consolidation and brutal job cuts ahead."



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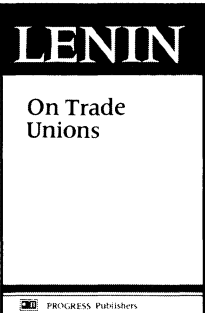
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Cuba's 'struggle against bandits' in 1960s

Printed below is an excerpt from the Pathfinder book *From the Escambray to the Congo: In the Whirlwind of the Cuban Revolution*, by Victor Dreke. A commander of the Cuban Revolution, Dreke is currently on a tour of several U.S. cities, speaking on the topic "Cuba and Africa—1959 to Today." He is speaking together with Ana Morales, a doctor who has helped lead Cuban medical missions in several African countries.

In this book, Dreke describes the revolutionary movement in Cuba, led by the Rebel Army and July 26 Movement, which overthrew the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship in January 1959.

As workers and farmers and their revolutionary leadership carried out a literacy campaign, a land reform, the enforcement of laws barring racist discrimination, and other deep-going measures, the capitalists and landlords, with the encouragement and support of Washington, sought to overthrow the new government and return themselves to power.

In the cities the counterrevolutionary forces launched a campaign of arson and sabotage, setting fire to department stores and factories. In the rural areas, armed counterrevolutionary groups increasingly became centered in the Escambray mountains of central Cuba. By 1960 dozens of such bands—armed, supplied, and directed by Washington—were carrying out assassinations and sabotage, burning sugarcane fields, and attacking production facilities. In his account, Dreke describes several leaders of these bands, which included men who had at one time taken part in the anti-Batista struggle but were opportunist self-seekers who had turned against the revolution, as well as others who had supported Batista.

In response, workers and farmers organized militia mobilizations and volunteer *Lucha Contra Bandidos* (struggle against bandits) battalions to crush the counterrevolutionaries. By the end of 1964, the fight against the bandits had largely been won; the last groups were eliminated in a mop-up operation in 1965.

Dreke, who had fought in the revolutionary war against the Batista dictatorship, was a commander of the *Lucha Contra Bandidos* battalions in the Escambray.

Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press, and Luis Madrid, a Pathfinder editor, conducted the first session of the interview with Dreke in Havana in 1999. Pathfinder editor Michael Taber and *Militant* editor Martín Koppel joined Waters in a second interview session in 2001.

This book is available in English and Spanish. Copyright © 2002 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.



Waters: Why did the Escambray mountains become a center for these counterrevolutionary forces? What was going on in the Escambray?

Dreke: In Cuba at the triumph of the revolution there were a half million illiterates, and there were another half million who were only semiliterate. That was the concrete situation. If one were to go to Pinar del Río or to the Escambray the situation was terrible. There was no electricity, no running water—what little water there was



Bohemia

Militia members in action in Cuba's Escambray mountains, March 1961. "Entire battalions of peasant militias from the Escambray were formed. What the enemy thought would be a den of thieves became a bulwark of the revolution," says Victor Dreke.

came from wells. There were no stores. There were few radios, since you couldn't even receive radio signals throughout much of these mountainous areas. All this made the enemy's job easier.

From the time of the revolutionary war, nearly all these individuals I've talked about—who would eventually become counterrevolutionaries—were concentrated in the Escambray. They worked on some peasants and managed to recruit a few. At the same time, they also committed abuses in the areas where they functioned. They murdered peasants, they raped peasant women. They burned down schools and homes. So the peasants were terrorized; they were deathly afraid of the counterrevolutionaries. Some peasants joined them consciously, of course, but others joined out of fear. This is how the counterrevolutionary movement was built.

One of their first actions was the attempt to take Trinidad and destroy the revolution. I'm referring to the attempted landing organized by Dominican President Trujillo.¹

There were others who didn't commit murders—such as Luis Vargas, to give you a concrete example. Vargas had always been a bandit who devoted himself full time to robbery. He stole here; he stole there; he rustled cattle; he had five or ten wives. Luis Vargas had always been in armed rebellion in the Escambray, until finally we put an end to the notorious Luis Vargas.

In some other parts of Las Villas province, in the Sagua-Corralillos eastern region, there were persons such as Benito Campos and his son Martí, the "Campitos." These people and others like them had been characterized by the same immorality and the same unwillingness to do battle with the dictator's army. These were people who simply wanted to become the new millionaires.

Waters: In several of Fidel's speeches during 1962 he spoke of problems in the application and implementation of the Agrarian Reform in Matanzas and the Escambray. He pointed out that this politi-

cal situation was responsible for the fact that the bandits gained some influence among layers of the peasants.

Dreke: Yes, that's true. At the beginning no authentic agrarian reform was carried out in the Escambray. Why was this? Because those in charge of the agrarian reform in Trinidad and Sancti Spiritus weren't in fact revolutionaries.

Agrarian reform

One of those in charge of the agrarian reform there, for example, was the counterrevolutionary Evelio Duque who I just mentioned. Duque headed up INRA in Sancti Spiritus, and he removed the compañeros who were revolutionaries from the agrarian reform and its leadership. He removed people like Commander Julio Castillo, a revolutionary who was highly regarded in Sancti Spiritus. Then Duque recruited others who, like himself, weren't revolutionaries.

What did Duque do? He committed a series of injustices. He expropriated land that shouldn't have been taken. Or else he extorted money in exchange for not expropriating someone's land.

So the agrarian reform wasn't implemented as the commander in chief and the revolutionary leadership had laid out in the Agrarian Reform Law. Nor as Che and the compañeros of the Directorate had done during the war.²

One of those in charge of the agrarian reform there was William Morgan, who devised a plan called Rana Toro [bullfrog]. Rana Toro was a scheme to bring in weapons and hide them in Charco Azul, in order to prepare an uprising by the bandits. This same William Morgan, who had murdered peasants and raped women during the war in the zone where the Second National Front of the Escambray operated, was preparing the conditions for an uprising.

Another one of these individuals was the notorious Jesús Carreras, who had also been a leader of the Second Front.

In fairness, it's important to state that while the Second Front was dominated by a group of criminals and traitors, some young revolutionaries also found their way into its ranks. They were victims of those people,

and they're here with the revolution today. The revolution hasn't tossed them off, because not everybody in the Second Front was the same. To say otherwise would be illogical and untrue. There were exceptions. There were also peasants who took up arms and later put them back down and left the bandits, after realizing they had made a mistake.

But the leadership of the Second Front did have characteristics that made them act this way. And later they united with others who were traitors, embezzlers, and rapists. All those of that ilk got together. Some came from the Directorate, others from the July 26 Movement, some from other places, and they all joined together with the worst elements of the Second Front.

It's also true that at first the necessary attention wasn't paid to the Escambray. The most qualified persons were not utilized there, and we didn't stay on top of things. We should have designated those in charge of major responsibilities. That's my personal opinion.

Already in 1959 there were bandits there. I was in a position to know, since, along with other compañeros, I participated in various operations in the Escambray.

The enemies of the revolution had already studied the situation, and they realized the Escambray would be the best spot for them. There were problems within the revolutionary ranks, and our work there was the weakest.

Some bandits had posts initially.

Oswaldo Ramírez, the murderer and traitor, was squadron chief of the Caracusey garrison in Trinidad. And the first thing he did was to run the peasants off their farms and take away their land. You must know what that meant. Captain San Luis, who was squadron chief in Trinidad and later became a combatant in Che's unit in Bolivia, had to go there and kick him out. That's why Oswaldo was dismissed. But it was an error to let Oswaldo take the position there as squadron chief in the first place.

Sinesio Walsh—the same person I talked of earlier—was named squadron chief in Cruces.

Benito Campos—"Campito"—was chief in the Corralillo zone, where he committed atrocities.

The conscious revolutionaries at that time were not yet Marxists or Leninists—and I'm not just speaking about myself—but at least we wanted a revolution. We wanted to prevent the bourgeoisie from returning to power. We wanted the poor to be in charge. We wanted racial equality. That's what we were then.

But the fact is we gave the Escambray to the bandits as a gift during the first stage. That has to be said.

When the first clean-up operation began in 1960, when the army arrived, when Fidel arrived, the peasants responded, and entire battalions of peasant militias from the Escambray were formed. The peasants asked for weapons and they defended the Escambray. So what the enemy thought was going to be a den of thieves was, by determined revolutionary combat, turned into a bulwark of the revolution.

Madrid: In October 1963 the Second Agrarian Reform was decreed and implemented, eliminating one of the key social bases of the counterrevolutionary bands, that of the remaining capitalist farmers.

What impact did this law have on the struggle against the bandits?

Dreke: The Second Agrarian Reform helped. The wealthy landowners bought off those people. Many gave them support. But that's jumping ahead.

We did a number of things in the Escambray. At one point we had to seize a lot of property. I participated in this, together with people from the Escambray. We confiscated all the cars belonging to the counterrevolutionaries, all the timbiriches—that's what we call the tiny bodegas, or stores—that belonged to those who consciously assisted the bandits. Those who helped the bandits, protecting them, hiding them, and providing them with supplies, food, and other items. Some did so because they were forced to by the bandits. It was a little of both.

One night the army went in—and when I say "army," I mean the people's militias, the

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FROM *Pathfinder*

From the Escambray to the Congo

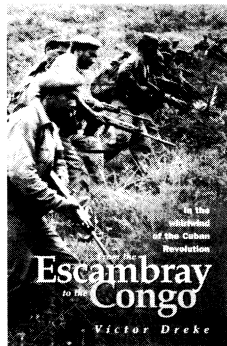
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U.S. officials seek to jail men indefinitely as 'enemy combatants'

BY RÓGER CALERO

The U.S. government intends to continue the indefinite incarceration of Yasser Esam Hamdi and José Padilla, both of whom are citizens of the United States, as "enemy combatants," the Justice Department has affirmed in federal court. Officials assert that having been branded as such, the two men fall outside normal legal protections, including the right to meet with their lawyers and to answer charges leveled against them.

In another step that links Washington's military aggression with attacks on legal protections at home, U.S. officials have alleged that one of those killed in the attack by a CIA drone in Yemen November 3 was the "ringleader" of six men in Lackawanna, New York, who are being held in a U.S. jail on "terrorism" charges.

Hamdi was seized by U.S. forces after his Taliban unit surrendered to the U.S.-backed Northern Alliance in November 2001. In February he was transferred to the U.S. naval base and prison camp in Guantánamo Bay—an area in Cuba occupied by U.S. forces against the protests of the Cuban people. After telling military authorities that he was a U.S. citizen he was moved in April to a military prison at the Navy base in Norfolk, Virginia, where he has been kept in solitary confinement.

A number of civil liberties groups and more than 100 law professors have backed an appeal on Hamdi's behalf by public defender Frank Dunham—who has been denied permission to even meet or speak with his client—noting that the status of "enemy combatant" is open-ended and "undefined."

Justice Department lawyers called for the dismissal of the appeal October 28 before a three-judge panel in the appeals court in Richmond, Virginia.

As summarized at a previous hearing by one of the panel, Chief Judge J. Harvie Wilkinson, the government is demanding a ruling that would exclude any "judicial review" of the case of Hamdi and anyone else given the "enemy combatant" tag. If the government has its way, stated the court, "any American citizen alleged to be an enemy combatant could be detained indefinitely without charges or counsel on the government's say-so."

U.S. Attorney Paul McNulty and deputy solicitor Paul Clement argued that opening a review of Hamdi's case "would be unprecedented and could significantly hamper the nation's defense." They maintained that "the military is under no obligation to provide any more information with respect to captured combatants."

