

## Miners oppose new coal dust rules

BY TONY LANCASTER

CHARLESTON, West Virginia—Nearly 1,000 miners and supporters—including black-lung activists and clinic workers—rallied here May 8 to protest new federal rules changing coal dust levels and how they are monitored in underground coal mines. Two days earlier, United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) secretary-treasurer Carlo Tarley told a Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) hearing that the proposed rules “make things worse for miners and black lung victims,” and “must be withdrawn.”

The rally, held on the steps of the state

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## Róger Calero wins back green card, passport

Antideportation fight  
closer to final victory

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

“I’m glad to have my green card and passport back,” Róger Calero said May 15, after the government had turned over the documents earlier in the day. “Now we’re asking the judge to approve the government’s motion to drop deportation proceedings against me.”

The Department of Homeland Security (DHS), which now implements immigration law in place of the former Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), returned the green card and passport to Calero less than 24 hours after his attorney, Claudia Slovinsky, requested they be turned over.

“This marks another step in cementing the victory registered when the government moved to terminate efforts to exclude him,”

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## Washington pushes to brand Iran in violation of nuclear treaty

BY NAOMI CRAINE

In early May, Washington stepped up its campaign to brand Tehran in violation of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and to demand support from its imperialist allies and beyond for punitive measures against Iran. Meanwhile, Iranian president Mohammed Khatami embarked on a tour of the Middle East partly to counter this U.S. government campaign.

Tens of thousands of people packed a sports stadium in Beirut for a rally honoring Khatami May 13. The stands were a

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# U.S. rulers grab spoils of Iraq occupation

UN resolution codifies blows to Washington’s imperialist rivals

BY PATRICK O’NEILL

The U.S. and British governments have moved to consolidate their control of Iraq and its oil wealth by securing United Nations Security Council agreement for the lifting of UN-sponsored sanctions against that nation. While making a few concessions to neutralize objections by Paris, the latest Anglo-American initiative registers the blows they have dealt their imperialist competitors in taking over Iraq.

Washington and London have put off earlier proposals to set up a figurehead “government with an Iraqi face,” as they have gone about the business of running an occupation regime, with aggressive military policing of Baghdad and other cities.

The U.S. government has also continued its threats and actions directed at Iran and forces within Iraq that look to the Iranian government for political direction (see article at the bottom of this page). It has also sent FBI agents to Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, to direct a “joint investigation” of the May 12 bombings that killed 34 people, including eight U.S. citizens.

On May 19 U.S. officials introduced an amended version of a resolution to the UN Security Council that would end economic sanctions on Iraq. The embargo has been enforced by Washington, Paris, London, and other imperialist powers since it was instituted in 1990 during

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10,000 Iraqi Shiites protest in Baghdad May 19 to oppose U.S.-British occupation.

## Protesters in N.Y., D.C.: ‘U.S. hands off Cuba!’

BY SAM MANUEL

NEW YORK—Hundreds turned out May 17 at rallies here and in Washington, D.C., to condemn the U.S.-orchestrated campaign of threats and provocations against the Cuban Revolution.

The rallies were called by Cuba solidarity and other organizations to counter

actions by opponents of the revolution. Rightist Cuban-American groups and others calling themselves the “Coalition for Cuban Freedom” rallied across from Cuba’s Mission to the United Nations here; the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C.; as well as in Miami and other

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## Workers strike in France, oppose proposed cuts in pensions



Militant/Nat London

Teachers march in Marseille, France, May 16 as part of 100,000-strong demonstration to oppose government-proposed ‘pension reform.’ More than 2 million workers have taken part in strikes and rallies across the country.

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# Walter Sisulu, ANC veteran leader, dies

BY T.J. FIGUEROA

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa—Walter Sisulu, a central leader of the African National Congress (ANC) for more than five decades, died here May 5 at the age of 90.

Sisulu, Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo formed the core of the historic leadership team that transformed the ANC into a militant organization leading mass action by black workers and peasants in the fight against the apartheid regime a struggle that culminated in South Africa’s first non-racial, democratic elections in 1994. He was buried at a May 17 state funeral in Soweto.

Sisulu was born in the Transkei region of South Africa in 1912, the son of an African domestic worker and a white civil servant. He spent his early years in the rural Xhosa village of Ngcobo, and ended his formal schooling at the age of 14.

By the late 1920s the institutionalized theft of African land, initiated by the British colonizers and Boer settlers in the 18th century, was well under way. Millions of Africans had already been forced from their land under the racist Union of South Africa, which had been formed in 1910, and were being driven into the gold and diamond mines.

Like many of his generation, Sisulu left the rural Transkei to work in Johannesburg, where he took jobs delivering for a dairy, as a gold miner, as a paint mixer, as a tobacco packer, and as a bank teller. He was fired after helping to lead an unsuccessful strike at a bakery. After 1938 he began selling advertising and opened a small real estate office. He joined the ANC in 1940.

In a statement paying tribute to his closest collaborator over more than six decades, Nelson Mandela described how he was influenced by Sisulu shortly after himself coming to Johannesburg from the Transkei.

“By ancestry, I was born to rule. Xhamela [Sisulu’s clan name] helped me understand that my real vocation was to be a servant of the people,” Mandela said.

“I was drawn inexorably into his circle of friends. We would gather at his Orlando [Soweto] home. His mother was always able to feed us, hordes of us. We nourished ourselves on our conversation over a pot of boiling ideas about freeing our people from bondage, about placing Africa on a pedestal.

“There was Anton Lembede...a fiery personality espousing a militant African nationalism. There was Peter ‘AP’ Mda with a keen analytical mind. Where Lembede was



African National Congress leader Walter Sisulu addressing 4,500 delegates from across South Africa at conference in Johannesburg, Dec. 8, 1989.

prone to heady, almost mystical flights of ideas, AP was sparing and judicious with words, a model of simplicity and clarity. There were Oliver Tambo with his sharply mathematical mind, Dr. Lionel Majombozi, Victor Mboobo, William Nkomo, a medical student, Jordan Ngubane, a journalist, David Bopape and so many others.

### ANC Youth League founded

“Out of that ferment of ideas and personalities was born the idea of the ANC Youth League.”

The Youth League marked a revolutionary break from the reformist outlook until then espoused by the leadership of the ANC. Sisulu became the league’s first treasurer, and was elected ANC secretary-general at the organization’s 1949 conference. He held this position until he was “banned” by the white minority regime in 1954.

Sisulu was a leader of the 1952 Defiance Campaign against apartheid laws, and in 1953 traveled to Europe, Russia, and China. He attended the World Festival of Youth and Students in Bucharest, Romania.

Sisulu was one of the main defendants in the 1956–1961 treason trial, was held in prison for five months during the 1960 state of emergency, and was arrested six times in 1962. In 1960 the regime banned the ANC. When the organization’s leaders decided to launch an armed liberation struggle in 1961, Sisulu became part of the high command of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the ANC’s armed wing.

In July 1963, Sisulu and other ANC leaders were arrested at their secret headquarters on a farm in Rivonia, just outside Johannesburg. Sisulu, Mandela, and others were sentenced to life in prison when the Rivonia Trial culminated in 1964.

In an interview broadcast on national radio the day after Sisulu died, Mandela repeated a light-hearted story he has told often over the years. “‘Don’t get involved with that man Walter Sisulu,’ I was told when I first arrived in Johannesburg. ‘If you do you will end up spending the rest of your life in jail.’ Of course, I ignored this advice.”

Sisulu was released from prison in 1989

after 26 years behind bars most of them on the notorious Robben Island alongside Mandela, who was released a year later.

Their release and the unbanning of the ANC and other political organizations were the product of a range of factors, including the advancing wave of strikes and mass mobilizations in townships and rural areas throughout the country, and the economic and political pressures brought to bear on the white minority regime by the worldwide campaign against apartheid.

### Role of revolutionary Cuba

Revolutionary Cuba played an irreplaceable role in this process. In southern Angola, thousands of Cuban troops fighting alongside Angolan soldiers and Namibian independence fighters defeated South African troops at Cuito Cuanavale in 1987. It was a historic blow from which the South African military never recovered, and led in short order to independence for Namibia, until then a South African colony.

On his release from prison, Sisulu immediately resumed a role in the intensifying struggle. He was elected deputy president of the ANC in 1991, a position he held until the organization’s national conference in 1994 when, at the age of 82, he retired from full-time political activity. However, for a number of years thereafter, he could often be seen at the ANC’s Johannesburg headquarters, where he took on a variety of tasks. In summing up these contributions, Mandela also took note of Sisulu’s lifelong partnership with his wife, Albertina, who remained a leader of the struggle outside prison, and who survives him.

In closing, Mandela said, “Today the ANC and through it the African people are able and required to set the tone and national agenda for our country.

“The real challenge is to formulate and present this in a way that unites all South Africans—black and white—to share and work together in the common objective of eradicating poverty and creating a prosperous, non-racist and non-sexist South Africa. Walter’s vision of an ANC that unites and constantly expands its support across South African society remains as valid today as it was at that time.”



Crowd at May 17 funeral in Johannesburg for veteran ANC leader Walter Sisulu

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## The Militant

Vol. 67/No. 18

Closing news date: May 20, 2003

**Editor:** ARGIRIS MALAPANIS  
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Published weekly except for one week in January, June, August and December.  
The Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 152 West 36th St., #401, New York, NY 10018. Telephone: (212) 594-1014; Fax (212) 594-1018.  
**E-mail:** themilitant@verizon.net  
The Militant **website** is: www.themilitant.com

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 152 W. 36th St. #401, New York, NY 10018.

Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY.  
**POSTMASTER:** Send address changes to The Militant, 152 W. 36th St. #401, NY, NY 10018.

Subscriptions: **United States:** for one-year subscription send \$45 to above address.

**Latin America, Caribbean:** for one-year subscription send \$65, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$80.

**Asia:** Send \$80 drawn on a U.S. bank to above address.

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**Southern Ireland and Continental Europe:** £70 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution at above address. **France:** Send 115 euros for one-year subscription to Militant, Centre MBE 175, 23 rue Lecourbe, 75015 Paris; chèque postale: 40 134 34 U.

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# After third trial, Black man convicted in frame-up for 1991 Crown Heights killing

BY SAM MANUEL

After being tried three times for the same crime, 27-year-old Lemrick Nelson was convicted May 13 on charges resulting from the 1991 stabbing death of Yankel Rosenbaum, a member of an Orthodox Jewish sect. Nelson, who is African-American, received a 10-year sentence. He has already served much of this time and is expected to be out of jail within a year.

Twelve years ago, the big-business press trumpeted the incident that led to Rosenbaum's death as an anti-Jewish riot. The outburst at the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn actually erupted in response to racist treatment of Black residents of that neighborhood by the cops and emergency personnel after a Black child was killed in a traffic accident.

The incident began when a station wagon, which was part of a motorcade for the leader of an Orthodox Jewish sect, ran a traffic light and careened off opposing traffic onto a sidewalk, striking a seven-year-old Black child, Gavin Cato. The youth was dragged underneath the vehicle and his cousin Angela was pinned against a window grate.

The uninjured driver of the vehicle, Yosef Lifsh, was treated and taken away

by emergency response medical personnel of the Hatzolah, an Orthodox Jewish ambulance service. Gavin Cato remained trapped under the vehicle and died of his injuries. A cop revealed later that he ordered the ambulance to leave with Lifsh out of fear for his safety, while leaving the dying child untreated. Charges were never filed against Lifsh, who now lives in Israel.

The jury in the latest trial deliberated over six days. One day before reaching a verdict the judge received three notes from jurors, prompting him to comment that he felt the jury was "muddled and confused." The notes, one of which came from the jury forewoman, indicated that a unanimous verdict could not be reached. The judge denied requests by defense attorneys for a mistrial and instead called the forewoman in for a "rare mid-deliberation sit-down," according to court papers, which were unsealed following the trial.

Nelson was convicted on charges that he violated Rosenbaum's civil rights because the stabbing was supposedly motivated by anti-Semitism. In the most recent trial Nelson's attorneys conceded that their client had stabbed Rosenbaum. But they argued that Nelson committed the assault not out of hatred for Jews but because the



Man beaten by police during August 1991 rebellion in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, which erupted in response to racist treatment by cops of Black residents after Black child was killed in traffic accident. Big-business press claimed it was an anti-Jewish riot.

youth had been drinking and was caught up in the anger of the crowd. The prosecutors paraded a string of cops who testified that

in their opinion Nelson was sober when he was arrested shortly after the stabbing.

The jury also concluded, however, that prosecutors failed to show that Rosenbaum's death resulted from his wounds.

During the first trial a city medical examiner had testified that Rosenbaum's four wounds were not disabling, but that two of them "could potentially have caused death." Nelson's attorneys were not allowed at any of the trials to inform the jurors of a state health department report that found Rosenbaum died as a result of inadequate treatment at the hospital.

Nelson, who was 16 at the time of the incident that led to his conviction, was charged with stabbing Rosenbaum to death on circumstantial evidence that relied heavily on the word of the cops. A jury of six Blacks, four Latinos, and two whites acquitted Nelson in his first trial in a state court in 1992, with jurors openly saying they did not believe the cops' story.

Within two days of that verdict, the U.S. Attorney General's office initiated a federal investigation of the case. Nelson was retried and convicted in 1997 on federal charges of violating Rosenbaum's civil rights. Prosecutors argued that Nelson stabbed Rosenbaum because he was Jewish. Nelson, who continued to deny committing the stabbing, was sentenced to 19 and a half years.

Leading up to Nelson's second trial the prosecutor's office also filed the same charges against Charles Price, based on a five-year-old videotape in which he is alleged to have been seen encouraging the "assault on Jews."

Five years after his second trial, the convictions and sentences of Nelson and Price were thrown out due to jury tampering by the presiding judge. The judge was found to have allowed the seating of one juror who had admitted having a possible bias against the defendants. Rather than dropping the charges, the government decided to try the two men again—Nelson for the third time. Having already served half of the maximum penalty he could receive, Price chose to cop a plea of guilty in exchange for an 11-year sentence.

Ironically, the federal charges were brought against Nelson and Price under statutes that had been won in response to the refusal of segregationist courts to try and bring to justice the murderers of civil rights activists in the South in the 1950s and '60s. Under pressure from the advancing fight for Black rights, the federal government was forced to take action. Federal prosecution of those acquitted of racist acts in state courts was a gain for the working class. The application of this precedent in the case of Nelson, however, a young Black man framed up by the police, was a travesty of justice.

## Houston trial opens for immigration cops who beat, killed Serafin Olvera

BY TONY DUTROW

HOUSTON—The trial of three immigration cops for violating the civil rights of Serafin Olvera began here May 14. The civil rights charges stem from the March 25, 2001, beating of Olvera by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents, which left him paralyzed from a broken neck.

The Serafin Olvera Justice Committee was launched to demand the prosecution of the INS cops who carried out the beating. Olvera died from his injuries 11 months after the cop assault. If convicted, the three immigration agents face up to 10 years in prison and \$250,000 in fines.

The INS—now the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement, part of the newly organized Department of Homeland Security had launched a raid on the residence where Olvera and other workers were housed in Bryan, Texas, about 100 miles from Houston. The three agents on trial were part of a special squad of immigration cops that hunted down immigrants the government claimed had previous felony convictions, and thus faced immediate deportation.

The three cops—Carlos Reyna, Richard Henry Gonzales, and Luis Rey Gomez—doused the 48-year-old construction worker from Mexico and longtime resident of Houston with pepper spray in the course of the March 2001 raid. One jumped on Olvera while he lay on the ground, breaking his back. The cops denied him medical treatment for over 8 hours, and only did so after a nurse at a local INS station refused to place Olvera on a bus for deportation to Mexico



Militant/Jacque Henderson

May 14 vigil outside federal court in Houston. Socorro Olvera (right) and others demand justice for her husband, Serafin Olvera, killed in 2001 by immigration cops.

because he was in critical condition. He was left a quadriplegic after the attack.

Reyna is charged with crushing Olvera's neck, and Gonzales for spraying large quantities of pepper spray into Olvera's eyes and face. All three are charged with withholding timely medical attention from Olvera.

Olvera's supporters are organizing daily vigils in front of the federal courthouse in downtown Houston, and sending monitors to observe the trial and report back to those who can't attend.

Two days before the trial began U.S. District Judge Lee Rosenthal ruled in favor of a defense motion to ban any mention to the jury of Olvera's death in February 2002. The pro-police ruling came despite the fact that the Harris County medical examiner determined that the death of Serafin was the result of the injuries he sustained during the raid.

Martha Olvera, sister-in-law of Serafin and a leader of the Serafin Olvera Justice Committee, told the *Militant* during a May 14 vigil outside the courthouse, "we have scored a small victory already in the first day of the trial. Despite the motion, the judge told the jury that Olvera died 11 months later" while instructing them to disregard this in the deliberations.

Some of the workers that were immediately deported following the raid, who the Olvera family were able to track down in Mexico, will be called to testify against his killers. Several of the 12 agents involved in the March 2001 raid are testifying against the three cops facing charges. Lawyers in

the case state that the trial could go on for a couple of weeks.

Socorro Olvera, the widow of Serafin, is a domestic worker who has campaigned along with Martha and other family members to convict the cops. A hand-lettered poster that she has used throughout the effort says, "*Dicen que no son culpables, ¿entonces quien?*" (They say they aren't guilty, then who is?)

"This trial and protest is making people realize that this is a serious case--this is the only way you can get justice," she said at the courthouse rally. Four of Serafin's five children joined the protest.

