

Meetings in Northwest back fight against deportation

BY BEVERLY BERNARDO

SEATTLE—“We have to support each other—now it’s Muslims and Arabs under attack. Who’s next?” said Zaiyad Zitoun at a February 22 public meeting. Attended by some 90 people, the event was organized to build solidarity for the fight of Róger Calero against deportation by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

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AS WE GO TO PRESS:

Calero INS hearing to move to New Jersey

The Immigration and Naturalization Service has indicated that it will not contest a motion by Róger Calero that his immigration hearing be held in Newark, New Jersey, the area in which he lives and works.

Calero’s attorney, Claudia Slovinsky, told the *Militant* on March 4 that agency officials had filed a letter with an immigration judge in Houston—the original venue—stating that they had “chosen not to oppose” the change.

“This will encourage supporters of my defense campaign to step up their efforts,” said Calero.

Pennsylvania garment workers on strike: ‘We won’t give in’

BY JANET POST

LYKENS, Pennsylvania—“I’m glad we went on strike. This is the first strike I’ve been on and it’s a real learning experience,” Libro Shirt striker Barbara Bowman said in an interview. “We’re not puppets on a string. We have rights and we want to use those rights.”

Bowman has been a sewer at the plant in this town for 18 years. “Before this

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Militant/Tim Mailhot

UNITE members picket Libro Shirt in Lykens, Pennsylvania, February 23.

Bring the troops home now!

UN ‘inspectors’ out; stop imperialist assaults on Iraqi sovereignty

Working people everywhere need to oppose the imperialist assault on Iraq and demand that the U.S., British, German, Spanish, and all other foreign troops in the Mideast be withdrawn now. The imperialist “inspectors,” who are trampling on the Iraqi people’s national sovereignty under the banner of the United Nations, should get out, too.

The relentless move toward war against the peoples of the Mideast is not simply a policy choice by the Bush administration, as asserted by its liberal critics and by apologists for the French or German gov-

EDITORIAL

ernments. The rulers of those imperialist powers are let off the hook with the false claim that “the whole world opposes Bush’s war.” Nor is the war a result of the fact that George Bush is a Republican, or that he is a wealthy oilman.

If these claims were true, it could be argued that this outcome would be avoided by replacing the current White House occupant with another. But the impending slaughter is not merely the latest step in a course followed by Democratic and Republican presidents of the last decade: it is the lawful result of a capitalist system in a long-term crisis. The billionaire rulers of the United States, France, the United Kingdom, Germany, and other imperialist powers are driven to conquer markets, territory, and resources in order to defend their class interests and reverse their historic decline.

The U.S. president, like all his predecessors, is simply doing his job: serving the interests of the U.S. billionaire class as

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Protesters in Ankara, Turkey’s capital, oppose war on Iraq in March 1 action. That day the parliament rejected proposal to station 62,000 U.S. troops in southern Turkey. Washington has stepped up pressure on the government to push the deal through.

250,000 U.S. troops amass in Gulf

BY PATRICK O’NEILL

As the U.S. government moves ahead with its war plans, the sharpening debates in the United Nations Security Council register the conflict between Washington, France, and their various allies and competitors, as they pursue their efforts to assert control over the oil wealth in the Arab-

Persian Gulf and broader region.

The shipping of 19,000 soldiers of the 101st Airborne Division to U.S. bases in Kuwait, along with other deployments, will bring the U.S. force in the Middle East to a quarter of a million troops.

In face of a narrow vote by Turkey’s

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Malcolm X book launched in Havana

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL AND ARRIN HAWKINS

HAVANA—“This book, which for the first time brings to Cuba the work of Malcolm X, is very much needed. It will be read by many young people. And it will make them hungry for other books by him,” said Enrique Ubieta at a February 8 event here launching *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*. Ubieta is the editor of the Cuban magazine *Contracorriente*.

The title was released in new English and Spanish editions by New York-based Pathfinder Press, and in a special edition for distribution in Cuba by Casa Editora Abril, the publishing house of the Union of Young Communists (UJC).

Abril produced the book—the first-ever Cuban edition of speeches by Malcolm X—in response to the widespread interest among young Cubans in the U.S.-born revolutionary leader.

The event, attended by more than 100 people, was part of the Havana International Book Fair, which took place here January 30–February 9. The new title was one of the most popular at Pathfinder’s booth throughout the 11-day fair, an annual cultural event that this year drew a record 440,000 people.

The speakers at the book presentation in addition to Ubieta were Herminio Camacho, director of Editora Abril, and Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder

Press. Iroel Sánchez, president of the Cuban Book Institute and the chair of the fair organizing committee, also joined the platform.

Camacho, who moderated the program, noted the presence in the audience of several leaders of the Union of Young Communists, including Kenia Serrano, a member of its Political Bureau, responsible for the educational work of the youth organization. Randy Alonso, author of the preface to the Cuban edition of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* and well known here as host of the nationally broadcast TV “Roundtable” program, also attended.

Many young people were in the audi-

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Youth Exchange trip in July will offer firsthand view of Cuba today

BY ARRIN HAWKINS AND SCOTT DUNLAP

HAVANA—Youth organizations in Cuba are hosting the Third Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange, which will take place in July. Dozens of young people from around the United States will be traveling to Cuba to meet with youth in that country, exchange experiences and ideas with them, and learn firsthand about the Cuban Revolution.

In a February 5 interview here, two Cuban youth leaders described some of the highlights of the upcoming Youth Exchange. The two, Ernesto Fernández Sánchez and Estela Zulueta Valdés, have been invited by faculty and student groups

in the United States to speak at a number of U.S. campuses in March and April on the subject of youth and the Cuban Revolution today. Fernández, 23, is a member of the national leadership of the Federation of University Students (FEU); Zulueta, 35, is a law student at the University of Havana.

The Youth Exchange, Fernández said, will allow young people from the United States “to see for yourselves and learn about the real situation in Cuba” in order to cut through the campaign of lies about the Cuban Revolution spread by the U.S. government and big-business media—a campaign reinforced by Washington’s

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Student daily covers socialist campaign for mayor of Tampa

Below is an excerpt from “The Longshots,” an article that appeared in the February 6 edition of the *Oracle*, a daily paper published at the University of South Florida (USF) in Tampa. The article is based on an interview with Rachele Fruit, who is running for mayor of Tampa in the elections scheduled for March 4. Fruit is a meat packer and member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1625. In the same issue, the *Oracle* ran an article covering a debate by all mayoral candidates including Fruit.

In the interview, Fruit declares support for USF professor Sami Al-Arian, an outspoken supporter of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination who has been fighting a frame-up campaign against him. In September 2001 university authorities began efforts to fire him on grounds that he had ties to “terrorists.” He was fired on February 26 of this year after U.S. authorities indicted him on “terrorism” charges; he is currently in a U.S. prison awaiting a bond hearing.

Subheadings are by the *Militant*.



BY GRACE AGOSTIN

Rachele Fruit has at least one bit of political experience that her fellow candidates for Tampa’s mayor do not. Fruit is a former candidate for governor of Florida.

Fruit ran as a write-in for the position last year against Republican Jeb Bush and Democrat Bill McBride. But the Socialist Workers representative was only able to garner 24 votes.

After the November election, Fruit turned her attention to Tampa, where she hopes to continue in an effort to spread the message of her organization.

“We’re a revolutionary organization, and we believe that the capitalist government needs to be replaced by a government of workers and farmers,” Fruit said.

Fruit said she believes that the current government serves only big business and not the working people. She said as the

separation between rich and poor grows, a battle between the classes is inevitable, during which the current system could be replaced.

“I think the process of establishing a different social system, which in my opinion would be a socialist system, would be possible,” Fruit said. “This will take a revolutionary movement, a mass movement. I think it will happen.”

Fruit said once social battles begin, there will be a few ways to turn. One of those ways will be the far right.

“Or you can look toward socialist and Communist ideas that say human solidarity is possible to build a future and not greed,” she said. “We’re serious about working people taking power.”

In Fruit’s ideal society, most of a person’s income would not be used on bills. She said she would like to see people provided with work, a place to live and medical care.

“People would have to spend their time being productive, being creative, spending the time we have in this world in a way we consider valuable, not just a struggle for survival,” Fruit said. “It would have to be an international thing. You would see yourself as a citizen of the world, not just a person in the United States circling the wagons.

Common interests with Iraqi people

“We have more in common with an Iraqi worker or peasant than we do with the government in Washington.”

Fruit said she has arrived at these beliefs after 30 years of work in politics. She said her road down the political path began in the 1960s when she became active in the Civil Rights Movement and the movements surrounding the Vietnam War.

“I (was) just trying to figure out, as a young person, why the world was so messed up,” Fruit said. “(I wondered) why people had to fight for freedom, for the right to vote (and) the most basic human rights. (I became) convinced it was a product of capitalism.”



Militant/Sonja Swanson

Mayoral candidate Rachele Fruit talks to participants in January 24 rally opposing victimization of Sami Al-Arian, an outspoken supporter of Palestinian struggle.

Fruit said she has worked as a meatpacking worker. In addition, she said she has worked in various unions and in a movement to make abortion legal.

Fruit’s platforms center largely on the national and international issues dominating the news today. She said she believes attacks on immigrants are at a high point right now and is another example of the government defying the working class.

Her platforms include a call to stop what she terms “Washington’s imperialist war drive.” She also wants to stop Immigration and Naturalization Service registrations and deportations, fight the death penalty, fight police brutality, defend affirmative action and cancel third-world debt.

Also in her platforms is a call for USF to immediately reinstate Sami Al-Arian to full teaching duty.

Fruit said her movement has limited resources and funding, which leaves her with little chance against her well-funded com-

petitors. But, if she were to beat the odds and become Tampa’s next mayor, she said one of her first focuses would be on USF and Al-Arian.

“I would immediately reinstate Sami Al-Arian. I would use my influence to see that that happens,” Fruit said. “I would encourage a movement of students and faculty. [Such] Movements and [others on] these campuses could go a long way [toward winning this fight].”

In addition, Fruit said Tampa is known for its [low-paid] workers. She said that as mayor, she would call for union scale wages that would allow everyone to earn between \$12 and \$15 per hour.

In the event that she does not win the election, Fruit said she will continue to take her message to all who will listen. She said her movement is a 365-day task.

“We don’t have a blueprint,” Fruit said. “All we know is we need to struggle for change.”

U.S. forces set up Djibouti garrison

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

With U.S. troops deployed on a warship off the coast of Djibouti and in an old French Foreign Legion base in that country, Washington has set up another garrison in its expanding military presence around the globe. Dubbed the Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa, the Pentagon/CIA operation will oversee U.S. military activities in Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Yemen, Somalia, and Kenya. The headquarters and intelligence base for the command will be stationed on board the USS *Mount Whitney*, berthed off Djibouti’s coast.

Currently 2,000 GIs are based in the former French colony, along with blackened helicopters outfitted with encrypted communications equipment designed for special operations. U.S. Special Forces have been conducting bombing exercises in the country’s mountains using Marine Harrier jets.

U.S. and British special forces have also been training 200 army troops in Yemen,

just across the Arab-Persian Gulf from Djibouti. According to the *Financial Times*, the Pentagon has set up an office that will organize training and equipping Yemen’s military.

A preview of what to expect of U.S. military operations in the region came last November when the CIA used Djibouti to launch an unmarked Predator drone over Yemen that fired missiles on a car carrying “terrorist suspects,” killing six people.

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.

Washington’s new military outpost in Djibouti marks another step in its moves to elbow its French imperialist rival out of its way in Africa. Currently some 2,700 French troops are stationed in Djibouti, which formed the base of operations for French forces during the 1990-91 war against Iraq.

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Paris uses troops to press Ivory Coast pact

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Seeking to stabilize a regime that will protect its interests, the French government is pressing the president of Ivory Coast to agree to a power-sharing deal with an insurgent opposition. With 3,000 combat troops operating on the ground, Paris aims to defend its investments in this West African country, which is rich in cocoa, oil, and gas reserves. The French military intervention takes place at a time when Paris is being challenged by Washington's bid for greater influence in the region.

Paris, the former colonial power in Ivory Coast, left a legacy of divisions among the population, including between Muslims and Christians, as part of its divide-and-rule tactics. This legacy has remained a source of conflict, and an obstacle to workers and farmers who oppose imperialist domination.

Ivory Coast president Laurent Gbagbo, whose base of support is in the largely Christian south, has become increasingly unpopular, particularly because of policies that discriminate against immigrants and residents of the largely Muslim north, where many antigovernment soldiers originate. His regime is confronting an armed revolt by groups in the north and western parts of the country.

The current instability wracking the country began in 1999 when Gen. Robert Guei took power in a military coup. The following year, with Gbagbo running against him, Guei declared himself president after elections in October that were widely viewed as rigged, but he was forced to flee in the wake of mass protests against him. The Supreme Court declared Gbagbo the winner, and he took office on October 26, 2000.

Under Gbagbo's rule, government and paramilitary forces have waged assaults on immigrants and Muslims in the north. Native-born Ivory Coast workers and farmers who are of northern ethnic groups that are also found in neighboring countries are often required to provide proof of citizenship. Cops have routinely harassed and brutalized residents who are originally from other countries in the region.

With the second-largest economy in West Africa and higher living standards than many other countries in the region, Ivory Coast had been a magnet for immigrants who have come to work in its vast cocoa and coffee plantations. Immigrants make up about 30 percent of the nation's 16 million people. About 3 million of the 5 million immigrants are from neighboring Burkina Faso. Workers and farmers in Ivory Coast, however, have been devastated by an economic downturn in 1999 and 2000 that was spurred on by falling world cocoa prices and growing political turmoil.

Largest military intervention in Africa

In September 2002, mutinous soldiers launched a failed coup to overthrow Gbagbo during which the former military ruler Guei was killed. In response to the unrest, Paris dispatched 1,000 troops to back the regime in what it described as "logistical support."

Washington also seized on the crisis to seek to gain a greater foothold in a region long dominated by its imperialist rival in Paris. Under the guise of protecting U.S. schoolchildren, Washington sent three military planes carrying 200 troops and equipment to the country. Since then the U.S. troops have been operating out of a base in neighboring Ghana. On February 6 a U.S.

military detachment of 20 men arrived at the Abidjan international airport in a U.S. Air Force transport plane. The soldiers were a "military advisory team...to monitor the situation with us," an unnamed U.S. embassy official told the Associated Press.

Some 3,000 French military personnel are now deployed along the front line of the government-held southern region—Paris's largest intervention since it sent a similar number of troops to Chad in the 1980s.

The territory in the northern half is currently controlled by the Ivory Coast Patriotic Movement, the main antigovernment group. The west is occupied by two other opposition factions that have emerged.

The Ivory Coast war has killed more than 1,000 people and uprooted more than 1 million from their homes. The conflict has also paralyzed agricultural production.

In face of the regime's inability to stanch the revolt, Paris has begun to hedge its bets. The French government is now pressing Gbagbo to accept a power-sharing deal it brokered January 24.

The accord would reportedly guarantee opposition groups appointments to the top posts in the defense and interior ministries, effectively giving them control over the army and police force.

Ivory Coast government and military officials have rejected the power-sharing deal. "These posts cannot go to the rebels," said an adviser to President Gbagbo. "There's nothing to discuss." Gbagbo drew up his own list of appointees. The Ivory Coast president did not attend the recent Franco-African summit in Paris sponsored by President Jacques Chirac of France.

Massive anti-French protests

The Gbagbo government, tapping the hatred of French colonial and imperialist rule, has mobilized supporters in huge anti-French protests in Abidjan, the largest city. Estimates of the size of the crowd ranged from 100,000 to 300,000. For two weeks demonstrations involving tens of thousands of people in the streets denounced the agreement and accused the French government of imposing the pact. Some of the marches passed by the U.S. embassy, with some demonstrators chanting "U.S.A. U.S.A." and carrying signs reading "Our freedom is in your hands. U.S.A. Save



Protesters near the U.S. embassy in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, January 28. More than 100,000 marched against deal brokered by Paris; some pled for U.S. intervention.

Us from Oppression." At one of the demonstrations some protesters chanted, "Chirac, assassin!"

The international media reported that for three days gangs of youths ransacked French businesses, schools, and homes, the Air France office, the French embassy, and the French Cultural Institute. Thousands stormed the Abidjan airport on January 31 as French citizens were catching flights. French troops intervened as angry demonstrators shouted insults at those fleeing the country.

In response to the protests Paris sent an additional 450 troops to Ivory Coast. "The 450 sends a message," a French Defense Ministry spokesman declared.

French concerns about investments

In a not-too-subtle threat against Ivory Coast officials, Chirac declared February 20 that government-backed death squads were operating in that country. Speaking alongside United Nations secretary general Kofi Annan at the Paris summit, Chirac warned that "all this could end up before the international tribunals," the French daily *Le Monde* reported.

For the imperialist rivals in Paris and Washington, what is at stake in the Ivory Coast is control of a wealth of natural resources and of a strategic region. The West African country is the largest producer of cocoa beans—some 40 percent of the world's crop—as well as a major exporter of coffee and palm oil. It also has diamonds, manganese, and rubber, as well as large oil and gas reserves off the coast. An oil refinery in Abidjan and eight oil companies are engaged in distributing and exporting petroleum products.

French capitalists control key sectors of the country's infrastructure, including electricity, water, telecommunications, port services, and construction. French-owned companies have major financial interests in the cocoa, rubber and timber trades. French troops guard the port in San Pedro where dried cocoa beans and timber are transported in large trucks.

Eyeing this wealth, the U.S. rulers have been seeking greater influence in the region. U.S. officials in Congress and the Pentagon have held discussions on stepping up military exchanges with West African countries and on possibly establishing a military base on the island of Sao Tomé.