Dunham pointed out that Hamdi has been so excluded by the government from any legal process that he has never even had the chance to say whether or not he agrees with the description "enemy combatant."

Rights to information, counsel

"Hamdi should have the opportunity to know there is a proceeding going on in his name and to know that he has counsel," said the public defender, who has represented Hamdi since April, when he was assigned the case on the assumption that criminal charges would be filed.

The lawyer added, "The precedent that the administration is setting has long-term potential for incursions on our liberties."

At the same time, Dunham accepted the government's stance that a decision made on the battlefield should be treated with "deference," arguing that "a year later...the emergency is ended [and] there is no need to give the same deference."

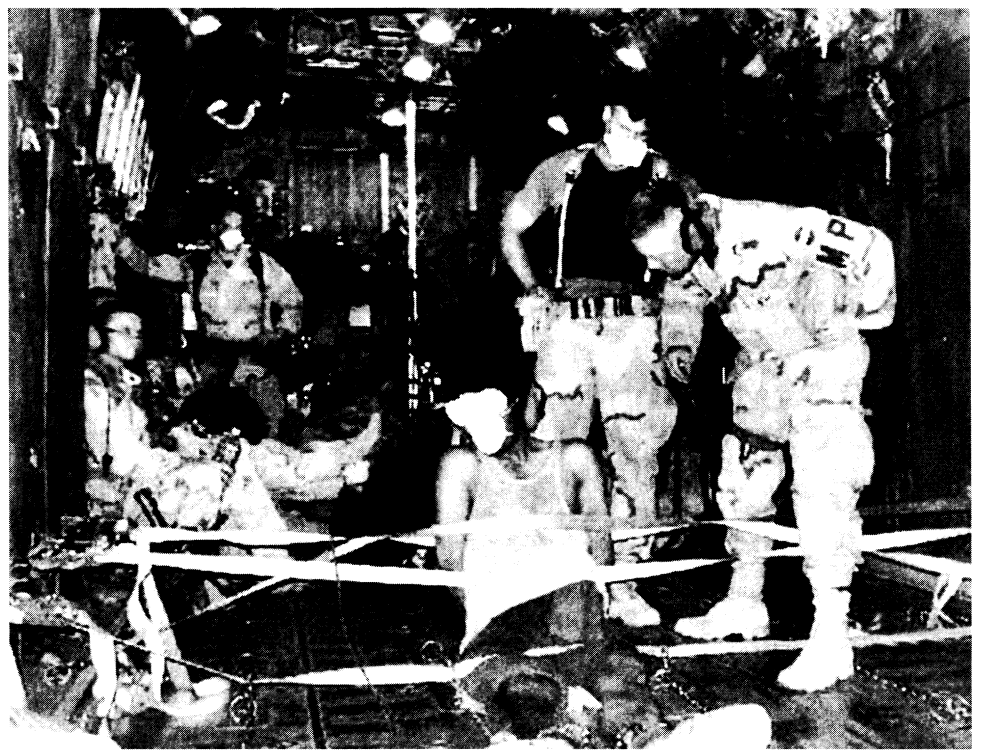


Photo recently published in media shows U.S. military personnel haranguing prisoner on board a plane in Afghanistan. Prisoners were blindfolded, manacled, and tethered to fuselage walls. Washington is using "enemy combatant" label to deny rights to prisoners.

Lawyers for José Padilla, also known as Abdullah al-Muhajir, have also argued in federal court that their client "should be granted the fundamental right to have his voice heard" in court. The government should not be allowed to deny his right to counsel, they said, "merely by transferring his custody to another branch of the government."

Unlike Hamdi, Padilla was not seized in Afghanistan or on any other battlefield, but is accused of plotting to explode a "dirty" radioactive bomb in the United States.

Government officials stated that Padilla's detention "is in no sense 'criminal,' and it has no penal consequences whatsoever." Held in a Navy brig in South Carolina since June, Padilla has been allowed no contact with his lawyers.

Yemen assassination

Following the November 3 strike in Yemen by an unmanned CIA Predator drone, U.S. officials claimed that one of those killed, Kamal Derwish, was "probably a ringleader

of a group of six men from the Buffalo area identified by law enforcement officials as a sleeper cell of the Qaeda terrorist network," reported the November 10 *New York Times*. The six men, who are U.S. citizens of Yemeni descent, have been jailed on charges of offering "material support" to al Qaeda.

The officials described Derwish as a "recruiter of other immigrants" for the organization. They said that he had been a "mentor" to the six and had "enticed" them to come to Pakistan and Afghanistan for religious and military training.

No evidence was offered to back up the assertions. In its place, the big-business daily quoted a Lackawanna resident who voiced "suspicions" about Derwish.

Meanwhile, the Pentagon released four prisoners from its military prison at Guantánamo Bay on October 28. The men, one of whom is in his 70s or older, had been locked in 8 by 8 foot metal containers 24 hours a day, with only two 15-minute breaks a week for exercise.

"I wrote a letter to my family that said, 'I'm half animal now. After a month I'll be a full animal and then I'll come back,'" said Jan Muhammad, 35, one of the four. In the 11 months that he was held in complete isolation the only letter Muhammad received from his family was given to him three days before his release. The letter was stamped June 28, 2002.

About 30 new detainees were flown into Guantánamo as the four prisoners were being released. According to Pentagon officials there are now some 625 prisoners being held there.

Berlin seeks to cut funds to east Germany

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

In recent surveys of the German economy, U.S. banks and big-business media have pinned the blame for the country's continued stagnation on the failure to integrate the economy in the east. These commentators note that the economy remains deeply divided, more than 10 years after working people in East Germany tore down the Berlin Wall.

Wall Street investment firm Goldman Sachs points in particular to the substantial transfers of funds eastward in wage increases and massive public spending following the 1990 reunification as the source of the country's problems, reports the *New York Times*. The recently elected government of Gerhard Schröder has explicitly targeted such "subsidies," which are a product of the ongoing resistance by workers across Germany to attempts to tear up social benefits in the name of German competitiveness and capitalist profits.

In an important example of such resistance, construction workers organized by the IG Bau union organized a strike this year in support of their demand for an increase in the minimum wage in the east—a step intended to offset the effects of the higher unemployment there.

Much of eastern Germany—where capitalist property relations were dismantled in the years following World War II—is a swath of vacant factories. All of the 30 largest enterprises that were operating in the region before 1990 have been shut down. These combines had employed roughly 1 million people.

The Goldman Sachs report stated that despite massive transfers of funds from the West to the East, which averaged some 4 percent of the total national income over the past dozen years, joblessness in the East still averages nearly 18 percent—compared with the national average of 10 percent—and wages have remained depressed since 1996.

Surveys conducted by the European Commission's Industrial Relations Obser-

vatory show "1.4 million jobless in eastern Germany compared with 76,000 listed job vacancies." Across Germany approximately 1 million job openings contrast to an official unemployment level of 4 million.

In order to maintain social stability, Germany's imperialist government, in the years following reunification, poured some \$70 billion a year in subsidies to finance unemployment insurance and other social benefits in the eastern half of the country. Since 1990 the government has spent some \$700 billion, mainly in social transfer payments to the region.

Such transfers register the fact that, despite political reunification, Germany's capitalist rulers have not been able to dismantle the system of social insurance and related gains—health care, unemployment compensation, pensions, vacations—that the eastern working class won through struggles in the decades following World War II. Social relations forged over those decades have proven difficult to demolish.

The coverage in the capitalist media frequently drips resentment about this impasse. "Germany is still struggling with the burden of absorbing east Germany's clapped-out economy," reports the *Guardian*. The British daily noted that the German capitalists face labor costs that are 40 percent higher than their rivals in France and 60 percent higher than their Italian competitors.

Government proposes subsidy cut

In a move toward addressing this drain on profits, the Social Democrat-Green coalition government has proposed a cut in the transfers under the name of a "solidarity pact." Under its provisions subsidies from 2005 to 2019 would amount to \$157 billion—an 85 percent yearly cut from present levels.

"We have a vital interest that [the East] doesn't remain a subsidized area in the long term," said Rolf Schwanitz, Chancellor Gerhard Schröder's special representative for the eastern states.

Meanwhile, the German parliament has met to discuss drafting laws aimed at implementing the recommendations of the Hartz commission on unemployment and "labor market reforms." Commission members have claimed that their proposals would reduce official levels of unemployment by half

Continued on Page 5

South Korea workers strike against pay cut in fight for shorter workweek

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Some 120,000 workers at south Korea's largest manufacturing companies walked off the job November 5 to protest a government move to shorten the workweek from 44 to 40 hours and thus cut workers' paychecks, a scheme counterposed to the labor movement's long-standing fight to reduce the workweek without a pay cut. The one-day strike paralyzed industrial production and forced the government to backpedal on the proposed legislation.

Some 166 industrial firms were hit by the walkout, including automakers Hyundai Motor, Kia Motors, and Ssangyong Motor. The strike also halted production at auto parts companies, tire producers, machinery manufacturers, and other heavy industrial corporations.

The workers held rallies in Seoul and 20 other cities. The Korea Metal Workers Federation and the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU), which organized the action, rejected the government's shorter workweek bill because it would mean a cut in pay. The legislation would also reduce the number of paid holidays.

Earlier this year the KCTU, the second largest labor organization, led tens of thousands of workers in protest rallies and wildcat strikes demanding a five-day, 40-hour workweek with no cut in pay. In face of these actions, the government introduced a bill to

reduce the official workweek by 10 percent. The Korea Employers Association rejected the legislation, calling it "premature," and demanded the government reduce the number of public holidays and vacation days.

In south Korea, bosses force many workers to toil longer than the official 44 hours a week. Through the 1980s the average workweek was 54 hours—among the longest in the world. After massive protests led to the end of the U.S.-backed military dictatorship, workers launched further struggles and won the right to organize unions. A nationwide strike wave in 1988 forced further concessions from the bosses, including higher wages and a shorter workweek.

More recently, the unions have been pressing to reduce the official workweek to 40 hours. But they were outraged that the government bill in its latest version did not maintain workers' weekly pay.

The one-day general strike was a widening of a November 4-5 strike by 30,000 state workers, who were protesting the proposed legislation on the workweek and a bill that would establish "associations" for public employees. The government bars public employees from organizing unions and the right to strike.

The cops, declaring the strike illegal, attacked a rally of 1,000 strikers at Hanyang University in Seoul on November 4, and arrested more than 600 workers.

Women miners won support for the fight against discrimination

Class Action: The Story of Lois Jensen and the Landmark Case that Changed Sexual Harassment Law, by Clara Bingham and Laura Leedy Gansler. 400 pp. New York: Doubleday, 2002. \$27.50 hardcover.

BY ILONA GERSH

DETROIT—This is the story of Lois Jensen, an iron ore miner in Minnesota who filed a class-action lawsuit in 1988 against Eveleth Mines for sexual harassment. This book is well worth reading: it details the acts of verbal and physical abuse that Jensen and other workers faced on the job because they were women, and her fight to make the company pay a price for the treatment they received. Her victory 11 years later served as legal precedent for the well-publicized 1999 lawsuit against sexual harassment by auto assembly-line workers against Mitsubishi.

Jensen was the fifth woman hired by

USWA by getting jobs during World War II in the steel mills. The union, by winning an affirmative action agreement in the form of a 1974 "consent decree" between the federal government, nine of the country's largest steel companies, and the USWA, opened the door further to women seeking better-paying industrial jobs. First, the mines owned by steel giants such as U.S. Steel, National Steel, and Republic Steel started to hire women. Later other mines like Eveleth Mines followed suit.

