

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

In debate, both Kerry and Bush press for 'winning war in Iraq'

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Militant/Pat Miller

Bob Butero (left), United Mine Workers of America District 4 director, speaking October 2 at one-year anniversary celebration of the start of the union-organizing fight at Co-Op mine in Huntington, Utah. Over 100 miners, unionists, and other supporters of their struggle attended the event, including SWP candidate for president Róger Calero. The day after the union rally Calero spoke at a socialist campaign meeting in Price (see article on page 7). Before Utah, Calero campaigned in Iowa.

Utah miners mark one year of union-organizing battle

Vow to fight firing of UMWA stalwart, company suit against union supporters

BY PAT MILLER AND GUILLERMO ESQUIVEL

PRICE, Utah—"After a year of struggle, we still have the support to win this fight," said Jesús Salazar, a leader of the Co-Op miners' struggle to win representation by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). "We are confident if we stay united on the job, together with all of the contacts and support we have gained through the UMWA, we will win this fight."

Salazar was addressing the October 2 rally here marking the one-year anniversary of the Co-Op miners' fight for a union.

More than 100 people turned out for the event held at the UMWA District 22 union hall.

Mike Dalpiaz, UMWA international executive board member for District 22, introduced the program, which included many retired union miners and UMWA members from the nearby Deer Creek mine in Huntington, Utah.

At the rally, the miners discussed how to counter the latest attacks by the employers on the job and through the courts.

Two days before the rally, the Co-Op bosses fired Celso Panduro, one of the stalwarts of the 10-month strike and of the struggle by the miners, since returning to work in July, to win a union election, and a contract with decent wages and better job safety.

A week earlier, the Kingstons, the owners of the Co-Op mine, had also filed a suit in the U.S. District Court in Salt Lake City against more than 120 individuals and organizations who have backed the Co-Op miners. Defendants, cited for "unfair labor practices" and "defamation," include the UMWA, 17 of the Co-Op miners, and many newspapers that have reported on the labor struggle—including the *Salt Lake Tribune*, the *Price Sun Advocate*, the *Intermountain Catholic*, and the *Militant*, all of which sent

reporters to the meeting.

A contingent of dock workers, Service Employees International Union members, and a meat packer made the trip from Washington State. The crowd was inspired by the fact that these 12 unionists traveled such a long way and followed up on pledges of solidarity they made when Co-Op miners toured the Seattle area earlier this year to win support for their fight.

Several miners pointed out that the soli-

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Israeli army occupies northern Gaza to set 'buffer zone'

Invasion deals further blows to Palestinian resistance

BY PAUL PEDERSON

With heavy armor and bulldozers, 2,000 Israeli troops roared into the Gaza Strip September 29, invading a Palestinian refugee camp and two villages in the northern part of the territory. Israeli officials said this would be an ongoing occupation, aimed at establishing a "buffer zone" in northern Gaza about six miles wide in order to stop rocket attacks from Gaza into southern Israel.

At least 70 Palestinians and 5 Israelis have been killed since September 29, when a Qassam missile fired by Hamas from Gaza into an Israeli border town killed 2 children. Tel Aviv used the rocket attack as the pretext to launch its military operation.

In the process, the Israeli troops dealt further blows to the Palestinian resistance, conducting widespread house-to-house searches and arresting many militants in the Jabalya refugee camp and other areas.

Over the last two years, the Israeli regime has assassinated hundreds of leaders and cadres of Hamas and other Palestinian groups that have carried out bombings and other armed attacks on Israeli military and

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'We stand with workers trying to organize unions'

We support right of oppressed nations to economic development, says socialist in Iowa

BY MARTHA MCLEOD AND JOE SWANSON

DES MOINES, Iowa—"We say it's not enough to be against Bush and have to hold your nose to vote for Democratic Party nominee John Kerry," said Róger Calero, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president. He was addressing a September 30 campaign rally here, which was part of a two-day speaking tour of this Midwestern state.

"We say that what matters above all is what you stand and fight for, not who you are against. We stand with the workers and farmers in this country and around the world who are resisting the effects of the system of class exploitation and national oppression—capitalism and imperialism—who are resisting speed-up, the extension of the work day, and declining real wages.