Lawyers for the cops said that Serafin Olvera wasn't given medical attention because the agents who carried out the assault had "evidence" that he was faking an injury to get disability benefits from Social Security. In fact, Socorro Olvera said, "Serafin had a severe leg injury he had gotten on a job, and the boss refused to pay anything. I was the only one able to work at the time and we covered everything. Later, we went to Social Security but they said he didn't qualify." The Social Security office submitted a statement denying the allegations of the cop's lawyers, according to a committee monitor.

Martha Olvera told the *Militant* that the trial showed that, "We have to find a way to change this system that did what it did to Serafin. This for me has opened up the door in the fight for justice and already will put other cops on notice before they commit an abuse against one more human being."

### Militant names new business manager

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

With this issue, the *Militant* announces that Michael Italie is its new business manager. Italie, 45, joined the staff in October 2002. Before that, he worked as a sewing machine operator in Miami. There he was at the center of a free-speech fight to defend workers' rights. The fight erupted after his employer, Goodwill Industries, fired Italie because he advocated his political views for unions, against Washington's assault on Afghanistan, and in defense of the Cuban Revolution as the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Miami in the 2001 elections.

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# Protesters in N.Y., D.C. say ‘Hands off Cuba!’

**Continued from front page**  
cities, to “condemn human rights abuses in Cuba.”

In Washington a picket line organized by the newly formed No War on Cuba Movement drew nearly 100 opponents of Washington’s policies towards Cuba. The coalition was formed in April in response to Washington’s recently stepped-up campaign aimed at overthrowing Cuba’s revolutionary government. They came from as far away as Richmond, Virginia, and Philadelphia. Among them were students from Wilson High School and a number of area university campuses.

The two governments have not had diplomatic relations since Washington broke them off in January 1961, as part of the U.S. rulers’ response to the victory of the 1959 revolution. Cuba’s toilers brought down the U.S.-backed Fulgencio Batista dictatorship and rapidly installed a government defending the interests of workers and farmers. When the property interests and prerogatives of the wealthy U.S. families and local capitalists and landlords were affected by democratic measures such as a land reform, Washington adopted the course it has followed for more than 40 years—attempting to overthrow the revolutionary leadership

man, a columnist for *New Republic* magazine and member of the editorial board of *Dissent*, a social-democratic magazine; and Leo Casey, a member of the United Federation of Teachers and promoter of a letter called “The Democratic Left Speaks Out,” which condemns Cuba for the recent trials of opponents of the revolution and of three armed hijackers.

“Friends of Cuban Libraries” is a U.S. government-promoted campaign that helps channel resources to counterrevolutionary groups in Cuba portraying themselves as “independent librarians.”

Berman spoke mostly about a book he had written in defense of anarchists during the 1960s and 70s who he said were part of the “anticommunist left” and hostile to the Cuban Revolution.

One of the stars of the show was Casey, a right-wing social democrat who was introduced by Pi Román as “my comrade and friend of 40 years.”

In March and April Cuban authorities arrested 75 individuals who were tried and convicted on charges of collaboration with a hostile power—Washington—in its campaign to subvert Cuban sovereignty. The ferry takeover in early April was the seventh hijacking of Cuban planes and



Militant/Sam Manuel

**New York protesters say no to Washington’s stepped-up campaign against Cuba**

and roll back the gains of Cuba’s working people. Today, each government’s diplomatic personnel operates out of an Interests Section, hosted formally by a third country—Switzerland, in the case of Cuba.

On several occasions opponents of the revolution have been allowed to protest directly in front on the Cuban Interests Section in the U.S. capital. Outnumbered by more than two to one at the May 17 rally, and clearly demoralized by being forced to gather on the side of the street opposite the Cuban Interests Section, the right-wingers folded up their banners and called it quits after about two hours.

As this group departed, Cuban diplomatic personnel came out and applauded and thanked supporters of the revolution.

In New York City the Coalition for Cuban Freedom issued a statement saying the rallies were to protest the arrest of 75 “dissidents” on the island and the execution of three men charged and convicted of the armed high-jacking of a Cuban passenger ferry off the coast of Havana.

Some of the rightist forces that organized the May 17 rally held a meeting May 9 at the St. Francis of Assisi Church in Manhattan to build the anti-Cuba demonstration. Called by a counterrevolutionary group called the Cuban Cultural Center of New York, it was billed as an event showing the supposed breadth of opposition to the Cuban government, including among supporters and critics of the U.S. embargo on Cuba.

The event on “The Crackdown in Cuba” was attended by about 100 people, and chaired by Rafael Pi Román, a newscaster for Channel 13 television and leader of the Cuban Cultural Center.

The speakers were Joanne Mariner of Human Rights Watch; Francisco de Armas, identified as a representative abroad for the Varela Project; Robert Kent, head of the “Friends of Cuban Libraries;” Paul Ber-

boats in seven months. Cuban authorities have stated they foiled another two dozen hijacking attempts recently. These have been encouraged by Washington’s policy of refusing to punish most hijackers while limiting visas to Cubans applying to emigrate legally to the United States, and granting virtually automatic permanent residency to any Cuban reaching the shores of Florida, regardless of the means they use to get there.

A mostly older crowd of just over 200 rightists—including members of Alpha 66 and other groups with a long record of violent attacks on Cuba from U.S. soil with Washington’s complicity—rallied outside the Cuban Mission to the United Nations in New York. Opponents of the government of Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez joined them. Together they displayed the U.S., Cuban, and Venezuelan flags and chanted, “Castro, Chávez go to hell!”

At one point the cops moved the barricades surrounding the rightists allowing the group greater proximity to the Cuban Mission. Encouraged by the move, the protesters began to vigorously chant and shout obscenities. In response, the staff of the Cuban Mission opened windows to the building and piped out Cuban music over loudspeakers, drowning out the rightists.

Nearly 300 people took part in the rally with the theme “Washington’s Hands Off Cuba!” just a block away that lasted nearly six hours. It was called by Casa de las Americas, Cuba Solidarity New York, and other organizations in New York. Participants cheered when it was announced that a few dozen delegates attending the meeting of the National Network on Cuba (NNOC) had taken a break from their gathering to join the action. The NNOC is an umbrella group with dozens of affiliates across the United States that carry out work to broaden opposition to Washington’s policies towards Cuba.



Militant/Darryl Sheppard

**May 17 rally in defense of Cuba outside Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C. Rightist opponents of Cuban Revolution had to gather across the street.**

“It’s important to understand that the U.S. government is trying to create a crisis regarding Cuba,” said Ignacio Meneses, a coordinator of the NNOC. “They want to use this crisis as a pretext to go to war with Cuba,” he added.

## Campaign to free Cuban Five

Leonard Weinglass—attorney for Gerardo Hernández, one of five Cuban revolutionaries serving draconian sentences in U.S. jails after being convicted on frame-up charges brought by the U.S. government—also spoke. “This is a case where the government has admitted the defendants have committed no acts of violence, taken no secret or classified documents, and no national security interests have been compromised.”

A large banner with pictures of the five—Gerardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, Antonio Guerrero, Ramón González, and René González—was held behind the speakers. These five Cuban patriots were on an internationalist mission to gather information on ultrarightist groups with a record of violent attacks on Cuba carried out from southern Florida with Washington’s complicity. They were arrested by FBI agents in 1998. Each was charged with “conspiracy to act as an unregistered foreign agent.” Other charges included “conspiracy to commit espionage” and, in one case, “conspiracy to commit murder.” They were tried and convicted in a federal court in Miami in June 2001, given sentences from 15 years to double-life in prison, and were locked up in five federal penitentiaries spread out across the country.

Weinglass called on those present to redouble efforts to get out the facts about the case and to win support for releasing the five men. “We know that winning public support is very important when you have to go before the courts,” Weinglass said.

“The plans of the U.S. government to announce new measures to tighten the embargo and other attacks on Cuba do not represent a new policy,” said Martín Koppel of the Socialist Workers Party. “The attacks are part of Washington’s 44-year campaign of slander, economic sabotage, and counterrevolutionary terror against Cuba. We must organize to demand the repeal of the 1966 Cuban Adjustment Act, an end to the travel ban and the economic embargo, that Washington get out of Guantánamo, and the freedom of the five framed-up Cuban revolutionaries.” Cuba is different from Iraq, Koppel stated. Washington is not about to launch an invasion of Cuba, he

continued, because of the military readiness, political consciousness, and mobilization of Cuban working people. The U.S. rulers are aware that if they send in their Marines they would suffer enormous casualties, which they cannot assume the American people will accept. “That’s what has stayed their hand.”

“We are here most importantly to show our support for the people in that building,” said Lucius Walker, a leader of Pastors for Peace. “The people in that building,” he said, pointing to the Cuban Mission, “are responsible for taking the gains of the Cuban Revolution, especially its health care, throughout the world.” Walker introduced several U.S. students who came with him to the rally, who will be going to Cuba to study medicine. The Latin American School of Medicine in Havana provides fully funded scholarships for medical students, mostly from the Americas, including the United States. Walker also called on those present to lobby for a new bill in Congress “aimed at ending the travel ban.”

As the rightists’ action broke up, the cops allowed them to walk by the site of the pro-Cuba rally. The potential for confrontation was diffused, however, as participants in the latter largely refused to be provoked.

## Evening public forum

That evening nearly 200 people attended a public forum featuring Bruno Rodríguez, Cuba’s ambassador to the United Nations, at the headquarters of the Service Employees International Union Local 1199, which organizes hospital workers.

Rodríguez reviewed in detail the most recent actions by Washington against the Cuban Revolution. “We will not retreat from our principles, and our work to build a more just system, a socialist society,” Rodríguez said. “Without socialism there can be no revolution, and without revolution there can be no independent and sovereign Cuba.”

The meeting, which focused on the campaign to free the Cuban Five, was part of the weekend activities of the NNOC conference. Other speakers included Leonard Weinglass, who explained the process of legal appeals of their convictions and sentences the five have begun; historian Jane Franklin, who outlined some of the history of Washington’s decades-long aggression against Cuba; and Brian Becker, of the International Action Center.

Róger Calero was also introduced from the audience and spoke briefly thanking participants for their support in his effort to stop the U.S. government from deporting him (see front-page article).

## —MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**U.S. Hands Off Iran! Iran and the Caspian in the Aftermath of the U.S. Invasion of Iraq. An Eyewitness Report.** Speakers: Naomi Craine, Ma’Mud Shirvani Fri., May 30, 7:30 p.m., 545 8th Ave., 14th Floor (between 37th and 38th Sts.). Donation: \$5. 212-695-7358

### TEXAS

#### Houston

**Immigrant Killings in Texas: Who is Responsible?** Speakers: Panel to be announced. Friday, May 30, 7:30 p.m. 619 W. 8th St. 713-869-6550

## —CALENDAR—

### NEW ZEALAND

#### A Saharawi Woman Speaks out on Independence Struggle

Fatima Mahfoud, a representative of Polisario, will visit Australia and New Zealand to speak about the struggle for independence of Western Sahara and the role of women in it.

#### Christchurch Monday May 26

7:30 p.m., PEETO, 201 Peterborough St. (cnr Madras). Contact Annalucia Vermunt 03 377 3834.

#### Wellington Thursday May 29

5:30 p.m., ground floor, Turnbull House, 25 Bowen St. Contact Kirsten Forsyth 04 934 2289.

# All-out effort needed to meet sub drive goals

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

A concerted effort is now needed in the last two weeks of May to meet the goals of the international drive to win 1,000 new subscribers to the *Militant* and 375 to its sister publication, the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Six weeks into the eight-week campaign, the *Militant* had received 628 subscriptions, or 63 percent of the goal—12 percent behind schedule. This is the first time the circulation drive has lagged significantly. Sales of *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions are a little further behind, at 55 percent of the goal. The biggest challenge remains in sales of *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-class Politics at the Millennium* by Jack Barnes, and *New International* nos. 7, 10, and 11, which are offered at special prices in combination with a subscription (see ad on page 15). The reported book sales total is 187 of the goal of 600—some 260 books behind schedule.

The move of the *Militant* into new offices, which meant the paper did not publish for one week between May 7 and May 13, may have contributed to this loss of momentum.

Reports from socialist workers and other supporters of the *Militant* from a number of areas, however, indicate that the gap can be closed.

Ólöf Andra Proppé reported from Iceland that Young Socialists and members of the Communist League there set up a book table outside a May Day meeting in Höfn, a fishing town in the southeast of the country. The meeting was called by the Vökull trade union, which organizes 1,200 workers in the fishing industry. Some 200 people attended the event, which followed a march of 70 people also called by the union.

“‘Jobs for all’ was one of the themes of the action,” noted Proppé. “Employment in fishing has been dropping over the past 10 to 15 years.

“A big point of discussion at the table was the quota system,” she said. “This has had disastrous consequences for many fishing towns. Big companies have swallowed up quotas from smaller outfits and independent fishermen.

“We sold an introductory subscription to the *Militant* and two copies of *New International* in Icelandic,” Proppé added.

From Charlotte, North Carolina, and Des Moines, Iowa, subscription drive organizers reported sales to co-workers in the textile and meatpacking industries, as well as to students.

As part of a special effort to catch up on *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions, said Edwin Fruit from Des Moines, “We visited a number of meat packers in their homes in Perry, Iowa. They bought a total of four *PM* subscriptions and two books—*Capitalism's World Disorder* and the Spanish-language edition of *New International* no. 7 with the article ‘Washington’s Assault on Iraq; Opening Guns of World War III.’ We had discussions on a range of developments in the class struggle, from the victory by Róger Calero over government attempts to deport him, to the Cuban Revolution, to the U.S.-led war on Iraq.”

“We sold two more *Militant* subs, one *PM*, and one book,” wrote Willie Cotton from Charlotte. “We sold one of the *Militant* subscriptions in a textile mill the night after a plant-gate sale that generated lots of discussion at work. We sold the other *Militant* sub and the New International no. 7 on campus.”

Farther south, two other textile workers at a large mill in Sylacauga, Alabama, recently purchased introductory *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions from a co-worker there, wrote Susan LaMont from Birmingham.

“We are starting to build up momentum in the subscription drive here,” LaMont

## Militant Fund hits 115 percent!

BY PAUL PEDERSON

Supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* surpassed substantially the international goal of raising \$85,000 by May 12. They sent in more than \$97,000 over the course of the nine-week campaign, with nearly \$50,000 pouring in the final week of the fund drive.

“We thank the hundreds of workers, students, farmers, and others who contributed generously to the fund,” said *Militant* editor Argiris Malapanis. “The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* could not be produced and circulated without financial support from working people who use these publications not just for the facts they provide but as organizing tools.”

The money will help meet basic operating expenses—like rent, printing and shipping costs, and utilities—and make it possible for the revolutionary periodicals to send reporters to cover developments in the class struggle around the world.

This year the funds will also help the *Militant* maintain a bureau in Washington, D.C. This move will strengthen the paper’s ability to respond to broader developments in the U.S. South. Starting with the next issue, articles by Sam Manuel, the *Militant*’s Washington, D.C. bureau chief, will be largely datelined from the U.S. capital as he begins to work from the publication’s new office at the Pathfinder bookstore there.

Of the 33 areas around the world where socialists took goals, 29 went over the top. Everyone met their goal. About \$1,000 remains in outstanding pledges, which should be mailed to the *Militant*.



Militant/Jacquie Henderson

Socialist workers campaigning with *Militant* in Houston. Such efforts can close gap in sales drive, now 12 percent behind.

added. “In the last week of April we sold three *Militant* subscriptions on tables at two University of Alabama campuses—one in Birmingham and one in Tuscaloosa. Administration officials at the latter school have tried to deny us our right to set up a table in the campus Free Speech Area, where supporters of the socialist press have had tables off and on for many years.”

The tug-of-war began when a Zionist student objected to the socialists’ support for the Palestinian struggle, and charged them with “hate speech.”

A table on April 30 was “abuzz with political discussion,” said LaMont. “Many students and faculty members stopped by to express their support for our right to be there and for the right of others to read and discuss socialist literature if they so choose.”

*Militant* supporters also got out to the Foot Soldiers’ Reunion on May 4, a march led by veterans of the 1963 Battle of Birmingham—a key event in the Civil Rights struggle. “Participants bought a *Militant* subscription, a copy of *New International* no. 7, and several Pathfinder titles,” LaMont reported.

With this kind of work and spirit the goals can be met. For the next two weeks, partisans of the *Militant* should fix their eyes on that prize.