Industrial growth made it easier for a substantial number of women to get into the mines through the consent decree. Between 1974 and 1976 the Eveleth Mines Company hired 639 young miners. By 1977, two years after Jensen started work, there were 33 women working at Eveleth Mines.

The first mine to hire women in 1974 was U.S. Steel-owned Minntac, the largest of the mines on the Range. I was hired there four years later at the beginning of a hiring wave that brought the workforce to more than 2,000. Two hundred of the new hires were women.

Class Action effectively describes the abusive conditions women faced in the mines and Lois Jensen's struggle against them. Readers will learn a lot from her account, but the book doesn't tell the whole story. Moreover, the authors' description of the Iron Range as "Minnesota's pocket of social conservatism" is wrong; it echoes the kind of skewed view of reality that is often presented by people who have not been part of the life and struggles of the working class on the Range.

The experience of other women miners at Minntac, including myself, is different. While it wasn't easy for women who broke into the mines in those years, the solidarity we received from our union brothers at Minntac made a big difference. The prize we won by fighting for our rights was the kind of political confidence and self-respect

tax dollars. And it showed where they were killing Congolese, whether they were from the central government or the Stanleyville government. It didn't make any difference to them, they just killed them. They had it fixed where those who had been processed had to wear a white bandage around their head. And any Congolese that they saw without that white bandage, they killed him. This is clearly pointed out in the English papers. If they had printed it last week, there would have been an outcry, and no one would have



Militant/Mike Moser

Above, striking miners march in Virginia, Minnesota in 1977. Lois Jensen, an iron ore miner, initiated a class-action lawsuit against Eveleth Mines for sexual harassment and won her fight 11 years later. Women at other mines won solidarity from union brothers and set up a women's committee that addressed a range of social issues.

that can't easily be taken away.

I began work after a victorious 138-day strike in 1977 that won major demands at all the mines. USWA Local 1938 at Minntac was at the center of the strike, and afterward the miners continued to take steps forward to defend themselves. One such action was the union leadership's decision to ask several women to set up a women's committee of the union to address specific problems that women miners faced on the job. These included inadequate change and shower facilities, the tracking of women into the lowest-paying jobs, supervisors who tried to drive women out during our 90-day probation, and an atmosphere fostered by the company that encouraged sexual harassment.

The USWA Local 1938 Women's Committee held meetings every two weeks that were sometimes attended by 100 to 150 people. Besides taking on issues we faced on the job, we decided to bring broader women's rights issues into the union. In

March 1979 the union endorsed an abortion rights protest held in Virginia, Minnesota, and men as well as women from our union carried signs and a banner at the protest. A handful of right-wingers in the union tried several times to reverse the decision to support a woman's right to choose, saying it wasn't an appropriate issue for the unions. But they were soundly defeated each time. We argued that the union as a whole has to take up issues like abortion rights because they are important to all working people.

After the first woman miner was killed on the job in a pit labor gang accident, the women's committee held an emergency meeting to discuss how to respond to the argument we knew would come: women shouldn't work in the mines because it's too dangerous. We said that if it's too dangerous for us, it was also too dangerous for men. The union should fight for stronger safety regulations to protect us all.

The pit was the stage for the first fight at Minntac against discrimination. In 1975 the company tried to segregate some of the first women miners into an all-female track gang where they were paid the lowest pay rate and had no hope of bidding for better jobs. Karen Hill, who was one of the first women to work in the open pit mines on the Range, filed a sex discrimination suit challenging the company. She won broad support and forced U.S. Steel to end the segregated crews.

Protests around many political issues also took place on the Range. When the federal government instituted mandatory registration for the military draft in 1980 and intensified its military campaign to crush the Nicaraguan revolution and revolutionary struggles in other Central American countries in the early 1980s, hundreds joined in protests on the Range together with other demonstrations across the country.

Interest in such issues, along with respect for the *Militant's* accurate and consistent coverage of the 1977 strike, led more than 100 working people on the Iron Range to subscribe to the socialist weekly paper during the strike.

The officialdom of USWA Local 6860, which organized workers at Eveleth Mines, rejected Lois Jensen's proposal to set up a union women's committee to confront the conditions she and other workers faced on the job. But she was a fighter, always looking for ways to link up with others. Once she came to the Local 1938 women's committee for support, when she was searching for a way to win over the union leadership in her local. While she waited for the courts to rule on her case, Jensen reached out to anyone who would listen to her story, including a conference of women coal miners held in 1997 in Edmonton, Canada.

Without her union's support, however, she was weaker than we were at Minntac, where we had the backing of our union. The lawsuit was her last resort. She had to live through 25 years of mental and physical harassment before she finally won, but her victory strengthened the confidence and spirit of women at Eveleth Mines, and gained the solidarity of a layer of men there as well.

BOOK REVIEW

Eveleth Mines on the Mesabi Iron Range in northern Minnesota. In many ways, she was typical of the first women miners on the Iron Range. When she hired on in 1975, she was 27, a single mother, and had worked low-paying jobs as a bank teller, a file clerk, and a secretary. Although it had never occurred to her to work as a miner before, she saw no reason why she couldn't do the work, and the pay for this union job was the best in the area.

The Mesabi Iron Range is a 110-mile string of small towns built at the turn of the century along a large seam of iron ore called taconite. Eveleth Mines was opened by the Ford Motor Company in 1966 during a boom in the economy.

The workers at the taconite mines are organized by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). Women first joined the

Malcolm X: Oppressed are shaking off shackles

Continued from Page 4

are very much involved, as accessories to the crime, is the press. Not so much your press, but the American press, which has tricked your press into repeating what they have invented. [Laughter and applause]

But I was reading in one of the English papers this morning, I think it's a paper called the [Daily] Express. And it gave a very clear account of the type of criminal activity that has been carried on by the mercenaries that are being paid by United States

allowed the Belgians and the United States, and the others who are in cahoots with each other, to carry on the criminal activity that they did in the Congo, which I doubt anybody in the world, not even here at Oxford, will accept. Not even my friend. [Laughter]

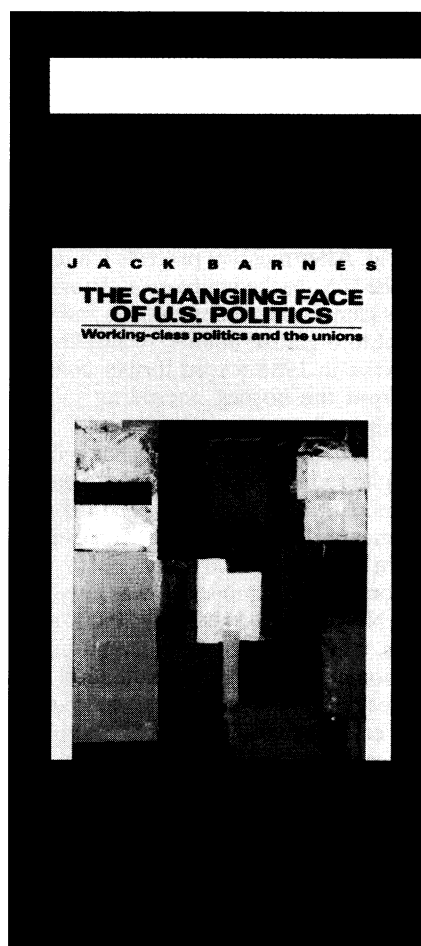
Interjection: Point of [Inaudible].

Malcolm X: Yes?

Same person: I wonder what—exactly what sort of extremism you would consider killing of missionaries to be? [From the audience: "Hear, hear!" Applause.]

Malcolm X: I'd call it the type of extremism that was involved when America dropped the bomb on Hiroshima and killed 80,000 people, or over 80,000 people, both men, women, children, everything. It was an act of war. I'd call it the same kind of extremism that happened when England dropped bombs on German cities, and Germans dropped bombs on English cities. It was an act of war. And the Congo situation is war. And when you call it war, then anybody that dies, they die a death that is justified. But those who are—[Protests from audience: "For shame!"] But those who are in the Stanleyville regime, sir, are defending their country. Those who are coming in, are invading their country, and some of the refugees that were questioned on television in this city a couple days ago pointed out that had the paratroopers not come in, they doubted that they would have been molested. They weren't being molested until the paratroopers came in. [Applause]

I don't encourage any acts of murder, nor do I glorify in anybody's death, but I do think that when the white public uses its press to magnify the fact that there are the lives of white hostages at stake—they don't say "hostages," every paper says "white hostages"—they give me the impression that they attach more importance to a white hostage and a white death than they do the death of a human being despite the color of his skin. [Applause]



FROM PATHFINDER Changing Face of U.S. Politics

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Jack Barnes

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N.Y. meeting discusses fight against imperialism

Continued from front page

sota, to win their first union contract.

The morning after the meeting, three dozen young people attended a meeting called by the Young Socialists leadership to continue the political discussion and outline the work of the revolutionary youth organization over the coming weeks.

Both before and after the meeting, participants joined political discussions around the Pathfinder literature tables or the photo displays depicting different aspects of the work of the communist movement. Many of the youth descended on a special sales table featuring used books on revolutionary politics, and some left the event with boxes full of books under their arms. Supporters of the SWP from New York and New Jersey organized a buffet spread and refreshment bar to create a comfortable atmosphere for the informal discussion.

Havana meeting on October 1962 crisis

Meeting under a banner reading, "The struggle against imperialism today," participants heard presentations from several leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists. The featured speaker was Jack Barnes, the party's national secretary.

Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*, chaired the program. She described a conference in Havana she had participated in three weeks earlier on "The October Crisis: a political perspective 40 years later." Many among the 200 Cubans, Russians, and Americans attending that meeting had been actors in the 1962 events, in which the U.S. government led by President John F. Kennedy had, as Waters said, "brought the world to the brink of nuclear war as it sought a 'regime change' in Cuba." They included former Kennedy administration officials such as Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and presidential adviser Arthur Schlesinger.

Waters pointed to the new Pathfinder title *October 1962: The 'Missile' Crisis as Seen from Cuba*, by Cuban author Tomás Diez Acosta. It tells the powerful story, covered up by the U.S. big-business media, of the Cuban people's mobilization to defend their revolution during these events. The author presents a wealth of facts on the steps that Washington took to prepare an invasion of Cuba, a course Kennedy turned away from when Pentagon officials estimated there would be 18,500 U.S. casualties within the first 10 days of an invasion.

"It was an instructive experience to listen to Arthur Schlesinger lecture his hosts that Washington had no intention of invading revolutionary Cuba," said Waters. "He said nothing about the strength and readiness of the Cuban people and government, which stayed Washington's hand."

McNamara claimed the "missile" crisis was the "best-handled crisis of the 20th century," contrasting Kennedy's approach with the Bush administration's moves today toward a "preemptive" war on Iraq. "As if imperialism has ever fought any other kind of war!" said Waters.