French imperialists hold Africa summit

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

At the 22nd Franco-African summit, held in Paris February 20–21, French president Jacques Chirac presented himself as a "tireless advocate" for the interests of the 52 African nations present. France, he said, was one of Africa's "real friends."

Chirac campaigned at the conference to win backing for his government's stance against a U.S.-dominated invasion of Iraq and in favor of giving the UN "inspectors" more time to carry out "disarmament." He claimed that all 52 government representatives supported the French position.

The French president used the summit to promote his government's imposed settlement of the civil war in the Ivory Coast. He also tried to score points against Paris's imperialist rivals, particularly Washington, which has mounted a major push to increase its trade and influence in Africa and has used its military weight to deal blows to French interests in the Middle East.

U.S. corporations have been among the

heaviest investors in the growing African oil industry, while U.S. exports to sub-Saharan Africa grew by 17.5 percent in 2001, reaching a record high of nearly \$7 billion. Oil and gas field equipment and aircraft were at the forefront of this surge.

U.S. president Bush's so-called AIDS initiative, announced in his State of the Union speech, represented another push to increase U.S. influence among African countries.

France's minister of agriculture, Hervé Gaymard, contrasted his government's self-proclaimed defense of African farmers with the stance of Washington and London. "Our Anglo-Saxon friends...have a purely commercial vision of agriculture," he said, while Paris believes that "rural areas should be inhabited by human beings."

That was how Chirac couched his call to the governments in the European Union (EU) and Group of Eight countries—which include the imperialist governments of Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States—to suspend subsidies on agricultural goods exported to Africa. He said the move would raise the artificially low prices of such goods, allowing African producers to better compete in their home market.

Chirac's insistence that food aid and export credits be included in his proposals was designed to put the U.S. government—the biggest user and defender of such policies—on the spot.

If implemented, such a move would have a minimal impact on the world markets for agricultural goods, given the scale of the subsidies paid out to agribusiness in the imperialist countries.

Imperialist's use of subsidies

The governments in Europe, Japan,

and the United States pay out some \$350 billion each year for farm subsidies, the *New York Times* reported in December 2002. UN officials estimate that farmers in semicolonial countries lose about \$50 billion in annual agricultural exports because of such subsidies.

According to the *Financial Times*, "Though the EU is by far the biggest exporter to Africa, the continent takes only about 3 percent of total EU farm exports." Only a fraction of nearly \$3 billion EU "export refunds" are used to subsidize exports to Africa.

Describing Chirac's announcement as an "about-turn," the *Financial Times* stated that French officials have "until now strenuously denied that export subsidies harmed farmers in poor countries."

The French rulers direct substantial "aid" and investment toward their former colonies in Africa and throughout the continent. French bilateral economic agreements worldwide have surpassed those of the United States for the last eight years, and currently stand at \$8.4 billion—placing Paris second behind Tokyo. The majority of the money Paris spends on programs in the colonial world is tied to contracts with specific French corporations.

Before the movements for independence following World War II, France was rivaled only by the United Kingdom as the largest colonial power in Africa. The French authorities acquired a reputation for brutality beyond even most of their European rivals—a record they augmented in their attempts to crush the independence movements in Algeria and elsewhere.

Today French imperialism retains major investments in agriculture and the extraction of minerals on the continent; in defense of those interests and its world position, it fosters close paternal ties with a number of governments of its former possessions.

Speeches of Thomas Sankara

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

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Hundreds of thousands join peace rallies

BY SAM MANUEL

NEW YORK—More than 100,000 people rallied in midtown Manhattan on February 15 as part of an international protest against the looming U.S.-led invasion of Iraq. The weekend also saw actions in 150 other cities across the country, and 600 cities around the world, including major capitals in Europe, the Middle East and Latin America, CNN news reported.

The New York rally, held near the United Nations building, was organized by United for Peace and Justice, a coalition endorsed by a wide range of groups, from the U.S. Peace Council, to the National Council of Churches, and the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

While the political tone of the New York rally was set by the Democratic Party politicians and other liberals who spoke, and by the patriotic, pacifist, and Stalinist forces that predominated among its organizers, the action was also marked by the large-scale participation of students and other young people.

Variations on the theme of “No war for oil” were among the most common slogans and placards, registering the widespread recognition that Washington’s professed reasons for going to war—to deal blows to terror, to eliminate “weapons of mass destruction,” and to establish democracy in Iraq—camouflage the real, profit-driven motivation of U.S. imperialist foreign policy.

Many speakers and participants viewed the war drive as the personal crusade of President Bush, rather than as the latest step in Washington’s accelerating bipartisan course toward more conflicts and wars. They presented “regime change” in the United States—that is, the election of a Democratic Party president—as a solution to the war drive.

Many called for prolonged United Nations weapons “inspections” as an alternative to an invasion. A number carried signs applauding the stance of the governments of imperialist France and Germany, which have posed as champions of the United Nations and advocates of peace, as they maneuver to advance their own imperialist designs upon the oil wealth and other resources of the Arab-Persian Gulf.

Like the sanctions imposed and maintained by resolutions of the UN Security Council, the inspections are part of continuing and deepening violations of Iraqi sovereignty that help pave the way for war.

A number of signs said, “Vive La France.” Others read “Nein,” meaning “no” in German. Some participants carried large pictures of Hans Blix, the head of the UN arms “inspections” in Iraq.

United for Peace and Justice co-chair Leslie Cagan told the *New York Times* that rally organizers wanted to show that the United Nations could be “a symbol for the possibility of international cooperation.”

Several speakers also argued that the drive toward war is a “diversion” from the social crisis at home—frequently adding in the next breath that the “threats” from Al Qaeda and the north Korean workers state are more immediate than that from Iraq.

“There should be no rush to war,” said Congresswoman Nydia Velázquez, “when our cities need funding for schools, hospitals, and other vital services.”

For ‘intrusive’ inspection regime

NAACP chairman Julian Bond said that the administration’s concentration on war with Iraq was a strategy to win the recent mid-term elections and to “obscure” the erosion of civil liberties and rising unemployment. “In lieu of a unilateral attack,” he said, an “intrusive, unfettered inspection regime” should be reinforced in Iraq, backed by a force of multinational soldiers.

“If we really favor regime change,” he added, “we ought to begin right here at home.”

“Real patriots must stand up and give peace a chance,” said National Action Network leader and Democratic presidential aspirant Alfred Sharpton.

“I stand ready to defend America against any threat,” said Congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee. “But we must not be afraid to also fight for peace.” Lee said it is hypocritical to go to war in Iraq where she said the sanctions are working while ignoring the more immediate threat in North Korea.

Others spoke out against aspects of the



Clockwise from upper left: Militant/Nat London, Tim Mailhot, Bob Aiken, Danièle Monfette
Peace demonstrations held February 15, clockwise from upper left: marchers in Paris calling for French veto in UN Security Council; New York; Sydney; and Montreal, where a number of marchers carried the Quebec nationalist flag.

bipartisan war at home. Maher El Jamal of the Arab American Muslim Federation criticized the government’s requirement that immigrants from a number of countries report to immigration officials to be interrogated, fingerprinted, and registered. “We are being hunted and denied our human rights for no other reason than being Muslim and from the Middle East,” he said.

Many in the youthful crowd told *Militant* reporters that this was their first such demonstration. Emily Hellman, Mike Forcella and Noah Gage—all 20-year olds—came to the rally together from Alfred College in western New York. “We wanted to be part of something big,” said Hellman. “We’re about to finish college and be thrown into the middle of all this.”

Danika Nieves, 16, and Cathy Rizzo, 33, came from New Jersey. Nieves said that she had joined the rally “to be part of educating the public.” Rizzo hoped that the UN would decide “not to attack Iraq.”

Jordan Frohlinger, 22, is from Massapequa, Long Island, and attends Nassau Community College. “Some students say that the war doesn’t affect them,” he said, “but it does.”

City denies permit to march

In a serious attack on long-established rights to protest, city officials refused the organizers a permit for a march from the UN building to Central Park, and restricted

their activity to a rally. A federal judge concurred with the city’s contention that a march would constitute a “security risk.” No march has been permitted in the area since the September 11 attacks.

The police even denied the coalition’s request to place portable toilets along the rally site, saying that the portajohns would pose a “security threat.”

The thousands of cops on duty penned the action into an area along First Avenue estimated to hold around 10,000 people. Uncounted thousands never reached the rally. Forced to walk many blocks and through an obstacle course of police barricades, protesters spilled onto streets throughout midtown Manhattan.

Throughout the day the cops continued to clear people from areas nearly three blocks away, driving empty buses through the streets to force marchers onto the sidewalks. Rally organizers released a video the following day showing cops using pepper spray and wading into crowds with horses.

Actions in other cities

An estimated 200,000 people joined the San Francisco action. Some of the signs read, “Let the execs fight for oil, bring our boys home;” “Regime change 2004;” and “Inspections work, war won’t.”

A group of 20 young Koreans marched to the rhythm of a drum with an image of a reunified Korean peninsula in blue on the

back of their red T-shirts.

Large groups of Chinese workers joined the action. The march and rally had been set for February 16 to avoid conflict with celebrations of the Chinese New Year the previous day. The Chinese Progressive Association distributed leaflets in Chinatown encouraging participation in the march.

Connie Liu, 40, said she decided to join the march because “things are bad now and would only get worse if there were a war.” Liu recently lost her job and lives with her family in a Chinatown single-room-occupancy hotel.

Some 10,000 people marched in Philadelphia on February 15. Jim Duncan, a 21-year-old physics student at Haverford, opposed both Washington’s war moves and the calls for stronger action by the UN Security Council. “I think that the U.S. makes justification for war for its own interest,” he said. “There should be no sanctions, no inspections.”

Protests around the world

The large marches in a number of cities in other countries also included a patriotic current—this time bearing a strong anti-American stamp.

More than 750,000 rallied in London—one of the largest protests, alongside those organized in Italy and Spain. Among the speakers at the rally were former U.S. Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson and actress Vanessa Redgrave. A contingent from the Peterborough Islamic Society chanted, “Who are the terrorists? Bush and Blair!”

In Glasgow, Scotland, 50,000 people rallied outside the spring conference of the Labour Party.

An estimated quarter of a million people rallied across France, 100,000 of them in Paris. Supporters of the Socialist Party, Communist Party, Green Party, and others who had been part of the previous left government called on the present government to use its veto in the Security Council.

Large contingents organized by committees that defend immigrants participated with banners reading, “Defend the Palestinian and Iraqi people.”

Demonstrations were organized in a number of cities and towns in Iceland, from the capital of Reykjavik, to Akureyri in the north, to Isafjordur on the northwestern peninsula. About 2000 participated in Reykjavik protest, called by Campaign Against War, a coalition of various pacifist and political groups.

Members of the Left-Green political party, the only parliamentary party with an

Continued on Page 6

Socialists attract youth interested in revolution

BY CHESSIE MOLANO

NEW YORK—“Whatever its military might, Washington is acting out of weakness and fighting to hold onto a crumbling empire,” said Naomi Craine, speaking at an open house following the February 15 peace rally. “It’s important to explain the



Militant/Tim Mailhot
Socialist selling the *Militant* off literature table at demonstration in New York February 15.

development of capitalism and why the only way to end its wars is to end the capitalist system,” she told the nearly 100 persons who attended.

The open house was sponsored by the Young Socialists and Socialist Workers Party. Many participants had spent the day distributing the *Militant* and *Perspectiva*

Mundial and discussing politics with other protesters. They also sold titles published by Pathfinder from more than a dozen literature tables.

Róger Calero, an editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*, also spoke. He reported on the broad support his defense campaign is winning in the fight against the attempt by the Immigration and Naturalization Service to deport him.

Maria Torres, 17, a La Guardia High school student, told the *Militant* that she decided to come to the open house after stopping at a literature table and talking with members of the YS and SWP. “I want to know what’s happening, other than what’s in the news,” she said.

This was the second peace rally for Shannon Clarke, a student at Howard University in Washington D. C. Clarke first met the YS at the January 18 protest in Washington, DC. “The U.S. is out for more control and more power,” she said.

The socialist campaigners got a good response at the rally. They sold 650 copies of the *Militant* and just over a \$1,000 worth of Pathfinder literature.

Socialist newspapers and books were well received at other actions in the United States and several other countries.

Protesters purchased almost 180 copies of the *Militant* at the February 16 demonstration in San Francisco, along with seven

subscriptions to the newspapers and \$635 in literature. The new Pathfinder title, *Marianas in Combat: Teté Puebla and the Mariana Grajales Women’s Platoon in Cuba’s Revolutionary War*, by Teté Puebla was one of the best sellers, along with the *Communist Manifesto*, the issue of *New International* featuring the article “Opening Guns of World War III,” and *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*. Following the protest, a dozen people attended an SWP/YS open house.

Militant supporters in Detroit sold 40 copies at a protest of 1,000 people. In Tucson, Arizona, socialist workers and youth set up a literature table at the 4,000-strong demonstration there, selling two subscriptions and a number of Pathfinder books.

In London and Glasgow nearly 200 copies of the *Militant* were sold along with \$480 worth of Pathfinder literature.

Marchers in the New Zealand cities of Auckland and Christchurch bought 90 copies of the *Militant*.

Successful sales were also recorded in Sydney, Australia, Vancouver and Edmonton in Canada, and in Athens, Greece. At the Paris demonstration a poster calling for the withdrawal of French troops from the Ivory Coast attracted a large number of African participants to the literature display.

Ilona Gersh in Detroit and Betsy McDonald in Tucson contributed to this article.

250,000 U.S. troops amass in Gulf region

Continued from front page
parliament on March 1 to reject a proposal to allow the stationing of U.S. troops in the country as a northern invasion force against Iraq, Washington has been applying heavy-handed pressure on Turkish officials to reverse the vote. U.S. ships remain off the Turkish port of Iskenderun, ready to unload military equipment.

The previous week, officials of the International Atomic Energy Agency, a UN body, carried out “inspections” of nuclear power plants under construction in Iran. The move underscored the fact that Iran is the larger target of imperialism’s longer-term drive to war in the region. Washington has accused the Iranian government of secretly developing a nuclear weapons program as an argument for justifying increasingly aggressive measures against that nation.

On the diplomatic front, Washington, with backing from the British and Spanish governments, has been drumming up support for a UN Security Council resolution stating that the Iraqi government has failed to meet its “final opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations” as dictated by the Security Council. Moscow has threatened to veto the resolution.

The representatives of the French, German, and Russian governments are pressing for a counterposed statement. Their document states that UN “inspectors” are “functioning without hindrance” and concludes that they should be given a “clear program of action” to force Iraq to “disarm.”

Washington, Paris, London, Moscow, and Beijing are the five permanent members of the Security Council, with veto power. Each of the other 10 members, who lack veto authority, serves a term of two years. The imperialist powers of the United States, France, and the United Kingdom have repeatedly used Security Council resolutions as cover for their aggressive moves, from the U.S.-led Korean War in 1950–53 to the imposition of deadly economic sanctions on Iraq in 1990, and several times since.

Race to grab oil resources

The French rulers have cultivated the image of being for “peace” as opposed to their rivals in Washington. President Jacques Chirac, however, has aggressively called for the continuing “disarmament” of Iraq—the crushing of what remains of its military capacities and the denial of its sovereignty by a roving gang of UN-sponsored “weapons inspectors.”

When the UN’s chief “arms inspector” Hans Blix insisted that Iraq destroy its Al Samoud missiles, the French government instructed Baghdad to comply immediately.

U.S. president Bush, on the other hand, pooh-poohed the ultimatum, saying that the missiles were “the tip of the iceberg.”

“Time is short,” Bush added.
White House spokesman Ari Fleischer said on February 28 that the U.S. administration wants to see both “disarmament and regime change” in Baghdad.

These clashes between the U.S. and French governments are part of their race to grab control over a bigger slice of the oil reserves in the Middle East and elsewhere. Over the last decade Paris has signed hundreds of trade and investment deals with the

Saddam Hussein regime, centering on the country’s massive oil reserves. For example, TotalFinaElf, the largest French oil producer, has contracts with Iraq to exploit Iraq’s Majnoon and Bin Umar oil fields once UN sanctions are lifted (see article this page).

The governments of the Russian and Chinese workers states have reached similar agreements with Baghdad. The Iraqi government also owes Moscow billions of dollars in foreign debt.

These oil contracts and debts could be voided by a U.S.-British invasion force that—according to Washington’s explicit plans—would immediately storm the oil fields not already secured by U.S. Special Forces operating in Iraq.

The French-Iraqi oil deals have been reached in a period when UN economic sanctions, under the guise of the “oil for food” program since 1995, have devastated the country’s economic development.

According to a report published by the Global Policy Forum, “Politically motivated blocks and ‘holds,’ imposed almost entirely by the United States, have plagued the [oil for food] program.... There has been little repair and renewal of Iraq’s badly-deteriorated infrastructure, including water treatment, electricity, and public health.... Studies have amply documented a substantial rise in mortality of children, five years of age and under, and credible estimates suggest that at least 400,000 of these young children have died due to the sanctions.”

The representatives of both Paris and Washington backed these measures as they were implemented during the 1990s. The rift between these two powers has become sharper in the current imperialist drive to a new war, however.

French president Chirac’s frustration with the U.S. and British push to line up other European governments behind their drive to an invasion—a successful flanking operation against Paris and Berlin—exploded in public during a February 17 meeting of European Union (EU) governments. The 13 EU candidate members, all of which signed a letter backing Washington’s policy, had been “badly brought up,” he fumed, and had missed “an opportunity to keep quiet.”

The deputy foreign minister of the Czech Republic, which has taken a pro-U.S. stance, commented, “we thought we were preparing for war with Saddam Hussein and not Jacques Chirac.”