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Subscription Drive April 5–June 1: Week 6 of 8							
Country	Militant			PM			Book
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
<b>AUSTRALIA</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>87%</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>4</b>
CANADA							
Vancouver	35	24	69%	5	4	15	11
Toronto	30	15	50%	5	2	25	2
Montreal	12	8	67%	6	6	15	12
CANADA total	77	47	61%	16	12	55	25
ICELAND	15	10	66%	1	0	8	7
NEW ZEALAND							
Christchurch	16	9	56%	1	0	4	0
Auckland	20	10	50%	1	0	5	3
N.Z. total	36	19	53%	2	0	9	3
SWEDEN							
Stockholm	10	5	50%	2	0	4	2
<b>Gothenburg</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>
SWEDEN Total	22	14	64%	4	2	12	7
UNITED KINGDOM							
London	40	12	30%	15	1	25	9
Cent. Scotland	12	5	42%	1	0	8	1
UK total	52	17	33%	16	1	33	10
UNITED STATES							
<b>Utah</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>90%</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>San Francisco</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>86%</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Omaha</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>82%</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Los Angeles</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>82%</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Des Moines</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>80%</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Tampa</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>80%</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Twin Cities</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>80%</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Detroit</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>76%</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>7</b>
Newark	55	40	73%	20	14	30	17
Washington	25	18	72%	12	5	15	3
Birmingham	20	14	70%	5	6	10	2
Seattle	30	21	70%	8	1	20	1
Chicago	40	26	65%	25	22	25	4
NE Pennsylvania	20	13	65%	6	4	10	7
Western Colorado	18	11	61%	12	12	10	3
Tucson	10	6	60%	2	2	6	0
Atlanta	35	20	57%	15	13	25	9
Miami	32	17	53%	10	0	25	4
Houston	25	13	52%	10	0	25	0
Boston	35	18	51%	15	10	25	4
Cleveland	20	10	50%	8	2	18	2
New York	100	47	47%	40	16	60	21
Philadelphia	30	14	47%	7	5	10	0
Charlotte	20	9	45%	8	3	16	3
Pittsburgh	30	13	43%	3	2	2	2
U.S. total	772	495	61%	342	196	468	133
<b>Int'l totals</b>	<b>1034</b>	<b>628</b>	<b>63%</b>	<b>386</b>	<b>212</b>	<b>597</b>	<b>187</b>
<b>Goal/Should be</b>	<b>1000</b>	<b>750</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>375</b>	<b>282</b>	<b>600</b>	<b>450</b>
IN THE UNIONS							
	Militant			PM			
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
AUSTRALIA							
<b>AMEIU</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>75%</b>			<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>
MUA	4	1	25%			2	0
Total	8	4	50%			4	0
CANADA							
UFCW	9	5	56%	2	0	9	1
UNITE	4	0	0%	5	2	6	2
Total	13	5	38%	7	2	15	3
ICELAND							
Efling	1	0	0%			1	0
NEW ZEALAND							
MWU	2	0	0%			1	0
NDU	2	1	50%			1	0
Total	4	1	25%			2	0
SWEDEN							
<b>LIVS</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>100%</b>			<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>
UNITED STATES							
UFCW	50	17	34%	75	24	40	7
UMWA	15	5	33%	4	7	10	0
UNITE	25	13	52%	20	11	20	4
Total	90	35	39%	99	42	70	11

AMEIU—Australasian Meat Industry Employees’ Union; Efling—Union of unskilled workers; LIVS—Food Workers Union; MUA—Maritime Union of Australia; MWU—Meat Workers Union; NDU—National Distribution Union; UFCW—United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA—United Mine Workers of America; UNITE—Union of Needletrades, Industrial and

\$85,000 Militant Fund March 10–May12, 2003: Final Chart			
	Goal	Paid	%
<b>Charlotte NC</b>	<b>3000</b>	<b>4315</b>	<b>144%</b>
<b>Cleveland OH</b>	<b>1100</b>	<b>1500</b>	<b>136%</b>
<b>Twin Cities MN</b>	<b>4300</b>	<b>5661</b>	<b>132%</b>
<b>Miami FL</b>	<b>1700</b>	<b>1945</b>	<b>114%</b>
<b>Los Angeles CA</b>	<b>7500</b>	<b>8580</b>	<b>114%</b>
<b>Omaha NE</b>	<b>900</b>	<b>1005</b>	<b>112%</b>
<b>Newark NJ</b>	<b>3800</b>	<b>4140</b>	<b>109%</b>
<b>Washington DC</b>	<b>2200</b>	<b>2345</b>	<b>107%</b>
<b>New York NY</b>	<b>9400</b>	<b>9978</b>	<b>106%</b>
<b>Boston MA</b>	<b>2800</b>	<b>2940</b>	<b>105%</b>
<b>San Francisco CA</b>	<b>7000</b>	<b>7340</b>	<b>105%</b>
<b>Detroit MI</b>	<b>3000</b>	<b>3146</b>	<b>105%</b>
<b>Chicago IL</b>	<b>4200</b>	<b>4400</b>	<b>105%</b>
<b>Northeast PA</b>	<b>1600</b>	<b>1675</b>	<b>105%</b>
<b>Seattle WA</b>	<b>6000</b>	<b>6248</b>	<b>104%</b>
<b>Atlanta GA</b>	<b>4100</b>	<b>4162</b>	<b>102%</b>
<b>Tampa FL</b>	<b>1800</b>	<b>1824</b>	<b>101%</b>
<b>Philadelphia PA</b>	<b>3000</b>	<b>3030</b>	<b>101%</b>
<b>Western CO</b>	<b>2500</b>	<b>2522</b>	<b>101%</b>
<b>Utah</b>	<b>800</b>	<b>805</b>	<b>101%</b>
<b>Birmingham AL</b>	<b>2500</b>	<b>2500</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Pittsburgh PA</b>	<b>3000</b>	<b>3004</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Des Moines IA</b>	<b>900</b>	<b>900</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Tucson AZ</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Houston TX</b>	<b>3200</b>	<b>3200</b>	<b>100%</b>
Other		506	
<b>U.S. Total</b>	<b>80550</b>	<b>87926</b>	<b>109%</b>
<b>Iceland</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>220</b>	<b>147%</b>
<b>Canada</b>	<b>3460</b>	<b>4215</b>	<b>122%</b>
<b>New Zealand</b>	<b>1500</b>	<b>1720</b>	<b>115%</b>
<b>Sweden</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>430</b>	<b>107%</b>
<b>France</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>305</b>	<b>102%</b>
<b>United Kingdom</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Australia</b>	<b>1440</b>	<b>1450</b>	<b>100%</b>
<b>Belgium</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>965</b>	
<b>International total</b>	<b>88,300</b>	<b>97,731</b>	<b>115%</b>
Int'l goal	85,000		



# Europe, America vie for world's markets

Printed below are excerpts from a speech that Leon Trotsky—a central leader of the October 1917 Russian Revolution and the Bolshevik Party—delivered July 28, 1924, titled “Premises for the Proletarian Revolution.” The entire speech is included in the pamphlet *Europe and America* published by Pathfinder Press. Describing the ascent of U.S. imperialism to a dominant position over its rivals in Europe, Trotsky outlines the main characteristics and contradictions that remain inherent in what today is reflected in the sharpening competition between these same imperialist powers. It is copyright © 1971 by Pathfinder Press, and is reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY LEON TROTSKY

Comrades, whoever wishes or tries today to discuss the destiny of Europe or of the world proletariat without taking the power and significance of the U.S.A. into account is, in a certain sense, drawing up a balance sheet without consulting the master. For the master of the capitalist world—and let us firmly understand this!—is New York, with Washington as its state department. We observe this today even if only in the plan drawn up by the experts.

We observe that Europe, which only yesterday was so powerful and so proud of her culture and her historical past, we observe that in order to get out from under, in order to crawl out on all fours from those fearful contradictions and misfortunes into which Europe has driven herself, she is compelled to invite from across the Atlantic a general by the name of Dawes whose wisdom is an unknown quantity. He may be wiser than Solomon, or not so wise. Nobody knows. [Laughter] And so, they invite him from America and he confidently sits down at a table, and some say that he even puts his feet on the table. [Laughter, applause] And he draws up a precise prescription concerning the regulations and dates of Europe's restoration. And then this timetable designating the arrival and departure of governmental trains of all the states of Europe is preferred by him to the respective governments for fulfillment. And they will all accept it!...

General Dawes did not appear accidentally from across the ocean, nor is it accidental that we are all obliged to know that his name is Dawes and that he has a general's rank. He is accompanied by several American bankers. They thumb through the diplomatic papers of the European governments and they say: We won't permit this; this is what we demand. Why? Because the entire reparations structure will collapse unless America provides the first installment, all told some miserly 800 million gold marks to stabilize German currency. Because it depends on America whether the franc stands or falls; and it depends a little on America whether the pound sterling stands or falls — or does not fall, but just keeps fluctuating. [Laughter] Yes, all this depends on America. And you know that the mark, the franc, and the pound sterling do play some role in the lives of the peoples.

## Rise of U.S. imperialism

America's full and complete entry into the path of active world imperialist policy does not date back to yesterday. If we try to fix the date, we might say that the decisive breaking point in the policy of the United States coincides approximately with the turn of the century. The Spanish American War occurred in 1898 when America seized Cuba, thereby assuring herself the key to Panama, and consequently entry to the Pacific Ocean, China and the continent of

Asia. In 1900, the last year of the nineteenth century, the export of American manufactured goods for the first time in U. S. history exceeded the import of manufactured articles. This already made America, so to speak, bookkeepingly a country with an active world policy. In 1901 or 1902 America secured herself the province of Panama in the Republic of Colombia....

[T]he United States assured itself Panama in 1902 and proceeded to dig the canal. By 1914 they had it dug in the rough, while in 1920 the already fully completed Panama Canal opened up the greatest chapter, in the full sense of the word, in the history of America and the whole terrestrial globe.

The United States has introduced a drastic correction into geography in the interests and aims of American imperialism. There is no map here before us, but you can imagine one. As you know, the industry of the United States is concentrated in the eastern part, on the Atlantic side. The country's west is predominantly agricultural. The entire pull of the United States, more correctly, its main pull, is in the direction of China with the latter's population of 400,000,000 and the country's countless, uncharted, and limitless resources. Through the Panama Canal, American industry has opened up a waterway for itself from the east to the west, shortening the distances by several thousand miles.

These dates—1898, 1900, 1914, and 1920—are the dates marking the open entry of the U.S. into the highroad of world brigandage, i.e., the road of imperialism. The decisive signpost along this road was the war. As you will recall, the United States intervened in the war toward the very end. For three years the United States did no fighting. More than that, two months before intervening in the war, Wilson announced that there could be no talk of American participation in the bloody dogfight among the madmen of Europe. Up to a certain moment the United States remained content with rationally coining into dollars the blood of European “madmen.” But in that hour when fear arose lest the war conclude with victory for Germany, the most dangerous future rival, the United States intervened actively. This decided the outcome of the struggle.

And the noteworthy thing is this, that while America avariciously fed the war with her industry and avariciously intervened in order to help crush a likely and dangerous competitor, she has nevertheless retained a reputation for pacifism. This is one of the most interesting paradoxes, one of the most curious jokes of history — jokes from which we did not and do not derive much merriment. American imperialism is in essence ruthlessly rude, predatory, in the full sense of the word, and criminal....

Wilson helped finish off Germany and then appeared, as you will recall, in Europe accoutered from head to toe in his Fourteen Points which promised universal well-being and the reign of peace, the right of nations to self-determination, punishment for such criminals as the Kaiser and rewards to all virtuous people, etc. The gospel according to Wilson! We all still remember it. And the whole of middle-class Europe, and workers too, by and large — the whole of worker-middle-class Europe, i.e., worker-Menshevik Europe subsisted for many long months on the gospel according to Wilson.

This provincial professor summoned to the role of representing American capitalism and dripping from blood up to his knees and elbows—for after all he incited the European slaughter—appeared in Europe as the apostle of pacifism and pacification. And everybody said: Wilson will bring peace; Wilson will restore Europe...

## To put Europe on rations

What does American capitalism want? What is it seeking? It is seeking, we are told, stability; it wants to restore the European market; it wants to make Europe solvent. How? By what measures? And to what extent? After all, American capitalism is compelled not to render Europe capable of competition; it cannot allow England, and all the more so Germany and France, particularly Germany, to regain their world markets inasmuch as American capitalism finds itself hemmed in, because it is now an exporting capitalism — exporting both commodities and capital. American capitalism is seeking the position of world domination; it wants to establish an American imperialist autocracy



French troops in Ivory Coast, December 2002 (top). U.S. Marine drapes Stars and Stripes on statue of former Iraqi president Saddam Hussein following U.S. takeover of Baghdad (right). Imperialist powers compete for division, redivision of world's markets.



over our planet. This is what it wants.

What will it do with Europe? It must, they say, pacify Europe. How? Under its hegemony. And what does this mean? This means that Europe will be permitted to rise again, but within limits set in advance, with certain restricted sections of the world market allotted to it. American capitalism is now issuing commands, giving instructions to its diplomats. In exactly the same way it is preparing and is ready to issue instructions to European banks and trusts, to the European bourgeoisie as a whole. . . . This is its aim. It will divide up the market into sectors; it will regulate the activity of the European financiers and industrialists. If we wish to give a clear and precise answer to the question of what American imperialism wants, we must say: *It wants to put capitalist Europe on rations...*

Rations, as we know from personal experience, are not always sweet, all the more so since this American and rigidly standardized ration is being offered not only to the European peoples but also to their ruling classes who have become very accustomed to sweets. This involves, in the last analysis, not only Germany, not only France but also England. Yes, England, too, has to diffidently prepare herself for the same fate. To be sure, we hear it said often today that America is marching hand in hand with England, and that an Anglo-Saxon bloc has been formed. There is frequent allusion to Anglo-Saxon capital, Anglo-Saxon policy. It is said that the basic world antagonism lies in the hostility between America and Japan. But this is the language of those who do not understand the situation. The basic world antagonism runs along the line of American and British interests. The future will show this more and more clearly....

This American “pacifist” program of putting the whole world under her control is not at all a program of peace. On the contrary, it is pregnant with wars and the greatest revolutionary paroxysms. Not for nothing does America continue to expand her fleet. She is busily engaged in building light and fast cruisers. And when England protests in a whisper, America replies: You must bear in mind that I not only have a five to five relationship with you, but also a five to three relationship with Japan, and the later possesses an inordinate number light cruisers which makes it necessary for me to restore a balance.

America chooses the largest multiplacand and then multiplies it by her Washington coefficient. And the others cannot vie with her, because, as the Americans themselves say, they can turn out warships like so many pancakes.

The perspective this offers is one of preparation for the greatest international dogfight, with both the Atlantic and the Pacific as the arena, provided, of course, the bourgeoisie is able to retain its world rule for any considerable length of time. For it is hard to conceive that the bourgeoisie of all countries will docilely withdraw to the background, and become converted into America's vassals without putting up a fight; no, this is hardly likely. The contradictions are far too great; the appetites are far too insatiable; the urge to perpetuate ancient rule is far too potent; England's habits of world rule are far too ingrained. There will inevitably be military collisions. The era of “pacifist” Americanism that seems to be opening up at this time is only laying the groundwork

for new wars on an unprecedented scale and of unimaginable monstrosity....

## Bolshevism vs. imperialism

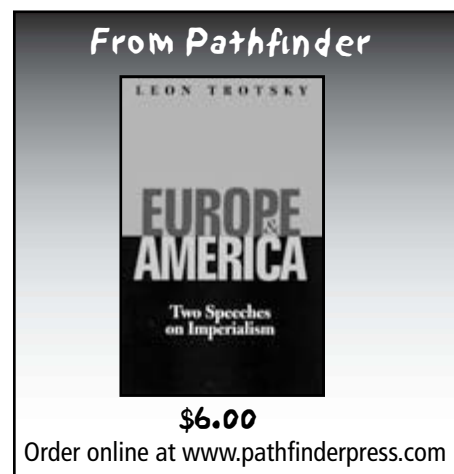
Everywhere, in Europe as well as Asia, imperialist Americanism is colliding with revolutionary Bolshevism. These, comrades, are the two principles of modern history.

I recollect that in 1919 in a conversation with Vladimir Ilyich [Lenin] with regard to Wilson's arrival in Europe and in reference to the fact that the entire bourgeois press was filled on one side with Wilson's name and on the other with the name of Lenin, I said in jest: “Lenin and Wilson — these are the two apocalyptic principles of modern history.” Vladimir Ilyich laughed. Naturally, at that time I did not realize with what a vast content history would fill this jest. Leninism and American Imperialism — these two principles alone are now fighting in Europe; these two principles alone cut across both the Atlantic and the Pacific. The fate of mankind hinges on the outcome of the struggle between these two principles.

The American enemy is far more centralized and powerful than the divided European foes. But our own strength, too, lies in concentration and our enemy is concentrating the workers of Europe. The resuscitation of the Second International is only a temporary and surface symptom of the fact that the proletariat of Europe finds itself compelled to feel and fight not within national frameworks but on a continental scale. And the broader the labor masses seized by the need to resist, the broader the base of resistance, all the more revolutionary the ideas which must unfailingly gain preponderance. And the more revolutionary the ideas, all the more favorable the soil for Bolshevism. Every success of Americanism, insofar as Americanism does score successes, will thereby signify the centralization of the soil for the growth of Bolshevism — in a more concentrated and more revolutionary form, and on a more gigantic scale. The future works for us!

Since I am addressing a gathering called by the friends of the physico-mathematical faculty, you will permit me, comrades, after I have given you a revolutionary Marxist critique of Americanism to point out that we do not at all mean thereby to condemn Americanism lock, stock, and barrel. We do not mean that we abjure to learn from Americans and Americanism whatever one can and should learn from them. We lack the technique of the Americans and their labor proficiency. Science is the premise of technology: natural sciences, physics, mathematics.

Now, along this line we are reduced to the last extremity in our need to catch up with the Americans. To have Bolshevism shod in the American way — there is our task! We must get shod technologically with American nails. Today while we are still so poorly shod, we have nevertheless managed to hold our own. In the future, however, the struggle can assume far more terrible proportions. But it is easier for us to get shod in the American way than it is for American capitalism to place Europe and the whole world on rations. If we get shod with mathematics, technology; if we Americanize our still frail socialist industry, then we can say with tenfold confidence that the future is completely and decisively working in our favor. Americanized Bolshevism will crush and conquer imperialist Americanism.