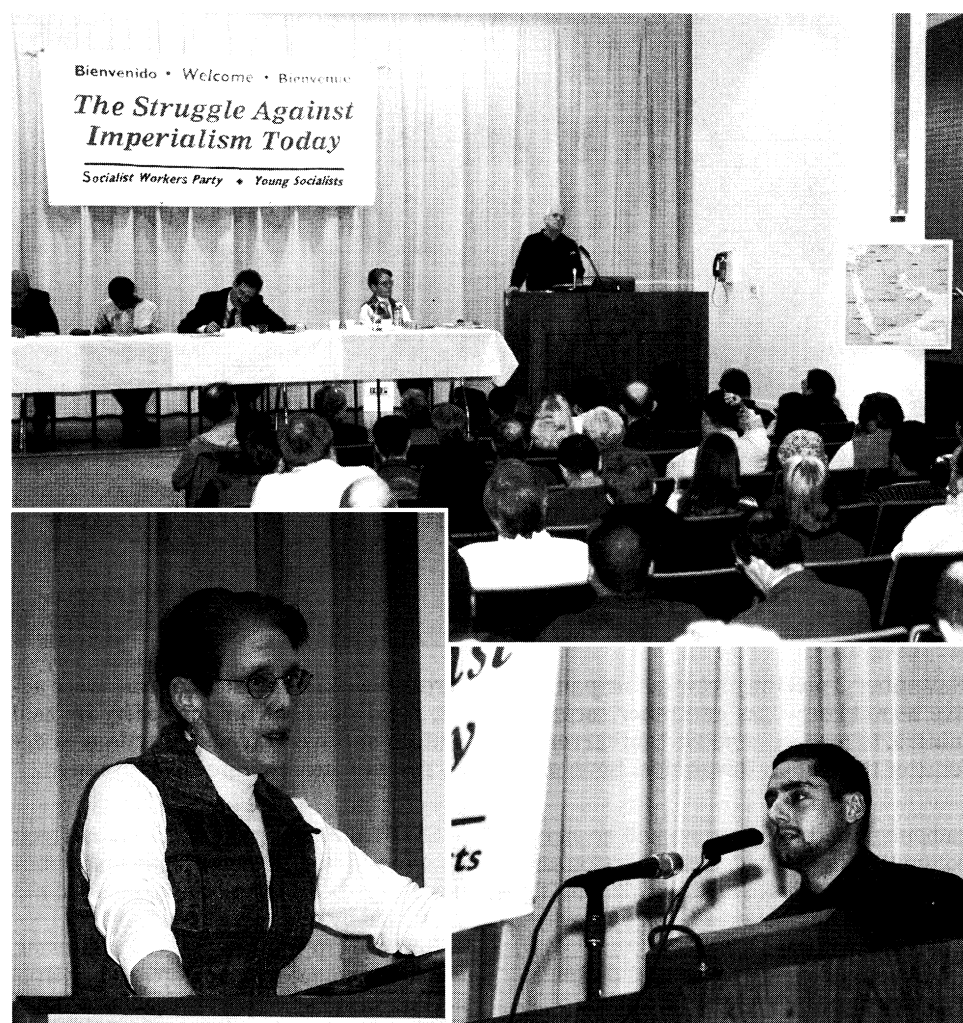
"The Cubans at the conference, and also the Russians, answered these lies," she said.

Campaigning for communism

Today, in face of the accelerating economic and political crisis of the world capitalist system, communists "take our explanations about this crisis to the broadest possible layers of workers, farmers, and young people," Waters said. "We explain that the solution does not involve replacing one capitalist government with another, but charting a course of action to mobilize the class forces capable of overthrowing capitalist rule and establishing a workers and farmers government."

Socialist Workers candidates and their supporters in New York have set the pace for campaigning along these lines, Waters said in introducing Martin Koppel, the party's candidate for governor of New York as well as editor of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Koppel reported that a few days earlier he and campaign supporters had joined thousands of transit workers at a Manhattan rally to defend their health benefits and oppose an abusive disciplinary system.



Militant/above: Eric Simpson, right inset: Carole Lesnick, left: David Wulp
Leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialists addressed November 2 meeting. Communists offer their explanations to the broadest number of workers, farmers, and young people in face of the accelerating economic and political crisis of the capitalist system, Mary-Alice Waters said. Top, SWP national secretary Jack Barnes addresses the meeting. Left inset, Waters, editor of Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*. Right bottom, Jason Alessio, Young Socialist and coal miner in Colorado.

"Find the money!" the workers chanted in answer to the mayor's pleas of a "budget deficit." Many of the unionists welcomed the socialist campaigners, he said, "and exchanged views on their fight as well as on the socialist perspective."

Partisans of the socialist campaigns have soapboxed not only on street corners but at plant gates and on college campuses. At the Borough of Manhattan Community College, "a cluster of people often gathers around the speaker and the table," said Koppel. "Others passing by sometimes stop and ask, 'Is this a rally?'"

Campaigning politically in this bold and broad way "puts communists in a stronger position to contest in the long-term struggle for leadership with other currents that identify themselves as socialist," Koppel said.

With the election campaign drawing to a close, he noted, "socialist workers and young socialists will draw on this experience and continue their street campaigning. We will not put away our bullhorns."

Building party in western coalfields

Jason Alessio, one of three Young Socialists members who spoke at the meeting, is a union coal miner in Colorado. He ran as a Congressional candidate on the Socialist Workers ticket.

Many working people in coal mining communities have been interested in discussing the revolutionary perspectives of his campaign, Alessio said. "At Oak Creek, a town of 1,000 where pro-union signs can be seen in people's front yards, a retired miner encouraged us to take part in the local May Day parade. We set up a table at the local grocery store and in three hours sold *Militant* subscriptions to a working farmer, a grocery store worker, and a local teacher."

Miners have bought many copies of the *Militant* at mine portals and swapped political ideas with sellers, he reported. At the Kennecott mine in Utah workers bought 70 copies of the *Militant* before the papers ran out. At a recent portal sale in Colorado, a miner asked Alessio, "How can you say you support women's rights and also oppose the U.S. war in Afghanistan?" After some give-and-take about Washington's hypocritical posturing as a defender of women's rights as it pursued its imperialist objectives in that oppressed nation, he remarked, "Everything I've read is the opposite of what you're saying, that the U.S. government is exploiting more than helping." He said he would visit the Pathfinder bookstore in Craig, Colorado.

Seventeen Pathfinder titles have now been translated into Farsi, the official language

of Iran, said Waters in introducing Ma'mud Shirvani, Pathfinder's Farsi-language editor. They range from *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* to *Problems of Women's Liberation* by Evelyn Reed, to titles by Karl Marx and Leon Trotsky.

Explaining the conflicts between rival imperialist powers that lie behind the U.S.-led drive to war in the Middle East, Shirvani quoted Lord Browne, chief executive of British Petroleum, who recently asked Washington to establish a "level playing field" for British oil corporations in Iraq rather than "carve up Iraq for its own oil companies in the aftermath of any future

Iran's revolution of 1979," where a mass insurrection toppled the U.S.-backed monarchy.

While revolutionary leaderships do not exist today in the countries of the Mideast, class-struggle-minded working people today do not confront the obstacle of Stalinism on the kind of scale that blocked many previous revolutions, Shirvani said. Furthermore, "the imperialist moves toward an assault on Iraq have not awed the masses but rather have accelerated the pace of politics, creating the conditions for more turmoil and resistance."

As the war proceeds and class conflicts sharpen, he said, "Pathfinder books, which bring working people their revolutionary continuity, will be weapons of life-and-death importance."

Arrin Hawkins, Socialist Workers candidate for lieutenant governor of New York and a worker in Pathfinder's printshop, had recently helped build public meetings in Washington for Cuban revolutionary leader Victor Dreke and Ana Morales, who has helped lead Cuba's medical missions in Africa.

Dreke had already spoken before audiences in Washington, D.C., and Georgia, and was headed to Alabama, Florida, and Massachusetts. "This is the first time ever a commander of the Cuban Revolution has spoken in U.S. cities," Hawkins noted. In these broadly sponsored meetings, Dreke "explains the place of internationalism in the Cuban Revolution, and the ties of solidarity with Africa that have been forged over decades. He tells how working people in Cuba made a revolution in 1959, took down the 'rope' of racial discrimination, and set about the socialist transformation of Cuban society." Before the revolution, a rope was often used in Cuban town parks to separate whites from Blacks at social events.

The political interest generated by the meetings for Dreke and Morales has been reflected in the sales of revolutionary literature. More than 100 copies of Pathfinder's *From the Escambray to the Congo: In the Whirlwind of the Cuban Revolution* by Victor Dreke and \$3,000 worth of other Pathfinder titles had been sold so far, Waters said.

Publishing program

Waters reported on Pathfinder's publishing program and celebrated the contribution of supporters of the communist movement in helping keep the publisher's backlog in print. The 200-plus supporters in the Pathfinder Reprint Project have also shouldered major tasks in the publication of more than



Militant/Martin Koppel
Socialist Workers candidates and campaigners joined thousands of transit workers, above, at an October 30 rally in Manhattan to defend their health benefits and other gains.

war."

To V.I. Lenin, the central leader of the Bolshevik party and the October 1917 Russian Revolution, imperialist spokespeople such as Lord Browne were "'civilized' hyenas...whetting their teeth" on the natural and human wealth of countries like China and the states of the Middle East, said Shirvani. Browne's coveted "level playing field" will in fact be a "rough terrain of conflict and war," he said.

Through their intervention in the Middle East, said Shirvani, "the 'civilized' hyenas in Washington, London, and other imperialist capitals aim to regain what they lost in

a dozen new titles so far.

Pathfinder has transferred its "pick and pack" operation from New York to Atlanta, and supporters of the communist movement there have taken on the responsibility of warehousing the books and shipping out book orders.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party are also working with the party to increase and regularize sales of Pathfinder titles to bookstores and libraries, Waters said.

Pathfinder is now preparing a Spanish-language edition of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* and a new expanded edition

Continued on the next page

Pathfinder on line
pathfinderpress.com

N.Y. meeting discusses openings for communists

Continued from Page 11

in English. Also scheduled for publication in the coming weeks are *Marianas in Combat*, based on an interview with Brig. Gen. Teté Puebla, who fought in the Mariana Grajales Women's Platoon during Cuba's revolutionary war; and issue no. 12 of *New Internationalist*. The latter will feature the report by SWP national secretary Jack Barnes adopted by the party's national convention in July, and will include reports to the 1921 congress of the Communist International by Lenin and Trotsky.

Work with anti-imperialist forces

Olympia Newton, a Young Socialists leader and the recent Socialist Workers candidate for secretary of state in California, described the interest in the *Militant* among West Coast dockworkers, who are engaged in a fight for a contract, in which the federal government, arguing that "national interests" are at risk, has intervened by imposing the antilabor Taft-Hartley law.

"By resisting appeals and pressure to subordinate their struggle to 'national security' and the war effort, the dockworkers are objectively carrying out action against the imperialist war drive," she said.

Newton described the work she and other Young Socialists are carrying out together with other youth to build participation in the congress of the Continental Organization of Latin American and Caribbean Students (OCLAE), to be held in Guadalajara, Mexico, November 29–December 2. Among the hundreds of students attending from across the Americas, many will be looking for ways to fight against imperialist domination.

"YS members will have already met some of the delegates at previous international



Militant/Eric Simpson

November 2 meeting drew participants from across the country. The majority were active in working-class and other social struggles, from the fight for job safety by coal miners, to protests against "antiterrorist" detentions and secret trials, to actions in defense of the Cuban Revolution. Several had only recently met communist movement.

gatherings, and the congress will be an opportunity to link up with them," Newton said. The youth congress will coincide with the Guadalajara International Book Fair, where Pathfinder will have a booth.

"Dozens of students who attended meetings addressed by Victor Dreke in Washington and Atlanta said they were interested in attending the OCLAE congress," Newton pointed out. This response "shows the potential to organize a good number of youth from colleges and high schools in the United States to go to the event," she said. Newton is part of a group of about 30 in Los Angeles who are making plans to go.

Invitations for Cuban youth leaders

The YS is also working with students and academics who are interested in inviting two Cuban youth leaders for a speaking tour next spring, as well as doing initial work to build a delegation to the U.S.-Cuba youth exchange in July of next year.