Noting the “self-seeking” behavior of the rival governments in the UN arena, the February 11 online edition of the right-wing *National Review* crowed that “it’s so blatant it’s refreshing.” Arguments within NATO and the UN confirm that these bodies are not “supra-national entities with corporate interests,” the publication remarked; rather, they are “arenas in which countries pursue politics by other means.”

War moves well advanced

The actions of the “inspection” teams, which assume the power to enter and close off Iraqi government offices, factories, laboratories, and any other facilities they select—declaring a “no-fly, no-drive” zone around them—are one piece in the imperialist war against Iraq and its national sovereignty that is already well advanced.

parts and equipment for the Iraqi oil industry.

While the capitalists in Germany lag far behind their French rivals, they still pull in some \$350 million in direct annual trade with Iraq.

The Russian and Chinese workers states each accounts for 5.8 percent of Iraq’s imports. Russia has signed 862 UN-approved contracts to supply oil industry equipment and parts, while China has signed 227 such agreements.

These deals with Baghdad are threatened by a U.S.-led overthrow of the Saddam Hussein government. The alternative course promoted by Paris, Berlin, and others is to bolster the brutal UN-imposed status quo of economic sanctions and military-backed inspections.



Soldiers from 101st Airborne Division in Fort Campbell, Kentucky, prepare to board commercial airliners February 28 for deployment in Arab-Persian Gulf region.

Other fronts of this offensive include the growing presence of U.S. troops in northern Iraq; the stepped-up bombing raids by U.S. and British planes in the “no-fly zones,” which cover half the country; and a naval blockade policing the imperialist sanctions. The latter involves ships from Australia, New Zealand, and other countries, along with those from the United Kingdom and the United States.

Meanwhile, the air and naval buildup continues apace. Giant B-52 bombers began bombing drills in the northern gulf area February 23, reported the U.S. Central Command (Centcom).

The assignment of the USS *Nimitz* aircraft carrier to the Arab-Persian Gulf means that as many as six U.S. carrier battle groups “will be operating in the area,” reported the Associated Press March 1. “The U.S. has deployed this many carriers before, but it’s never deployed this much striking power,” said one U.S. military “analyst.”

The aircraft carrier deployment “tells you...it’s going to be an overwhelming air assault,” he said.

Over the past month the officers in the battle command responsible for the invasion moved from Centcom headquarters in Florida to Camp As Sayliyah in Qatar. “This time it is not an exercise,” reported the Associated Press, referring to December maneuvers in the Gulf that put the command structure through a trial run.

Close to 100,000 of the more than 200,000 U.S. forces now poised in the Arab-Persian Gulf are in Kuwait, at Iraqi’s southern border, reported the Voice of America radio station February 21. “Thousands more U.S. military personnel are still flowing into the region,” it continued.

A part of that massive force is already stationed inside Iraq. According to a February 4 Agence-France Presse report, Kurdish representatives say that “between 700 and 1,000 U.S. troops are in northern Iraq, with some 50 more arriving each day.” Three airstrips in the region known as Iraqi Kurdistan have been prepared for use by the U.S. forces. CIA operatives have also been active in the area.

The *Washington Post* reported January 30 that the “higher profile of U.S. activity in northern Iraq comes as the U.S. government is preparing to advise Kurdish leaders...that [their] paramilitaries should stay in place and should not seize new territory, especially around the oil fields near the cities of Mosul and Kirkuk.”

Washington is watchful that the Kurds, millions of whom live in Iraq, Turkey, Iran, and Syria, don’t step up their struggle for national self-determination, as they did in the aftermath of the 1990–91 war. Both the Turkish and U.S. governments have made it clear that they will try to block any such development.

U.S. pressures Turkish government

Thousands of Turkish troops would enter Kurdish-held areas in northern Iraq under an agreement signed by the Turkish cabinet and U.S. officials on February 24. The agreement—centered on the stationing of a U.S. invasion force of 62,000 U.S. troops in southern Turkey—hit a snag when it was narrowly rejected by the country’s parliament March 1. U.S. forces already use Turkish airfields as their base for attacks on Iraq’s northern “no-fly zone.”

The parliamentary debate and vote took place as large protests were held reflecting the overwhelming opposition among working people in Turkey to war on Iraq.

“They did what?” said one State Depart-

ment official on hearing of the narrow vote to reject the deal, according to Agence-France Presse. The next day Turkey’s foreign minister, under intense U.S. pressure, said the proposed deal would be resubmitted. Some two dozen U.S. vessels are waiting off the Turkish coast to unload military equipment.

Noting that Turkey was in its “deepest recession since 1945,” the Reuters news agency reported that if the parliament balks again it “stands to lose a multi-billion-dollar U.S. aid package.... A \$16 billion IMF loan package could also now be seriously in question.”

Ankara’s proposal to renegotiate the terms of International Monetary Fund loans was one of the sticking points in the talks on the U.S. military deployment in Turkey.

“Diplomats say the government may be able to present a revised U.S. troop plan if the UN Security Council passes a new resolution explicitly authorizing use of force against Iraq,” reported Reuters.

‘Let the inspectors do their work’

The majority of the forces organizing the large peace demonstrations that have been held in the United States have promoted, as an axis of their slogans, the false view that the United Nations presents a peaceful alternative to the U.S.-led drive to war (see article on page 4). “Give inspections a chance to work” was the refrain heard from speakers and marchers” at the February 16 San Francisco march, reported the February 22 issue of the *People’s Weekly World*, the newspaper of the Communist Party USA. The article approvingly quoted Democratic congresswoman Barbara Lee, who advised the crowd to “say no to preemptive strike. Yes to disarmament and inspections.”

A *PWW* article reporting on a meeting in Chicago of the CPUSA’s National Board quoted party national chairman Sam Webb. “We need to call for no unilateral action,” he said. “Let the sanctions work!”

Two weeks later the paper issued a correction, explaining that “the correct quote should read, ‘Let the inspections work.’”

UN ‘inspectors’ in Iran

One of the most prominent UN “inspectors”—Mohamed el-Baradei, head of the International Atomic Energy Agency—paid a visit to a nuclear power plant construction site at the Iranian city of Natanz on February 22. Other UN officials snooped around another power plant in Arak, in the central region of the country.

The stated aim of the “inspections” is to ensure that Iran’s nuclear industry is limited to civilian, not military, purposes. The Iranian government says it will use nuclear power for energy production only, but Washington asserts the facilities are part of a secret nuclear weapons program.

Washington is pressuring the Russian government to break its contracts to supply fuel to the Iranian facilities.

U.S. officials have opposed moves inside northern Iraq by an Iranian-backed militia with links to Kurdish forces opposed to the Iraqi government.

“We think any Iranian presence or Iranian-supported presence in that region is destabilizing and not positive,” declared State Department spokesman Richard Boucher.

Some 1,000 fighters of the militia, called the Badr Brigade, have set up camp in the area, which is controlled by the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, an organization that has ties to the Iranian government.

French oil deals threatened by war on Iraq

BY PAUL PEDERSON

Behind the opposition of the French government to a U.S.-led invasion of Iraq lie massive trade deals with Baghdad and investments in the oil wealth of the Middle Eastern country.

French imperialism has profited handsomely from UN-controlled trade with Iraq in the past 12 years of UN-imposed sanctions. Currently French firms account for 22.5 percent of all goods imported into Iraq, scooping up an annual gross profit of \$1.5 billion from this trade.

The French oil company, TotalFinaElf, has negotiated oil deals that would give it control over 25 percent of Iraq’s oil reserves. French companies have signed 798 contracts for

Palestinian fighter sent to notorious jail in Pennsylvania

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

Farouk Abdel-Muhti, an outspoken advocate of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, was removed by immigration officials from his jail cell in Paterson, New Jersey, on February 19 and transferred to a prison near York, Pennsylvania. That facility is farther away from his family and supporters and has worse conditions. In a February 26 phone interview, Abdel-Muhti said this was a punitive move by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in response to his efforts to speak out against his imprisonment and U.S. government threats to deport him.

The INS has held Abdel-Muhti, 55, in a series of prisons in New Jersey for nearly 11 months without a hearing and without filing any criminal charges against him.

Abdel-Muhti told the *Militant* that harassment at the York County jail began immediately on his arrival. A “counselor” warned him to “behave” or else he would be placed in the “hole”—solitary confinement. He had been moved several times from cell to cell. As of February 26 he was in a cell by himself, allowed to leave it only for 45 minutes per day. “I am only allowed to take a shower once every three days—and only for eight minutes at a time, with cold water,” he said. In the New Jersey jail his showers were not restricted.

“I called my son in New York, and when we spoke in Arabic they cut off the phone call and told me it was ‘illegal.’”

The prison bosses even carry out petty harassment against him, like changing the spelling of his name from Farouk to “Faruk.”

The jailers charge for virtually everything, including the salt, pepper, and sugar that prisoners use on poor-quality food. Telephone calls to New York cost \$5.00 for the first minute.

Abdel-Muhti is well-known in the New York area for his work on behalf of the Palestinian struggle. He has been active in the Palestine Education Committee and the Palestine Aid Society, and has spoken at events in defense of the Cuban Revolution. Before his arrest, he had been hosting a regular program on WBAI radio in New York on the resistance by Palestinians in the occupied territories.

The immigration cops say they are holding him on the basis of a 1995 deportation order. Although they had not acted for the previous seven years, early in the morning of April 26, 2002, INS agents and New York city cops showed up at his apartment, claiming they wanted to question him about the September 11 attacks. They threatened to break down the door, asserting that they believed there were weapons and explosives in the apartment. Once inside—without a warrant—they arrested him and carted him off to jail. As they left, one of the cops turned to his roommate, Bernie McFall, and said, “We’ll get you next.”

His defenders are waging a campaign to stop his deportation and to support his right to stay in this country, where he has lived since the 1970s. A February 8 fundraiser in Manhattan attracted more than 100 people.

Punitive transfer

“This transfer interferes with Farouk’s constitutional right to legal representation,” said MacDonald Scott of the National Lawyers Guild and one of the attorneys defending Abdel-Muhti. “The removal so far from the venue where his case is being heard goes against his due process rights.”

Abdel-Muhti’s lawyers have filed a complaint and habeas corpus petition—a motion for his release—in a U.S. district court

Thousands march in South Africa against drive to war on Iraq



Militant/T.J. Figueroa

More than 10,000 people joined the “Stop the War” march in Johannesburg, South Africa, February 15, to protest the U.S.-led war against Iraq. The demonstration and others in Cape Town, Durban and other South African cities were part of internationally coordinated protests on February 15–16.

in Newark, New Jersey. The motion argues that under a 2001 Supreme Court ruling barring indefinite detention, the INS must either deport or release individuals after holding them for six months.

Asked why Abdel-Muhti had been transferred, a spokesperson for the Newark INS office denied it was to punish him, stating that the agency “routinely, for administrative purposes, moves detainees.”

Defenders of the Palestinian activist, however, say that prison authorities have tried—unsuccessfully—to stop him from speaking out and drawing in other prisoners into political activity. In January Abdel-Muhti carried out an eight-day hunger strike together with five other inmates to protest their continued detention.

The York County jail, located in south-central Pennsylvania, is notorious for its brutal conditions.

As the U.S. government has stepped up its attacks on immigrant workers, INS jails have filled to overflowing, and the agency is now contracting out for jail space from state and local prisons. In 1999 the York County jail became the largest INS detention jailhouse in the country. In 2000 INS prisoners comprised 44 percent of the inmate population there.

In a 2000 letter to the INS, Amnesty International drew attention to a series of abuses and arbitrary disciplinary practices at the York County prison, concluding that conditions there “are in no way appropriate for the treatment of persons exercising their right to seek the protection of the United States.”

In his call to the *Militant* to report on his punitive transfer, Abdel-Muhti also expressed appreciation for receiving copies of the paper, its sister publication in Spanish, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and other literature. In the Paterson jail, other inmates would come over and borrow papers and books.

The Committee for the Release of Farouk Abdel-Muhti has urged supporters of democratic rights to protest his transfer and demand his release by contacting INS assistant commissioner David Venturella by fax: 202-353-9435, phone: 202-305-2734, or e-mail: David.j.venturella@usdojgov.gov. Abdel-Muhti can receive letters at: Faruk Abdel-Muhti, #75122, York County Prison, 3400 Concord Road, York, PA 17402-9580.

Hundreds of thousands join peace protests

Continued from Page 4

official position against war on Iraq, carried signs saying “Iceland Against War” and “Stop US Imperialism.”

Despite rain and strong wind, the march headed to the Icelandic government building and then to the U.S. and British embassies. The representatives of the United Kingdom and Germany are in the same building, and a group of people began shouting: “Go Schröder!”

In Athens 200,000 people marched on the U.S. embassy. The action was called by the country’s main trade union organizations, including the General Confederation of Greek Workers, the Civil Servants’ Supreme Administrative Council, and the Athens Labor Center. Rallies took place in 30 other towns, organized by the Communist Party of Greece, the Coalition of the Left, and the governing Panhellenic Social-

ist Movement.

A protest of a similar size was organized in Sydney, Australia.

Judy Darcy, president of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, told a rally of 30,000 in Vancouver that the Canadian government should have its “own” foreign policy. Not just Iraq, but the United States and the workers states of north Korea and China should be disarmed, she said.

Demonstrations took place throughout the province of British Columbia including 6,000 in Victoria. Signs carried at a rally of 12,000 in Edmonton read, “Leaders for Peace: France, Germany and Canada!”

At a march of 10,000 in Auckland, New Zealand, among the many signs saying, “No blood for oil,” a banner demanded, “Boycott U.S. Brands!” Margaret Crozier of Greenpeace called on “our prime minister to stand up for New Zealand.”

Rollande Girard in San Francisco; Hilda Cuzco in Philadelphia; Joyce Fairchild in London; Carol Ball in Glasgow; Nat London in Paris; Sigurlaug Gunnlaugsdóttir in Reykjavík; Georges Mehrabian in Athens; Linda Harris in Sydney; Beverly Bernardo in Vancouver; Natalie Stake-Doucet in Edmonton; and Terry Coggan in Auckland contributed to this article.

Government pension agency reports record loss of \$11 billion last year

BY PETER THIERJUNG

The Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp., the government agency that insures pensions, reported a loss of nearly \$11.4 billion last year, the largest in its 28-year history. The loss stemmed from the agency having to take over several big pension plans from failing companies. Aggravating the situation was the poor performance of the agency’s stock portfolio.

The biggest contributors to the loss were the pension defaults of Bethlehem, National, and LTV steel companies, accounting for \$7.1 billion.

Executive director Steven Kandarian said “a number of large highly underfunded plans” that might require being taken over are being closely monitored. While Kandarian did not name any companies, some airlines companies are certain to be high on the list, including bankrupt U.S. Airways, which has already announced it will end its pension plan for pilots, and United Airlines.

The agency says it has the funds to keep making pension payments now due because it has \$25.4 billion in assets. But the payments now being made are larger than projected and will increase after a record year of corporate bankruptcies. The Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp. was set up in 1974

by the government and is financed by employers who pay insurance premiums.

Because of declining stock market prices, among other factors, many companies are finding that their pension fund assets have fallen below 90 percent of the amount needed to cover future pension payments, requiring companies to make additional contributions to pension funds.

To offset making the required contributions, corporations are now asking the government to change formulas to calculate pension values that would reduce pension deficits on paper and cut down the billions companies would have to kick in to keep pension fund assets above the 90 percent mark.

If the government doesn’t act, “it will be a disaster,” Janice Gregory, an official of the big-business lobbying outfit Erisa Industry Committee, told the *New York Times*. “You will have plans that have to freeze benefits. You will have plans that have to terminate because they don’t have cash,” she said.

The Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp. covers conventional pension benefit plans that offer workers a set monthly payment and does not cover 401(k)s. The pensions of some 44 million workers are insured by the corporation.

From Pathfinder

New International no. 7

Opening Guns of World War III: Washington’s Assault on Iraq

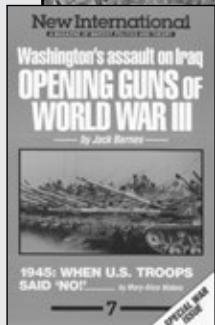
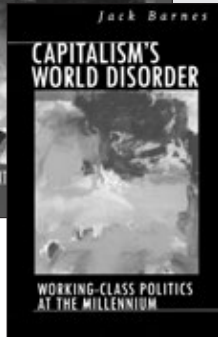
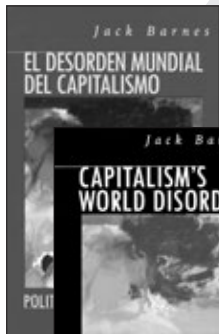
by Jack Barnes ■ 1945: When U.S. Troops said “No!” by Mary-Alice Waters ■ Lessons from the Iran-Iraq War by Samad Sharif \$12.00

Capitalism’s World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium

Jack Barnes ■ \$23.95 Also available in Spanish and French.

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



Order online at www.pathfinderpress.com. Please include \$3 shipping and handling. Also available from bookstores including those listed on page 12

‘Capitalism’s long hot winter has begun’

BY PATRICK O’NEILL

NEW YORK—Some 200 people gathered in New York on February 23 for a meeting organized around the theme “Capitalism’s Long Hot Winter Has Begun”—the title of the lead article by Jack Barnes in the 12th and latest issue of *New Internationalist*. A large reproduction of the attractive cover of the publication, which will be released in the coming weeks, hung above the speakers.

Participants came from around the United States, as well as from several other countries. About 100 of those present were in the middle of several voluntary projects to advance the work of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and Pathfinder Press, from organizing Pathfinder’s library to preparations to digitally archive thousands of photographic prints. Among those attending were a number of Young Socialists as well as youth who had been drawn to the communist movement and their explanations in the thick of the ongoing peace demonstrations and other political events.