# Dairy farmers in the UK protest cuts in milk price

BY CAROL BALL  
AND PAMELA HOLMES

**LIVINGSTON, Scotland**--“We have to do this” was the viewpoint of several farmers who spoke with *Militant* reporters at a protest here targeting the Lidl supermarket chain. The action was organized in response to the company’s announcement of a cut of 1.3 pence per liter in the price paid farmers for their milk (100 pence=1=US\$1.62). Some 200 dairy farmers took part in such actions throughout Scotland.

Leaving their farms after evening milking, farmers began the action at 8 p.m. May 12 in front of the gates to the chain’s Livingston distribution depot, staying until after 6 a.m. the next morning. They used farm vehicles to block the gates, preventing entry and exit of the big distribution trucks. Farmers asked the truck drivers to pull off the road, and saluted withdrawing drivers with applause.

Several hundred dairy farmers, many of them also members of the National Farmers’ Union, had joined similar protests the week before against Lidl, which has 4 percent of the retail grocery market in the United Kingdom. About 150 gathered at the Livingston depot at that time.

Alex Wilson, a dairy farmer in the Borders area and the Farmers for Action (FFA)

representative for Scotland, spoke about the background to these protests in a telephone interview with the *Militant*. The number of dairy farmers in Scotland has dropped from 2,600 to 1,500 in the last five years, he said—a decline of 40 percent. The 1.3 pence price cut would reduce the average dairy farmer’s return by 10,000 per year, noted Wilson. With returns already below the cost of production, he said, dairy farmers are struggling to stay in business. These producers are squeezed between the high prices of implements and chemicals they have to buy, and the decreasing prices for their products.

Surveys published in September 2002 showed that while prices paid by consumers for dairy products were 5 percent lower than 12 months earlier, farmers were receiving 20 percent less for their milk. UK retailers enjoy a profit margin of between 20 percent and 30 percent on liquid milk and up to 40 percent on cheese. Supermarkets are selling mild Scottish cheddar cheese at 4,000 per tonne. For every one-pound pack sold at this price, the farmer loses 30p and the cheese processor 25p.

An article in the February 8 *Press and Journal* quotes the Royal Association of British Dairy Farmers as showing “the average price per litre paid to producers



**More than 150 milk producers rally May 6 in Livingston, Scotland, at Lidl distribution center. The supermarket chain has slashed milk prices it pays to dairy farmers.**

in 1996 was 25-26p. Currently, they are lucky to receive 18p.”

At the May 12 protest, farmers told *Militant* reporters that they need 20 pence per litre to meet their costs but were getting only an average of 15-16 pence in May due to a seasonal spring glut of lower quality milk.

Talking to reporters who are also factory workers, some farmers took the opportunity to dispel popular misrepresentations of farmers. One dairy farmer said that he, his wife, and his son work 80 hours a week when it’s not busy, and 100 hours during the busy season, to keep the farm going. “It’s too much after 30 years,” he said. “I may have a ‘nice’ car, but don’t ask about holidays—we’re lucky to get a week off in the year.”

Another farmer said that contrary to

popular belief dairy farmers receive no direct subsidy from the European Union (EU) for milk. He also said that he and his wife do all the work on their farm now as they can’t afford to hire labour any more. “I think you’d need a herd of 180-200 cows to keep your head above water at the moment,” he said. Most farmers interviewed by these reporters were milking herds of around 100 cows.

Economists for the Scottish Executive, Scotland’s devolved government, estimate that EU plans for the future of dairy farming would mean a farm-gate milk price of 13.5p per litre. This would reduce the number of dairy farmers in Scotland by two-thirds by 2007. The expected 500 surviving dairy farmers would produce the existing quantity of milk—from herds of 300 to 400 cows.

Farmers stated that buyers squeezing the price aren’t their only problem. “For example, we have to buy soya for protein and it’s not grown here,” said one farmer. “Protein sources like soya and beans come from North and South America. Cargill sets the prices, and we have to pay.”

Although the current actions against the Lidl milk price reduction have been organized by the FFA, the National Farmers Union (NFU) has also been involved in discussions with major milk processing and retail companies to maintain milk prices established following NFU-organized actions in 2002. In a May 13 statement, Scotland NFU president John Kinnaird said, “It is frankly ridiculous that at a time when we should be fighting for a price rise, that one retailer is apparently attempting to drive the price down.... The anger of our dairy members is obvious and I can see nothing but more protests unless they begin to receive a milk price that reflects the market situation.”

An editorial titled “Milk fight that must be won” in the May 10 issue of *The Scottish Farmer*, which has a circulation of more than 20,000 and an estimated readership of 100,000, stated, “All the more power then to Farmers for Action and the UK farming unions in their struggle to make Lidl see sense. If more demonstrations are required to achieve this, so be it.”

## Calero receives green card, passport

**Continue from front page**

wrote John Studer, coordinator of the Róger Calero Defense Committee, in a May 15 letter to the committee’s supporters.

The government handed over the documents two weeks after conceding an important victory to Calero. At that time, the DHS informed him it was petitioning the immigration court to “terminate the instant Removal Proceedings predicated on the Notice to Appear dated December, 2002.” The DHS quoted sections from immigration regulations as the basis for its decision, stating the “removal” notice had been “improvidently” issued. Furthermore, it said, “circumstances” of the case had changed since December of last year, making continued efforts to deport Calero “no longer in the best interest of the government.”

The government’s moves followed a six-month campaign by Calero and growing numbers of supporters. On Dec. 3, 2002, the staff writer for the *Militant* and editor of the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* had been detained by immigration agents at Houston Intercontinental Airport on his return home from a reporting trip to Cuba and Mexico. Immigration cops locked him up in an INS prison and initiated moves to deport him.

Calero, 34, has lived in the United States since 1985, when his family moved here from Nicaragua. He has been a permanent resident since 1990. In filing an application for residency in 1989, he specifically included information about his plea-bargain conviction in high school on

charges of selling an ounce of marijuana to an undercover cop. Immigration officials waived this conviction in granting him a green card, giving him the right to live and work in the United States. A decade later, INS officials again waived the conviction in renewing Calero’s status.

The INS released Calero from its Houston prison 10 days after jailing him, having received scores of letters demanding that he be freed.

Backed by a newly formed defense committee, Calero hit the road on a nationwide tour to speak out about his case and lend his support to other working-class struggles in the United States.

### Resistance to government attacks

Calero’s tour coincided with other resistance to increased government attacks on immigrant rights—attacks that included the special registration of individuals from 20 Mideast and Asian countries, and stepped-up deportations of immigrant workers for convictions on petty criminal charges.

The victory registered in the government’s announcement that it wants to drop the case against Calero has been applauded by a number of supporters of working-class and immigrant rights. Sharon Chiorazzo of the Committee for the Release of Farouk Abdel-Muhti wrote, “We should have a victory celebration! Unfortunately we don’t have such good news for our brother Farouk, who continues to be held in York County Prison in solitary confinement 23 hours a day. But this news is heartening for everyone’s fight, and an inspiration to keep going!”

Abdel-Muhti, a Palestinian activist in New York, has been imprisoned without charges and under threat of deportation since April of last year.

Ed Hernandez, the director of youth and family services at Newark’s La Casa de San Pedro, where Calero spoke in March, wrote May 7, “I am truly impressed and take my hat off to you for a job well done. It is wonderful to see brothers and sisters still working together to protect each other from injustice. Congratulations!”

On May 5 Newark immigration judge William Strasser instructed Assistant District Counsel Alan Wolf of the Department of Homeland Security to provide “additional explanation” for its May 1 motion terminating the deportation proceedings.

One week later Wolf responded with a four-page Supplemental Motion to Terminate. The document argues that the INS

had been legally entitled to waive Calero’s conviction in granting him a permanent resident green card in 1990. There was no reason to begin the deportation proceedings in the first place, it says, and the case should be dropped.

At bottom the May 1 DHS motion presents “political reasons for why the government decided to end the fight,” wrote John Studer in the May 15 letter to supporters of Calero’s fight. “Because Calero fought and fought well,” he added, “continuing the effort to expel him became the wrong fight at the wrong time.

“Calero and his supporters look forward to launching his victory tour,” Studer wrote. “Ongoing developments will be posted on the Róger Calero Defense Committee web site, [www.calerodefense.org](http://www.calerodefense.org)”.

Róger Calero told the *Militant* that “the government wants to put this case behind it, and the defense committee also wants to resolve it. Supporters around the country have started telling me of their plans to get out the word about this victory and how it is possible to fight and defeat the government in its anti-immigrant campaign.”

## Calero backs Olvera fight

**Printed below is a letter Róger Calero sent May 14 to Martha Olvera, sister-in-law of Serafin Olvera and a member of the Serafin Olvera Justice Committee in Houston, Texas (see article on this case on page 3).**

Dear Martha,

Even though I am unable to be there with you as the trial for the murder of your brother-in-law by the Immigration and Naturalization Service begins, I want to add my support to the fight for justice in the case of Serafin Olvera Carrera and his surviving family.

I also want to add my voice to protest the outrageous move by the defense and the court to exclude from the jury the fact that Serafin died as a result of the injuries from the beating at the hands of the INS cops now on trial. This is one more in a series of violations of Serafin’s rights, and a shameless effort to obstruct the fight for justice in his case. One more proof that we can not depend on the courts alone in order to get justice.

In the name of “fighting terrorism” the U.S. government continues to strengthen the hand of the immigration police. Hundreds of thousands of workers have faced victimization by the hated migra, frame-ups, or other attacks by the police. At the same time that they stepped up the terror raids in workplaces and working-class communities, they carry out with impunity the death penalty, whether at the border or in the streets in cities across the country.

Struggles like yours, and the recent victory in the defense campaign against my deportation, serve as an example to other fighting workers and youth that it is possible to stand up to the bosses and their cops.

It’s an honor to stand side by side with you and others that refuse to be silenced in the face of injustice, and urge you to continue fighting in defense of workers’ rights.

Fraternally,  
Róger Calero

### How to Help

For more information on the final stretch of the campaign to stop the deportation of Róger Calero, and to send a contribution, please contact:

**Róger Calero  
Defense Committee**

c/o PRDF

Box 761, Church St. Station  
New York, NY 10007  
phone/fax: (212) 563-0585  
[www.calerodefense.org](http://www.calerodefense.org)



# U.S. takes spoils of Iraq occupation

**Continued from front page**  
the buildup to the U.S.-led Gulf War.

One aspect of the sanctions, which have strangled Iraq's economy and contributed to widespread malnutrition among children there, is the "food-for-oil" program allowing Iraq to sell petroleum and purchase food and other essentials under tight restrictions.

The principal beneficiaries of commercial contracts with Iraq under the sanctions regime of the last 14 years have been Paris and Moscow.

While Russia is not an imperialist power but a workers state, the bureaucratic regime there has relied on lucrative trade with Iraq to help survive its economic crisis.

The March-April invasion of Iraq further shifted the relationship of forces in the Mideast among the imperialist powers to the detriment of Paris and other rivals of Washington. But to enjoy the spoils of war unhampered by UN restrictions, particularly on the sale of oil, the U.S. rulers now have to discard the sanctions. These facts have guided the diplomatic moves and countermoves in the UN arena.

## Power rests with Washington

Under the new resolution, introduced by Washington and co-sponsored by its junior partners in London and Madrid, "Most of the real political power in Iraq—as well as the billions of dollars from Iraq's oil revenues—would be transferred to an authority under the exclusive control of the U.S. and British," reported the Canadian broadcaster CBC. The United Nations would be assigned an advisory role. From their position of strength, the U.S. rulers have made a few minor concessions to eliminate objections by Paris and Moscow. The amended resolution accepts the fact of Washington and London as the occupying powers, but states that they will cede power when an "internationally recognized, representative government is established." A proposed UN envoy is upgraded from "special coordinator" to "special representative." This advisor would play some role—as yet undefined—in the formation of a new imperialist-dominated Iraqi government.

Paris, Moscow, and Berlin were particularly concerned about the future of \$10 billion in contracts for industrial goods, food, and medicine approved by the United Nations before the war. The resolution will allow a partial payout of those deals, with the UN secretary general permitted to review these arrangements.

U.S. treasury secretary Jack Snow did not wait for UN approval to suspend U.S. sanctions, however. His May 6 announcement opened the way for U.S. corporations to begin exporting goods to Iraq.

German officials accepted the crumbs thrown to them. After meeting with U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell on May 16, German chancellor Gerhard Schröder declared himself "of the opinion that the sanctions that were leveled no longer make sense in light of developments and should be lifted as soon as possible."

Powell expressed his satisfaction with Schröder's decision. At the same time, he dismissed speculation that the German chancellor would be granted a private audience with President George Bush at the June summit of the Group of Seven major imperialist powers—now dubbed the G-8 with the Russian government's inclusion as

an observer. "There is not a lot of time for bilateral talks at the G-8 summit," he said.

The French rulers have been notably subdued in the current debate. Before the invasion of Iraq they had vociferously objected to U.S.-British war tactics, pushing for more reliance on sanctions in order to protect their slipping foothold there. French officials have called for a greater UN role in occupied Iraq, but are not expected to veto the U.S.-sponsored resolution.

The underlying tensions continue to flare up, however. On May 15 French officials laid a formal complaint with the White House that their government was the target of a Bush administration campaign to feed "repeated disinformation" to the media. French officials said the disinformation included allegations that Paris and Berlin sold Iraq military equipment and nuclear-compatible technology; that the French government has stockpiled prohibited smallpox strains; and that Iraqi leaders had found refuge in Europe using French travel papers.

"We have decided to count the untrue accusations which have appeared in the U.S. press," said French foreign ministry spokesperson Marie Masdupuy.

U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld brushed off the accusations, saying "there's no such campaign" coming out of the Pentagon.

U.S. officials have engineered another rebuff to Paris and Berlin by announcing that officers in the Polish armed forces will command the imperialist-led occupation forces in one of the four as-yet-undefined sectors of occupied Iraq. The assignment is a reward to the bureaucratic regime in Warsaw for joining the Iraq invasion. Some 200 Polish Special Forces helped U.S. and British soldiers secure the southern oil fields, placing Warsaw in a distant fourth place in the deployment by the "coalition of the willing," after Washington, London, and the government of Australia.

Warsaw announced that the Polish armed forces will send between 1,500 and 2,000 troops to join the occupation. In early May the country's defense minister invited Berlin to provide troops to the Polish-led sector. His German counterpart, Peter Struck, reportedly turned him down flat.

"It is ironic and perhaps therefore annoying to Berlin that Poland today is playing the role" of a trusted ally of Washington, "that Germany itself assumed up until recently," noted the German newspaper *Die Welt*.

## Plans for Iraqi figurehead are ditched

In another move to stabilize their occupation, Washington and London have unceremoniously dropped plans to erect a figurehead Iraqi national assembly and "interim government" by the end of May.

U.S. and British officials delivered the news to a group of Iraqi capitalist politicians on May 16. The disappointed politicians, opponents of the overthrown Saddam Hussein regime, had been part of a U.S.-British-sponsored gathering of 300 on April 28 that had called for a national conference to select a "transitional government."

Seven days later, U.S. general Jay Garner, the initial head of the occupation authority, had announced the imminent creation of "a government with an Iraqi face on it that is totally dealing with the [U.S.-UK] coalition." Representatives of the Iraqi National Congress, the Iraqi National Accord, the Kurdish Democratic



**A U.S. soldier aims his sidearm at Iraqi retirees who had gathered May 13 in Baghdad to receive a promised \$40 pension payment from occupying authorities.**

Party, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, and the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq would be part of this "temporary government," he said.

At the May 16 gathering, U.S. and British officials said such proposals had been put on ice. The Associated Press reported that John Sawers, a representative for British prime minister Anthony Blair, told the meeting, "It's quite clear that you cannot transfer all powers onto some interim body, because it will not have the strength or the resources to carry those responsibilities out."

One alert Iraqi political figure commented to the *New York Times*, "I don't think they trust this group to function as a political leadership."

The meeting made it clear that U.S. and British officials "would remain in charge of Iraq for an indefinite period," the *Times* article noted.

Protests against the imperialist occupation have continued to flare up periodically. Some 10,000 people marched through the streets of Baghdad May 19 to "reject what they feared would be a U.S.-installed puppet regime," the Associated Press reported. The demonstration, organized by Shiite Muslim forces, rallied in front of a Sunni Muslim mosque in a show of unity. Some protesters carried portraits of the former Iranian leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, a leading figure in the 1979 revolution that toppled the U.S.-backed shah.

## Occupiers go about their job

The occupation forces have continued to carry out aggressive policing actions in Baghdad and other cities. Hundreds of Iraqis were arrested during these patrols in mid-May.

Daily news coverage on Iraq in liberal newspapers such as the *New York Times*, which are critical of the Republican White House, has typically portrayed such measures as a sign that Washington and London are facing problems in their takeover of Iraq. Their reporting suggests there is a more sophisticated way to conduct an imperialist occupation, and their editors have offered their advice. "Lack of U.S. goals leads to chaos" was a typical headline in the Newark, New Jersey, *Star-Ledger*.

Nonetheless, the ongoing turmoil, as well as the pragmatic moves taken by the Anglo-American forces to keep a firm grip on the rudder, are what can be expected to unfold for the foreseeable future.

Up to 20,000 U.S. troops are en route to reinforce the 140,000 already stationed in Iraq, 49,000 of whom are in Baghdad. In contrast to earlier forecasts of a relatively rapid cutback in the U.S. presence, Gen. Thomas Franks, the military commander of the occupation, said May 8, "there could be a reduction in U.S. forces but it's not time to predict that because there's too much instability in the country right now."