Newton invited young people at the public event to attend a meeting organized by the Young Socialists the following day. At that meeting, a lively discussion took place, including YS members and other youth interested in the revolutionary organization, on several political questions that had been raised during the program the day before. The meeting also discussed the Young Socialists' main work over the next few months—from continuing the perspective of reaching out broadly through street campaigning for socialism, to building the OCLAE congress, to joining up with workers and farmers in struggle.



Militant/Eric Simpson

Arrin Hawkins, Socialist Workers candidate for lieutenant governor of New York.

—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

NEW JERSEY

Newark

The Struggle for a Democratic, United Ireland. British Troops Out of Northern Ireland! Speaker: Angel Lariscy, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 15, 7:30 p.m. 168 Bloomfield Ave., 2nd Floor. Donation: \$5. Tel: (973) 481-0077.

NEW YORK

Garment District

Capitalist Crisis and U.S. Imperialist Intervention in Colombia. Speaker: Róger Calero, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 15, 6:30 p.m. dinner, 7:30 p.m. program. 545 8th Avenue, 14th Floor. Donation: \$5. Tel: (212) 695-7358.

Upper Manhattan

The Fight Against Imperialism in Latin America Today—the Conference of the Continental Organization of Latin American and Caribbean Students (OCLAE). Speaker: Amy Roberts, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 22, 6:30 p.m. dinner, 7:30 p.m. program. 599 W. 187th Street, 2nd Floor. Donation: \$5 each for program and dinner. Tel: (212) 740-4611.

CANADA

Vancouver

Canada's Rulers Step Up Their Attacks on Working People at Home and Abroad. Support the Communist League Campaign for Mayor of Vancouver. Speaker: Beverly Bernardo, Communist League candidate for mayor of Vancouver. Fri., Nov. 15, 6:30 p.m. dinner, 7:30 p.m. program. Donation: \$5 each for program and dinner. 2645 East Hastings, 2nd Floor. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

SWP national secretary Jack Barnes took up some of the broad developments in politics and elaborated on some of the themes addressed by other speakers.

Referring to an earlier point by Shirvani, Barnes explained that the statement by British Petroleum's Lord Browne about a "level playing field" in the Mideast for British oil companies is a "sign of the times and the speed of events." The capitalist spokesperson was saying, with casual frankness, that British companies have the "right" to a share

New Pathfinder Books & Libros opens on Chicago's Southwest Side

BY JOEL BRITTON

CHICAGO—Supporters of the new Pathfinder Books & Libros in a workers district on the southwest side here gathered to celebrate its opening on a crisp sunny afternoon October 20.

On behalf of the organizers of the event, Gerardo Sánchez thanked those who had helped to fix up and paint the storefront bookstore and forum hall and introduced Claudia Hommel, the director of Pathfinder Books & Libros, who reviewed some of the highlights of Pathfinder Press's 2002 publishing program.

Socialist Workers Party organizer Joel Britton took a half dozen articles from the Sunday edition of the *Chicago Tribune*—the city's major big-business newspaper—to illustrate the relevance of Pathfinder titles for

in Iraq's oil wealth because they are furnishing cannon fodder to an imperialist assault.

Such a cold-blooded attitude, he said, "expresses the brutal logic of capital, which cannot be prevented. 'It can only be ended by overthrowing its domination.'"

The socialist leader noted the accumulating signs of depression conditions in the United States and internationally, including the sharp drop in U.S. auto sales, the virtual bankruptcy of flagship firms such as Ford and United Airlines, and the shift by some middle-class and bourgeois layers away from the dollar and toward gold and other precious metals as an attempt to protect their savings.

In face of this growing crisis, Barnes said, the reaction among wide social layers, including many working people, is denial—like a frog in water that is slowly being heated and that doesn't recognize the rising temperature as it's being cooked.

Even revolutionaries, not having lived through such major events before, "don't understand this in our stomachs at first," he said. But they act as part of the vanguard of the resistance by working people that is generated by the conditions of capitalist exploitation and brutality.

"What we do here and now as part of the working class is decisive," he said. And the communist movement has political leverage well beyond its size through the revolutionary books that Pathfinder is publishing today.

(Barnes's remarks will be reported more fully in a subsequent issue.)

The meeting concluded with an appeal for contributions for the \$105,000 Pathfinder Fund. Almost \$5,000 was raised by those present, along with some \$4,000 in additional pledges.

today. These political weapons, said Britton, "provide answers for workers who want to become better fighters in their factories, in their unions, and in all the struggles to build a leadership that can fight for a new society."

Britton noted that sharing the space where the bookstore is located is the Socialist Workers campaign of himself and Chessie Molano for governor and lieutenant governor. As this campaign wraps up in November, he said, another will be launched for mayor and other city offices. That election takes place early in 2003.

Supporters who participate in the Pathfinder Reprint Project, some of whom help in the distribution of Pathfinder books to commercial bookstores and libraries, contributed a spread of food that helped make for a festive atmosphere.

—LETTERS—

Disagree on October 26 rally

Re your account of the demonstration of October 26: It's true that it contained reactionary elements and that its leadership was hopelessly sectarian. Nevertheless, the size and spirit of the demonstration indicates the potential for a significant mobilization against the currently impending imperialist war.

Many antiwar demonstrations during the Vietnam era also contained backward elements, such as calls for negotiations, the sporting of American flags, and pious avowals of patriotism. Nevertheless, revolutionary socialists recognized the historic value of the antiwar movement and participated energetically. Your article suggests that the current situation is not analogous; if this is your belief, please explain why.

Chuck Cairns

New Hyde Park, New York

Chomsky

The *Toronto Star's* October 20 Sunday edition carries an article by Noam Chomsky on what he calls "the threat of terrorist atrocities." He's billed as the author of the best-selling book, *9-11*. So many visitors to my house have seen that book lying around and asked what Chomsky has to say, I thought I'd write you a quick note.

His thesis is that there is a real threat to people's well-being from terrorist attacks. Bin Laden and his associates are rich men,

many of whom are erstwhile creations of US government funding. These rich men are waging a war against other rich men, none of whom have any regard for ordinary people. Nothing in this for common folk, he says. Sending warplanes to bomb Afghanistan adds fuel to the fire, he thinks, rather than a solution to the violence.

Colonial policies have created poverty and injustice in many countries which need to be eliminated in order to "drain the swamp" that breeds "the mosquitoes" (i.e. the "terrorists"). He borrowed this analogy from a former head of Israeli intelligence and used it in the *Toronto Star* article.

He points out that he has had greater access to main-stream media since the September 11 events, and that "the shock of the horrendous crimes has already opened elite sectors to reflection." (p. 117) So social activists should continue seeking the truth and acting to right the wrongs.

That's it. No reference to the working class. No proper explanation of the fight against national oppression in the Middle East or elsewhere.

He lists a huge jumble of facts and historical events without explaining the course of development of international capitalism, imperialism. No glint of the need for workers and farmers to fight for power in order to end the reign of the warmongers.

Katy LeRougetel

Toronto, Ontario

Death of workers in rail car

At the packing house where I work I was talking to a worker who has worked in this industry for over 20 years. He said U.S. government immigration policy was to blame for the deaths of the eleven workers in the grain hopper car. Then he pointed out that the rail road companies should also share blame because there was no way to get out of these cars, once they were locked from the outside. "What if a rail worker or a grain elevator worker got caught inside? There would be no way they could get out," he said.

Apparently federal law does not require that hopper car latches be made so that they can be opened from the inside.

According to the *Des Moines Register*, Warren Flatau, a spokesman for the Federal Railroad Administration said, "I think what we would find is that probably the cost of doing so would greatly outweigh the benefits."

Profits over people once again!

Edwin Fruit

Des Moines, Iowa

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.

Yet no one's booted him out—On a radio talk show, Mark Alden, a member of the Nevada University board of regents, called Linda



Harry Ring

Howard, the lone Black regent, an orangutan. Later, he offered an "apology," asserting he didn't realize it would be interpreted as racist.

No surrender—We reported the fighting response of Carrie and Mary Dann, two elderly sisters and members of the Western Shoshone people in Nevada. The feds seized 232 of their cattle for grazing on land stolen from the Shoshone people. Declared Carrie Dann, "I was indigenous and in one single evening they made me indigent. If you think the Indian wars are over, then think again."

Maybe a basic change?—"London—A typical worker in their 20s who enjoys a long and successful career will still have to rely on state handouts on retirement, according

to new independent figures. In an analysis that will fuel fears about a pensions time-bomb, one of the country's leading accountancy firms has warned that many of Britain's younger generation could face relative poverty in old age."—*The Times*, London.

Post-vote note—Both Bush and vice prez Cheney made stops in Arizona to put the arm on prosperous party donors, and raised a combined bundle of some \$2 million for party candidates.

They prefer to see money used for them—In the aftermath of the Bush-

Cheney scoop-up, the *Arizona Republic* reported, "Valley residents' need for emergency aid is so overwhelming that social service agencies are turning people away, unable to meet all requests, especially for assistance with rent and utilities."

Home of the energy bandits—"Houston, Texas—Texas must give up \$285 million in federal money set aside to help provide health care for poor children because the state didn't spend it. The funding provides states a financial incentive to cover millions of uninsured youths across the USA. Officials said Texas couldn't afford its matching

share."—News item.

Repetition is reputation—"This effort to paint the president as some kind of tool of big business, I think that gets tired after a while."—Darren McKinney, spokesperson for National Ass'n of Manufacturers.

Thought for the week—"The recession is over, but this recovery is punk. The best thing for people to do is to forget about the late '90s boom. There is no hope of getting back to that kind for a long time to come."—Robert Barbera, a chief economist at a Rye, New York, brokerage house.

Socialist candidate: 'We'll keep campaigning'

The following article appeared in the November 2 issue of the *Sandusky Register*, the main daily in Sandusky, Ohio.

BY BOB FINKELSTEIN

PERKINSTWP.—Eva Braiman, a write-in candidate for governor of Ohio and a member of the Socialist Workers Party, hopes the path to the governor's mansion runs through the cutting floor of a Margareta Township meatpacker.

Braiman, 32, has spent the last six months commuting from her home in Cleveland to work at JH Routh Packing Co. on 4413 W. Bogart Road, to learn about the kind of workers she wants to represent.

Routh is the third meatpacker she's worked for since moving to Ohio four years ago, including packing plants in Cleveland and Medina.

"Meatpacking houses are one of the places where you're starting to see the beginning of a fight in the political future of the United States," Braiman said.

Braiman, whose shift starts at 11 p.m., works on an assembly line making cuts to pork shoulders in a slaughterhouse that processes about 4,000 hogs a day.

Meatpackers have grown frustrated by the demands placed on them as they kill thousands of animals a day and trim the meat,

she said.

Companies seeking to be more productive expect employees to work at faster speeds—which causes more injuries—while benefits such as vacation and health care are cut, she said.

Braiman said she believes the frustrations of meatpackers are shared by workers in a range of industries being squeezed by the drive for productivity, including family farmers.

She said if elected, she would work toward providing free education and health care.

"We need to organize society based on the needs of the majority as opposed to the profits of a few," she said.

Braiman said she would also seek to put an end to police brutality, increase access to abortion facilities, end the death penalty and seek to block banks from foreclosing on property owned by farmers who can't repay money they've borrowed.

The Socialist Workers Party has been in existence since 1928. Only 6 members belong to the Cleveland chapter. Throughout the nation, the party has fielded 46 candidates in 19 states for statewide and federal offices.