Naomi Craine opened the meeting on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists in New York. On the speakers platform together with Barnes, the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, were Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press, and Young Socialists Lawrence Mikesch and Arrin Hawkins. The co-chair was Róger Calero, a *Militant* staff writer and *Perspectiva Mundial* associate editor, who is fighting a deportation threat by the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Mikesch spoke of his experiences joining with others to campaign in defense of Róger Calero during a recent visit to nine cities in Iceland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. Everywhere he went, he said, “students and workers were interested in news of the class struggle in the United States and in supporting Calero’s fight”—from youth organizing protests against the deportations of Salvadoran and Chechen immigrants in Sweden, to Irish republicans in Scotland, to students at a university in London and in three high schools in Iceland.

Build U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange

Hawkins, who has been working as a volunteer in Pathfinder’s printshop for the past year, spoke about other aspects of the political work of the Young Socialists. One effort YS members are involved in is working with other youth to organize a trip to Cuba in July, the Third Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange, which Hawkins said will be “a pole of attraction for those looking to oppose imperialism and its wars.” It will be

New York meeting launches fund for ‘Militant,’ ‘PM’

At the February 23 meeting in New York on “Capitalism’s Long Hot Winter Has Begun,” chairperson Naomi Craine announced the launching of an international campaign to raise \$75,000 for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. The nine-week drive will run from March 10 to May 12.

Craine’s appeal for an initial boost to the fund resulted in a collection of about \$20,000 in pledges and nearly \$2,000 in cash and checks.

The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are funded exclusively by working people and others who value these socialist periodicals for accurately presenting the facts and explaining a revolutionary working-class perspective. Raising the \$75,000 is necessary to cover the operating expenses for producing and shipping these publications that cannot be met through subscription and bundle sales alone.

Supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* around the world are discussing local quotas they will adopt to help make the international goal; the *Militant* should be informed of these targets by March 10. In next week’s issue a chart will appear with the quotas adopted.



Militant/Phil Duzinski

Above, SWP national secretary Jack Barnes speaks at February 23 meeting in New York. Right, Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press, discusses experiences of revolutionary publisher at Havana Book Fair. Others are, left to right: Young Socialists Lawrence Mikesch and Arrin Hawkins, and Naomi Craine, who co-chaired the meeting.



an avenue to “help educate participants on the Cuban Revolution and in the need to build a revolutionary movement in the United States,” she said.

Another such opportunity to meet and work with revolutionary-minded youth will be a speaking tour of 11 U.S. cities by two Cuban youth leaders scheduled for late March and April, she said.

Hawkins explained that she was part of a Young Socialists leadership delegation that would attend the March 4–7 General Assembly of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, of which the YS is a member, and a March 8 preparatory meeting to discuss plans for the next World Festival of Youth and Students, both taking place in Havana. The Young Socialists are working to draw other student and youth groups into the youth festival as part of long-term efforts to build an international anti-imperialist youth movement.

Hawkins had just returned from Cuba, where she reported for the *Militant* on the January 30–February 9 Havana International Book Fair. An international team of communist workers and youth staffed Pathfinder’s booth at the fair.

Pathfinder participation in Havana fair

Pathfinder has participated in the Havana book fair for nearly 20 years, said Mary-Alice Waters. This year was one of the most fruitful in broadening collaboration with revolutionaries in Cuba, as registered in the success of Pathfinder’s book launchings at the fair. The three titles it launched this year were *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*; *Marianas in Combat: Teté Puebla and the Mariana Grajales Women’s Platoon in Cuba’s Revolutionary War, 1956–58*; and *October 1962: the ‘Missile’ Crisis As Seen From Cuba* by Tomás Diez Acosta.

Among those speaking at the presentations of these books at the fair and afterward were several longtime revolutionary combatants such as brigadier generals Delsa Esther “Teté” Puebla and Harry Villegas, and other generals of Cuba’s Revolutionary Armed Forces.

In her presentations at the meetings, Waters said, she explained “that we don’t publish such titles primarily to bring them to Cuba, but because they are needed by working people in the United States and in other countries, to bring the example of the Cuban Revolution to those engaged in struggle.” Many Cuban participants in the meetings were struck by this point and appreciated it.

“We should never take for granted this response to Pathfinder books in Cuba,” Waters emphasized. Pathfinder supporters have participated in the fair since 1984, Waters said, and “each effort has built on the others.” The success of this year’s book launchings registered this long-term cumulative political work.

In recent years at the Havana book fair Pathfinder has presented a number of books, mostly about the Cuban Revolution. *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* was the first Pathfinder book launched in Havana that “covers the class struggle in the United States,” Waters said. Casa Editora Abril, the Union of Young Communists (UJC) publishing house, joined Pathfinder to present

its own edition—the “first-ever collection of Malcolm X speeches published in Cuba,” she said.

The book’s availability in Cuba is timely, she noted, given the ongoing political offensive by the Cuban leadership to win the new generations to the revolution, commonly known on the island as the Battle of Ideas. This includes efforts to address real social problems such as the growing social inequalities between those who have access to U.S. dollars, through their jobs or their relatives in the United States, and those who don’t.

In a recent speech Cuban president Fidel Castro pointed out that while the Cuban Revolution had taken giant steps to uproot institutionalized racist discrimination, a legacy of racism from capitalist society remains and must be addressed. The Battle of Ideas is being used to expand education as a way to integrate into productive activity those youth who have dropped out of school and are not working, or who end up in prison—including a number of youth who are Black.

The Battle of Ideas, she said, is a class approach based on making education available as a lifetime right for all working people.

Capitalism’s long hot winter

SWP national secretary Barnes, who gave the main presentation, began by explaining that “two processes are necessary in the accumulation of the conditions for a

socialist revolution.” One is the deepening of the class struggle, as workers and farmers respond to capitalism’s unfolding economic catastrophe and to the ruling class’s need to use rougher methods of rule at home and abroad.

We are at the beginning of “the long winter of capitalism,” said Barnes, “a period of depressed economic development, financial instability, and explosions.

“We add a qualifier,” he said: “it will be a *hot* winter,” as relations between imperialist countries become increasingly marked by discord, competition, and war.

The other necessary process is subjective, said Barnes. Through a number of historic stages and experiences, a vanguard of working people must be won to adopting, implementing, and renewing the communist program as part of building a revolutionary workers party.

Today, Barnes noted, political traditions within labor are still weak. One reflection of this is the fact that vanguard fighters among working people have by and large not yet joined the large peace actions that have taken place in recent months. Such actions will at first not involve many workers.

Socialist workers act to encourage their co-workers and fellow unionists to attend such protests, while they argue for a proletarian internationalist perspective against the pacifist and nationalist slogans put forward by the organizers of these actions. They report back to their co-workers on the demonstrations, increasing the likelihood that fellow workers will participate in the future.

In this way, communists act as “tribunes of the people,” said Barnes, citing a phrase popularized by Bolshevik party leader V.I. Lenin to describe the party’s cadre. Lenin contrasted such “tribunes,” who bring a broad political perspective to fellow workers, to the model of the reform-minded “trade union secretary” focused on narrow “bread and butter” issues within the plants.

Need for a culture of Marxism

Outside the small nuclei of communist workers in the United States and several other countries today, Barnes said, the culture of Marxism that previously existed in the world has all but disappeared. Such a culture, with wide-ranging debates taking place on political and scientific thought, is necessary to help organize and prepare for a socialist revolution.

Over more than six decades the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and world-

Continued on Page 15

Coming Soon

\$15

New Internationalist no. 12

CAPITALISM’S LONG HOT WINTER HAS BEGUN

by Jack Barnes

“For the first time since the opening of the depression-ridden, war-ridden 1930s, all the evidence in the advanced capitalist countries points to the onset of something much more than a deep recession such as the three we’ve seen the past quarter century. What we’re seeing today are the symptoms of a debt-deflation deadness that does not respond to the monetary or fiscal prodding that helps accelerate an upturn in a normal trade cycle. In short, we’re in the opening stages of a world depression....

“One of capitalism’s infrequent long winters has begun. Given the accompanying acceleration of imperialism’s drive toward war, it’s going to be a long, hot winter. And, even more important, one that will slowly but surely and explosively breed a scope and depth of resistance not previously seen by the great majority of revolutionary-minded militants in today’s world.”

Jack Barnes
July 2002

Also in this issue ...

Two reports from the 1921 congress of the Communist International

- V.I. Lenin: A Very Unstable Equilibrium
- Leon Trotsky: World Depression and the Tasks of Communists



Available soon at a Pathfinder Bookstore listed on page 12 or at www.pathfinderpress.com

‘Malcolm’s revolutionary voice is needed

Havana Book Fair event launches Spanish and English editions of ‘Malcolm X Talks to Young People’

The following is the presentation by Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press, at the February 8 launching in Havana, Cuba, of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* (see accompanying article on the event). The book, a collection of speeches and interviews by the U.S.-born revolutionary leader, was recently published by Pathfinder in both English and Spanish editions. A Spanish edition for distribution in Cuba was also published by Casa Editora Abril, the publishing house of the Union of Young Communists (UJC) of Cuba.

The event was held as part of the Havana International Book Fair. Also speaking at it were Herminio Camacho, director of Abril, who chaired the meeting, and Enrique Ubieta, editor of *Contracorriente* magazine.

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BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

First, a thank you to the compañeros of Casa Editora Abril for the opportunity to join with you in presenting *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* at this 12th Havana International Book Fair, and especially to Herminio and Rafaela [Valerino, of the book publishing department of Casa Editora Abril], whose enthusiasm for this title and tenacity in bringing it into being meant we could be here this afternoon.

Without exaggeration, we can say that this is an important moment in history. For the first time ever, a collection of speeches by this great American revolutionary working-class leader is being published here in Cuba. And it is the first time in either the United States or Cuba that we have a Spanish-language edition of this valuable collection of Malcolm’s speeches to young people. “All over the world,” Malcolm told the *Young Socialist* magazine in early 1965, “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 Talks to Young People has been available in English in various forms and editions since 1965 when the Young Socialist Alliance and Pathfinder first published it within a few short weeks of Malcolm’s brutal assassination. In the last thirty-eight years, tens of thousands of copies have been sold, making it one of the most popular titles ever in Pathfinder’s revolutionary arsenal.

Spoke unvarnished truth

Malcolm’s undiminished political appeal across the decades—indeed his ever-growing appeal—is attributable to one quality above all: without fear and with-



Enrique Ubieta, editor of *Contracorriente*, speaks at February 8 launching of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*. Left, Herminio Camacho, director of Casa Editora Abril, which published first-ever Cuban edition of Malcolm X speeches. Right, Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder, which issued English and Spanish editions of the title.

out compromise he spoke the unvarnished truth. A few days before his death, in answer to a question from a reporter, Malcolm remarked that he was trying to wake Black people up.

“Wake them up to their exploitation?” the journalist asked.

“No,” Malcolm replied, “to their humanity, to their own worth, to their heritage.”

With eloquence, wit, and clarity, he spoke to the oppressed and exploited masses of working people—and he *did* awaken them to their own worth, their dignity, their capacity for struggle, their ability to change the world.

To many of us young socialists at the time who heard him, Malcolm’s voice was close to the voice of the Cuban Revolution, the voices of Fidel and Che above all.

Others this afternoon will speak about the meaning of this book for you here in Cuba. I want to briefly mention five reasons why Malcolm is so important to us in the United States as a revolutionary leader both of working people and of the Black nationality, why he was so feared and hated by the rulers of the empire, so slandered by their apologists.

1) Malcolm Little, as he was known then, first awoke to his own humanity while serving a prison sentence after having been convicted of burglary. It was in the prisons of the empire that Malcolm joined the Nation of Islam. And it was there that he began to read voraciously and acquired the self-respect, self-confidence, an ever-growing vocabulary, and the habits of disciplined hard work and study that made it possible for him to grow into, to

become, Malcolm X. He was a living example of the motto of this book fair: *Leer es crecer*. To read is to grow.

The United States has the highest per capita prison population of any country

3) Malcolm was an internationalist. “Any movement for freedom of Black people based exclusively within the borders of the United States is absolutely doomed to fail,” he said. Over and over he condemned in the most unyielding terms the actions of the U.S. government in the Congo, and the war being waged against the people of Vietnam.

The Cuban Revolution, now “that’s a revolution,” Malcolm told a predominantly Black audience in Detroit in 1963. It “overturned the system.” And he welcomed both Fidel and Che to Harlem not simply as an act of solidarity; he welcomed them as brothers in arms. “I love a revolutionary,” Malcolm said in December 1964, introducing a message from Che to a meeting of the Organization of African-American Unity—the organization he had joined with others earlier that year to found. “And one of the most revolutionary men in this country right now was going to come out here” tonight, but had to cancel his appearance for security reasons. Malcolm himself read Che’s message to the gathering, noting “you don’t see any anti-Castro Cubans around here. We eat them up.”

Rejected Democrats, Republicans

4) Malcolm was uncompromising in his refusal to support either of the twin political parties of racism and capitalist exploitation in the United States. He explained that “the Democratic Party is responsible



Malcolm X being interviewed by reporters in New York during NAACP-sponsored civil rights demonstration, May 8, 1963. The *Militant* recognized Malcolm’s revolutionary trajectory and reported truthfully on his political activities while he was still the most prominent spokesperson for the Nation of Islam in the early 1960s.

in the world. Today, fully one third of all young males who are Black are either in prison, on parole, or otherwise caught up in the web of injustice that is the real structure of capitalist law and order. We should never forget these facts when thinking about the revolutionary work today being carried out by our five Cuban compatriots who, like more than two million others in the United States, find themselves in the toils of this same system. Our five brothers are working, studying, talking politics, bringing the world to their fellow inmates, and providing a revolutionary example, alongside not just one, but an untold number of potential Malcolms. We are proud that Pathfinder books like *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* have for many years circulated broadly in the prisons of the United States, and are today being used there by our five compañeros.

2) “Capitalism used to be like an eagle,” Malcolm told the *Young Socialist* magazine shortly before his assassination. “Now it’s more like a vulture.”

During the last year of his life, Malcolm spoke out more and more directly about the capitalist roots of racism, exploitation, and imperialist oppression. He never gave an inch to U.S. patriotism, the smiling face of poisonous imperialist nationalism. Blacks in the United States are “the victims of Americanism,” he insisted.

for the racism that exists in this country, along with the Republican Party.” It was the Democratic Party that was responsible for U.S. actions in the Congo and Vietnam, he pointed out. The revolutionary integrity underlying Malcolm’s political clarity and intransigence on this question set him apart from—and won him the enmity of—almost every other leader of prominent Black rights organizations and trade unions as well as the vast majority of those who considered themselves part of “the left.”

In 1964 Malcolm was virtually the only voice among those claiming to speak in the interests of the oppressed and exploited who did not support, even if critically, the presidential campaign of Democrat Lyndon Baines Johnson against Barry Goldwater, the right-wing candidate of the Republican Party. This imperialist system can produce a wolf or it can produce a fox, Malcolm insisted. But it cannot produce a candidate who will do anything but act on behalf of those whose very existence requires exploitation, oppression, racism, and wars.

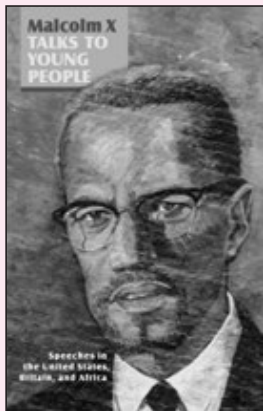
Malcolm’s stand made us young socialists feel a lot less alone that year. The administration of Lyndon Johnson—the butcher of Vietnam—quickly validated the integrity of Malcolm and the correctness of his refusal to be wooed by the siren song of imperialist lesser-evilmism.

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, for the first time in print, the entire December 1964 debate presentation by Malcolm X at the Oxford Union and February 1965 speech at the London School of Economics. It contains other new material complementing four talks given to young people in Ghana, the United Kingdom, and the United States in the last months of Malcolm’s life. The book concludes with two memorial tributes by a young socialist leader to Malcolm X. The new English-language edition was released with the first-ever Spanish-language edition, *Malcolm habla a la juventud*. \$15



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ed in today's world'

colm X Talks to Young People'

5) Malcolm's banner was freedom "by any means necessary." He supported the mass struggle by Black people that in the early 1960s was destroying the foundations of the Jim Crow system of racial segregation in the U.S. South. One of the factors that led toward his break with the Nation of Islam, of which he had been the most prominent public spokesperson, was its refusal to carry out "militant action, uncompromising action," as part of that struggle.

But Malcolm didn't support the so-called strategy of nonviolence upheld by many leaders of that struggle such as Martin Luther King, Jr. As the beatings, murders, lynchings, and other acts of violence against Blacks and those involved in the civil rights movement continued unabated, Malcolm spoke for thousands, including increasing numbers of the youth like myself involved in that massive movement, when he told the young socialists, "I don't favor violence. If we could bring about recognition and respect for our people by peaceful means, well and good." But, he continued, "I don't go along with anyone who wants to teach our people to be nonviolent until someone at the same time is teaching our enemy to be nonviolent. We should protect ourselves by any means necessary when we are attacked by racists."

Like Fidel and the Centennial Generation he led, Malcolm believed that if "you

live in a society supposedly based upon law, and it doesn't enforce its own law because the color of a man's skin happens to be wrong, then I say those people are justified to resort to any means necessary to bring about justice."

Those ideas, as incontrovertible as they were scandalously direct and unvarnished, were the foundations of Malcolm's revolutionary, proletarian, course of action. And they set him apart.

Need Malcolm's voice today

Today, we are living through the opening stages of a worldwide capitalist depression such as we have not seen since the 1930s.