At the same time, Washington is organizing a "full court press" to impose "security" in Baghdad, said Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld. U.S. forces, he said, "will be using muscle to see that the people who are trying to disrupt what's taking place in that city are stopped and either captured or killed."

Paul Bremer, the new U.S.-imposed "civilian administrator" of Iraq, told reporters on May 15 that in the previous two days U.S. and British forces had arrested 300 people. On the night before alone, he said,

"allied forces" had detained 92 Iraqis in the course of mounting 300 patrols through Baghdad. Bremer, a member of the White House Homeland Security Council, has replaced retired lieutenant general Jay Garner as Washington's man in Baghdad. An editorial in the May 16 *Wall Street Journal* endorsed Bremer's appointment, saying that "a stronger hand is clearly in order" and that Garner was "too timid about asserting control." The big-business daily applauded the initial "law-and-order" methods of "Lord Bremer of Mesopotamia."

## New York top cop appointed 'advisor'

Bernard Kerik, a former New York City police commissioner, is another civilian appointee. Pentagon officials have named him as a "senior policy advisor" in Iraq's Interior Ministry. Kerik brings plenty of experience to his new job. As police commissioner, he refused to punish four New York City cops who, in a hail of 41 bullets, killed Amadou Diallo in front of his apartment building in 1999.

In the name of cracking down on crime, Bremer says the occupying forces are seeking to re-arrest the tens of thousands of people who had been released from prison by the former regime in October. He described the military rules of engagement covering the activities of U.S. troops as "robust," while denying previous reports that he had instituted a "shoot to kill" policy toward individuals caught looting. U.S. officers say their policy is now to hold those arrested as looters for at least three weeks instead of a couple of days.

Bremer said that up to 30,000 "top-ranking" Baathists would be banned from "future employment in the public sector." The Baath Party was the sole governing party for more than three decades before the U.S.-British overthrow of the Hussein regime.

At the same time, U.S. officers are incorporating cops from the former Baathist police force in their patrols.

As U.S. troops stepped up their patrols in Baghdad, more than 500 soldiers of the 4th Infantry Division, backed by Apache helicopters and armed boats, launched a predawn raid on a village near Tikrit in the north. They seized around 260 people in the house-to-house sweep, releasing most later in the day. U.S. officers claimed that four of the 30 men still in custody are former high-up officials.

In nearby Baqubah, the *Washington Post* reported May 15 that U.S. forces arrested more than 100 people, asserting that most of them were from the Badr Brigade, the military wing of the Iran-backed Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq.

"Badr forces have been streaming back into Iraq" from Iran, the *Post* stated, echoing one of the propaganda themes of the U.S. administration.

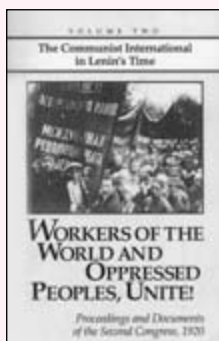
In neighboring Saudi Arabia, U.S. officials have used the May 12 bombings in Riyadh to pressure the regime there. FBI agents were sent to that country to carry out a "joint investigation" with Saudi cops. On May 20, Saudi officials said that a police sweep resulted in the arrest of three people they accused of being members of Al Qaeda. U.S. officials have sometimes expressed a hostile stance toward the Saudi government, under the pretext that it is not cooperating enough with Washington in "fighting terrorism."

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# U.S. targets Iran

Continued from front page

sea of waving flags—especially those of Lebanon, Iran, and Palestine—as Khatami called for an end to the U.S. occupation in Iraq and stressed his government's support for the fight to end the Israeli occupation of Arab lands. "We have noticed that the American pressure has increased on Syria and Lebanon," Khatami said. He called for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq and warned the American administration "not to create a crisis in the region following that of Iraq."

After his three-day stop in Lebanon, Khatami traveled to Syria, Yemen, and Bahrain. It is the first time since the 1979 Iranian revolution that Iran's president has visited Lebanon. The stop in Damascus was added to Khatami's itinerary shortly before the trip, as U.S. threats against both Syria and Iran escalated.

In Lebanon, Khatami met with President Emile Lahoud and addressed the country's parliament. He also met with leaders of various organizations, including Sayed Hassan Nasrallah, the secretary general of the Lebanese organization Hezbollah, or Party of God. Nasrallah sat with Khatami at the May 13 rally and Hezbollah militants helped organize security at the event.

Earlier in the month, during a trip to Lebanon and Syria, U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell had reiterated Washington's demand that Hezbollah be disarmed (see article on page 16). The U.S. government claims that Hezbollah, which played a central role in forcing Israeli troops to end their 22-year occupation of southern Lebanon three years ago, is a terrorist

revolutions that in each case dealt blows to U.S. imperialist interests. On May 5, Wolf told diplomats in Geneva, "Despite professions of transparency and peaceful intent, Iran is going down the same path of denial and deception that handicapped international inspections in North Korea and Iraq."

The U.S. accusations against Iran center around the construction of a nuclear power plant at Bushire and facilities for enriching uranium fuel at Arak and Natanz. Iranian officials insist that the reactors and facilities to produce nuclear fuel are intended simply to meet the rapidly growing energy needs in Iran, which has a population of 65 million. Responding to Washington's claim that its large oil and gas reserves should make nuclear power unnecessary, Iran's nuclear energy chief, Gholamreza Aqazadeh, told UN officials that Iran "cannot merely depend on fossil fuels.... If the status quo is maintained in using energy components, Iran will turn into one of the importers of crude oil and its products in the upcoming decades." He pointed to the high cost of processing oil for consumption, and also to the environmental effects of the expanded use of fossil fuels, which release carbon dioxide, sulfur, and other pollutants into the atmosphere.

Aqazadeh noted that because of pressure from Washington, Iran has been denied access to importing from Europe the 100 tons of enriched uranium and 390 tons of depleted uranium needed to bring the Bushire plant on line. In this respect, he said, it is the IAEA that has failed to meet its commitments to Iran under the



Iranian president Mohammed Khatami speaks May 13 to crowd at sports stadium in Beirut, Lebanon, where he called for an end to U.S. occupation of Iraq.

group.

The Lebanese people have a "natural right and a national duty" to resist the occupation of their land by Israel, the Iranian president told reporters while in Beirut. "We have friendly ties with Syria and Lebanon, but we do not mean to interfere in those countries' internal affairs.... Hezbollah is considered as part of the Lebanese defensive forces," he added, in response to Powell's demands.

## U.S. threats over nuclear plans

A week earlier, U.S. government officials took new steps to press their campaign for the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to declare Iran in violation of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. Assistant Secretary of State John Wolf met with IAEA head Mohammed ElBaradei May 7 to press him to issue a report that meets with Washington's approval by June 16. ElBaradei, who has overseen IAEA inspections of Iran's nuclear facilities, has said Tehran is cooperating with the UN agency and that he is still studying the facts.

More than a year ago, U.S. president George Bush declared the governments of Iran, Iraq, and North Korea to be an "axis of evil." With U.S. troops now occupying Baghdad, Washington is turning more attention to preparing the justifications for possible military action against Tehran and Pyongyang. Both are long-term targets of Washington because of

nonproliferation treaty.

Construction of Iran's nuclear plant was started in 1975 by the German company Siemens. After the 1979 revolution, in which working people in Iran mobilized in massive numbers and toppled the U.S.-backed monarchy, Washington spearheaded an international campaign to isolate Tehran. At that point Siemens pulled out of the Bushire project. Work on the plant resumed only in 1995, under an \$800 million agreement between the governments of Iran and Russia. The first reactor is scheduled to begin operation next year.

On May 6 Russian deputy foreign minister Alexander Losyukov denied U.S. charges that the Russian-supplied technology was being used by Iran to develop nuclear weapons. "Very sound evidence is needed to accuse anyone," he told the Interfax news agency. "So far, neither the United States nor any other countries can present it."

In Washington, however, State Department spokesman Richard Boucher claimed that the evidence collected by the IAEA pointed to a program for developing nuclear weapons. "Despite their protests, despite their claims, Iran is developing a full-scale nuclear program that it would not behoove anybody to co-operate with," Boucher said. "Iran's nuclear ambitions are much bigger than many had hoped."

Aqazadeh told the IAEA May 7 that his country's nuclear program was "only for peaceful purposes." At the same time,

## Pathfinder books draw keen interest at Tehran book fair



Hundreds of thousands packed the 16th Tehran International Book Fair, which took place in the Iranian capital May 4-14. Pathfinder books were on display for the 12th year in a row. Books and pamphlets by Ernesto Che Guevara and on the Cuban Revolution were top sellers at the Pathfinder booth (above), followed by titles on the Middle East and women's rights.

he turned down the UN agency's request for more intrusive inspections of its facilities.

## Tehran seeks to broaden ties

In face of the growing pressures from Washington, and the impact of the world economic depression, the Iranian government has increased its attempts to broaden both political and economic ties throughout the Middle East and beyond. Khatami's regional trip is just one example. On May 13, officials of Iran and Saudi Arabia signed a memorandum of understanding to expand Saudi investment in Iran's Kish Island free-trade zone.

The same day the Indian government concluded a major agreement to import liquid natural gas from Iran over the next 25 years, and reinforced an existing contract for the Indian Oil Company to import a minimum of 100,000 barrels of crude oil per day from Iran. "It is a major development in Indo-Iranian relations," Indian oil minister Ram Naik told the *Tehran Times*. "We will both benefit from it." Indian and Iranian officials are also discussing the possibility of building a gas pipeline to run more than 1,000 miles between the two countries.

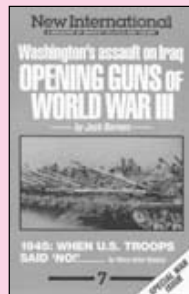
Tehran is seeking to expand ties with Washington's imperialist competitors. This month, for instance, Iranian foreign minister Kamal Kharrazi traveled to Rome to meet with Italian prime minister Silvio Berlusconi. The *Iran News* reported that Berlusconi said he would seek stronger ties between Iran and the European Union.

An opinion column in the May 14 *Tehran Times* was headlined, "Europe needs developing countries to counter-balance U.S. pressures." The unsigned column pointed to a just-concluded visit to Tehran by Francois Loos, the French minister of state for foreign trade, as a step forward. It noted that "due to its opposition to the U.S. military campaign in Iraq, it seems that France may miss some economic opportunities in Iraq's future," and urged Paris to deepen investment in Iran instead. "Considering that the Islamic Republic has revised its economic laws on foreign investment and eased regulations, it now provides new opportunities for the long-term foreign investments. The door is wide open to European investment companies due to the absence of their American rivals. Nevertheless, France stands after Italy, Germany, and the UAE [United Arab Emirates] in terms of economic cooperation with Iran."

As Washington stepped up its campaign to brand Tehran a "nuclear threat," French foreign minister Dominique de Villepin, who was visiting Iran the first week of May, said there was progress on the issue, distancing his government from the White House on the matter.

At the same time both President Khatami, who represents the "reformist" faction of the Islamic Republic, and foreign ministry spokesman Hamid-Reza Assefi, part of the "conservative" faction, denied reports that recent closed-door talks between U.S. and Iranian officials have included negotiations toward reestablishing diplomatic relations between Tehran and Washington.

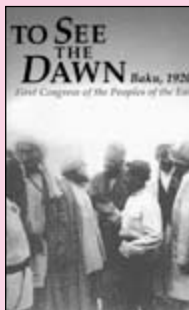
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# U.S. miners oppose new coal dust rules that will cost lives

**Continued from front page**  
capitol building, coincided with hearings here on the new regulations. The hearings began in Pennsylvania and will continue in Illinois, Kentucky, Alabama, and Colorado.

Busloads of UMW members—both active miners and retirees—came from coalfield areas of southern West Virginia, northern West Virginia, and southwestern Pennsylvania to the rally. Miners from Ohio and Kentucky also participated.

Among those in attendance were veterans of the strikes and mobilizations by miners and supporters more than 30 years ago through which the nation's first black lung laws were won. Those struggles also opened the door to miners winning important advances in safety underground. Carloads and vanloads were organized by chapters of the Black Lung Association an organization that was formed through those struggles.

The rally was addressed by UMW leaders and those who had been part of the fight against black lung. Donald Rasmussen, a medical doctor, congratulated participants. "For 35 years West Virginia miners have been agitating," he said, adding that he believes they "will fight for what is necessary." Rasmussen played an important role in getting out the facts about black lung and assisted the successful fight of miners in the late 1960s to win recognition of black lung as a job-related disease, pass laws to control coal dust, and establish black lung benefits.

At the hearings in Pennsylvania and West Virginia dozens of miners and black-lung activists spoke of the impact of the disease, describing how they had watched family members and friends die from black lung.

"You call yourself mine safety and health," Pennsylvania miner Paul Clutter commented. "We would like to see you enforce mine safety and health."

A West Virginia miner told the panel, "We remember the days of high dust. We are not willing to go back."

Fine coal dust, when breathed into the lungs, can cause black lung, or coal miner's pneumoconiosis. About 1,500 workers die each year from the disease, which can be prevented through the use of water sprays, scrubbers, and ventilation in the mines to bring down the dust levels and additional safety equipment for miners. In the 1969 Coal Mine Health and Safety act the legal limit of dust a miner can be exposed to was set at 2 mg per cubic meter of air.

## Dust levels will quadruple

At the heart of miners' objections to the new rules is that they would allow dust levels to go up to four times over their present limit if the federal safety agency agreed with the mine operator that all "feasible" engineering controls to limit dust had been exhausted. At the maximum, dust levels would have to go well over 9 mg before MSHA would issue a citation.

Part of MSHA's proposal is based on what the agency has dubbed the "protection factor." MSHA officials claim this is

provided by full-face "airstream" helmets, which blow filtered air to the miner's face while on the job.

These helmets are currently used as additional protection in some coal mines that use longwall mining technology. This technology, introduced over the past three decades, has greatly increased the productivity and profits for the coal operators but also generates more coal dust than other mining methods.

Under the new regulations, instead of forcing the coal operators to take measures to reduce the levels of dust, MSHA will allow operators to mine with higher dust levels by forcing miners to wear these helmets—including in mines where the more dusty longwall technique is not employed.

At the hearings, several miners said the helmets "aren't the answer," they're cumbersome, cause injuries, and they get dirty and limit vision.

Joe Main, UMW international health and safety administrator, challenged the MSHA panel to clarify whether "dust levels could go up to 8 mg."

"Am I wrong?" Main asked. "You're right," called many of the miners present.

An MSHA representative responded, "theoretically, yes."

Main reported that the union and MSHA have visited mines where the coal dust had reached that level and where the operator claimed that controls had been exhausted. Calling MSHA a "weak-kneed agency," Main said miners couldn't trust them to



Militant/Tony Lancaster

**Top, and bottom left, some of the 1,000 miners and others rallying May 8 in Charleston, West Virginia, to oppose new federal rules allowing dust levels in coal mines to quadruple. Bottom right, miners at May 6 hearing in Charleston on proposed rules.**

look out for the workers' interests.

## Spate of mine fires

Miners at the hearings pointed to another product of higher dust levels—increased danger of mine fires and explosions.

This year fires have already broken out

at three longwall mines owned by Consol Energy: at the 84 mine in Pennsylvania in January; at the Loveridge mine in West Virginia in February—the second fire there in five years; and at the VP8 mine in Virginia in April. In September 2001 a

**Continued on Page 11**

# Wisconsin Machinists strike for seniority

BY ELIJAH BOOKER

WAUKESHA, Wisconsin—Some 460 members of the Machinists union employed by Waukesha Engine walked off the job here May 2 to defend their health benefits and seniority system. The bosses are also pressing for a two-tier wage scheme and for retirees to pay up to 25 percent of their medical insurance. The strikers are members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 1377.

According to workers on the picket line the company is demanding an increase of up to 20 percent in worker's health insurance copayments. Retirees would have to pay \$6,000 out of pocket for medical expenses each year. Shortly after the strike began the company informed retirees that their medical benefits would be terminated. Some retirees receive as little as \$400 a month in pension benefits from the company.

Another proposal from management would eliminate retiree medical insurance for anyone hired after May 1. The employers also want to lay off workers up to six weeks without regard for plant seniority. This would enable them to recall long-term employees at lower pay scales, driving down the overall wage level at the facility. The bosses also offered a 2 percent wage increase. But as one of the picketers explained, "we would lose all of this paying for insurance."

When the contract expired May 1, the

workers voted 426–9 against the bosses' offer. They also voted 414–10 to strike.

"We are looking out for the future generations who will work here, and for retirees," said Dave Meyer, a striker on the picket line who has 35 years with the company. "You have to draw the line some place. They have pushed us over the edge."

Several workers noted that bosses prepared for the strike well in advance by running ads in the local newspaper for scabs, emphasizing the necessity to cross the picket line. Two weeks before the contract expired the company brought in temp workers to train on jobs. "They would look over our shoulders as we did our jobs," said Meyer.

Leading up to the walkout they wore union T-shirts in the plant two days per week. One week before the walkout, retirees organized informational picketing at the main plant and the power-systems facility.

The local union organized a rally May 7 of 300 strikers, retirees, and their families at the main plant, where IAM president Thomas Buffenburger spoke. The strikers have received support from other unionists in the area; and they have given support to striking meat packers at the nearby Tyson Foods plant in Jefferson, about a 30-minute drive from Waukesha. One IAM member at Waukesha Engine has two brothers on strike at the Tyson meatpacking plant.