Braiman, who is running for the office with Michael Fitzsimmons, a 42-year-old garment worker, said she chose to run as a



Eva Braiman, the Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Ohio, distributing campaign literature on the streets in Cleveland last month.

write-in candidate because of the difficulty collecting the 5,000 signatures required to appear on Ohio's official ballot. To have write-in votes counted, candidates must register with Ohio's Secretary of State.

Braiman was raised in New York City and joined the Socialist Workers Party while studying at the State University of New York in Binghamton. Braiman said she became interested in fighting to represent workers after being exposed to strikes at nearby coal mines and Eastern Airlines in the early 1990s.

Her campaign, which began in August, has consisted of passing out pamphlets about her positions to workers that have been on strike in Ohio and some college campuses, she said.

Although she has little hope of winning the election for governor against Republican incumbent Bob Taft or Democratic challenger Tim Hagan, Braiman said she isn't concerned.

"When the campaign is over, I'm going to continue doing the same thing," Braiman said. "The focus of my life is struggle."

Cuba's 'struggle against bandits'

Continued from Page 8

armed people, made up of the peasants themselves—and we confiscated all those things. It was a lightning operation. And by daybreak the bandits had nothing. They were left without supplies. They were left without a rear guard. Later they put one back together, but we put them in that situation for several months.

It was necessary to deepen the revolution's political work in the Escambray. That required making changes there in the leadership of the party, of the armed forces, of everything. The commander in chief; the minister of defense, Raúl; and Almeida, who had been named head of the Central Army—all of them were part of this. So the political and ideological work was turned around.

Waters: The troops, the militia who were decisive in defeating the bands—were they all volunteers? I'm thinking of Nicaragua, where there were differences among the Sandinistas over whether to fight the U.S.-organized contra forces with volunteers or draftees. The Sandinista leadership eventually decided on a draft, and the revolution's enemies used that to gain support.

Dreke: In our case they were volunteers. In the first clean-up operation 50,000 combatants participated, most of them from Havana province. The militias executed a massive encirclement of the Escambray.

Waters: When was this?

Dreke: The first clean-up operation in the Escambray ran from the end of 1960 through the first months of 1961. But we had to withdraw our troops with a few bands still remaining. And then in April came Playa Girón.

We withdrew our troops early on in 1961 because they had already been mobilized for months. They were workers and peasants who had voluntarily left their workplaces and were absent from their jobs. Since they were taking part in the cleanup operation, they weren't producing. It's important to remember that the enemy used the counter-revolutionary bands in the Escambray to try to drain the resources of the fledgling revo-

lution, which was fighting to resolve the country's economic problems.

Most militia volunteers weren't getting paid anything. For those who had jobs, their factories and workplaces continued to pay their wages to their families. But most were youth in their teens who had never been part of the work force. Only some years later, as an "incentive," to use the language of today, did we start giving 25 pesos a month to young milicianos who didn't hold regular jobs.

All of them were there by their own choice. They were the volunteer forces of the people.

Tens of thousands of militiamen took part. How were we able to mobilize them? Because of acts like the murder of literacy volunteers, among them Conrado Benítez and Manuel Ascunce,³ as well as innocent peasant women and children—and all the other crimes the bandits had committed: burning down schools, rapes, robberies. The people rose up in indignation over these savage deeds.

³ Conrado Benítez, a nineteen-year-old literacy volunteer, was murdered by a counterrevolutionary band in the Escambray January 5, 1961, along with a peasant, Eliodoro Rodríguez Linares. Manuel Ascunce, a sixteen-year-old literacy volunteer, was murdered by counterrevolutionaries in the Escambray November 26, 1961, together with Pedro Lantigua, a peasant he was teaching to read and write.

Prior to the revolution, 23.6 percent of the Cuban population was illiterate. In the countryside illiteracy reached 41 percent, and if those who were semiliterate are included, the figure was over 80 percent. From late 1960 through the end of 1961 the revolutionary government organized a national campaign to teach one million Cubans to read and write. Central to this effort was the mobilization of 100,000 young people to go to the countryside, where they lived with peasants they were teaching. As a result of this drive, Cuba eliminated illiteracy. The residual illiteracy rate—those with learning disabilities and mental or physical impairments that prevented them from being taught—was 3.9 percent at the end of the successful campaign.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



November 25, 1977

It was hardly surprising that thousands of angry protesters greeted Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi upon his arrival in Washington, D.C., November 15. The shah's regime is one of the most repressive in the world.

A report released last year by the International Commission of Jurists concluded that "there can be no doubt that torture has been systematically practiced over a number of years."

But President Carter takes a different view. Carter gave a ringing endorsement to the regime of the royal butcher. A White House statement said that Carter "gave his personal commitment" to strengthen ties with the Iranian government. At his dinner to honor the shah, Carter hailed Washington's military relationship with the shah and spoke of the "beneficent" impact of this alliance.

Since 1972, Washington has sold or agreed to sell \$18.2 billion worth of arms to the shah. Just last month, Congress approved Carter's decision to sell the shah \$1.2 billion in advanced radar equipment.

On his current trip, the shah is asking for more arms, including 140 F-16 fighter planes costing about \$2 billion, and 250 F-18 attack planes priced at about \$2.5 billion.

Carter's support to the shah is a stab in the back of the Iranian people. It is a betrayal of the cause of human rights, which he claims to hold so dear. It is proof that American imperialism stands opposed to the needs and aspirations of the people of the world.



November 24, 1952

The tributes paid the late Philip Murray by numerous industrialists, publishers, and government officials are sincere. They will miss him. In their eyes, as U.S. Steel President Benjamin F. Fairless put it, the CIO [Congress of Industrial Organizations] president was a "great labor leader." If they must deal with union leaders, the capitalists prefer men like Philip Murray—conciliatory, yielding, timid and devoted heart and soul to the profit system.

From first to last, Murray was a devoted servant of American imperialism and a faithful executor inside the labor movement of the foreign policies handed down by the U.S. State Department. He was ruthless in lining up the CIO behind the Second World War and the Korean war. He sought to drive out of the CIO every opponent of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations and their war program. He engineered the bureaucratic expulsion of ten unions and provoked a sizable split in the CIO in 1949 with an anti-Communist witch-hunt that paralleled Truman's "cold war" and "loyalty" purge.

For the defense of their own interests, the CIO members need leaders fundamentally different from Murray in class outlook, understanding and loyalty. They need aggressive, fighting leaders, free of all ties with the capitalist government and politics, and devoted completely to labor's independent class interests.

Overturn of capitalism is only future for Jews

Printed below is an excerpt from *The Jewish Question, A Marxist Interpretation* by Abram Leon, one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for November. Covering the span from the Roman era to World War II, Leon takes as his point of departure Karl Marx's observation that "Judaism continues to exist not in spite of history but owing to history."

Leon traces the historical roots of anti-Semitism to the fact that Jews were forced to become a "people-class" of merchants and moneylenders in the centuries preceding industrial capitalism. He explains why in times of social crisis renewed Jew-hatred is incited by the capitalists to mobilize reactionary forces against the labor movement and to disorient the middle classes and layers of working people about the true nature of their impoverishment. Copyright © 1970 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY ABRAM LEON

Capitalism has posed the Jewish problem, that is to say, it has destroyed the social bases upon which Judaism maintained itself for centuries. But capitalism has not resolved the Jewish problem, for it has been unable to absorb the Jew liberated from his social shell. The decline of capitalism has suspended the Jews between heaven and earth. The Jewish "precapitalist" merchant has largely disappeared, but his son has found no place in modern production. The social basis of Judaism has crumbled; Judaism has become largely a declassed element. Capitalism has not only doomed the social function of the Jews; it has also doomed the Jews themselves.

Petty-bourgeois ideologists are always inclined to raise a historical phenomenon into an eternal category. For them the Jewish question is a function of the Diaspora; only the concentration of the Jews in Pales-

tine can resolve it.

But it is pure childishness to reduce the Jewish question to a question of territory. The territorial solution has meaning only if it signifies the disappearance of traditional Judaism, the penetration of Jews into modern economy, the "productivization" of the Jews. By a detour, Zionism thus returns to the solution proposed by its worst enemies, the consistent "assimilationists." For the Zionists as well as for the assimilationists it is a question of doing away with the "cursed" heritage of the past, of making workers, agriculturists, productive intellectuals, of the Jews. The illusion of Zionism does not consist in its desire to attain this result; that is a historical necessity which will cut its own path sooner or later. Its illusion consists in believing that the insurmountable difficulties which decaying capitalism puts in the way of these tasks will disappear as if by magic in Palestine. But if the Jews were unable to find a place in economic life in the Diaspora, the same causes will prevent them from doing so in Palestine.

The world today is so much a unit that it is sheer folly to try to build within it a haven sheltered from its storms. That is why the failure of "assimilation" must of necessity be followed by the failure of Zionism. In this period when the Jewish problem takes on the aspect of a terrible tragedy, Palestine can be no more than a feeble palliative. Ten million Jews find themselves in a huge concentration camp. What remedy can the creation of a few Zionist colonies bring to this problem?

No solution under capitalism

Well then—neither assimilation nor Zionism? No solution at all? No, there is no solution to the Jewish question under capitalism, just as there is no solution to the other problems posed before humanity—without profound social upheavals. The same causes which make the emancipation of the Jews an illusion also make the realization of Zionism impossible. Unless the profound causes for the Jewish question are eliminated, the effects cannot be eliminated.

The ghetto and the wheel [the badge that Jews sewed on their clothes in the Middle Ages] have reappeared—symbols, moreover, of the tragic destiny toward which humanity is being driven. But the very exacerbation of anti-Semitism prepares the



November 1938 antifascist picket at the German consulate in New York, calling for "unrestricted entry" to the United States for Jews and other targets of Nazi persecution.

road for its disappearance. The driving out of the Jews provides momentarily a kind of living space for the petty bourgeoisie. "Aryanization" creates jobs for some tens of thousands of unemployed intellectuals and petty bourgeois. But in attacking the apparent causes of their misfortunes, the petty bourgeoisie has merely strengthened the operation of the real causes. Fascism will accelerate the process of proletarianization of the middle classes. After the Jewish petty bourgeoisie, hundreds of thousands of shopkeepers and artisans were expropriated and proletarianized. Capitalist concentration made gigantic progress. "Improvement in the economic situation" took place only at the price of preparation for the second imperialist war, the cause of enormous destruction and slaughter.

Thus the tragic fate of Judaism mirrors with singular sharpness the situation of all humanity. The decline of capitalism means for the Jews the return to the ghetto—although the basis for the ghetto disappeared long ago, along with the foundations of feudal society. Similarly, for all humanity, capitalism bars the road of the past as well as the highway to the future. Only the destruction of capitalism will make it possible for humanity to benefit from the immense achievements of the industrial era.

The very paroxysm, however, that the Jewish problem has reached today, also provides the key to its solution. The plight of the Jews has never been so tragic; but never has it been so close to ceasing to be that. In past centuries, hatred of the Jews had a real basis in the social antagonism which set them against other classes of the population. Today, the interest of the Jewish classes are closely bound up with the interests of the popular masses of the entire world. By persecuting the Jews as "capitalist," capitalism makes them complete pariahs. The ferocious persecutions against Judaism render stark naked the stupid bestiality of anti-Semitism and destroy the remnants of prejudices that the working classes nurse against the Jews. The ghettos and the yellow badges do not prevent the workers from feeling a growing solidarity with those who suffer most from the afflictions all humanity is suffering.