"Workers need to organize unions and strengthen those we have to defend ourselves from the bosses' assaults on our working conditions and wages. We are running into an increasing number of workers who are making their own the demand to have a union."

The SWP campaign platform begins with the world, Calero pointed out. "We support the right of nations oppressed by imperialism to develop modern forms of electricity generation by any means necessary,

including nuclear power. Electrification is a precondition for economic development and for closing the gap between city and countryside and forging unity of working people necessary to fight for their interests," he said.

"Under the banner of 'non-proliferation,' the ruling class of the only government that has ever used nuclear weapons, Washington, and other imperialist powers—all of which generate a part of their energy through nuclear plants—are trying to prevent countries such as Iran, Brazil, and north Korea from developing nuclear energy. Everywhere we go, we expose this as a fraud and ask people to oppose it," he said.

A worker originally from Central America, who is collaborating with fellow workers to unionize a produce packing operation near Des Moines, asked the socialist candidate, "How can we get the boss to accept the union?"

Calero responded that only an effective fight can force the employers to accept the union. He pointed to the example of the struggle the Co-Op miners in Utah are waging (see front-page article).

The SWP candidate also described a meeting at an area restaurant the day before with seven sewing machine operators who work at a nonunion sewing plant in central Iowa and are trying to figure out how to confront questions of safety, forced overtime, pay disparity, and arbitrary firings on the job. "A number of them are trying to figure out how to organize a union,

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U.S., Iraqi troops take over Samarra, smashing militias

Part of larger offensive to take control of all of Iraq

BY SUSAN LAMONT

U.S. military forces and Iraqi soldiers completed October 3 a major sweep of Samarra, a city 60 miles northwest of Baghdad in the so-called Sunni Triangle. The three-day operation marked the start of a renewed offensive by the U.S.-led forces and the Iraqi military to place under the control of the interim government cities where militias opposing the Anglo-American occupation have been operating with relative impunity. Their goal is to do as much of this as possible before the upcoming elections in Iraq, scheduled for January 2005.

"We just came out of a defensive position into an offensive position," said Falah al-Naqib, Iraq's interior minister. This was the largest operation in which U.S. troops have fought alongside Iraqi soldiers.

U.S. and Iraqi military officials said their goal was to deal debilitating blows to a militia headed by Jordanian Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, who has taken credit for bombings of civilian areas and other targets and for killings of foreign hostages in Iraq. A pro-Zarqawi group had taken responsibility for a September 30 bombing in Baghdad at the inauguration of a sewage treatment plant, during which 42 Iraqis were killed, including 35 children who were collecting candy from U.S. soldiers.

Over the summer, Samarra had become a "no-go" zone for U.S. troops and the Iraqi military. Efforts by the U.S. military and the cabinet of Prime Minister Iyad Allawi to reach a negotiated settlement for control of the city by the interim regime broke down in early September.

About 3,000 soldiers of the U.S. First Infantry Division, along with 2,000 Iraqi army and national guard troops, entered Samarra from three sides October 1, initially taking control of government buildings, a pharmaceutical factory, and the Golden Mosque.

The mosque was actually taken by Iraqi forces alone, an indication that the U.S. army is beginning to make progress in training a combat-ready Iraqi military.

Iraqi and U.S. troops then began a neighborhood-by-neighborhood search for militia members and weapons. Phone lines into the city and at least some of the electricity were

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Order back issues of 'Militant' to learn about miners' battle. Free with sub! (see p. 2)

Coal bosses close W. Virginia mine after Horizon bankruptcy

BY TONY LANE

CANNELTON, West Virginia—Union miners here at the Cannelton mine, owned by Horizon Natural Resources, found out as they turned up for afternoon shift on September 24, that the mine was being idled and they were being laid off. “Last night we were working underground and the foreman came down and told us to seal the face,” said Alvin, a miner at Cannelton. “We had been wondering day by day what would happen, when this would come and we knew after that. Today we came back to work and they told us we were laid off.”

This scene was repeated at five other union operations owned by Horizon in preparation for their sale to new owners approved by the federal bankruptcy court.