During a visit to a picket tent by *Militant* reporters a member of the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees Local 2485 dropped by to inform the strikers that his local voted to donate to their strike fund. "Our contract expires in January and we're facing the same issue on health benefits as you are," he said.

## Company disregard for workers

A number of unionists explained that the company is trying to boost its profit margins at their expense. According to strikers interviewed on the picket line, company profits and gross income have dropped slightly over the past year. In 2001 the company claimed sales of \$277 million and \$44 million in profits. The following year sales dropped to \$217 million and profits to \$32 million.

"Despite making a profit the company wants \$5 million in concessions from us," said John Blomiley, union committeeman and picket captain. "But they think noth-

ing of spending money on products we tell them will not work."

He described a newly designed oil ring that one of the assemblers told the bosses was impractical. Instead of listening to the worker, managers went ahead with the product. As a result, the oil pan leaked like a sieve.

The strikers said the bosses justified the concession demands with the claim that the company was "losing market share." They noted that management points to stiffening competition from a rival company based in Japan that produces an engine cylinder head similar to one they make at the plant here.

Waukesha Engine is one of four divisions of Dresser Inc., manufacturer of gas-fueled engines used in off shore oil drilling, field gas compression, power generation, and other mechanical drive applications. The workers at the struck plant are among the 40 percent in the company's facilities who are unionized, including some in Europe.

The last time the workers went on strike was in 1979. In 1980 there were 1,500 workers in the plant. During the 1982 recession the bosses laid off hundreds of workers who were never recalled.

Dresser, Inc., was bought out in 1998 by Halliburton. The four divisions were spun off by the firm after Halliburton bosses decided they no longer needed them. U.S. vice president Richard Cheney, a Halliburton executive at the time, pocketed \$20 million from the sale of the divisions, strikers stated.

Several strikers pointed to the employers' claims of trying to save the company money by cutbacks from production workers, while dishing out huge bonuses and salaries for the corporate executives. According to Blomiley, at one company-employee meeting company president Steve Lamb "told us he deserved it"—that is, getting a salary of \$1.6 million a year and unlimited health insurance, which all corporate executives get. His pay includes a "performance bonus that's based on how much he can screw people," said Blomiley.

Strikers explained that Lamb, a notorious union-buster, was recently brought in to prepare the company for the strike and to drive through concessions. When the strike began the company hired a security outfit that uses goons in vans taking snapshots of workers on picket duty, and filming office people who stop by the picket line to say hello.

## From Pathfinder

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by Jack Barnes

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# Pillowtex plans to sell unionized plants

BY SETH GALINSKY

KANNAPOLIS, North Carolina—Less than a year after emerging from bankruptcy protection, Pillowtex corporation's directors have announced plans to sell the company's factories and other assets in the wake of its continued financial losses. Thousand of jobs have been placed on the line, including some 4,500 in the Charlotte area alone.

The company's threats are generating a good deal of discussion among textile workers in a region in which the crisis-struck industry plays a dominant role. Workers in the plant scored a victory for all working people four years ago when they won representation by the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE). The union-organizing fight went back 25 years. In the year 2000 they won a contract.

Those struggles had achieved important gains, from protection against arbitrary firings, to pay and benefit increases and paid sick days.

## Bankruptcy in 2002

Pillowtex, formerly Fieldcrest Cannon, claims to have lost more than \$27 million dollars since May 2002, when the company emerged from bankruptcy protection. Company officials say that if they cannot find a buyer, they face alternatives of "restructuring"—a code word for layoffs, speedup, and wage cuts—and of possibly reentering bankruptcy proceedings.

Two years ago the company accompanied its declaration of bankruptcy with the closure of several mills and the layoffs of thousands of workers. In the period since, the Pillowtex bosses have slashed

wages and reorganized whole departments to produce the same number of commodities or more with fewer workers. Many workers have seen their wages drop anywhere from \$2 to \$5 an hour, and have been forced to pay more for medical insurance. The company has also imposed short workweeks and one week's layoff a month on many workers.

It has also stepped up its use of temporary workers. At Plant 6 in Concord, these workers earn \$5.25 an hour doing jobs that were at least a \$9.50 an hour wage scale under the union contract, and reached as much as \$15 an hour for those earning piece rate.

## More mill closings

Pillowtex is not the only mill claiming financial problems. The owners of the Westpoint Stevens textile mills—depicted in the 1979 movie "Norma Rae," when it was J.P. Stevens—say they will close the Roanoke Rapids towel-making complex this summer. Three hundred and fifty workers will lose their jobs.

In the late 1960s and early 70s the plant was the arena for a major union-organizing fight. After an 11-year struggle the workers prevailed in 1974, scoring the first major union victory in the South in years. It took



Militant/Seth Galinsky

**Hundreds of textile workers attended May 7 UNITE rally in Kannapolis, North Carolina, where union officials presented plan to find "better buyers" for Pillowtex. Bosses are using economic depression to cut jobs and attack working conditions.**

six more years before the union forced the company to sign a contract.

Among Pillowtex's potential buyers is Springs Industries, the country's largest manufacturer of sheets and towels.

On May 7 UNITE organized a rally to back preserving jobs at the plants through

a supposedly more favorable buyout of Pillowtex.

At the rally and press conference union officials stated that Springs was interested only in Pillowtex customers and brand names like Fieldcrest, Cannon, and Royal Velvet, and would close the remaining plants.

Several hundred workers from Pillowtex plants in the North Carolina towns of Kannapolis, Concord, China Grove, and Eden attended the event. It was announced prior to the rally that Pillowtex and Springs had agreed to end an exclusivity agreement and would allow other bids.

## Workers react to 'better buyer' plan

Carolyn Johnson Bell, an operator in the pillowcase department and a union supporter, told the *Militant* that no matter who buys the plant, "I don't think they should come and take away from us. They shouldn't get rich off of us."

Donna Loan, who participated in the original fight to bring in the union and participated in the May 7 rally, said she agrees with the union attempt to find a "better" buyer even if it means taking a wage cut. "I need the medical benefits," she said. "It's better to have a job than not to have one."

Loan is skeptical about the company's claims of bankruptcy, given the fact that the company paid more than \$1.7 million each to three top executives, none of whom are still with Pillowtex. "They have money for that," Loan notes. "But no money for us."

*Seth Galinsky and Willie Cotton, who contributed to this article, work at Pillowtex Plant 6 in Concord and are members of UNITE Local 1506.*

# 19 immigrant workers die in truck in Texas

BY JACQUIE HENDERSON AND STEVE WARSHALL

HOUSTON—The deaths of 19 immigrant workers from Mexico and Central America smuggled in a truck that was abandoned near Victoria, Texas, put the spotlight again on the murderous effects of U.S. immigration policy. It was one of the deadliest such incidents in U.S. history.

On May 14, Victoria County sheriffs found an abandoned tractor-trailer off U.S. Highway 77 containing the bodies of 18 people. Among them was a five-year-old boy. Most of the dead appeared to be in their 20s or 30s. The 19th person died three days later in the hospital.

According to the medical examiner who performed the autopsies, the deaths were caused by hypothermia, dehydration, and suffocation from the hours-long trip from the Rio Grande Valley and after the trailer was abandoned 120 miles southwest of Houston. Many had wounds on their hands from attempting to claw their way out of the trailer. Immigration cops arrested more than 40 immigrants from the trailer and are holding them in an immigration jail in Houston. They are looking for another 30–50 people who they claim escaped the trailer when the doors were opened.

Survivors have told of their desperate attempts to call for help and escape the trailer during the trip from Harlingen, near the Mexico border. The *Houston Chronicle* reported that a 911 dispatcher in Kingsville, Texas, received a call from a cell phone from one of those trapped inside during the night. The dispatcher didn't speak Spanish and the call was not translated until the next morning. Another call shortly after that, from a truck driver calling attention to a bandanna waving from the rear of a trailer, was likewise treated as a hoax.

The truck was carrying working people and their families from Mexico, Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala. Many were from the Mexican states of San Luis Potosí and Guanajuato. They reportedly paid \$1,000 to *coyotes* (smugglers) to take the trip from the Rio Grande Valley to Houston. Immigration police block all roads with checkpoints coming into Texas from the Rio Grande Valley, encouraging elaborate smuggling measures. The driver of the truck, Tyrone Williams, who is an immigrant from Jamaica, was paid \$5,000 to haul the load. He is currently being held without bond.

Francisca Barrios, cousin of two of the dead and one of the survivors, participated in a press conference and vigil in Houston

May 16. She said she hopes that the men's children will be able to come to Houston.

Henry Cooper, spokesperson for *Latinos por la Paz* (Latinos for Peace), called for an end to the "government's murderous immigration policies" that are responsible for forcing workers to try to get to their jobs in this fashion. He encouraged all those opposed to these measures to join a "Walk for Dignity and Respect for Immigrants" sponsored by the immigrant rights group CRECEN.

The protest, which calls for permanent residency for all immigrants, will take place Sunday, May 25, in Houston at 2



**One of the immigrant workers who survived lockup in truck, surrounded by Texas firefighters before cops arrested her May 14.**

p.m. beginning at 6601 Hillcroft. Cooper, an organizer for the march, said that the theme of the action, "No Human Being is Illegal," is all the more important now.

*Tony Dutrow contributed to this article.*

# Miners oppose rules quadrupling coal dust levels

Continued from Page 10

methane explosion and fire in Jim Walters No. 5 mine, a longwall facility in Alabama, killed 13 miners.

In contrast to MSHA's proposed rules that will raise dust levels and decrease testing for dust, many miners at the hearings pointed out they are for lower dust levels and more sampling.

While the level of black lung among miners has decreased in the last 30 years, the percentage of miners developing black lung over the last decade has leveled off. As Robert Cohen, a pulmonary specialist told the Charleston rally, "This is a disease that should be in the history books." But miners are still getting black lung.

Larry Kuharcik from the Blacksville mine in northern West Virginia told the panel how 48 miners from his mine had been diagnosed with black lung in a nine-month period. The fact that black lung hasn't been eradicated prompted the National Institute on Occupational Safety and Health—the government agency known as NIOSH—to propose in 1995 that the coal dust limit should be halved to 1 mg per cubic meter of air.

The demand of miners for more rigorous inspections comes in the context of widespread fraud and manipulation of dust testing by the employers. Main explained that in the last decade, there has been 160 prosecutions of mining companies for falsifying dust tests. One miner related to the MSHA panel his recent experience with dust sampling. "In an insult to my intelligence," he said, his work assignment had been changed each time to lessen dust levels when he was part of the dust sampling program.

At the Washington hearing, Mike Smith, a miner from the Emerald mine, described his experiences in southern West Virginia. He said that when he took steps to direct more air to his work area "The boss asked, 'What you're doing? You'd better get back to work if you want your job.'"

While the government proposes to take overall dust testing under the rules, the number of times a mine will be sampled every year will be drastically cut back—at most mines only three times a year. Dust inspections at mines by the MSHA have already been cut recently as the federal agency has claimed lack of personnel be-

cause of "budget cuts."

While the MSHA claims it is acting in the interests of miners and wants to fight black lung, it ended its own Miner's Choice X-ray program last year before many of the nation's miners had been examined.

## Personal dust monitors

A prototype of a personal dust monitor, which is incorporated with the miner's caplight and battery, was displayed at the hearings. Such machines provide for continuous dust monitoring, telling miners how much dust they will breathe on the shift. What is needed, miners argued, is that such machines be required by law. "These coal companies are not going to do one thing more than they are made to do," said Rick Ryan, from the Hobet mine in southern West Virginia.

Another Hobet miner, James Lindbelle, spoke of the increasing pressure from the mine bosses and the government to sacrifice safety on the job for profits as the economy worsens. "I hope [MSHA] doesn't see lives as less important than the economics of the country and companies," he said.



# Women had pivotal role in humanity's evolution as society's principal producers

Below are excerpts from *Woman's Evolution: From matriarchal clan to patriarchal family* by Evelyn Reed, from the chapter, "The productive record of primitive women." This section reveals the leading, and still largely unknown, contributions by women to the survival and advancement of the earliest human

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

societies through the development of a sustainable food supply, the use of fire in cooking and industries, and the development of medicines. *Woman's Evolution*—along with *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* by Frederick Engels—is an indispensable contribution to a scientific understanding of the origins of women's oppression and the course of action necessary for the full emancipation of women and humanity. Reed, a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party, is also the author of *Sexism and Science* and *Problems of Women's Liberation*. The book is copyright © 1975 by Pathfinder Press. The excerpt is reprinted by permission.

BY EVELYN REED

Production and procreation are the twin pillars upon which all human society has been founded. Through labor humans provide themselves with the necessities

of life; through reproduction they create new life. However, only one of these is an exclusively human activity. Procreation is a natural function that humans share with the animals; production is uniquely a human acquisition. The use and making of tools, therefore, marks the great dividing line between human society and animal existence.

It is sometimes objected that primates, like humans, can make and use tools. A primate may grasp a twig, defoliate it, and then utilize it to get at insects under a stone. In captivity, under human influence, these animals can be very clever; sometimes they fit sticks together to extend their reach or stack boxes one on the other to climb up for food. But these are only incidental and episodic acts. Their existence does not depend on learning them. Humans, on the other hand, cannot survive except through systematic labor.

Further, in the course of their productive activities humans generate entirely new needs that go beyond the biological needs of animal existence. From the first chipped stone or digging stick to the jet plane and space ship, the history of human production is the continuous emergence of new needs and of the technology for satisfying them. Gordon Childe defines society as "a co-operative organization for producing means to satisfy its needs, for reproducing itself—and for producing new needs" (*What Happened in History*, p. 17).

It is commonly believed that because men are the principal producers in modern society this has always been the case. In fact, the opposite was true in the earlier and longer epoch before civilization; the larger share of work devolved upon women. This is borne out in the oft-cited statement of a Kurnai aborigine in Australia, who said that man's work was to hunt, spear fish, fight, and then "sit down." Woman's work was to "do all else." Let us examine what is incorporated in the succinct "all else."

### Control of the food supply

The quest for food is the most compelling concern of any society. No higher development of society is possible unless

and until people are fed. Moreover, while animals can live on a day-to-day basis, humans had to win some measure of control over their food supply if they were to progress. Control means not only sufficient food for today but a surplus for tomorrow, and the ability to preserve and conserve stocks for future use.

From this standpoint human history can be divided into two main epochs: the food-gathering epoch which extended over hundreds of thousands of years and the food-producing epoch which began with agriculture and stock-raising about eight thousand years ago, laying the foundation for civilization. Between these two periods was a transitional stage of small-scale garden culture or horticulture.

### A continuous record of women's work

From the beginning there is a continuous record of the work of women in procuring and developing the food supply, discovering new sources and kinds of food, and gaining knowledge about its preservation. The prime tool in this work was the digging stick, a long stick with a pointed end used by the women to dig up roots and vegetables from the ground. To this day, in some parts of the world, the digging stick remains as inseparable from the woman as her baby. The white settlers called the Shoshone Indians of Nevada and Wyoming "The Diggers" because they still employed this ancient technique.

Except for a few areas in the world at certain historical stages, the most reliable sources of food were not animal but vegetable....

It is not surprising that primitive men came to look upon women as possessing magical powers in the growing of food, akin to their powers in growing children. Crawley tells how the Orinoco Indians explained this to a missionary:

When the women plant maize the stalk produces two or three ears; when they set the manioc the plant produces two or three baskets of roots; and thus everything is multiplied. Why? Because women know how to produce children, and know how to plant the corn so as to

ensure its germinating. Then, let them plant it; we do not know so much as they do. (*The Mystic Rose*, vol. I, p. 62)

In addition to cultivating plants, women also collected grubs, bugs, lizards, molluscs, and small animals such as hares, marsupials, birds, and the young of many animal species. They protected, fed, and cared for many of these animals as well as the young animals brought back alive by the hunters to the campsite.

This care and protection on the part of the women provided the basis for the first experiments in animal taming and domestication. Not infrequently a field investigator has encountered a woman suckling a puppy or other animal infant at one breast, her own baby at the other. The specific characteristics of each animal were studied, and those which grew up to be dangerous were kept in cages....

Even the discovery of the uses of fire was connected with women's labor activities. From the first digging stick, with its point hardened in the fire, there is a continuous development in the uses of fire by women....

### The medicine woman

The original "medicine men" in history were actually women. Briffault writes on this subject, "The connection of women with the cultivation of the soil and the search for edible vegetables and roots made them specialists in botanical knowledge, which, among primitive peoples, is extraordinarily extensive. They became acquainted with the properties of herbs, and were thus the first doctors." He adds: "The word 'medicine' is derived from a root meaning 'knowledge' or 'wisdom'—the wisdom of the 'wise woman....'"

As one need was satisfied, new needs arose, and these in turn were met in a rising spiral of newly emerging needs and newly acquired skills. Since woman's labors in primitive industries are usually credited to "man" or "mankind," it is worth examining the great variety of handicrafts that originated in the hands and heads of women before they were taken over by men in the higher stages of industry.

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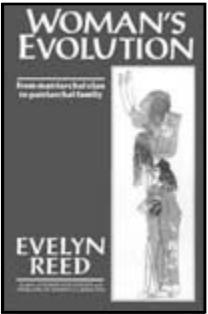
May

BOOKS OF THE MONTH


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**‘By any means necessary’?**—“WASHINGTON—The House of Representatives is considering a bill that would help companies



Harry Ring

reduce their pension obligations by assuming shorter life expectancies among blue collar workers.”—Associated Press.