Already, in the last two years the major stock market indices in the United States have lost almost a third of their value, and in some cases as much as 70 percent, wiping out trillions of dollars of fictitious paper capital—and markets have dropped even more sharply in a number of other major imperialist powers. The real face of the economic crisis can already be seen in the eyes of starving children in Argentina and Africa. It is recorded in the brutal imperial assault on the people of Iraq that Washington will unleash in a matter of weeks, as the imperialist powers fight among themselves for a larger piece of the redivision of oil and other resources and strategic positions in the Middle East. It



Militant/Jonathan Silberman

Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder, speaks at book launch. Malcolm X's powerful voice, she said, is needed in today's world of unfolding capitalist depression, imperialist war, and growing resistance that capitalism is generating among working people and youth, including in the United States.

can be seen in the sharpening imperialist drive to intensify the superexploitation of the peoples of Latin America with the imposition of new so-called "free" trade pacts.

And most important of all, it can be seen in the growing resistance that this real face of the capitalist system is generating among working people worldwide, including in the United States itself—and among protesting young people so attracted to this proletarian resistance, when they can see it.

This is a world in which we need the powerful voice of Malcolm more than ever. This book will be a modest, yet irreplaceable, step in that direction.

That is why Pathfinder has published this new edition of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* in both English and Spanish, for use in the United States and elsewhere around the world. And it is why we are proud to be with you here today, together with Editora Abril, to present the first ever edition of this work in Cuba.

Malcolm X book draws youthful audience in Havana

Continued from front page

ence, including a number of students from the University of Havana and its teacher training school.

Camacho highlighted the editorial collaboration between Editora Abril and Pathfinder, noting it was already "part of a tradition" going back to the publication in 2000 of *Che Guevara Talks to Young People*, which he reported is one of Abril's best-selling titles. He said Abril also plans to produce an edition of *From the Escambray to the Congo: In the Whirlwind of the Cuban Revolution*, by Víctor Dreke, which Pathfinder published last year in both English and Spanish.

Relevance for youth today

Camacho said that in studying Malcolm X he had been surprised at how relevant the revolutionary leader's ideas were for Cuban youth. "Reading his words, it sometimes seemed I was hearing our own Fidel or Che. I recommend it to youth of all ages."

In addition to the preface by Randy Alonso, the Abril edition of the book also contains an account by Ralph D. Matthews, a reporter for the weekly New York *Citizen-Call* of the September 1960 meeting in Harlem's Hotel Theresa between Malcolm X and Cuban prime minister Fidel Castro. Malcolm was part of the committee that welcomed the Cuban leadership delegation to Harlem.

"Without exaggeration," Waters said, "We can say that this is an important moment in history. For the first time ever, a collection of speeches by this great American revolutionary working-class leader is being published here in Cuba. And it is the first time in either the United States or Cuba that we have a Spanish-language edition of this valuable collection of Malcolm's speeches to young people."

In 1967 the Cuban Book Institute published a book titled *NOW: El movimiento negro en los Estados Unidos* (NOW: The Black movement in the United States), which includes excerpts of speeches by Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, James Baldwin, and others. In 1974, Cuban publishing house Ciencias Sociales produced an edition of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, translated by Pedro Alvarez Tabio, that also included some 85 pages of excerpts from a number of speeches by Malcolm. Both books are long out of print,



Militant/Jonathan Silberman

Part of audience at presentation of Malcolm X book. Nearly 100 copies of the title in Spanish and more than 40 in English were sold. Many youth, eager to read the revolutionary leader's words in the original, obtained copies in both languages.

but continue to circulate widely in Cuba.

"*Malcolm X Talks to Young People* has been available in English in various forms and editions since 1965, when the Young Socialist Alliance and Pathfinder first published it within a few short weeks of Malcolm's brutal assassination," Waters explained.

Many of these speeches were first published in the *Militant*. It was one of the very few publications that during Malcolm's lifetime—beginning while he was still the most prominent public spokesperson for the Nation of Islam in the early 1960s—recognized his revolutionary trajectory and reported on his political activities.

Pathfinder circulates in U.S. prisons

Waters pointed out that it was in prison that Malcolm X began to awaken to politics. Today, more than 2 million people are locked up in jails across the United States, she noted, many of them, like Malcolm, open to revolutionary ideas. That is why Pathfinder books are sought after in U.S. prisons. It's important to keep these facts in mind, she pointed out, when

thinking about the five Cuban revolutionaries who are currently in U.S. prisons on frame-up espionage charges, where they continue to act like the revolutionaries

they are. "Our five brothers are working, studying, and talking politics, bringing the world to their fellow inmates, and providing a revolutionary example, alongside not just one, but an untold number of potential Malcolms," she noted.

After the program, some in the audience commented in discussions that they had not thought about the political work being carried out by the five Cuban patriots in the U.S. prisons. Several said they especially appreciated Waters's point about seeing them not as victims but as revolutionaries who continue their political activities no matter where they find themselves.

Waters outlined several points that underscored Malcolm's revolutionary course of action, including his internationalism, his refusal to support either of the twin imperialist parties of racism, exploitation, and war, and his intransigent commitment to the struggle for Black liberation "by any means necessary." (The full text of Waters's remarks is printed in this issue, starting on page 8.)

Rights are not begged for

Ubieta emphasized that Malcolm X refused to limit the struggle for Black liberation to the rules dictated by the oppressors. He cited Malcolm's statement that "whenever you demand something that is

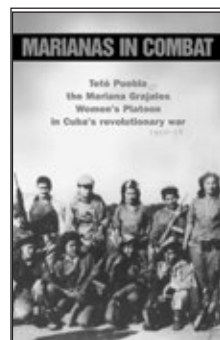
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From Pathfinder

MARIANAS IN COMBAT

Teté Puebla and the Mariana Grajales Women's Platoon

Brigadier General Teté Puebla, the highest-ranking woman in Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces, joined the struggle to overthrow the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista in 1956, when she was fifteen years old. This is her story, from clandestine action in the cities to serving as an officer in the victorious Rebel Army's first all-women's platoon. For nearly fifty years, her life has been intertwined with the fight to transform the social and economic status of women, a course of action inseparable from Cuba's socialist revolution. Also available in Spanish. \$14



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Marchers protest cop killing of Black youth in Pennsylvania town

BY CINDY JAQUITH
AND MARTY RESSLER

UNIONTOWN, Pennsylvania—"No Justice, No Peace! Convict the Police!" shouted 300 protesters as they marched through this town of 12,400 people in the southwestern Pennsylvania coalfields.

They were protesting the Christmas eve killing of 12-year-old Black youth Michael Ellerbe, shot in the back by state troopers.

An all-white coroner's jury declared on January 27 that the shooting was "justifiable homicide." The county district attorney, Nancy Vernon, has refused to file charges against the police.

People Against Police Violence (PAPV), a new group, called the February 15 march. It attracted many people from Uniontown and surrounding areas who were outraged that the cops could get away with this killing. A large number of young people participated in the protest.

Michael Ellerbe was gunned down as he ran from a sport utility van. The state troopers claim the vehicle was stolen. Trooper Samuel Nassan, who says he fired the shots, insists he thought Ellerbe had a gun because he could not see his hand. The youth was unarmed and other witnesses say the boy's hands were not in his pockets as he ran.

Nassan said he fired after he heard a shot and thought his partner, Juan Curry, had been shot. Nassan later claimed the shot he heard must have been Curry's gun firing "accidentally."

Nassan also claimed he didn't know Ellerbe was a child, although the chase took place at 2:20 in the afternoon and at one point Nassan said he was so close to the boy that he could have grabbed him.

'No justice in Fayette County'

Many in the majority-Black, working-class protest were Ellerbe's classmates and their parents, or neighbors. High school student Tequila Thomas knew Michael Ellerbe. "They had no reason to shoot him," she declared. Some traveled from other towns in this mining region. An older woman from Brownsville said, "In Fayette County I don't believe there is justice for Black men. The cops stand there waiting for them."

Gerald McClendon, 19, carried a sign that read: "Serve and Protect, never that—It's Seek and Destroy." He came in a caravan from the Lighthouse Church organized by the Pittsburgh chapter of PAPV. That group organized a similar march two weeks earlier against the police killing of Charles Dixon, who is also Black.

Angela Lee, a worker who had witnessed the beginning of the chase from her window, joined the protest. "My daughter went to school with Michael," she explained. "The cops had their guns out when he first got out of that truck."

The demonstration ended with a rally outside the courthouse in downtown Uniontown. Michael Ellerbe's father,

Michael Higgenbottom, said, "The state police shot and killed my son. Now they're trying to cover it up. We're not going to let them do that. We *will* win this one!"

Deana Patterson, speaking for the Uniontown chapter of PAPV, said many in the crowd were familiar with police violence. "The police are always following you around, pulling you over for no reason."

Darlene Dennis, also a PAPV leader, read a statement from the group to Debbie Villarreal, in San Antonio, Texas, whose 14-year-old daughter Ashley was gunned down by Drug Enforcement Agency cops on February 9. The statement pledged that activists from Pennsylvania will go to San Antonio to express their solidarity with the Villarreal family. It also suggested they may want to set up a chapter of PAPV there.

Coal miner family joins march

Ray Galbraith, a coal miner, and his wife Barbara came to the march to express solidarity with Ellerbe's family. Their son, 18, also died after a police chase. Barbara Galbraith told the rally, "The abuse and noncaring for our people must stop."

Robert Spence, a pastor and former county NAACP leader, spoke and announced he was resigning as a chaplain for the state police. He demanded other offi-



Left: Militant/Marty Ressler

Above and left, participants in 300-strong march to protest killing of 12-year-old Michael Ellerbe by Pennsylvania state troopers. "In Fayette County I don't believe there is justice for Black men," said one participant. "The cops stand there waiting for them."

cials involved in the case resign.

"We who are here today are the leaders," noted Omari Musa, speaking as a member of the Pittsburgh PAPV. "We have our differences but we are united against police violence. Today, as the U.S. government is waging a war against Iraq, we should think about those children in Palestine who stand up to the Israeli tanks. That's the fighting spirit we have to have."

Pete Shell of the Thomas Merton Center in Pittsburgh, described the international protests occurring the same day around the world against war with Iraq.

Speakers denouncing the war drew a fa-

vorable response. Reneé Wilson, co-founder of PAPV in Pittsburgh, said, "Here we are, people of all colors, united whether it's against an unjust war or unjust killings, America's undeclared war at home."

"Those entrusted with a badge are not above the law. We will cry out from the courthouses and stand at the police stations until we win justice."

The rally sent a message to the family of Charles Dixon, declaring, "We march to demand the truth. We march to demand these killer cops be jailed."

There have been no arrests in the Dixon case, either, and his coroner's inquest is ongoing.

Third Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange set for July

Continued from front page
travel ban and trade embargo against the Caribbean nation.

Zulueta and Fernández said participants in the one-week Youth Exchange will have a chance to meet with students, young workers, and other Cubans involved in a range of activities. During the last Exchange in 2001, for example, they visited the Latin American School of Medicine, the renowned Havana psychiatric hospital, and the School for Social Work near Havana.

They will also visit historical sites of the Cuban Revolution, including the Moncada Barracks in Santiago de Cuba, the army garrison attacked on July 26, 1953, by a group of young revolutionaries led by Fidel Castro. While they failed to take the garrison, the action marked the start of the revolutionary struggle that led to the overthrow of the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship in January 1959 and the opening of the socialist revolution.

The U.S. visitors will attend the annual July 26 celebration, which this year marks the 50th anniversary of the attack. Hundreds of thousands are expected to mobilize in cities across the island to express their support for the revolution and opposition to Washington's 44 years of aggression against Cuba.

"This is a special year for us because we are celebrating three important anni-

versaries," Fernández said. In addition to the Moncada celebration, 2003 is the 150th anniversary of the birth of Cuban national hero José Martí, who led the final war of independence against Spanish colonial rule at the end of the 19th century. Martí fell on the battlefield in 1895. This year is also the 100th anniversary of the birth of Julio Antonio Mella, an anti-imperialist student leader in the 1920s who became a founding leader of the Communist Party of Cuba and was assassinated in 1929 by an agent of the Machado dictatorship.

Participants in the trip will learn about the political campaigns that revolutionary-minded youth are involved in today. These efforts are part of what is popularly known as the Battle of Ideas, a political offensive to deepen the involvement of working people and youth in the revolution, central to which is broadening the educational and cultural opportunities available to the Cuban people. The goal is to counter the imperialist ideological drive promoting capitalism as the future and to address the social inequalities that have widened as Cuba has become more directly exposed to the capitalist world market since the collapse of preferential trade relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe more than a decade ago.

Fernández said that the launching of the Battle of Ideas marked "the beginning of a new political stage to address some of the difficulties of the revolution, especially among the youth," including the demoralization among certain layers of youth who were not working, had dropped out of school, and in some cases had become involved in petty crime. Cuba's revolutionary leadership launched a fight to win these youth back to productive participation in society and to build a revolutionary consciousness among them by involving them in a number of educational campaigns.

These programs are mostly led by cadres of the Union of Young Communists (UJC). "The leadership of the revolution has asked young people to help lead this process," Fernández said. "We are not simply participants, but protagonists in the Battle of Ideas."

Zulueta described some of the "more than 100 programs that are part of the Battle of Ideas." One is the campaign to introduce computers, television sets, and VCRs into every classroom across the island, including the most remote areas. Another is the accelerated training of teach-

ers to help reduce class sizes.

Speaking to participants in the Second Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange in July 2001, Cuban president Fidel Castro compared the effort to universalize computer literacy to the historic literacy campaign of 1961, when tens of thousands of young volunteers went to the countryside to teach peasants to read and write, largely wiping out illiteracy.

Another program is the publication of "family libraries." These are a series of boxed sets of 25 books, printed cheaply on newsprint and sold for 60 pesos (about US\$2.40), to make available to every Cuban family the best of world literature. Among the titles selected for the first set of 25 are Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Little Prince* by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, *The Old Man and the Sea* by Ernest Hemingway, and titles by Cuban authors from José Martí to Nicolás Guillén. At the same time, "popular libraries" are being built in working-class neighborhoods across the island, where local residents can use computers and VCRs, as well as access books on CD-ROM from library systems around Cuba.

One major effort is the training of thousands of revolutionary social workers who, after studying in special schools for one year, go into working-class neighborhoods and, in collaboration with the residents, work directly with youth and their families to find solutions to numerous social problems—from working with youth to continue their schooling, to campaigning to raise public awareness about health and other social issues.

"The goal of the revolution is to give every young person the possibility to study and even go to the university," Zulueta said, pointing to the plans now under way to establish university-level schools in every municipality.

The Youth Exchange will also be an opportunity to learn about the campaign to free five Cuban revolutionaries who are in U.S. federal prisons on frame-up conspiracy and spying charges because of their role in providing Cuba with information on U.S.-based rightist organizations that have carried out violent attacks on Cuba with Washington's complicity.

To find out more about the Third Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange, contact: youthexchange2003@yahoo.com

Arrin Hawkins and Scott Dunlap are members of the Young Socialists in New York.

participate in the 3rd Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange July 24-July 31

Groups of young people from cities across the United States will be traveling to Cuba in July to participate in the 3rd Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange. They will meet with youth in that country, exchange ideas with them, and see firsthand the truth about Cuba's socialist revolution.

Visiting both Santiago and Havana, Cuba, participants will tour schools, factories, farms, historic sites, and other places of interest. The trip coincides with the 50th anniversary celebrations of the assault on the Moncada barracks in Santiago in July 1953—the event that initiated the revolutionary struggle—commemorated each year with marches involving hundreds of thousands of people.



Cuban student speaks at School of Social Work, Cojimar, Cuba, during 2001 Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange.

*To find out more, contact:
youthexchange2003@yahoo.com*

Seattle event broadens support for Calero

Continued from front page
vice (INS).

Zitoun, a member of the Arab-American Community Coalition, was one of several speakers who joined Calero at the front of the meeting, held in the Bethany United Church of Christ. "Róger and thousands like him should stay," he said. Zitoun also denounced the special registration and detention of immigrants based on "nationality, ethnicity or religion," calling this practice a "form of racial profiling that is a violation of human rights."

Calero, who is an editor of *Perspectiva Mundial* and a staff writer for the *Militant*, was jailed by INS agents in Houston on December 3 as he returned from a reporting trip to Cuba and Mexico. They instituted deportation proceedings on the grounds of his plea-bargain conviction on a charge of selling one ounce of marijuana to an undercover cop while in high school 14 years earlier. INS representatives had known about the conviction when they granted Calero permanent residency in 1990.

Inundated by protest letters and petitions, officials paroled Calero ten days after his detention. A hearing on the case is scheduled for March 25 in Houston.

Seattle was the latest city in a series of speaking engagements organized by the Róger Calero Defense Committee in the two and a half months since his release. The meeting was chaired by Asha Mohamed of the Hate Free Zone Campaign of Washington. The campaign was launched in 2001 to defend immigrants who were targeted in the police roundups that followed September 11. It played an important part in the recent successful effort to block the deportation of four Somali residents of the city.

Other speakers declared support for Calero's defense campaign and described their own involvement in other fights.

Cecile Hansen, the Duwamish tribal chairperson for 27 years, recounted this indigenous people's long fight for recognition. To cheers from the audience she presented Calero with a key chain and a flute.

Anabel Chavez and her sister, Lucil Jimenez, who live in Yakima, described their campaign for the dropping of charges against Jimenez's husband, Ricardo. On August 31 of last year, police attacked a



Militant

Róger Calero speaks at February 22 meeting in Seattle. Panel of speakers included trade unionists, fighters against police brutality, and Cuba solidarity activists.

baptismal party for the couple's two-year-old child. After beating up Ricardo they charged him with assaulting a police officer. Chavez and her family have organized picket lines outside the police station to protest this assault. Jimenez faces possible deportation as well as jail.