At the Starfire surface mine in eastern Kentucky, miners reported there that the company told them at 3:00 p.m. to call in the dayshift workers from the mine and that the afternoon shift was not working.

The Kindill no. 2 and no. 3 mines in In-

diana also closed September 24 with little or no official notice from the company. “We’ve known something was up,” said Elden Seifert of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) local there. “We’ve been expecting a shutdown, but nobody from the company has told us a thing.”

These were the last two UMWA mines in Indiana; Starfire was the only union mine in eastern Kentucky; and with the closing of Horizon-owned Zeigler mine, there is one remaining UMWA-organized mine in southern Illinois.

These layoffs are the latest step in the assault against the UMWA that Horizon began with bankruptcy proceedings in November 2002. At the end of 2003, the company demanded massive cuts in the union contracts affecting 800 miners and 2,300 retirees.

This assault was ratcheted up when Horizon sought and got approval from the federal bankruptcy court to sever union contracts—an assault on the conditions for the working miners, and cutting the lifetime health benefits guaranteed to them and retired miners. The federal court then approved the sale on August 31 of Horizon’s mines for \$786 million to Massey Energy, the fourth-largest U.S. coal company and a long-standing opponent of the UMWA; two companies launched by Wall Street financier Wilbur Ross; and a group of bondholders.

Ross has made a specialty of buying companies through bankruptcy proceedings in both the steel and textile industries. As part of these buyouts, benefits owed to retired workers and their dependents were ended, affecting tens of thousands. His International Steel Group in a few years has become the largest steel producer in the United States and his newly-formed International Coal Group (ICG) is the fifth largest coal company in the United States. The other Ross-owned coal company, Old Ben Coal, will be comprised largely of worked-out coal properties. Ross is planning further acquisitions of coal mines in Appalachia and the Illinois



Militant/Tony Lane

Miners march August 31 in Lexington, Kentucky, to protest bankruptcy scam by Horizon coal bosses.

Hotel workers in Canada strike for union contract



Militant/Aimee Kendergian

MONTREAL, Quebec—Members of the Quality Hotel Workers Union, affiliated to the Confederation of National Trade Unions, are on strike for their first contract. A key demand for these 13 restaurant workers is protection against contracting out. The Quality Hotel chain has already contracted out the restaurant work at another location in Montreal. Most of the workers there lost their jobs.

Another important demand is wage parity with the other workers in the hotel. Daniel Malouin, president of the union local, told *Militant* reporters, “We want the same conditions as other workers in the hotel and the other hotels owned by the company.”

The workers have launched roving pickets at several of the other Quality hotels in the city, in addition to picketing the struck facility here Monday to Saturday. They’ve sponsored fund-raisers and joined with other workers on strike in solidarity actions.

All summer the bosses denied that the strike was having any effect. But at the end of September they agreed to restart negotiations.

—AIMEE KENDERGIAN

Basin. “The coal mining industry is very highly fragmented and this will be a vehicle for consolidating the industry,” Ross told the *Bloomberg News*. He thanked the federal and state governments for their help in creating ICG as “an enterprise free of contingent liabilities”—referring to the voiding of the union contracts and health benefits for retired and retiring miners.

The closings and the tearing up of the contract obligations are a harsh blow to miners, many of them nearing retirement age. Jim Craze, a miner at Cannelton, said that what happened “is not fair, it’s not right. At my age, no one is going to hire me. I’ve got health problems; I am not going to be able to pass a physical.” Retiree Andy Payne echoed these comments explaining that “200 men were cut off at Cannelton, two-thirds of them can’t get health care, and they’ve got young families. What kind of judge would do that?”

“If you don’t put a stop to it now,” explained Craze, “everyone is going to get it.” Another miner, Tony, agreed. “It is time to get in behind the unions. Peabody, Consol, [two of the biggest U.S. coal companies] they’re next, if something isn’t stopped.”

A retired miner passing by remarked “It’s the same thing as always, Democrats and Republicans.”