**Quick George, the inspectors**—“After decline, U.S. again capable of making nuclear arms—Energy Dept. is restarting production

of plutonium parts for its stockpile of bombs.”—News headline.

**They want chimes?**—The American Civil Liberties Union is representing two people in Wilmington, Delaware, who were ticketed for blowing too hard on their horns March 20 in support of an antiwar demonstration at the downtown federal building. Protesters carried placards and a banner urging, “Honk for peace,” and got a rousing response, reports Roy Inglee, a participant.

A woman horn-blower singled out for a ticket said the cop who stopped her was a member of her church. The other ticket went to a Black truck driver who leaned on his air horn after dropping a load of rebar at a construction site. Two construction workers left their jobs

to join the demonstration.

**He’s running around loose?**—Dr. Harry Metropol, a former chief of surgery at Palmetto Health Baptist Church in Columbia, South Carolina, testified before a Congressional subcommittee in favor of putting caps on malpractice awards. The doc discussed the case of Linda McDougal who had her breasts removed as the result of a wrong diagnosis of breast cancer.

Dr. Metropol testified: “She did not lose her life, and with the plastic surgery, she’ll have breast reconstruction better than she had before. It won’t be National Geographic, hanging to her knees. It’ll be nice firm breasts.”

**On the home front**—While Washington was pressing the war

in Iraq, the Los Angeles police department was waging a well-organized drive against the men, women, and children sleeping on the street on the edge of the downtown area. Responding to mounting protests, top cop William Bratten declared: “My overriding responsibility is to focus on the behavior of people, not their living conditions.”

**Not to Guantánamo?**—Various colleges require that students from abroad take English-language proficiency tests. Last year 62 applicants were convicted of hiring others to take the tests for them. The cases are filed under “international terrorism.”

**Another food stamp applicant**—Christos Cotasakos, top fella at

E-Trade Group, made nearly \$80 million two years ago. Last year it was sliced down to \$12.2 million.

**How would Malcolm have responded?**—Provoked by growing racism, sexism, gay bashing and anti-Semitism, students and faculty members walked out at San Diego University, a private Catholic enterprise. Crimes included the burglary of a campus apartment of two Black women students. Racist graffiti was scrawled on walls. Fliers about the Black Panthers were trashed and a poster of Malcolm X smeared with a swastika. Observed the dean of students: “I think we’ve made significant progress.... When people deface posters it’s hard to know what the motivation was. Some could just consider it a joke.”

# Pathfinder titles win new readers in Europe

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The May 2003 issue of *Choice*, the main U.S. academic library journal, published a review of *October 1962: The ‘Missile’ Crisis As Seen from Cuba* by Tomás Diez Acosta, recommending this Pathfinder book to its readers. It provides “a Cuban perspective of the events that threatened a nuclear holocaust,” wrote reviewer J.A. Gagliano, emeritus, Loyola University of Chicago. “This narrative draws largely from published US, Soviet, and Cuban primary sources, as well as from interviews with participants in the confrontation.”

Gagliano adds, “According to Diez Acosta, ‘Operation Mongoose,’ which

## PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

included plotted assassination of Cuban leaders, increased apprehensions of an imminent US invasion in 1962, making Soviet deterrent assistance urgent. Intensely critical of both Khrushchev and John Kennedy in negotiating the withdrawal of Soviet weaponry, Diez Acosta contends that the settlement denied Cuba any role in resolving the crisis and ignored Castro’s plan for guaranteeing Cuban sovereignty and future security.”

Pathfinder bookstores in the United States sold nearly \$33,000 worth of literature over the first quarter of 2003—an increase of \$6,000 over sales for the same period in 2002. The two top sellers are *Marianas in Combat: Teté Puebla and the Mariana Grajales Women’s Platoon in Cuba’s Revolutionary War, 1956–58*, with 314 copies sold, and the new edition of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, with 143 sold. Rounding out the top five are: *New International no. 7* with the lead article “Washington’s Assault on Iraq: Opening Guns of World War III,” published in 1991; *The Working-Class and the Transformation of Learning* by Jack Barnes; and *Che Guevara Talks to Young People*.

Sales of Pathfinder books have been expanding in Belgium and the Netherlands, more than doubling over the past two years. In 2002, more than 450 books and pamphlets were ordered by bookstores in these two countries. Among the most popular titles were *From the Escambray to the Congo: In the Whirlwind of the Cuban Revolution* by Víctor Dreke, with 20 copies sold; and *October 1962: The ‘Missile’ Crisis as Seen from Cuba*, with 35 sold.

The new edition of *The History of American Trotskyism, 1928–1938: Report of a Participant* by James P. Cannon, with an attractive selection of photos from the 1920s and 30s illustrating the contents of the book, has now been ordered by five large bookshops in Belgium and one in the Netherlands for the first time ever. One shop in each country also ordered a copy of *Their Trotsky and Ours* by Jack Barnes, and two shops in Belgium purchased copies of the new edition of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-Class Politics and*

*the Trade Unions*, also by Barnes.

Several buyers in art-book sections of major stores decided to order *Art and Revolution* by Leon Trotsky to display alongside books on Mexican artist Frida Kahlo, on the occasion of the release early this year of the movie *Frida*. At a Brussels bookstore, which has ordered more than 100 Pathfinder books over the past two years, the buyer told of one customer who had purchased a copy of *Making History: Interviews with Four Generals of Cuba’s Revolutionary Armed Forces*. The man also showed interest in *Secretos de generales* (Secrets of the Generals) by Luis Báez. Published in Cuba and distributed by Pathfinder, *Secretos* also features interviews with Cuban military leaders. Although the store normally doesn’t sell Spanish-language books, the buyer called the Pathfinder’s New York office to fill the order.

Bookstores in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht regularly order and sell Pathfinder books. Bookstores in several smaller cities have also begun to do so. Impressed by the sample covers of Leon Trotsky’s *History of the Russian Revolution* and the *Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels shown to him by a Pathfinder representative, a young buyer for a store in Tilburg commented, “Every self-respecting bookstore should have those titles on its shelves.”

In the French-speaking part of Belgium, 18 copies of the newly released French-language edition of *History of American Trotskyism* are now available for sale in 11 bookshops in four cities. The best-selling Pathfinder title in French remains *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism* by Carlos Tablada, with more than 30 copies sold in Belgium since the beginning of 2001.

The recently retranslated Greek edition of *Problems of Women’s Liberation* by Evelyn Reed, published by Diethnes Vima, rolled off the press in Athens, Greece, in early April. To celebrate this event a fundraiser goat roast was held April 13 at the home of one of the translators in the Greek capital. More than 20 people attended the event, purchasing 34 copies of the new book and 10 other Pathfinder titles. One participant, an airline worker, said that she planned to organize a house meeting with co-workers to discuss the book. A high school student said that she wants to organize discussions with two of her classmates on the *Communist Manifesto* and the *Second Declaration of Havana*, which she had picked up at the event. Volunteers are discussing plans to distribute the new title to bookstores throughout Athens, as well as in Thessaloniki—Greece’s second-largest city—in various cities in the province of Thessaly, and parts of Cyprus.

Six titles are featured on [www.pathfinderpress.com](http://www.pathfinderpress.com) as Pathfinder’s Books of the Month for May (see advertisement on page 12). Throughout the month they will be available at a 25 percent discount for orders on Pathfinder’s website or at any Pathfinder bookstore around the world. Featured this month are: *Challenge of the Left Opposition, 1928–29* by Leon Trotsky; *Woman’s Evolution: From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Fam-*



Militant

**International conference in Havana on 40th anniversary of October 1962 “missile” crisis (above). Cuban participants included President Fidel Castro (right, front row) and Vice President José Ramón Fernández (next to Castro). Cuban author Tomás Diez Acosta (left). His book, *October 1962: The ‘Missile’ Crisis as Seen from Cuba*, published by Pathfinder Press, has been favorably reviewed by *Choice* magazine.**

*ily* by Evelyn Reed; *Black Music, White Business: Illuminating the History and Political Economy of Jazz* by Frank Kofsky; *Che Guevara Talks to Young People*; *Communist Continuity and the Fight for Women’s Liberation*, vol. 1: *Documents of the Socialist Workers Party 1971–86*; and

*Founding of the Communist International: Proceedings and Documents of the First Congress, March 1919.*

*Erik Wils in Antwerp, Belgium, and Georges Mehrabian in Athens, Greece, contributed to this column*

## —25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



June 2, 1977

Industry and commerce ground to a halt in Peru May 22, as workers across the country joined in a general strike to protest government-authorized price increases. Banks, schools, factories, shops, and public transportation were shut down.

In an attempt to head off the strike, the military regime declared a state of emergency May 20 and arrested hundreds of labor leaders. Constitutional guarantees were formally suspended, the army was ordered to suppress strikes and demonstrations, and opposition newspapers and magazines were closed.

But such measures failed to intimidate the masses. Strike activity was reported in twenty-eight cities and towns. Armored personnel carriers were stationed in the streets of Lima, the capital, and the military regime admitted that at least twenty persons have been killed since the price increases were announced May 15. Five of the deaths occurred on May 22.

When the strike was called May 18 by the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers (CGTP), the country’s main labor federation, the action was declared illegal by President Francisco Morales Bermúdez.

These price increases come on top of an inflation rate currently running at 80 percent a year, and at a time of widespread unemployment. In Peru, as elsewhere in the world, the real “subversive” is the capitalist system itself!

Morales Bermúdez decreed the price increases only under heavy pressure from the International Monetary Fund.



June 1, 1953

Forty-eight union coal miners in the company town of Widen, West Virginia, face murder charges as the outgrowth of an armed clash between strikers and company thugs. The arrested men were released on the huge bond of \$118,000 after a preliminary hearing on May 7.

The company and its armed agents have been trying to drive the pickets from their station on top of Winden Hill. On April 21 the *Clay Messenger*, a paper run by company stooges, published a letter addressed to Clay County Judge Charles A. Duffield demanding that he issue an order to clear out the pickets or “the Clay Citizen’s League for Law and Order fears that within the near future the citizens will take action to clear out such mobs by force.”

Two weeks later, the “Clay Citizens League”—the company’s vigilantes—made good their threat. First, on May 5 they used a bulldozer to clear off the picketing area on Winden Hill. Then, the next night, about nine p.m., a big gang of strikebreakers and company guards gathered in force against a handful of pickets and drove them from their station with rocks, rotten eggs, and clubs.

The following night a number of the pickets met near Dille, in Clay County, in a cook-shack headquarters. At four a.m. carloads of armed company men drove up in the dark. Firing broke out from the company men, according to accounts given *Labor’s Daily*. The strikers defended themselves. When the shooting ended one company man lay dead; three were wounded. One striker was shot in the arm.



# Confront menace of joblessness

Workers at Pillowtex and other textile plants in the southern United States face an increasingly uncertain future—like millions of their brothers and sisters across the globe—as their jobs are threatened by shutdowns and layoffs. For a number of years the industry has been marked by fierce competition for markets in the United States and elsewhere. In their drive for profits, the bosses worldwide have used “too much” productive capacity—judged, that is, by their yardstick of what they can sell at a “sufficient” profit. Now they are slashing back that capacity.

As they confront this crisis, the capitalists try to disorient and divide workers to gut our ability to resist. A favored tactic is the fraud of bankruptcy, through which the bosses buy time and legal cover to preserve their capital and “restructure”—that is, cut back on jobs, conditions, wages, and benefits.

A more fundamental tactic is that of divide and rule. The capitalists and their propagandists seek to persuade workers that those who toil in plants overseas are “taking our jobs.” Through such statements they justify their own protectionist barriers and seek to blind workers to the reality that we face common conditions of exploitation and the same capitalist enemy around the world.

The contraction in textile manufacturing is part of a broader crisis that increasingly affects industrial workers. A recent report on joblessness in New York, for example, points out that “blue collar” workers make up 30 percent of the unemployed although they are only 20 percent of the city’s labor force. The proportions are opposite among administrative personnel, professionals, and technicians.

This is the result of an accelerating capitalist economic depression worldwide. The impending layoffs at Pillowtex and other plants cannot be confronted simply on a local level or by going along with the trade union officialdom’s class-collaborationist dreams of trying to find “better buyers” for factories threatened with closures.

The conditions of depression—making themselves evident even in the citadel of imperialism, the U.S.A.—have their roots in the falling average rate of industrial profit that started as early as the mid-1960s in Britain and as late as the mid-1970s in Japan. We are living in a declining segment of the curve of capitalist development. We can expect decades of hard rain in the capitalist economy.

What does capitalism have to offer? Intensified competition between imperialist powers for redivision of the world, the motor force of the U.S.-led assault on Iraq and other wars to come. Excess capacity and overproduction of commodities, that is, more output than the capitalists can sell at a high enough profit to justify expanding their productive plant and equipment. Declining capital investment in capacity-increasing plants and equipment. Speculative binges and debt explosions. Growing bank and business failures. Devastation of semicolonial countries. Crippling farm crises in the imperialist countries, disproportionately affecting producers from the oppressed nationalities. Declining real wages and accelerating speedup. And, above all, rising unemployment and a growing relative surplus population.

The capitalists’ falling average rate of profit results

not only in “surplus” plant, “surplus” food, and other “surplus” capital and commodities. It also produces what Karl Marx, one of the founding leaders of the communist movement, described as a “relative surplus population.” The layoffs of wagedworkers and dispossession of agricultural producers proceed at an accelerating pace and outstrip capitalism’s capacity to absorb this surplus labor power into new employment. The expanding army of the unemployed becomes a source of pressure used by the capitalists to intensify labor and hold down the wages of employed workers, and to increase competition among all workers.

As Marx said, “the condemnation of one part of the working class to enforced idleness by the overwork of the other part, and *vice versa*, becomes a means of enriching the individual capitalists.”

As capitalism disintegrates, working people are threatened more and more with impoverishment. Under this menace, the proletariat cannot permit the transformation of an increasing section of our class into chronically unemployed paupers, living off the crumbs of a declining society. Immediate demands are needed to unite workers and their allies on the land to confront the impending disaster.

We must demand jobs for all. Public works are sorely needed to address acute social needs such as building and repairing schools, hospitals, and the deteriorating infrastructure. The right to employment is the only serious right left for workers in a society based on exploitation. But it’s being shorn from them at every step. The time is ripe to advance the slogan of a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to spread available work and bind the employed and the jobless together in the solidarity of mutual responsibility.

Increase the minimum wage to union scale and enforce affirmative action programs! These demands are also needed to unify the toilers. Solidarity is needed across borders, too. That’s why canceling the Third World debt must be included in this program of transitional demands.

Property owners and their spokespeople will try to prove the “unrealizability” of these demands. Smaller, especially ruined capitalists will also refer to their account ledgers. The workers must categorically denounce such conditions and references. The question is not one of a “normal” collision between opposing material interests. The question is one of guarding the proletariat from decay, demoralization, and ruin. The question is one of life and death for the only creative and progressive class, and by that token for the future of humanity. If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish. “Realizability” or “unrealizability” is a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only in struggle. Through this struggle—no matter what its immediate practical successes may be—more workers will come to understand the necessity of getting rid of capitalism and its dog-eat-dog reality and morality, and of replacing it with a society based on human solidarity and the needs of the majority of the earth’s toilers.

# Murderous immigration policy

The responsibility for the deaths of 19 immigrant workers who lost their lives crossing the border from Mexico into Texas lies with Washington’s anti-working-class policies.

Over the last decade, succeeding U.S. administrations have carried out a campaign, with bipartisan backing, to clamp down on the rights of workers born outside U.S. borders. This assault accelerated under the administration of President William Clinton. The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act of 1996 and other laws tripled to 15,000 the number of agents for the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The hated *migra*—now a section of the Department of Homeland Security called the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services—is the largest federal police agency in the United States, with a war chest of \$1 billion.

Since the mid-1990s Washington has built a network of fences, walls, and electronic surveillance equipment to seal off major urban areas along the border with Mexico, forcing immigrants to risk their lives crossing at more dangerous points, often through the desert and mountainous areas. In the name of “fighting terrorism,” the borders have increasingly become militarized. This has been supplemented by anti-immigrant terror along the border by ultrarightist vigilante groups, who feel emboldened by the employers’ anti-immigrant campaign.

The number of “deportable” crimes has been expanded, targeting both undocumented workers and those with residence papers. Other regulations are used to deprive even immigrants with legal papers from food stamps, limit their eligibility for basic social programs, and deny access to public education to children of undocumented workers.

These measures are not aimed at keeping immigrant workers out of the country. They are used to try to intimidate and keep them in a pariah status with few rights. The purpose is to guarantee a cheap source of labor for the bosses and to divide working people by trying to convince U.S.-born workers that immigrants are to blame for unemployment and other social ills caused by capitalism. Workplace raids by *la migra* are often used to break strikes and union organizing drives. Bosses eagerly provide the names of those considered “union militants” to the cops.

As a result some 330 workers die every year attempting to cross the border *in Texas alone*. More workers are attempting the dangerous trek through the desert along the Arizona border where the death rate has shot up over the past decade—145 confirmed deaths last year. Those who die on the Mexican side of the border—or whose bodies are never found—do not make it into the official statistics. They likewise don’t include many others who drown each year trying to reach U.S. shores from the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Cuba.

Much of the news commentary about the deaths of immigrants along the border focuses on the system of “coyotes”—the traffickers who extract thousands of dollars from immigrants they bring across the border in sealed trucks, train cars and other vehicles. But the coyotes exist to serve a need of the bosses—to deliver this source of cheap labor. Focusing on these small-time smugglers lets off the hook the biggest traffickers in human beings and murderers of immigrants—the employers, the employers’ government, and their profit system.