Mike Barker, the chair of the fightback committee of the Hospital Employees Union (HEU) at Vancouver General Hospital, told the meeting of health-care workers' protests against the provincial government's moves to privatize health care and institute mass layoffs. Many of the workers in the HEU were born overseas, he said, explaining that "the goal of the bosses and their governments in attacking immigrants is to create a layer of workers who live in fear, but they are meeting resistance, as the experience of my union shows."

The union president has sent a letter to the INS protesting its attempt to deport Calero. Copies were sent to all HEU locals.

Jesus Garcia from Local 6 of the Service Employees International Union; Rogelio Montes, an organizer for the Western Council of Industrial Workers in Yakima; and Tom Warner, of the Seattle-Cuba Friendship Committee, also spoke.

"His fight is ours, ours is his," said Asha Mohamed in introducing Calero. The latter thanked participants and all those who had sent letters of protest. Their efforts, he said, had "allowed me to be here on this side of prison walls."

Thousands of other immigrants are threatened by similar moves, he said, under 1996 legislation that retroactively expanded the list of offenses considered grounds for deportation.

"Attacks on immigrant rights are openly aimed at union members and workers who are defending their rights and incomes, as the rulers of this country move to secure their wealth and make working people at home and abroad bear the burden of the economic crisis," said Calero.

Others are also resisting, he said, pointing to the defense campaign of Farouk Abdel-Muhti, who has been moved from New Jersey to a high-security prison in York, Pennsylvania (see article page 6).

Calero urged participants to both write letters and solicit them from others, and to collect signatures on petitions to the INS demanding that the deportation proceedings be dropped.

A collection for the defense campaign netted \$1,500. Several people said they attended the meeting after reading a promi-

Minnesota paper reports on antideportation fight

The article below was posted February 6 on the online edition of the *Minnesota Spokesman-Recorder*, a weekly based in Minneapolis and part of the Black Press USA Network. The article appeared under the headline, "Immigrants, unions join to oppose INS deportations." Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY ROSS CLARK

"Róger Calero, your fight is our fight because we are facing the same issue," said Zainab Hassan, a Somali activist for human rights and against deportations. Hassan was speaking at a January 11 meeting in South Saint Paul to protest efforts by the INS to deport Róger Calero from the United States.

Calero is a journalist and associate editor of *Perspectiva Mundial* (World Perspective), a Spanish-language news magazine published in New York, who lived and worked in the Twin Cities for several years.

Says Hassan, "We are seeking to mobilize the broadest possible forces to stop this deportation. Many organizations and individuals will understand that they have a stake in the outcome of this fight and other fights against deportations: unions, organizations of journalists and writers, Black and Latino rights organizations, civil liberties groups, student organizations, anti-war groups, and many more."

The meeting was sponsored by United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) Local 789 and was attended by about 100 people from a cross section of the community, including packinghouse workers, leaders of various unions and community organizations, and elected officials.

The tone of the meeting was confident and upbeat. Unity in the face of government policies and actions were the domi-

nant theme. "Enough of these unjust attacks—the campaign of Róger Calero is a campaign we should all be supporting," said Augustina Borroel, a member of UFCW local 789.

Underscoring Borroel's point, Feliciano Laurent, coordinator of the Social Action Committee of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church on Saint Paul's West Side, said, "We must unite and figure out how we can move forward in this struggle."

Other speakers included Bill Pearson, president of United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 789; Pablo Tapia of ISAIAH, a local immigrant rights organization; Uriel Perez, an organizer with Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union Local 17; as well as representatives from other social justice organizations.

The meeting was organized to take advantage of Calero's visit to the Twin Cities as part of a national speaking tour organized by the Róger Calero Defense Committee, which is spearheading a broad, nonpartisan campaign to stop his deportation.

Somali immigrants fight back

The event coincided with other activities over the weekend addressing the same issue. At one event, a meeting in the Somali community demanding an end to the deportations of Somalis and the breaking up of their families, Calero had the opportunity to speak. The activities locally are a part of, and strengthened by, what appears to be a growing willingness on the part of immigrant communities and their supporters to resist government efforts to abridge their rights...

Calero noted this dynamic in his remarks to the gathering, explaining that, "Supporters of [the] campaign in New York joined with 300 people protesting the national registration order by the Justice

Department. It's an example of how our struggle is one of many struggles and how a victory for one is a victory for all."

According to materials released by the defense committee, Calero's fight began on December 3 of last year when, upon returning home to the United States from a reporting assignment in Guadalajara,

Continued on Page 14

ment article in the calendar section of the *Seattle Weekly*. Two community newspapers also publicized the event.

'It's time to speak out': Calero speaks in Yakima

BY SCOTT BREEN

YAKIMA, Washington—The evening before the Seattle event Calero spoke to a meeting of 25 people here at the hall of the Western Council of Industrial Workers (WCIW), AFL-CIO. Several attended after reading about his fight in the previous day's *Yakima Herald-Republic*, which ran an article entitled, "Deportation fight comes to Yakima."

WCIW organizer Rogelio Montes welcomed Calero to the meeting. "When something like this happens, we all have to give our support," he said. "It affects not just Hispanics, but many others."

Juan Serrano, who was fired for helping lead a strike in 2001 of the United Food and Commercial Workers at Washington Beef in Toppenish, chaired the program.

"We're here to give our support to Róger," he said. "In this way, we can set a precedent and show that these deportations are illegal."

Calero described his arrest by INS agents and their moves to deport him. During his 10 days in jail, he said, he had met, and interviewed for the *Militant*, other workers facing similar injustices.

During the discussion, Rogelio Montes told about attempts to deport his brother under the same 1996 legislation cited in Calero's case. Fortunately, the move had been defeated.

Other participants joined the give and take. "It's not just the INS and the police who discriminate," said Ana Guzmán, a warehouse worker illegally fired during a Teamsters organizing drive. "It's the supervisors and the bosses, too."

"We need to use our unions to respond to attacks on us outside the workplace," said Calero. "The laws are applied unequally. We should rely on ourselves and win solidarity."

Also at the meeting were workers from Snokist Cannery, who had recently been fired. Company officials had told them they could only return to work as employees of a temporary employment agency.

A collection raised \$100 for the defense effort, and several participants stayed afterward to begin setting up a local committee to defend immigrant rights.

One participant reported that her husband had been deported four years ago. She has been fighting for his return ever since. She came with her daughter and mother after reading the report in the *Yakima Herald-Republic*. She said she had been quiet too long, and now it was time to speak out.

Ernest Mailhot contributed to this article

Róger Calero defense campaign tour

The Róger Calero Defense Committee is organizing a speaking tour for Calero in cities around the country to broaden the fight to stop his deportation by the INS. Below is the schedule for the next stops in the tour. Requests for additional tour dates can be made to the committee.

Colorado/Utah March 9-11

NY: Sarah Lawrence College
March 12

Boston March 13-15

Charlotte March 16-17

Atl./Birmingham March 18-20

Washington, D.C. March 21-22

Philadelphia March 23-24

For more information or to send a contribution, contact the Róger Calero Defense Committee, c/o PRDF, Box 761, Church St. Station, New York, NY 10007; phone/fax (212) 563-0585.

• Send messages to INS district director Hipolito Acosta demanding the exclusion moves against Calero be

dropped. Messages can be faxed to (281) 774-5989 or mailed to Immigration and Naturalization Service, 126 Northpoint Drive, Houston, TX 77060. Copies should be sent to the Róger Calero Defense Committee.

• Sign and distribute petitions demanding the INS drop the exclusion of Calero. A brochure and petition are available from the defense committee (e-mail: calerodefense@yahoo.com).

• Funds are needed to meet legal and other expenses. Defense campaign backers in every city need to raise thousands of dollars for these needs. Organize phone calling for donations, seek honoraria for speaking engagements, and take collections at public meetings. The goal is to raise more than \$50,000 by March 25, the date of Calero's deportation hearing. Contributions are tax-deductible.

Abortion is key issue in women's equality fight

Printed below are excerpts from *Abortion is a Woman's Right!* by Pat Grogan and Evelyn Reed, one of Pathfinder's March Books of the Month. The just-published third printing of this pamphlet has a new, attractive cover. Copyright © 1985 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY PAT GROGAN

On January 22, 1973, women won their most important victory in decades.

The U.S. Supreme Court, in *Roe vs. Wade*, ruled that women had the constitutional right to have abortions. The ruling legalized abortion through the first twenty-four weeks of pregnancy and struck down all laws that restricted that right.

For the first time the right of *women* to decide whether or not to bear children—

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

not the state, church, husband, father, or priest—was recognized.

The women's liberation movement saw reproductive freedom as the most fundamental right of women, a precondition for full equality and liberation. Without the right to control her own body, a woman could not exercise effective control over her life.

Beginning in the 1960s, contraception was becoming more available and accepted, but it was not foolproof—and still isn't. Advances in medical science had

made abortion a safe, simple, medical procedure. But in most states, abortion was against the law. Women were forced to bear children against their will, or risk dangerous—and often deadly—illegal or self-induced abortions.

In 1969, the year before New York State adopted liberalized abortion laws—a step that laid the basis for the later Supreme Court victory—approximately 210,000 women entered city hospitals due to abortion complications.

The restrictions on abortion were powerful and barbaric chains on women. Black women and Latinas suffered the most from the illegal status of abortion. *Eighty percent* of the hundreds of women who died each year were Black and Spanish-speaking women.

And many Black women and Latinas were forced to submit to sterilization in order to obtain an abortion.

Prior to the emergence of the feminist movement in the late 1960s, many supporters of legal abortion presented their arguments in terms of population control—arguments that are used to bolster the racist practice of forced sterilization.

The feminist movement put the axis for the fight to legalize abortion where it belonged—on the right of women to control their own bodies. It was on this basis that majority support for legal abortion was won.

Because of the stakes involved in the fight for abortion rights, this right was never secure.

Several years ago, Democrats and Republicans alike began to step up their attacks on the right to abortion.

1976 Hyde Amendment

The Hyde Amendment, passed by Congress in 1976, was the most serious blow. It cut off Medicaid funding for abortions, except in cases of rape, incest, or when a woman's life is in danger. In May 1981, Congress cut off funds even in cases of rape and incest.

In October 1984, Congress once again denied abortion funding for victims of rape and incest.

Since the Hyde Amendment was passed, thirty-six states have cut off state funding for abortions.

This strikes hardest at Black women, Latinas, and the poorest women. It is part of the attack against the right of all women

to abortion and lays the basis for further attempts to restrict abortion rights.

In the years 1978 and 1979 alone, almost 1.5 million women were unable to obtain abortions, either because of lack of facilities or inability to pay....

[New York's Cardinal John O'Connor argues] that abortion is murder and that women who have abortions are, therefore, guilty of murdering children.

Abortion is not murder. It is a simple medical procedure that terminates a pregnancy. Abortion is key to allowing women to decide whether and when to bear children....

With a wave of the hand, he dismisses as untrue the "impression" that "masses" of women would die if abortion were to be made illegal again.

Official statistics show that during the 1960s, when abortion was illegal, *thousands* of women were maimed and *hundreds* died each year as a result of botched abortions. We have no way of knowing how many other abortion mortalities were reported as deaths due to "severe hemorrhaging" or "miscarriage."

In fact, it was outrage at the killings and maimings resulting from illegal abortion that helped spur women to demand an end to antiabortion laws. Legal abortions save lives—women's lives....

Forcing a woman to bear a child against her will is a brutal denial of a woman's humanity and dignity.

Necessary in fight for equal rights

Bearing a child affects all the other aspects and decisions of a woman's life—her ability to get an education, get a better job—or any job. As long as women are vulnerable to unwanted pregnancies, breaking down economic and social barriers on the job, in education, and in the



Militant/Ernie Mailhot
Machinists union member on strike against Eastern Airlines joins 1989 abortion rights demonstration in Washington.

home becomes a much more difficult task.

Of course, legalized abortion cannot solve all the problems facing women. But the right to choose is the most fundamental step toward women being able to achieve full equality.

That's why after women began pouring into the work force in the last three decades, the question of legalizing abortion became a burning issue for millions. When women can control their childbearing functions, it allows them to begin to participate more fully in all aspects of social life. The right to choose means qualitatively more freedom and mobility for women.

We've already seen this in the 12 years that abortion has been legal. Even though access to it is far from universal, it has meant significant changes in the lives of millions of women.

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NEW ZEALAND

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Christchurch: Gloucester Arcade, 129 Gloucester St. Postal address: P.O. Box 13-969. Tel: (3) 365-6055. E-mail: pathfinder.militant@paradise.net.nz

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March

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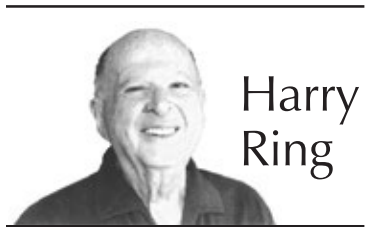
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Authentic barbarism—Since it opened a year ago, 15 prisoners (“detainees”) at the U.S. naval base



Harry Ring

in Guantánamo, Cuba, have tried to commit suicide, with one trying twice. Some 625 men from more than 40 countries are held in U.S.-built barbed wire cages there. The area was ripped off from Cuba a century ago.

Long, hard battle—It was a 16-

year fight by residents in Wilmington, southern California. The Ultramar oil refinery has agreed to reduce the danger level in the use of hydrogen fluoride, a deadly chemical employed in refining gasoline. It’s said to be the last refinery in the state to do so. In 1984, there was world horror when a like chemical escaped from a refinery in Bhopal, India. Thousands in the area died from the lung-searing cloud and thousands more suffered gruesome injury. Ultramar agreed that within two years it would switch to a less lethal form of the chemical or pay a \$1 million fine.

Slick as vermin—The Justice Dept., no less, bleats that companies are rebuilding plants without

including pollution controls as required by the Clean Air Act. Midwest factories send poisonous clouds far and wide. The feds have filed suit against FirstEnergy in Akron, Ohio, which spent 14 years improving its plant. But no pollution controls. Why not? They weren’t rebuilding, just doing maintenance.

No comment—“EPA plans to relax toxic emission standards—The proposals would allow businesses, such as chemical plants, to monitor their own releases and apply less rigorous controls”—News headline.

Go to bed early—The feds predict a 40 percent jump in heating oil prices this winter. By a strange

coincidence, Central Hudson Gas & Electric in mid-state New York, predicts a 40 percent hike in natural gas. It asserts that cold weather is responsible for 75 percent of the swollen gas bills. It offers a free suggestion. Lower your thermostat.

The guillotine, too?—A new French law makes it a criminal offense to boo a performance of the *Marseillaise* or insult national symbols. Offenders face six months in jail or a \$7,500 fine. The statute was prompted by booing at two soccer games.

A dicey business—Major insurance companies in the United Kingdom declared they will not sell life insurance policies to soldiers slated for combat in Iraq. Pru-

dential, Standard Life and others declared it “too risky.”

Militant Labor Forum Anyone?—We received a belated notice that Prof. Glenn Loury of Boston University had spoken at UC Los Angeles. The title suggested a heavy duty analysis: “Racial Stigma: Towards a New Paradigm for Discrimination Theory.”

A goof. Please note—In issue #5 (February 10) there was a screwup on how to send items for this column. There are two choices: Send clippings by U.S. mail to Great Society c/o Pathfinder Bookstore, 4229 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90011 or e-mail to 74642.326@compuserve.com. Thanks.

Black farmers meet in Georgia to discuss their fight

BY BILL ARTH AND KARL BUTTS

ALBANY, Georgia—More than 100 Black farmers, family members, and supporters attended an annual conference of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives/Land Assistance Fund here February 7–8. The event registered the ongoing frustration of Black farmers in their fight for compensation for years of discrimination at the hands of the government, and over their increasingly uncertain economic futures.

The meeting was the organization’s 20th annual Georgia Marketing and Trade Show Conference. It featured several speakers at workshops who presented goat and watermelon production, and organic farming, as alternative income sources for farmers whose traditional crops—peanuts, cotton, soybeans, and tobacco—are seen as less viable for small farmers. The government has cut subsidies on these crops to farmers, who also face chronically low market prices.

Randi Roth, court-appointed monitor in *Pigford v. Veneman*, the class action lawsuit against the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) for years of systematic discrimination against farmers who are Black, gave the main speech on the first day of the conference. The monitor is responsible for hearing petitions for review of denied claims and reporting to the court on the implementation of the consent decree.

In 1999 the USDA and lawyers for the farmers signed a consent decree settling the lawsuit, which 22,000 Black farmers had joined. When the consent decree was first proposed as a way to settle the lawsuit, the attorneys handling it argued forcefully in mass meetings held around the country that the farmers should take the deal.

Many farmers expressed serious reservations about the outcome, a number opposing the consent decree outright. Farmers were told that if they even met minimal requirements for proving discrimination they would receive \$50,000 tax-free grants from the government. Roth updated farmers on the status of implementing the Consent Decree, and addressed some of the main problems farmers were experiencing.

Of the almost 22,000 original claimants in the suit, 13,008 have been approved and most have been paid the \$50,000, plus \$12,500 to pay taxes. The majority of the 8,574 whose claims have been denied have petitioned for monitor review, out of which only 1,900 have been decided. According to Roth, “the farmer won most” of these cases.

Roth said that the Internal Revenue Service is treating the \$12,500 paid to farmers to cover the taxes on the \$50,000 settlement as taxable income, leaving many farmers in a financial crisis. She said that in many cases debt relief given to claimants is also being treated as taxable income by the IRS. Also, as a result of the appeals process, backlogs, and provisions giving the government months to decide whether to appeal favorable decisions, many farm-

ers may miss out on consideration in applying for their next farm loan and for technical assistance.