And the greatest social explosion the world has ever seen is finally preparing the liberation of the most persecuted pariahs of our planet. When the people of the factories and the fields have finally thrown off the yoke of the capitalists, when a future of unlimited development opens up before liberated humanity, the Jewish masses will be able to make a far from unimportant contribution towards the building of a new world.

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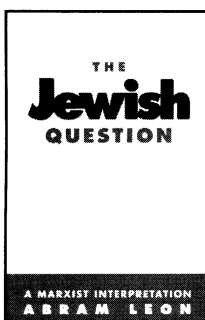
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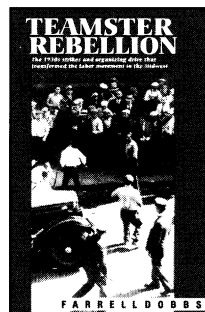
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Imperialism's course toward war

For the past several months Washington has been stepping up its moves toward an invasion of Iraq. Each week the *Militant* has reported on the facts of this buildup: from the U.S.-British bombings of Iraqi air defenses and communications facilities to the large-scale war exercises and troop deployments in the region.

The U.S. rulers' decision to assault Iraq was made some time ago. The sham debate in Congress was never over whether to carry out this war, but how best to justify it and sell it to the population. As always, the Democrats in Congress have fallen in line behind the White House to carry out the course of imperialist war supported by the U.S. ruling class.

The moves toward war have little to do with the current occupant of the White House. Much less are they the brainchild of a supposedly "rightist" administration, as some apologists for the liberal wing of imperialism argue. The Bush administration speaks and acts on behalf of the dominant, mainstream forces of the American bourgeoisie. This drive toward war is the natural course of "democratic" imperialism, as every U.S. imperialist war has been, from the two world wars to Vietnam (and most have been conducted by a Democratic Party administration).

These brutal actions by Washington grow out of weakness, not strength. They are a response to the long-term decline of U.S. capitalism, as the billionaire families seek to reverse the trend of dropping profit rates. Today they unfold at a time when a worldwide economic depression has begun, including in the United States. In face of this situation, the U.S. rulers have begun to carry out a series of wars over control of the world's natural resources—from oil to cocoa, gold, coal, iron, fishing, bauxite, bananas, lumber, and other sources of wealth. And this drive puts them in competition with their imperialist rivals in London, Paris, Tokyo, Berlin, Ottawa, and elsewhere. This drive toward plunder abroad is the counterpart to the assault by the bosses on workers and farmers at home—the attacks on workers' social wage, speedup on the job, layoffs, and police crackdowns.

Less and less able to rely on semicolonial regimes, Washington is increasingly compelled to use its own troops to defend its class interests. The savage assault on Afghanistan and establishment of a U.S. protectorate there

was a prelude to the next target—Iraq. Imperialism's goal is control of the entire Mideast and its resources. Oil-rich Iran, where a popular insurrection overthrew the U.S.-backed monarchy in 1979 and dealt a lasting blow to imperialist domination, remains a much bigger prize—and obstacle—for them.

Washington has made it clear from the start that it plans to launch a bloody attack on Iraq with or without the UN stamp of approval. The political cover provided by the United Nations Security Council—with the added bonus of offering "arms inspections" as one more justification for war—was simply icing on the cake and a foregone conclusion. While the posturing by Paris and other European powers reflect their competition with the U.S. rulers, these imperialist governments cannot stand up to Washington's military superiority. In the end, they lined up behind the UN war resolution because they do not want to be completely cut off from the billions of dollars in oil and natural gas in Iraq and the rest of the Mideast.

Lord Browne, chief executive of British Petroleum, put it most bluntly when he called on Washington to assure a "level playing field" for the British oil companies to get a piece of the oil wealth of an foreign-occupied Iraq. His real slogan is: "We want our share of blood for oil!"

V.I. Lenin, the central leader of the Bolshevik party and of the October 1917 Russian Revolution, had an accurate name for these imperialist powers. He called them "civilized" hyenas whetting their teeth over the natural and human resources in the world.

Today, the civilized hyenas in Washington are preparing to use naked force against the peoples of the Mideast to try to strike fear among any who stand in their way. But despite their arrogant pretensions—and the fear they instill among bourgeois and middle-class layers—their image of omnipotence is a fake. Their greatest obstacles, which have yet to be taken on and tested, are the workers and farmers both in the United States, the Mideast, and worldwide. Time is on the side of our class, not the exploiters. A prolonged period of revolutionary political education in action will begin to offer working people the opportunity to learn the lessons of the history of the revolutionary working-class movement, and to chart a course that leads to workers power and to the defeat of imperialism worldwide.

Cuban revolutionaries speak in Alabama

Continued from Page 6

power. But in Cuba workers do hold the power."

On November 4, Dreke and Morales visited the Federation of Southern Cooperatives (FSC) Rural Training Center in Epes, Alabama, hosted by the center's director, Lukata Mjumbe.

Formed in 1967, the FSC is an organization of small farmers that grew out of the civil rights movement and today involves more than 100 cooperatives, credit unions, and community organizations, including some 10,000 small farmers, most of whom are Black.

A dozen people, including two farmers and FSC staff members, attended the meeting for the two Cuban revolutionaries. Dreke gave a presentation highlighting Cuba's first agrarian reform law, instituted shortly after the triumph of the revolution. "It was the actual implementation of these laws—fulfilling the promise made during the revolution—and the redistribution of land to the peasants" that won the trust and loyalty of the peasants, Dreke said.

A question by one farmer, on the prospect of Cubans owning the land they till, generated considerable discussion. "In Cuba all farmers have the right to use the land they work, whether on a cooperative or as individual farmers. The land was guaranteed to them since Cuba instituted the agrarian reform. No one can take the land away from them. The only requirement is that the farmers work the land they hold. All the equipment, seeds, and other things necessary to farm are provided by the government thanks to the revolution," Dreke explained.

The following day, the Cuban visitors were special

guests at the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute (BCRI), a museum devoted to the history of the civil rights movement, with emphasis on Alabama. The visit by Dreke and Morales was hosted by Odessa Woolfolk, president emerita of the institute. Gregory Wilson, BCRI's education director, took Dreke and Morales on a tour of the museum. Several classrooms of students—many of whose curiosity was piqued by the two Spanish-speaking visitors—were touring the museum at the same time.

The Cuban visitors were honored guests at a luncheon for veterans of the civil rights movement and other political activists in the city. The dozen or so people attending included Rev. Abraham Lincoln Woods, longtime president of the Birmingham Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Col. Stone Johnson, who served as bodyguard to civil rights leader Fred Shuttlesworth in the 1960s; Janice Kelsey, who as a high school student was arrested and jailed as part of the mass youth protests against segregation in Birmingham in 1963; Bill O'Brian, member of the Board of Directors of the BCRI, from Samford University; Ahmed Obafemi from the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement; and several representatives from Pastors for Peace, a Cuba solidarity organization.

Dreke and Morales spoke that afternoon at Miles College, a small, historically Black college in Fairfield, Alabama, hosted by the Division of Social and Behavioral Sciences.

The following day they visited the University of Alabama campus in Tuscaloosa, hosted by the Department of History. Chaired by Larry Clayton, head of the department, the meeting drew 40 students and faculty. Afterward, the Cuban visitors were given a tour of the School of Community Health Services, where Morales spoke on Cuba's public health system.

A group of doctors and other health workers at this school are grappling with the fact that many rural counties in Alabama have few doctors or other health-care workers. They are working on a program to recruit and train young people to be doctors in these areas, a project that is slow-going at best, they explained. They were eager to learn more about Cuba's public health system and doctor-training program.

One could have heard a pin drop as Morales explained, "In Cuba, all doctors work in the community for two years after they finish school. We believe that all human beings in Cuba have the same rights, and that people shouldn't become doctors because of money, but rather to be of service to the community. This is the most basic principle we have of community medicine."

Susan LaMont is a textile worker in Columbiana, Alabama. Brian Taylor is a member of United Mine Workers Local 2133.

UN war vote

Continued from front page

United States—the five permanent members of the Security Council, each of which has veto power—voted for the war resolution, ending weeks of well-publicized exchanges. Paris had played a leading role in prolonging the debate, advancing its own imperialist interests under cover of protecting United Nations prerogatives.

While agreeing to its rivals' demands that Washington meet with the council to discuss any alleged Iraqi violations of UN resolutions, U.S. president Bush emphasized November 8 that this would not affect U.S. "freedom of action." Bush warned other governments ahead of time not to "lapse into unproductive debates over whether specific instances of Iraqi noncompliance are serious. Any Iraqi noncompliance is serious."

"If action becomes necessary," stated the U.S. president, "we will act in the interests of the world."

Syria also joined the unanimous vote, along with the nine other temporary council members. Presenting it as a lesser-evil alternative, Foreign Minister Farouk al-Sharaah claimed that "this resolution stopped an immediate strike against Iraq" at a meeting of the Arab League November 10.

The Arab League declared support for the resolution, asking only that it not be used by Washington as a "free pass" to invade, and suggesting that "Arab experts" be added to the inspection teams.

'Comply or die'

The UN resolution states that Iraq has a "final opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations," relating to its alleged "chemical, biological, and nuclear programs."

The Security Council gave the Iraqi government seven days to accept the resolution. "The alternative is war," stated the November 9 *Financial Times* in an article entitled, "Comply or die is stark choice facing Iraqi regime."

If Baghdad accepts the onerous requirements of the resolution, the inspectors would arrive within a week. They would then have, in the words of the resolution, "unrestricted access" to everything and everybody, from underground facilities, to government buildings and residences, to "all officials and other persons."

The resolution gives the inspectors the "right to declare...exclusion zones, including surrounding areas and transit corridors, in which Iraq will suspend ground and aerial movement." It also grants them the power to "remove, destroy or render harmless" not only weapons, but also "records, materials, and other related items."

"More sensitive and intrusive investigations" will begin by the middle of December, reported the *Financial Times*. The inspectors will have the right to search government buildings, including Saddam Hussein's residences, without notice. "France and Russia insisted on" this kind of "leeway" for the inspectors, reported the London-based daily.

After a series of other deadlines, the inspectors are required to report to the council no later than February 21, a date that "corresponds well to the possible war timetable," noted the *Financial Times*, citing "military analysts [who] say the U.S. wants to wage a military campaign" by February.

A letter co-signed by chief UN arms inspector Hans Blix and attached to the resolution insisted that Baghdad "guarantee the safety of air operations in its air space outside the no-fly zones." In the zones themselves, it added, "Iraq will take all steps within its control to ensure the safety of such operations." Washington and London have carried out nearly 300,000 bombing missions over the no-fly zones since imposing them on Iraq after the 1990-91 Gulf War.

Just one day after the UN vote, the *New York Times* ran a front-page article stating that according to White House officials, Bush "has settled on a war plan for Iraq" involving 200,000 to 250,000 troops. The only ally expected to contribute significant ground forces is Britain, it continued, "with several thousand troops expected to participate."

The assault from the air would include B-1 and B-2 bombers equipped with thousands of one-ton bombs. The ground offensive, said the *Times*, would aim at a "quick capture of land within Iraq, which would be used as bases to funnel American forces deeper into the country."

"The timetable for a war is closely tied to the requirements laid out in the Security Council's resolution and to Mr. Hussein's compliance," reported the paper. It noted that "White House and State Department officials are discussing...a 'seamless transition' from attack to a military occupation of parts of the country."

As the Security Council debate was entering its final stage, the Central Intelligence Agency unleashed a missile attack by a Predator drone on a car traveling through northwestern Yemen, killing all six people inside.