Immigrant workers today are an increasing component of the ongoing resistance to the bosses’ offensive against working people. They can be found in the forefront of labor struggles in construction, meatpacking, garment and textile, hotels and restaurants, and the fields, in many cases helping lead fights to organize unions. One example of this combativity is the successful fight to stop the deportation of Róger Calero, which became a pole of attraction for immigrant workers willing to stand up to the bosses.

Those who fight for the interests of working people welcome these brothers and sisters with open arms—we need *more* troops who can be recruited to the fighting ranks of labor. The internationalization of our class weakens the employer-fostered competition between workers of different nationalities and widens the political experiences, cultural scope and world view of the working class. The job of the labor movement is to organize immigrant workers, so we can fight together and not be pitted against one another. It needs to demand: Repeal the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act! Stop the factory raids, arrests, and deportations!

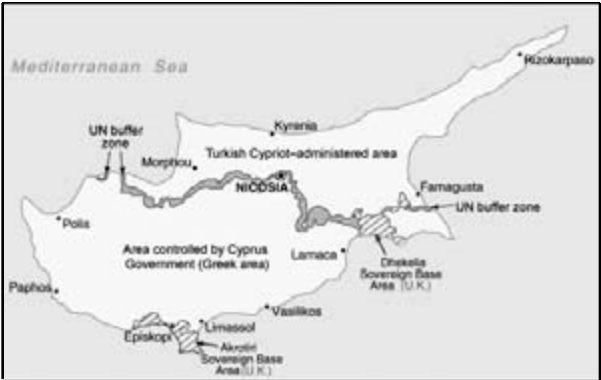
# Ankara opens Cyprus border

BY NATASHA TERLEXIS

ATHENS , Greece—Since April 23 more than 325,000 Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots—nearly half the 750,000 population of this Mediterranean island—have crossed the Green Line that has divided Cyprus for 29 years. “People are like rivers,” said one Turkish-Cypriot man to Reuters, “you can’t stop them.”

The regime of the Turkish-Cypriot state to the north announced in April that it would open the crossing initially at two checkpoints. The move followed a number of street protests by Turkish-Cypriots demanding reunification. The protests were led by opposition parties who support the reunification plan proposed by UN secretary general Kofi Annan.

The UN plan for Cyprus calls for a partition into two federated states, where Turkish- and Greek-Cypriots are separated from the municipal level up. Strict limits are placed on the return of refugees. The special place



of the “guarantor powers”— as Greece and Turkey are called—are maintained, each with a garrison.

When the border was first opened, the governments of Greece and the Greek-dominated section of Cyprus counseled against travel by Greek-Cypriots into the occupied north. Their tone changed as a mood of celebration gripped the island and working people crossing were welcomed on either side.

“You’d better pinch me, I can’t believe this is happening,” said Peter Pavlou, a Greek-Cypriot standing in the two-mile-long line of people waiting to cross over to the Turkish-Cypriot side.

Despite decades-long efforts by competing powers to incite and maintain the divisions between the Turkish- and Greek-Cypriot populations, residents on both sides of the partition celebrated the wall coming down.

“We are all in a dream,” remarked Ayla Djemal, a Turkish-Cypriot. “Our lives were far apart but we all shared the same wall.”

A joint celebration of May Day took place in a square in the southern—Greek-Cypriot—section of Nicosia, the capital. Hundreds of Turkish-Cypriot workers took part.

The walls between the Turkish- and Greek-Cypriot sections of the island were put up following intervention by both Greece and Turkey in 1974. Turkey invaded and occupied the northern section of the island five days after a coup was staged, with Washington’s blessings, by the military dictatorship then ruling Greece against the independent Cypriot government of Archbishop Makarios.

In the wake of the invasion and division of the island, 200,000 Greek-Cypriots and tens of thousands of Turkish-Cypriots were made refugees.

Divisions between the two communities have long been fostered throughout the history of colonial domination of Cyprus. The British, who held Cyprus as a colony from 1878 through 1960, gave Greek landowners and merchants a privileged status, while discriminating against the Turkish-Cypriot minority. London continues to maintain military bases on the island.

The Turkish-Cypriot population today constitutes an oppressed nationality within Cyprus, with an average income that is one-seventh that of their Greek-Cypriot compatriots and double the unemployment rate

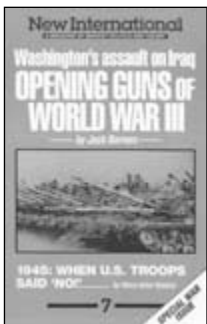


**Thousands of Cypriots pass through check point dividing Nicosia, the capital of the Mediterranean island, since the announcement by the regime in the Turkish-occupied part of Cyprus that it would open the border. Some shout with joy as they cross over.**



# From Pathfinder

## Books for a working-class campaign against imperialism and war



### Washington's Assault on Iraq **Opening Guns of World War III**

In New International no. 7

By Jack Barnes

The feature article in this issue of New International explains that the devastation of Iraq in the 1990–1991 Gulf War did not lead to the dawn of a new world order. The war held a mirror to the declining capitalist world order and accelerated its contradictions. It sounded the opening guns of sharpening conflicts and class battles that will decide whether the horrors of World War III are inflicted on humanity or a road is opened by working people to a socialist future of international human solidarity.

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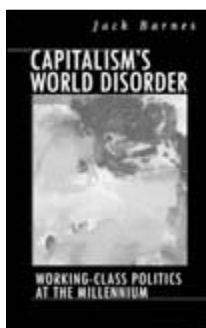
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By Jack Barnes

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## LETTERS

### **Antonio Guerrero**

Printed below are excerpts from a letter by Antonio Guerrero, one of five Cuban revolutionaries serving draconian sentences in U.S. prisons on frame-up charges brought by the U.S. government. Letters from the other four—Ge-



rardo Hernández, Ramón Labañino, Fernando González, and René González—were printed in the last issue of the *Militant*.

The Cuban Five, as they are known, were carrying out an internationalist mission to gather information on ultrarightist organizations with a record of violent attacks on Cuba carried out from

U.S. soil with Washington's complicity. They were arrested by FBI agents in 1998. Each was charged with "conspiracy to commit espionage" and "conspiracy to act as an unregistered foreign agent." Hernández was also charged with "conspiracy to commit murder."

Convicted in a federal court in Miami in June 2001, they were given sentences from 15 years to a double life term, and locked up in five federal prisons spread out across the country.

On February 28 each of the five men was thrown into solitary confinement—"the hole"—after a Justice Department order charging that the extensive solidarity they

had received in the form of correspondence and the few visitors they were allowed made them a "national security risk." An international campaign of protests was launched against this unsuccessful attempt by Washington to break them. They were released from the hole a month later.

The translation of Guerrero's

letter from Spanish is by the *Militant*.



Reason and solidarity have won. We've left the total isolation imposed on us for four weeks in the cells of the so-called hole. We were not given even a single letter or a single newspaper. They did not permit us to have a radio. They did not authorize us to make telephone calls. They did not grant us visits from our consular representatives. After two weeks of total isolation, some of us were able to see our lawyers, under very adverse conditions, but we never had access to our legal papers. This greatly hurt the preparation of our appeal. I think you are aware of these and many other details of this cruel injustice.

We knew that together with the entire people of Cuba, our friends in solidarity throughout the entire world raised the demand for an end to these arbitrary measures. We were being told this by the knowledge that there are men and women in the world who fight every day for a future of peace and justice. We were being told this by the growing solidarity with the Cuban people and with our cause....

I received the books *Marianas en combate* and *Malcolm X habla a la juventud* in both languages, Spanish and English. A number of us have already read them, and

they're magnificent. I've also been receiving the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, as well as *Granma Internacional* and several copies of *Cuba Socialista* and *La Gaceta de Cuba*. All of that is of great importance for keeping us up to date on what's happening in Cuba and the world, with a different and broader viewpoint than what's in the usual newspapers and magazines that circulate here. I always share all these materials with a group of individuals interested in getting a different view of the world and of the Cuban reality. I will tell you that there are many here who would be interested in any book on the life and works of Che Guevara. If at any point you may have any of these available, I would be pleased

### **Donate to the Militant Prisoners Fund**

The fund makes it possible for workers and farmers behind bars to receive a subscription to the *Militant* at reduced rates: \$6 for a six month subscription and \$12 for one year.

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to receive it.

I'm attaching a poem I wrote, dedicated to the First of May, the date on which the Cuban people reaffirmed their total support to the revolution and to the just cause of the proletarians of the world.

I repeat our total conviction that reason and solidarity will win!

*Antonio Guerrero  
U.S. Penitentiary  
Florence, Colorado*

### **Eight-hour day?**

With the new concession contract many United Airline workers are being forced from full-time to part-time employment. The other "option" is to be laid off. For those who take part-time, overtime pay for more than eight hours per day is abolished. Now it's possible for someone to work up to 16 hours in one day without overtime pay, as long as your weekly total is not over 40 hours.

*Rick Young  
Chicago, Illinois*

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

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



# Glasgow: elections show ongoing support for Scottish nationalism

BY PETE WILLIAMSON

**EDINBURGH, Scotland**—Elections to the Scottish parliament here May 1 took place against a backdrop of factory closures and the continued support for Scottish nationalism among wide layers of working people.

This was only the second election to the parliament, created four years ago by London in a process called “devolution” as a concession to the rising nationalist sentiment in Scotland. These strains within the United Kingdom have sharpened alongside Britain’s decline as a world power.

The Scottish parliament has replaced the former Scottish office of the British parliament. London retains control over major economic decisions and matters of defense and foreign policy.

In spite of the attempts by British prime minister Anthony Blair to win votes by trumpeting Washington and London’s military victory in Iraq, his Labour Party suffered some losses, and remains unable to govern outside of a coalition with the Liberal Democrats.

Labour secured 50 of the 129 seats up for grabs—six fewer than the last election—winning the majority of votes in working-class areas. The party retains the affiliation and financial backing of many unions.

The Scottish National Party (SNP), Labour’s main parliamentary opposition, won 27 seats, a decline of eight.

The Conservative and Unionist Party kept the same number of seats. Up until the late 1950s the party, which stands for the maintenance of the “union” with England, used to win more than 50 percent of the vote. Its leaders have traditionally depended for electoral support on a layer of Protestant workers who, until recently, have monopolized better-paid jobs, to the exclusion of workers of Irish Catholic origin.

The Greens and the reformist Scottish Socialist Party (SSP) both scored gains, collecting 13 seats between them, in contrast to the two they won last time. SSP representatives advocated limited tax concessions to working people, increased wages for public sector workers, and free school meals.

A number of “independents” also won parliamentary seats. One was a doctor who campaigned on a platform of opposition to the closure of a Glasgow hospital.

Just over 50 percent of the electorate, or 1.9 million people, turned out to vote, a drop of 9 percent over last time.

“No Baghdad bounce, no overwhelming victory for any of the main parties,”

wrote Peter Riddell in the May 3 *Times* of London.

Campaigning on the war victory, Blair had traveled to Scotland several times during the run-up to the vote. His would-be triumphal visits tended to be overshadowed by other news, however. His April 15 trip, for example, coincided with a well-publicized negative report from the Royal Bank of Scotland. The document revealed that manufacturing output had declined for the third month in a row, indicating that Scotland’s economy was heading for its second recession since 2001.

On the weekend before, several hundred workers had joined a protest march organized by the Union of Shop Distribution and Allied Workers against job losses resulting from the closure of the Boots pharmaceutical plant in Airdrie near Glasgow. The area has seen a wave of factory closures in recent years.

## Blair targets Scottish nationalists

Blair also targeted the Scottish nationalists. The main choice, he said, was between Labour and its program of “reforming our public services or the SNP [which] will file for divorce from the rest of Britain.”

The SNP’s manifesto promises to hold a referendum on independence some three years into office. Party leader John Swinney pledged to use the Scottish parliament’s ability to adjust taxes to secure a reduction in business taxes. A number of prominent capitalists spoke out in support of the SNP. At the same time there were signs that the party has lost



Militant/Anne Howie

**Firefighters rally in Glasgow, Scotland, February 1. Factory closures and flare-ups of protests and strikes by workers were backdrop of recent Scottish elections.**

some support among farmers and other small producers.

Unsatisfied with the response by the big-business parties to sharpening attacks on their livelihoods, fisherman in the Northeast fielded a candidate in the elections from the Fishing Party to protest the impending cut by 75 percent of the white fish fleet in Scotland. In December and January a group of fishermen called the “Cod Crusaders” had organized vigils and

seaborne protests against these cuts.

Such protests, which tend to target London and call for support from the Scottish parliament, give the lie to claims in the big-business media that support for Scottish nationalism has declined. A survey published on the eve of the election indicated that 77 percent of people in Scotland saw themselves as Scottish, while 16 per cent identified as British. The ratio in a 1979 poll was 56 percent to 38 percent.

## Washington presses Damascus and Beirut to help crack down on Palestinian fighters

BY GEORGES MEHRABIAN

**BEIRUT, Lebanon**—U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell visited the Syrian capital city of Damascus on May 2 and instructed President Bashar Al Assad to clamp down on several Palestinian organizations with offices in the Syrian capital. The next day Powell paid a one-day visit to this city, laying out a set of similar demands on the Lebanese government.

The Palestinian organizations targeted by Powell in his Syria visit were Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command. In addition to calling on Assad to shut down their Damascus offices, Powell urged him to get behind Washington’s so-called road map to peace, aimed at stifling the Palestinian struggle, and demanded support for the U.S.-imposed regime now being set up in Iraq.

The U.S. politician also insisted that Syria withdraw its troops from Lebanon and end all assistance to the Hezbollah organization, which waged a 20-year struggle against the Israeli occupation of south Lebanon.

Democratic Party congressman Thomas Lantos had struck similar themes in a visit to Damascus the previous week. Lantos is a sponsor of the Syrian Accountability and Lebanese Restoration of Sovereignty Act, which calls for Syria to be held responsible for attacks by Hezbollah militants and threatens it with economic sanctions. The congressman described Syria’s official stance of opposition to the invasion of Iraq as a “historic mistake.”

The next day Powell met Lebanese president Emile Lahoud. At a subsequent press conference, he said that in addition to clamping down on Hezbollah’s actions, the Lebanese government should send its army into the southern territories liberated from Israel in 2000—an area that is pres-

ently under Hezbollah’s control.

Hezbollah leader Hassan Ezzieddine stated, “Hezbollah is present in the villages adjacent to the border [with Israel]. Hezbollah fighters are the sons of these villages and they are determined to remain there. No one has the right to ask them to leave the border area.”

In a clear reference to Syria, Powell said that all foreign military forces must be withdrawn from the country. Damascus maintains 20,000 troops in Lebanon, having initially intervened in 1976 to block the victory of a mass upsurge led by the Palestine Liberation Organization and an alliance of Lebanese groups and parties in the civil war raging at the time. Washington had encouraged that intervention.

The Lebanese government mobilized the armed forces and set up checkpoints during the visit, giving the city the feel of a military occupation.

In contrast to previous weeks, no protests against Washington’s occupation in Iraq occurred. However, several hundred rightist youth rallied to demand, “Syria out of Lebanon now”—a sign that Washington’s attacks on the Syrian government have put wind in the sails of right-wing Christian forces in Lebanon. Some held banners stating that “the Syrian regime is another version of Saddam.” Security forces arrested several participants in the right-wing demonstration.

At an April 30 vigil attended by some 200 people in central Beirut to honor those killed by the occupying forces in Palestine and Iraq, Jamal Al Kurdi told this reporter, “Most people in the country are now in a state of shock and are demoralized. They are trying to figure out what happened, why did Iraq fall so easily, how can imperialism be stopped and defeated.”

Kurdi had been a member of the Lebanese delegation at the April 19–21 Interna-

tional Student and Youth Meeting Against Aggression on Iraq. “Having attended the conference in Baghdad, I was not at all surprised by the defeat in Iraq,” he said. “I was sitting in the back of the conference and had a full view of all the Iraqi youth delegates. Every time a speaker would make a reference to fighting until the last drop of blood to defend Saddam and Iraq, marshals would run through the hundreds of Iraqis and prod them to rise and applaud. Right there and then I knew that you could not defeat the American imperialists with such methods and such human material.”

Meanwhile, hundreds of young Lebanese, along with Palestinians from the refugee camps in Lebanon, found their way into Iraq to join the fight against Washington and London’s aggression.

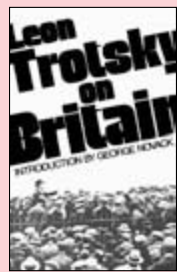
Khatoun Haidar reported in the April 30 issue of Beirut’s *Daily Star* on the experiences of three such fighters. “The moment they arrived in Baghdad, they sensed a lack of military readiness,” he wrote. “No ditches, barricades, entrenchments, or mining, as one would expect in a city preparing for urban warfare. They were badly fed and badly equipped.”

“They witnessed the first incursion into Baghdad airport and swear that the battle was fierce and that attacking forces had to retreat,” Haidar continued. “The human cost in their ranks were tremendous. Then the Iraqis told them to retreat and to let the Americans forces in as part of an ambush plan. They complied reluctantly, but when they saw the officers discarding their military outfits for civilian clothes they understood that they were being betrayed so they stuck together and went into Baghdad seeking a way to return home.”

Several similar accounts have been published in the Beirut press.

Natasha Terlexis contributed to this article.

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