She reported that the monitor’s office was given five years to complete its job, and expects to use it all to review the remaining cases because they are focusing on “quality.”

This long delay is putting in financial binds many active farmers “who need to know (the status of their claim) to make decisions about the future,” according to John Zippert, a Federation of Southern Cooperatives/Land Assistance Fund (FSC/LAF) member from Alabama who assists farmers with their claims.

Some 70,000 farmers or their descendants who missed the original claims deadline filed between July and September 2000, seeking to become part of the settlement. The office of arbitrator Michael Lewis is rejecting these claims wholesale. Of the 59,000 requests made by farmers, he has only given approval for 600 to be included in the settlement.

Rose Sanders, one of the attorneys representing farmers in the suit, joined Roth at the podium and explained that Lewis has decided that only those who actually requested their claim forms before but filed past the deadline will be allowed to submit a late claim.

Those who were hospitalized at the time of the deadline were not eligible unless they had already started the process of filing before the deadline.

James Mays, a farmer from Leslie, Georgia said that he had been approved for late filing. In his case, he had begun the process of filing, but his lawyer got sick and missed the deadline. The narrow interpretation of eligibility for a late claim sparked angry comments from many at the conference.

“The people in the case and those of us advocating for the farmers have all these deadlines put on us, but the government has no deadlines,” said John Zippert. Many farmers despair of ever getting a response on their claims, he added.

Sanders responded to the farmers’ anger saying that there are two victims, the Black farmers and the lawyers. The lawyers, however, have received more than \$14 million in payments from the government. She assured the farmers that the lawyers had been fined for missing deadlines in filing papers on individual cases and pointed out that the attorneys had agreed as part of the consent decree to not be paid for all the work they had done for those farmers whose claims were denied.

A controversy erupted over the composition of Farm Service Agency County Committees when USDA assistant secretary for administration Lou Gallegos noted that presently only 50 out of 8,600 of its members are Black. Referring to the racist legacy of these committees, participant Hazel Fullum asked, “how can a leopard change his spots?”

FSC/LAF member Felder Freeman from South Carolina questioned why these bodies were even needed, saying the farmers need to take these decisions “out of the hands of...adversaries, possibly someone that wants your land.”

Georgia farmer Larry O’Neal responded to Gallegos’s praise for the government’s “homeland security” efforts, by noting that



Militant/Brian Williams

Rally of farmers and supporters in Washington, D.C., in March 1999, backing class-action lawsuit by farmers against discrimination by Department of Agriculture.

“our kids and forefathers go fight in wars for this country but when they return things are in the same shape.”

O’Neal told the conference participants, “Last year I bought cotton seed for \$79 a bag, today it cost \$109, the government

knows what the problems of farmers are. It should put some caps on prices...it has a 70 cent support price for cotton but the seed company takes it right back.” The result, he continued, is “farmers get further and further in debt.”

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —



March 17, 1978

BALTIMORE—More than 600 people attended a broadly sponsored trade-union rally here March 5 to express their support for striking mine workers.

The rally was held amidst reports that the coal miners were voting overwhelmingly against the companies’ proposed settlement and that President Carter was preparing federal action to force the miners back to work.

“We’ve been asked how 160,000 coal miners can hold the country hostage,” Charles Parker, a striking miner from Harlan, Kentucky, told the crowd. “It’s not us that’s holding the country hostage. It’s the companies.”

Held at Steelworkers Hall...the meeting was chaired by Dave Wilson, president of USWA Local 2610 at Bethlehem Steel’s giant Sparrows Point plant.

This show of solidarity initiated by the Steelworkers union was a powerful repudiation of attempts by steel companies here to blame layoffs on the coal miners. Bethlehem Steel laid off 500 workers from Sparrows Point in February, giving the miners’ strike as the reason.

Kenneth Yablonski, an attorney and son of slain UMWA reform leader Joseph Yablonski, appealed for funds for the strikers and their families.

“It’s a serious problem for you, too,” Yablonski said. “If they do it to the mine

workers, don’t think the steel workers or auto workers are too big.”



March 16, 1953

The funeral speeches of Malenkov, Beria and Molotov over Stalin’s coffin March 9 were pledges to continue in his footsteps. They had three audiences in mind: (1) the privileged bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union, which they represent, and its extension and allies in the Soviet bloc and Communist parties abroad; (2) the workers and peasants of the Soviet bloc and other lands; (3) the imperialist foe headed by Wall Street.

To the caste they assured continuation of the course, personified by Stalin; that is, defense of the privileges and power of the bureaucracy against threats from all quarters whether foreign or “internal”—the “internal” meaning the threat of workers revolution. They indicated they had no intention of trying to extend the Soviet sphere of influence abroad but would instead continue the “cautious” foreign policy which Stalin has followed since he usurped power. Above all, they tried to allay whatever “panic” the caste feels at the incalculable forces that might be released by Stalin’s death.

In brief, the triumvirate attempted to carry out a smooth transition of power from the dead hands of Stalin while tightening ranks against any threats to their reign whether from abroad or from within.

THE MILITANT

online

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Bring the troops home now!

Continued from front page
a whole. That has been the case in every imperialist war, from World Wars I and II, to the assaults on Korea and Vietnam, to the 1990-91 Gulf war—U.S.-led interventions that in most cases were launched by Democratic administrations.

The 1990-91 assault on Iraq was—as explained in issue no. 7 of the Marxist magazine *New International*—“an announcement, a loud and clear one, of the conflicts that lie ahead as the imperialist rulers follow the historic logic of their declining world system of exploitation and oppression—a line of march that, willy-nilly, moves toward World War III.” As accurate as those words are, however, today’s conflict does not simply take off where the war ended more than a decade ago. Much has unfolded in the world, including the onset of a world-wide economic depression. The impending war is above all fed by an increasingly sharp conflict between imperialist rivals. Washington and its competitors, seeking to control oil wealth and strategic positions, are driven to carve up the Mideast, and the world.

Far from seeking peace, as they proclaim, the French imperialist rulers have much at stake in their effort to protect their multi-billion-dollar investments in Iraq and grab as large a piece as possible of the war booty. Millions of working people around the world who have been subjected to Paris’s imperial boot, like the people of the Ivory Coast, have little sympathy for the hypocritical posturing of the Chirac government. The shrill anti-American rhetoric of Paris, and the sharp anti-French tone of Washington, are signs of the increased tensions between these predatory powers.

While Iraq is under the gun today, U.S. imperialism has its sights on broader targets—what the White House calls the “axis of evil.” They include Iran, which remains an obstacle to imperialist domination of the region. The workers states in north Korea and Cuba are also targets of imperialist hostility. The current conflict is a milestone in a course leading to a series of wars—a course that will have unplanned and explosive consequences for imperialism.

One of the biggest lies peddled by ruling-class spokespeople holds that the United Nations is a vehicle for “peace.” First of all, there is no such thing as the “United Nations”—only a collection of governments representing the disunited interests of their respective national ruling classes. Secondly, the UN has been a key instrument of imperialism since it was established after World War II. Communists have consistently opposed it, just as

they opposed the League of Nations after World War I.

From its founding, the UN has been based on the brutal denial of sovereignty of peoples around the world—from the Korean people, who were invaded by imperialist forces wearing blue helmets, to the peoples of Kosova, Bosnia, Congo, Sierra Leone, Cyprus, and East Timor, who have all been subjected to UN “peacekeeping” troops in recent years.

For the past 12 years, Iraq has been strangled by economic sanctions that have killed hundreds of thousands of children, and dismembered by “no-fly zones” covering half its territory: all legitimized by UN Security Council resolutions.

The UN “inspectors” have nothing to do with avoiding war. Asserting the right to go anywhere they want and do virtually anything they demand, they represent a grotesque violation of the Iraqi people’s sovereignty. Their job has not been to “inspect” but to give cover to the imperialist assault on Iraq—justified as “a final resort.” The bourgeois forces and their supporters in the United States who declare “let the inspections work” are aiding the imperialist warmongers in both Washington and Paris.

Working people in the United States have common interests with our fellow workers and farmers in Iraq. We have the same enemy—the wealthy rulers in Washington and on Wall Street. Workers and farmers in uniform have a stake in opposing the billionaires’ wars of plunder, in which they will be used as cannon fodder.

Washington’s war abroad is an extension of the bosses’ war on working people at home, which includes increased layoffs, speedup on the job, and cutbacks in health care. The assault on workers rights is another front in the same offensive, from increased police spying to the use of secret courts and detentions of both immigrants and U.S. citizens.

The continued resistance by working people to these attacks is leading many to seek out an alternative to the future of fascism and war that capitalism offers humanity. Likewise, among the millions of young people who are joining peace demonstrations around the world, tens of thousands are open to a revolutionary, communist explanation and perspective. Many can sense that imperialism’s brutality is increasingly making the United States a death trap for its inhabitants. Youth and working people will find in the Young Socialists and the Socialist Workers Party organizations where they can effectively become part of the worldwide fight for socialism and to transform the world.

Join Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange

In the last week of July, groups of young people from cities across the United States will travel to Cuba. There they will have the opportunity, as Cuban youth leader Ernesto Fernández Sánchez says in the article printed in this issue, “to see for themselves and learn about the real situation in Cuba.” They will have a chance to talk and exchange ideas with revolutionary-minded Cuban youth, visit a number of sites highlighting Cuba’s revolutionary history, and take part in the massive popular mobilization on July 26 celebrating 50 years since the launching of the revolutionary struggle there by a group of youth led by Fidel Castro (see front-page article for more details).

For young people who want to learn the truth about the Cuban Revolution, this will be a valuable opportunity. Now is the time to start preparing for the Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange, including the work to publicize and build it on campuses, in the workplace, and among the thousands of youth at peace demonstrations and other political actions taking place around the country.

What Washington seeks to hide from those who live in this country through its decades-long travel ban and trade embargo against the island, are the achievements of Cuba’s workers and farmers in carrying out and defending the first socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere. They

have done so in face of the unceasing, and failed, efforts by the wealthy U.S. rulers to crush Cuba’s example.

Those working to go on the Youth Exchange will benefit from reading, studying, and sharing with others an article by Mary-Alice Waters in *New International* no. 10, “Defending Cuba, defending Cuba’s socialist revolution” as well as the book *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* by Jack Barnes. A new title that describes the women and men who made the Cuban Revolution is *Marianas in Combat: Tété Puebla and the Mariana Grajales Women’s Platoon in Cuba’s Revolutionary War, 1956-58*. Other Pathfinder books that record the history of the Cuban Revolution include *To Speak the Truth* (speeches by Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara at the United Nations), *The Second Declaration of Havana*, and *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War, 1956-58* by Che Guevara.

For youth interested in how to fight to change the world for the benefit of humanity, the Youth Exchange will provide an opportunity to learn a little about the living example of the working class in power and how working people can transform society and themselves in the process. This living example of the Cuban Revolution is also a powerful argument that working people can make a revolution in the United States as well.

‘Malcolm X book is needed by youth’

Continued from Page 11

rightfully yours, you have the legal right to claim it. And anyone who tries to deny you what is yours is breaking the law and is a criminal.” That stance, Ubieta said, reminded him of the revolutionary course of Antonio Maceo, a central leader of Cuba’s independence struggle, who was Black. “I recall Maceo’s words, ‘Rights are not to be begged for. They are won with the blade of a machete.’ “

Ubieta stressed the evolution of Malcolm’s political perspective, expressing the view that Malcolm really only became a revolutionary the last year of his life, after his break with the Nation of Islam. Malcolm moved from a “narrow Black nationalism” that “only tried to take control of the communities in which Blacks lived” to “a global understanding of the world,” Ubieta argued. “That was the great lesson of Malcolm X.”

The revolutionary leader came to recognize that “racism is inherent in capitalism and a product of it,” Ubieta noted.

“Anyone who defends capitalism must necessarily defend racism,” Ubieta added.

“It is not enough to issue a declaration of full equality for the tradition of racism—created by colonialism and imperialism, inherent in capitalism—to disappear. Concrete, specific work must be done to achieve full racial equality in today’s world, a world in which imperialist action seeks legal and moral refuge behind concepts like civilization, culture, and race,” Ubieta noted.

Even among those in Cuba who see Malcolm as a revolutionary, there are many who question or even reject the revolutionary dynamic of his uncompromising commitment to organizing Blacks to fight for their liberation. “This book is going to raise uncertainties that will lead serious young people to search for the roots of that very rich movement in the United States in the 1960s,” Ubieta noted. “It will make us think about what we have today here in our country.”

The speeches contained in the new title, he said, are complemented by a 1965 tribute to Malcolm by Jack Barnes, then a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, and a 1966 article by Barnes about meeting and interviewing Malcolm. Ubieta called attention to these two tributes to Malcolm X, recommending them to readers for “the value of the analysis by Jack Barnes.”

Ubieta ended his remarks with a thank you to Editora Abril “for offering us this new weapon of struggle.”

At the event, nearly 100 copies were sold of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* in Spanish and more than 40 copies in English. Many, including youth studying English who were eager to read the revolutionary leader’s words in the original, purchased copies in both languages.

The book launch, which had been prominently advertised in the daily book fair tabloid, was reported by television as part of the fair coverage. The 5,000 copies of the Cuban edition that were printed in time for the Havana launching will be sold across Cuba as the book fair visits some 30 cities in the coming weeks. “We’re sure they will all be sold in short order,” Camacho noted.

Paper reports Calero fight

Continued from Page 11

Mexico, and Havana, Cuba, he was arrested by the INS at Houston Intercontinental Airport. Calero was told he was being denied entry to the United States and taken to an INS jail in Houston.

Calero was paroled December 13 after the INS district director in Houston was flooded with protest messages. The INS has now set a March 25 hearing for Calero to institute “removal proceedings” against him.

Calero has been a permanent resident of the United States for the past 12 years. The INS, in their attempt to deport him to his native Nicaragua, is citing a 1988 conviction when he was a high school student in Los Angeles on a charge of selling an ounce of marijuana to an undercover police officer. Calero explained that, “Faced with a possible jail term I made a plea bargain and received a suspended 60-day sentence, three years probation, and a \$50 fine.

”When I applied for permanent residence in 1989, I explicitly included information about my conviction. In granting me my resident status, the INS waived the conviction. In 2000 they renewed my green card,” he said.

The January 11 meeting raised over \$2,000 for Calero’s defense fund, and a number of people endorsed the campaign. One young man who introduced himself as a Mexican worker who finds himself in this country because of the [high] unemployment rate in Mexico, summed up many of the sentiments expressed over the course of the evening: “Today we fight for Róger, tomorrow we fight for ourselves.”

SPECIAL OFFER—\$10

CUBA

and the Coming American Revolution by Jack Barnes


There will be a victorious revolution in the United States before a victorious counterrevolution in Cuba

—Fidel Castro, March 1961

Cuba and the Coming American Revolution is about the struggles of working people in the imperialist heartland, the youth who are attracted to them, and the example set by the people of Cuba that revolution is not only necessary—it can be made. Preface by Mary-Alice Waters.

In English, Spanish, and French.

Order from: www.pathfinderpress.com. Please include \$3 for shipping and handling. Also available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12.



Capitalism's long hot winter has begun

Continued from Page 7

wide, which organized one defeat after another of revolutionary openings, turned Marxism into its opposite, using their doctrines to justify their thuggish, counterrevolutionary methods. At the same time, Barnes said, they felt obliged to defend Marxism in the abstract and, for their own reasons, print and distribute the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

With the collapse of the bureaucratic regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and the accompanying political crisis of the political parties that looked to them, Stalinist leaders have increasingly discarded any pretensions as followers of Marxism. Even many revolutionary forces in the world do not feel obligated to be consistent with Marxism. Consequently, debates in the workers movement do not “take place on the ground of Marxism,” Barnes said. Such a culture of Marxism will have to be rebuilt, he said.

In today's world, Barnes pointed out, for the first time since World War II, the prospect of a shooting war between major imperialist powers does not seem inconceivable to many working people.

In the debates over how to further grind Iraq underfoot and grab hold of the oil wealth in the Middle East, we see the “clash of real imperialist class interests,” he said—a clash that is evident in the conflicts between Paris and Washington.

The French rulers oppose a U.S. invasion and a “regime change” in Iraq because it would spell the end of the business contracts they have built up over a decade with the Saddam Hussein regime. French companies have signed almost 800 contracts with Iraq in that period. U.S. companies have signed precisely zero.

Rivalry not just about Iraq

The rivalry is not about one country, Iraq, but about mineral and strategic platforms throughout the Mideast and worldwide, Barnes emphasized. The U.S. rulers are also targeting the oil fields and agricultural wealth of Africa—a continent where the French and other European imperialist powers have enormous interests at stake. In the Ivory Coast, some 3,000 French troops are seeking to impose a Paris-engineered “peace settlement” on the opposing sides in the civil war.

The impending war in the Middle East is not the “continuation of the last Gulf war,” Barnes said. The communist movement described the events of 1990–91 as the “opening guns of World War III,” pointing to the sharpening interimperialist conflicts that marked the conflict then. But much has happened over the past decade, he said. The coming war will be the first imperialist war to come out of the new situation announced in the previous war.

With the “9/11” argument largely exhausted, Washington continues to drive toward military confrontations along the lines of the “axis of evil” proclaimed by President George Bush at the beginning of 2002, said Barnes. Those officially targeted are Iraq, Iran, and the north Korean workers state.

While Iraq is under the gun today, it is

not the only target, Barnes pointed out. Iran is a bigger prize, because of the blows that the Iranian masses dealt to the imperialist order in the 1979 overturn of Washington's client regime of the shah.

The likelihood of a prolonged and bloody war—rather than a rapid military attack with few U.S. casualties, as Washington hopes to pull off in Iraq—increases as Washington takes on countries in which the workers and peasants have transformed social relations through a revolution and see a stake in defending their conquests, he said. That is the case in Iran.