Among those killed in the November 3 attack was Qaed Salim Sinan al-Harethi, whom U.S. officials allege was a "senior al Qaeda operative." Reportedly killed in the attack as well was Kamal Derwish, also known as Ahmed Hijazi, a U.S. citizen from the Buffalo, New York, area (see article on page 9).

Operated by remote control, the Predator drones were used by the U.S. military over Bosnia in the mid-1990s and as part of the bombing assault against Afghanistan. They were deployed in early October over the "no-fly zone" in southern Iraq.

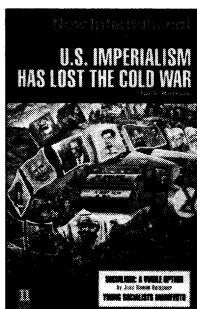
Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz hailed the strike in Yemen as "a very successful tactical operation." Confronted with the similarity between this attack and Israeli "targeted killings" of Palestinian leaders, Wolfowitz responded, "I'm not going to touch that."

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Turkish vote reflects sharp economic crisis and discontent

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

The economic disaster in Turkey and deep discontent with the political parties that have presided over this crisis were registered in the country's November 3 elections.

On promises of improving social conditions, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) won 60 percent of the parliamentary seats. AKP leader Recep Tayyip Erdogan, a former mayor of Istanbul who is banned from running for office because of an earlier conviction for "inciting religious hatred," won support for his attacks on "corruption," for which he blamed the traditional parties.

Turkey, a nation of 67 million inhabitants, is saddled with a foreign debt that is expected to reach \$126 billion by the end of the year—equaling more than one-quarter of its annual gross domestic product. Interest payments to imperialist creditors have drained the country's finances. Last year they accounted for more than half the national government's spending.

The Turkish currency was floated last year, losing 40 percent of its value. Today almost 17 percent of workers are unemployed or underemployed, according to official figures.

Bülent Ecevit, Turkey's social-democratic prime minister until the November elections, had announced plans in August to sell off huge state banks, the Tupras oil refinery, and state-owned tobacco and alcohol companies in exchange for a \$16 billion loan package from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). When the government initiated similar policies in the winter of 2000–01, workers and farmers mounted massive protests to demand jobs and relief from rampant inflation.

Workers demonstrated their rejection of Ecevit's austerity measures in a December 2000 general strike, and with marches of tens of thousands in Ankara, the capital, and across the country. A hunger strike by 250 political prisoners helped to expose widespread political repression as well.

During the election campaign, Erdogan appealed to voters as an alternative to the traditional parties. At the same time, however, he worked hard to appear respectable to imperialist governments that Turkey is dependent on. He distanced his party from charges that it was "Islamist," backed the IMF's austerity program, and—in a shift from his previous position—promised to support a bid for Turkey to join the European Union.

Switzerland: construction workers wage first national strike in 55 years

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Some 15,000 construction workers walked off the job at more than 100 building sites across Switzerland November 4 demanding the retirement age be lowered from 65 to 60 years.

The labor action was the first nationwide strike of any union there in more than 55 years. Organizers of the one-day work stoppage said 3,000 workers put down their tools in Geneva, while hundreds stopped work at major construction facilities in Zurich, Basel, Bern, Lucerne, and eastern Switzerland.

Last March 10,000 construction workers demonstrated in the nation's capital, Bern, to demand a contract with a reduction in the retirement age. They threatened to call a national strike for April 3, which was averted when the employers' Swiss Construction Federation (SCF) made a last minute deal to lower the retirement age to 60. The unions say the bosses reneged on the agreement when SCF director Daniel Lehmann claimed that a downturn in the economy meant that pensions for the earlier retire-

Imperialist government officials offered cautious praise for the AKP's electoral win. British prime minister Anthony Blair said he was "very encouraged" by the new government's conciliatory statements after the elections. A U.S. State Department official said, "[We] look forward to working with the new Turkish government." A German government spokesperson urged the new government to adhere to "cooperation with the International Monetary Fund."

Costly alliance with imperialism

Washington has been playing close attention to Turkey, which is a key part of its plans for an assault on neighboring Iraq.

In October Gen. Thomas Franks, head of the U.S. Central Command, and Gen. Joseph Ralston, supreme allied commander in Europe, met with top Turkish military commanders to enlist their support in Washington's coming war on Iraq. The U.S. military officials sought to firm up their agreement to maintain the use of the Incirlik Air Base in southern Turkey as a launching pad for U.S. and British warplanes carrying out bombing raids in the "no-fly" zones over a large part of Iraq's north.

Turkey has the largest standing army of the European NATO powers. Its government reaffirmed its worth to imperialism by agreeing to take command of the 5,000-troop occupation force in Kabul soon after the U.S.-organized invasion of Afghanistan.

The Turkish ruling class backed Washington's assault on Iraq in the 1990–91 Gulf War, with the goal of winning trade favors, military aid and hardware, and a measure of stability. The results were catastrophic, however. Nearly 1 million Kurdish refugees—victims of both the imperialist invaders and the Iraqi government—pounded at the borders with the end of the war. Turkish officials complain today that Operation Desert Storm cost tens of billions of dollars in military expenses, lost trade with Iraq—including honoring the blockade that shut off the oil pipeline with Iraq—and lost revenue from tourism. Estimates of the cost to Turkey's fragile economy of another war on Iraq range from \$9 billion to \$150 billion.

Hoping to mitigate the impact of the coming war, the Turkish government is seeking a financial package from Washington worth \$5 billion. Earlier requests for help, how-

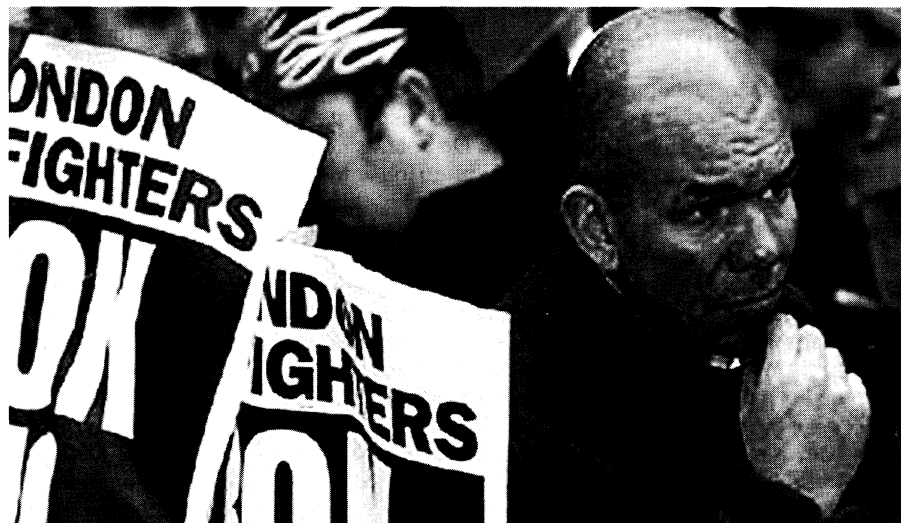
ever, have left the Turkish capitalists with little to show for their efforts. In April U.S. vice president Richard Cheney promised Turkey \$228 million in exchange for taking command of the occupation force in Kabul, but it later turned out that only \$28 million was in direct aid, with \$200 million to go toward debt relief. In January Prime Minister Ecevit traveled to the United States to urge Washington to open its markets to Turkish steel and textile imports. This request too fell on deaf ears, the *Wall Street Journal* reported, noting that "despite its importance as a potential ally against Iraq, Turkey joined a lengthening list of anti-terror allies that have come away empty-handed trying to win trade concessions from the U.S."

Besides their economic woes, Turkey's rulers fear that another war will spark a renewed upsurge in the Kurdish people's fight for self-determination. Ankara has waged a brutal 15-year war against Kurdish forces fighting for independence in southeast Turkey, which has left more than 30,000 dead. Some 20 million to 30 million Kurds are divided among southeastern Turkey, northern Iraq, Syria, Iran, Armenia, and Azerbaijan.

Turkey already has 5,000 troops in Iraq battling Kurdish fighters. Defense Minister Sabahattin Cakmakoglu recently stated that "Turkey considers northern Iraq to be under its direct care." In response, Kurdish Democratic Party leader Massoud Barzani vowed that northern Iraq would become a "graveyard" for invading Turkish soldiers.

Turkey also finds itself at the center of imperialist conflict in its bid for membership in the European Union. "Hardly a week goes by without Washington telling the Eu-

UK firefighters prepare to strike



Fire Brigades Union members rally in support of demand for wage raise

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

Firefighters union members in the United Kingdom are preparing to stage a two-day national strike beginning November 13, after rejecting a pay offer proposed by a government-supported "independent" review.

The strike will close fire stations from Scotland to Wales in defiance of London's preparations to mobilize 19,000 armed forces personnel as strike-breakers. In recent weeks fire stations in several parts of London have been decked out with union banners and signs that urge motorists to "hoot if you support us."

The 50,000 members of the Fire Brigades Union (FBU) voted in mid-October by a resounding 9-1 margin to go ahead with strike action in support of their demand for an increase in annual basic pay from £21,500 to £30,000 (£1=US\$1.58.)

Headed by Sir George Bain, the independent review offered an 11 percent increase over two years—much less than the 40 percent raise demanded by the firefighters—and linked it to "changes in working practices." FBU national official Andy Gilchrist called the proposal "derisive and insulting." He also expressed "regret" that strike action would proceed. The union's national leadership had previously called off two strikes

scheduled for late October and early November.

Capitalist politicians added their voices to the media campaign against the unionists.

John Rainsford of the Local Government Association (LGA), which runs the fire service, expressed outrage at the strike action. "We will not yield to unrealistic union wage demands, nor capitulate in the face of bully-boy tactics," he said in a statement carried November 12 by the BBC.

Firefighters are "prevented" from working overtime "due to restrictive union policy," claimed the LGA boss. In fact, FBU members work a 48-hour week with no extra pay for overtime. In the same breath, Rainsford said, "The length of working shifts are not attractive to woman applicants."

Prime Minister Anthony Blair described the strike as "wrong, unjustified [and] unnecessary." His Labor Party government has mobilized 19,000 troops as a strikebreaking force to try to intimidate the firefighters. The 827 aging "Green Goddess" fire trucks they will use have become hated symbols of military intervention in firefighters' actions. The BBC described them as "synonymous with walkouts by UK's regular firefighters—most notably" a strike in 1977, when 20,750 servicemen were mobilized.

ropean Commission" to open the door to Turkey joining the EU, the *Financial Times* reported. Thomas Weston, U.S. special envoy to Cyprus, told the London daily, "We have made our views very strongly, very forcefully with our friends and allies."

Divisions over European Union

On October 24, in a rebuff to Washington, the 15-member body voted to exclude Turkey from its plan to take in 10 new countries by 2004. Turkey is the EU's sixth-largest market, and trade relations with the European bloc account for half of Turkey's exports and imports.

European capitalist spokespeople claim they won't admit the Turkish government, a fellow member of NATO, into EU membership until it gains EU approval for its human rights record. In response to Washington's pressure for Turkish membership, Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen of Denmark, which currently holds the presidency of the European Union, declared, "The United States must understand that putting Turkey into the European Union is not like putting Mexico into a free trade agreement. We treat Turkey far better than you treat Mexico."

A related conflict revolved around Cyprus. The Greek Cypriot government, which rules two-thirds of this Mediterranean island nation of 750,000 people, has been granted the status of full candidate for EU membership since 1997. Outgoing Turkish prime minister Bülent Ecevit stated that if Cyprus is admitted, the Ankara government will move ahead and annex the portion of the island occupied by Turkish troops.