In that respect, Barnes said, the most significant development of the last week was not the continuing imperialist buildup on Iraq's borders, but the intrusion into Iran—under United Nations cover—of nuclear “inspectors” who snooped around new nuclear plants in the towns of Natanz and Arak.

The record of such “UN inspection teams” can be seen in Iraq, Barnes said. Trampling on its national sovereignty, the imperialist powers have used the “UN inspectors” to progressively weaken Iraq's defensive capabilities and justify an imperialist invasion.

The U.S.-led war on Iraq has effectively begun, he said. Fronts of this war include the intrusive inspections; the control of the “no-fly zones”—covering half the country's area—by U.S. and British planes; a naval blockade; and the deployment of U.S. special forces in the north, poised to secure the oil wells. All this is combined with the grinding effect of more than a decade of brutal UN-approved economic sanctions.

This is the real face of the United Nations, which Barnes called an “imperialist instrumentality” put together by the victorious powers after the second world imperialist slaughter.

UNITE strikers: ‘We won’t give in’

Continued from front page

strike, when I drove by a picket line I would say, ‘I could never do that.’ But now I know I can, and from now on when I see a picket line I will always support those strikers,” she said.

Bowman is one of 89 members of Local 317-C of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) who went on strike at Libro Shirt January 7 after the company said it would unilaterally impose its demands and stopped negotiating.

The contract expired August 31, with one of the key issues being the attempt by the owner, Leventhal, Ltd., to make workers pay half their health insurance costs. Other issues include wages and pensions. The garment workers have been picketing throughout the winter.

Tammy Ossman, who works as a marker at the plant with 18 years seniority, said, “We’re a pretty good, tough group. We’re all survivors and we are not going to give in. We say, don’t let the company keep taking from you. We’ve been hearing their sob stories for the last 12 years.” Striker Sue Snyder added, “Yes, we’re freezing our



Militant/Phil Duzinski

February 23 event drew some 200 people to discussion of world capitalist crisis and revolutionary road forward for workers and farmers.

This is something communists must consistently explain to those who are joining today's peace protests, in which slogans like “let the inspectors do their work” play a prominent part, he said. As the inspectors have “done their work” of assaulting Iraq's sovereignty, Washington has relentlessly continued to prepare an invasion.

Predominant among the forces that organized the large February 15–16 protests in the United States were the Stalinists, who orient to the Democratic Party. They have consistently called for the implementation of UN resolutions in Iraq, the very resolutions that Washington and other imperialist powers have used to devastate Iraq over the past decade.

A number of those who have participated in the demonstrations applauded the French government for its resistance to a new Security Council resolution placing a fresh stamp of approval on an Anglo-American-led invasion.

Millions in Africa, Asia, and the South Pacific know the real record of French imperialism, said Barnes. Although Paris dons the peacemaker's garb today, its mili-

tary officers and cops were, along with those from Belgium, perhaps the most savage of the representatives of the imperialist powers.

Tens of thousands of the young people who are joining the peace protests are ignorant of these historical facts, said Barnes. They know nothing of the record of all the imperialist powers and the United Nations. With illusions that the sheer size of the peace marches will sway the imperialists, or looking to some government, party, or bourgeois figure willing and able to stop the drive to war, they are unprepared for the rough reality of imperialism in a period of crisis.

“Many will be disillusioned when war is unleashed,” said Barnes, “but their spirit will not be shattered. Those are the ones we seek to meet and to engage in discussion, as we explain as clearly as possible the character of imperialism and the need to build a revolutionary party capable of leading a movement to disarm the war makers and take power.”

What we offer young workers and students is the opportunity to act in politics with an eye to this future, said Barnes.

buns off out here, but we're in this to the end.”

Leventhal executive Leonard Springer has given a 60-day notice to the mayor of the Lykens, which expires March 7, saying he intends to close the plant.

The strikers have been watching the loading of company equipment onto tractor-trailers bearing Tennessee license plates and accompanied by police. “They have been loading machines, buttons, thread—they even packed up the toilet paper,” said striker Sheila Michaels. On February 7 the union won a federal court ruling that ordered Leventhal to stop sewing union labels in shirts made in nonunion shops. It ordered that all union labels inside the Lykens plant be handed over to the striking workers.

On February 25, union members held a picket-line rally and then entered the Libro factory to drag many boxes of union labels to the rally. To the cheers of strikers, Local 317-C president Faye Shutt held up a union label, saying, “They’ve been taking union shirts, making them at a non-union plant for much cheaper and sewing union labels on them.”

Work being sent to nonunion plants is cited as one cause of the layoffs at Libro Shirt over the last two years. In January 2001, there were 171 workers at the plant but by June 2002 the workforce had been cut to 95.

Union members say that the strike has received a lot of support from fellow workers in the area. They stop and give money, hugs, food, and wood, reported Ossman. The local Russian Orthodox church is allowing the strikers to use its facilities.

Bowman pointed out that the families of strikers have been very supportive. “My family doesn’t want to see me treated like a fool,” she said.

Ossman said, “We have a saying in the plant: the cows get treated better than the people. They thought that because we were mostly women we would just go belly-down. But they were wrong. If we’re out here a year, so be it. We’ve come this far and we intend to go all the way.”

Janet Post works as a sewer at Hollander Home Fashions in Frackville, Pennsylvania, where she is a member of UNITE Local 133.

Vandals attack Des Moines Pathfinder store

BY EDWIN FRUIT

DES MOINES, Iowa—On the second weekend of February, for the fourth time since 1999, the Pathfinder Bookstore in Des Moines was vandalized. Raw eggs defaced every window and the door of the storefront, located in the working-class area known as Highland Park.

The bookstore is a center for books on working-class politics and hosts the weekly Militant Labor Forum, a free-speech forum on topics of interest to working people. The store also provides office space to the Socialist Workers Party, which has run candidates for public office. Displays in the window include a Black History Month poster highlighting a new book of speeches by Malcolm X, book covers on the Cuban Revolution, and current copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, socialist

publications that have front-page coverage explaining why working people should oppose the imperialist war in the Mideast.

At a February 11 news conference at the bookstore, Edwin Fruit, the owner of the store and Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in Iowa's third district last fall, denounced the attack and said, “We are not going to be intimidated by these cowardly acts of harassment and intimidation. Those using threats and intimidation against those who have dissenting views take their cue from the policies of the U.S. government. Working people and youth value the political space we have to discuss and debate solutions to the growing social and economic crisis of capitalism's world disorder today.”

The National Lawyers Guild chapter at Drake University in Des Moines sent a statement to the news conference saying,

“We call on the city of Des Moines and its people to speak out against this violent act, joining us in our condemnation. In a democracy justice and freedom depend on whether or not the rights of those who choose to dissent are protected.... If those who commit acts of violence do succeed, we will cease to have any resemblance of democracy at all.”

El Latino, a local Spanish-language weekly, featured a front-page story on the attack and photos of the bookstore in its February 14–20 edition. Several people from the neighborhood around the bookstore stopped to express their support as volunteers cleaned the windows.

Edwin Fruit is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1149 in Perry, Iowa.

—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Turmoil in the Ivory Coast: The Growing Conflicts between Washington and Paris. Speaker: Maurice Williams, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 7. Program, 7:30 p.m., Dinner 6:30 p.m. 168 Bloomfield Ave., 2nd Floor. Donation: Program \$5, Dinner \$5. Tel: (973) 481-0077.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

The Fight for Safety in the Mines. Sat., Mar. 8. Program, 7:30 p.m., Dinner 6:30 p.m. 545 Eighth Ave. Donation: Program \$5, Dinner \$5. Tel: (212) 695-7358.

Florida professor faces ‘terror’ frame-up

BY JOHN BENSON

TAMPA, Florida—On February 25 more than 50 protesters gathered outside the federal courthouse here to condemn the arrest five days earlier of Sami Al-Arian, Sameeh Hammoudeh and Hatem Naji Fariz by federal authorities on phony “terrorism” charges. Al-Arian, a professor at the University of South Florida, is an outspoken defender of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination. He and his defenders have been waging a struggle for several years against the government’s frame-up campaign against him.

The three men, along with Ghassan Zayed Ballut, from Tinley Park, Illinois, were arrested on a 50-count federal indictment. Many of the 50 are “conspiracy” charges.

Attorney General John Ashcroft announced the indictment at a high-profile press conference in Washington. Federal officials declared that Al-Arian was secretly a top leader of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, which is on a list of organizations deemed “terrorist” by the U.S. government. The indictment relies largely on the wiretapping of Al-Arian’s phones under the authorization of a secret court—“evidence” admitted in court under the USA Patriot Act.

Four other men abroad—Bashir Musa Mohammed Nafi of Oxfordshire, England, Ramadan Abdullah Shallah of Damascus, Syria, Mohammed Tasir Hassan Al-Khatib of Beirut, Lebanon, and Abd Al Aziz Awda of the Gaza Strip in Palestine—were indicted but have not been arrested.

The bail hearing was postponed until March 24 at the request of the defense attorneys to allow them to prepare their case that the defendants present no danger and are not a flight risk.

At the demonstration, Leena Al-Arian read out loud a handwritten statement from her father that declared, “I address you today as a prisoner of conscience. My freedom has been taken not because—God forbid—I’m a criminal or have ill will toward this great nation. But I’m crucified today because of who I am: a stateless Palestinian, an Arab, a Muslim, an outspoken advocate for Palestinian rights, but more significantly a persistent defender of civil and constitutional rights on the home front.”

He stated, “I’ve declared a hunger strike to protest this unjust persecution of me, because of my beliefs and opinions.”

Al-Arian has long been a prominent supporter of the Palestinian struggle. A Palestinian born in Kuwait, he became a U.S. permanent resident in 1975. In 1986 he became an assistant professor of computer engineering at the University of South Florida (USF) here.

In 1988 he helped form the Islamic Committee for Palestine (ICP) to educate on the Palestinian *intifada* (rebellion) in the United States. He helped initiate the World and Islam Studies Enterprise (WISE), which sponsored academic programs on the Mideast in conjunction with USF. Al-Arian is a director and Hammoudeh is an administrator of the Islamic Academy of Florida, a private school with classes through grade 12.

In early 2002, Al-Arian was an organizer and a keynote speaker at several demonstrations to protest the Israeli army’s destruction of West Bank towns. On November 3 he was a speaker at a protest at MacDill Air force Base against the U.S.-led drive toward war on Iraq.

The indictment accuses Al-Arian of being the North American leader of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad and a member of its “shura council.” It alleges he is responsible worldwide for its finances and that the Iranian government funds the group. It also asserts that the Islamic Committee for Palestine, WISE, and the Islamic Academy of Florida were fund-raising “fronts” for the Jihad. In an indication of the scope of government spying on Al-Arian, the indictment lists numerous phone calls and faxes from 1995 and earlier that the government claims are evidence of “ties” to the group.

The indictment cites a 1995 presidential

executive order labeling Islamic Jihad and other organizations and individuals as “terrorists. In 1997, using the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996, U.S. officials labeled Palestinian Islamic Jihad and Hamas as “foreign terrorist organizations,” barring “material support” to them.

Al-Arian has stated that he has helped organize charitable contributions for families of people who have died in the Palestinian struggle.

The main charges include conspiracy to commit “racketeering,” to commit murder through suicide attacks in Israel and the occupied territories, to provide “material support”, and to make or receive financial contributions. The “conspiracy” charges mean no actual illegal act is alleged.

The authorization of the massive wiretaps and spying against the arrested men was granted by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court, a secret court created in 1978 whose existence was not known publicly until recently. Under this court, fewer protections against unreasonable search and seizure exist. Evidence obtained under these procedures had not been used in prosecutions until the passage of the 2001 Patriot Act. Ashcroft wrote new rules allowing the use of this material in criminal prosecutions.

Local media were invited to witness the 5:15 a.m. arrest of Al-Arian. The newscasts were full of pictures of FBI agents taking him away in handcuffs and cops leaving his home with boxes of so-called evidence. Leena Al-Arian said they took all of the family’s cellular phones and computers, including hers, which contained a paper she had written for school.

In 1995 the FBI, INS, and the Customs service raided Al-Arian’s home, campus office, and WISE offices. They seized videotapes, documents, and computer hard drives. In May of that year, the *Tampa Tribune* published a two-part series claiming that the ICP and WISE were linked to “terrorism.”

In 1997 Mazen Al-Najjer, Al-Arian’s



Militant/Sonja Swanson

Sami Al-Arian speaks at January 24 rally at University of South Florida protesting administration’s efforts to fire him. He was indicted February 20 on frame-up charges.

brother-in-law, was arrested and held for three and a half years without charges. He was finally released after a court ruled he could no longer be held on secret evidence. He was rearrested and deported to Lebanon last August.

On September 26, 2001, Al-Arian appeared on a TV program called “The O’Reilly Factor.” He was questioned about alleged “terrorist” ties and a statement attributed to him saying, “Death to Israel.” O’Reilly suggested that FBI spying against him was justified. The next day the university received numerous phone calls about Al-Arian and threatening violence.

USF suspended him and banned him from campus, saying his presence was a threat to security. They accused him of not stating that he spoke as an individual and was not speaking for the university. In response, a popular button was distributed by members of the faculty union that said, “I do not speak for USF.”

Because he was now a tenured professor, the United Faculty of Florida at USF filed a grievance on his behalf. The university announced its intention to fire Al-Arian and asked a judge to determine if they could do so. The faculty senate voted to oppose the firing and the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) threatened to censure USF if he were fired. On December 16 a U.S. district judge threw out USF’s lawsuit.

After Al-Arian’s arrest the university fired him. University president Judy Genshaft said the indictment showed that he “has misused the university’s name, reputation, resources and personnel.”

Jonathan Knight of the AAUP replied, “The administration has, in effect, found him guilty of the charges. We have a situation where there has been no action of any sort at the campus to look into the charges, and the charges brought by the federal government have yet to be proven.”

Ontario strikers resist bosses, courts

BY PATRICIA O’BEIRNE AND JOHN STEELE

FORT ERIE, Ontario—After 22 weeks on the picket line, in the face of a threat of plant closure as well as a court injunction and attempts to bus in scabs, 300 production workers and 50 office workers on strike against Fleet Industries in Fort Erie remain determined to defend their union.

Throughout the second week of February striking workers and their supporters successfully blocked buses carrying scabs that bosses were trying to get into the plant. On February 10 International Association of Machinists (IAM) Locals 171 and 939 organized more than 100 people to picket, with support from Canadian Auto Workers members locked out by Ronal Canada in nearby Stevensville, members of Teamsters Local 879, and other unions. The St. Catherines District labour council distributed signs saying, “Don’t cross the picket line” and “No scabs.”

The mass picketing took place despite a court injunction Fleet had obtained that limited picketing to 25 people and that said vans crossing the picket line could only be held up for 10 minutes.

Twice in January, pickets stopped Fleet from busing in scabs. Both times, the police ordered the buses to leave when it became clear the strikers had no intention of letting scabs in the plant.

On February 8 production workers rejected the company’s latest offer by a vote of 221 to 6. The local president, Julius Antal, said the offer was practically identical to one workers had rejected three weeks before.

“I think they thought they were going to break us but they’ve just made us stronger,” said Linda Smith, who has worked at Fleet for 24 years. “I was one of the people

‘terminated’ on January 15, and now they’re denying us severance pay.”

Tom McGuigan, one of the strikers who was part of the mass picketing, said, “It’s our fight now, but if we lose it will be everyone’s fight later.”

The Fleet strikers participated in a rally in neighboring Stevensville on February 1 alongside other workers locked out or on strike in the Niagara region to oppose Bill 7. The legislation, passed in 1995, gives employers the legal right to use scabs.

The production workers and office workers have been on strike against Fleet since October 1, when they rejected the bosses’ demand to recall workers as determined by the company, without regard to seniority. Since then, production workers have rejected two more company offers.

On February 9, office workers, who are members of IAM Local 939, voted 24 to 20 to reject the company’s latest offer and vowed not to go back to work until production workers had also settled.

Ken Kells, who has worked at Fleet for 37 years, said, “this whole story is about trying to break the union. That’s why they offered us a bunch of crap they knew we wouldn’t accept.”

Members of both locals on strike have received letters from Fleet Industries telling them there is work available in the plant if they cross the picket line. Workers would have to reapply for their old jobs, and the company would decide the rate of pay, type of work, and when, if ever, the workers would start.

On February 13, faced with the fact that not one worker had crossed the picket line, Magellan Aerospace, Fleet’s parent company, announced they will close the plant.

In an acknowledgment of the workers’

determination to defend their union, Bill Matthews, the vice-president of marketing at Magellan, said that “when the group went on strike, we ran the plant with management and non-union. But we knew that we couldn’t do that forever. We exercised our legal right to bring in replacement workers and we were unable to do that.”

On February 20, 17 union members, including the entire negotiating committee and the president of Local 171, were found guilty of violating the court order that bars workers from stopping scabs from entering the plant. About 60 family members and supporters attended the court hearing in a show of support.

In a reflection of the broad support this strike has won in the region, the judge “purged” the charges and did not impose any penalties. The cops, however, now have a court order to arrest anyone breaching the injunction. The 17 unionists were told that if any of them violate the injunction they will be jailed. Fleet is seeking to make the 17 defendants pay for all the legal costs.

The union has maintained its picket shacks and fire barrels and workers continue to staff the picket line. There is still no official closure of the plant. Armed with the court order authorizing the arrest of anyone violating the injunction, Fleet has brought a number of vans with scabs across the picket line since February 20.

Strikers who have been allowed to retrieve their tool boxes from the plant report that little or no production was evident.

Patricia O’Beirne is a member of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees in Toronto. John Steele is a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers in Toronto.