Jack Mygatt, a southern Illinois miner told *The Southern Illinoisian*, “If you trace this all the way back it goes back to the federal government. It’s their laws, their rules and their regulations that are allowing this

to happen. So, essentially what the system has done is saying that you can replace these people, regardless of how much time they have, with anybody you want.”

Many workers wanted to discuss what will happen next. Anti-union Massey Energy is slated to take over the Cannelton and Starfire mines. One miner told *Militant* reporters at the portal, “Well if they think of opening up nonunion, we’ll have a picket line up here next week.” Another Cannelton miner, Elmer Keffer, stated, “We have got a fight brewing. It (the attacks) has got to stop. There’s a meeting on Monday, we’ll figure something out, but there’s going to be a fight.”

The Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Pennsylvania, Brian Taylor, visited West Virginia after the layoffs and spoke with miners. Taylor noted the sense of outrage against the company and the solidarity with the affected miners.

“My campaign stands with thousands of people who find it unacceptable that as hundreds of millions of dollars change hands from one superrich outfit to another that the immediate and long-term futures of our class are simply balled up and thrown away,” he said. Taylor called on those who defend workers’ right to organize unions “to stand together against this attack.”

Tony Lane is a member of UMWA Local 1248 in southwestern Pennsylvania. Ron Short contributed to this article.

THE MILITANT

Find out about Utah miners’ fight for union

After a 10-month strike, Co-Op miners in Huntington, Utah, returned to work July 12 and have continued the battle for the union from inside. From day one of the strike the *‘Militant’* has given weekly coverage to this important labor struggle. New subscribers can get two back issues of their choice to find out more about it. Don’t miss a single issue!



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Kerry and Bush in debate: 'Win war in Iraq'

BY SUSAN LAMONT

In the first of three planned debates between the Democratic and Republican presidential contenders, which took place September 30, both Senator John Kerry and President George Bush pressed for the goal of "winning the war in Iraq."

Vice-president Dick Cheney and Senator John Edwards argued along similar lines at a vice-presidential debate in Cleveland, Ohio, five days later.

Kerry insisted he can do a better job than Bush in fighting the "global war on terrorism," winning some praise in ruling-class circles for his performance.

The first Kerry-Bush debate took place at the University of Miami in Coral Gables, Florida, five weeks before the November 2 election. Its theme was foreign policy and "homeland security."

Agreeing on a common "America First" framework, the candidates of the two main capitalist parties debated tactical differences on how best to advance U.S. imperialism's strategic interests around the world.

"I can make America safer than President Bush has made us," Kerry said. "I have a better plan for homeland security. I have a better plan to be able to fight the war on terror by strengthening our military."

One of Kerry's main themes was the claim that Bush diverted Washington's attention from what he said should be its main target—Osama bin Laden and his group, al Qaeda.

Referring to a handful of generals who have endorsed his candidacy, Kerry said these officers "know I would not take my eye off the goal: Osama bin Laden. Unfortunately he escaped in the mountains of Tora Bora. We had him surrounded. But we didn't use American forces, the best trained in the world, to go kill him. The president relied on Afghan warlords and he outsourced that job too." The latter statement echoed the Democratic candidate's push for more protectionism to "save American jobs," and his position that Bush's economic policies have resulted in the "outsourcing" of U.S. manufacturing jobs abroad.

Kerry reiterated his view that the Bush administration acted unilaterally in invading Iraq and overthrowing Saddam Hussein, without adequate involvement of Washington's imperialist allies. Nevertheless, he said, "I believe we have to win this. This president and I have always agreed on that." Kerry proposed sending more troops to Iraq.

"What I want to do is change the dynamics on the ground," Kerry said. "And you have to do that by beginning not to back off of Fallujah and other places and send the wrong message to terrorists.... You've got to show you are serious."

This is precisely what the Bush administration is doing in Iraq now.

Kerry also said he would add two active duty divisions—up to 30,000 troops—to the U.S. military, "not for Iraq, but for our general demands around the world," and that he would double the number of Special Forces personnel to more effectively fight the "terrorists."

Neither Kerry nor Bush mentioned that the Pentagon is already in the process of adding 30,000 soldiers to the U.S. Army and strengthening the role and size of Special Forces.

On "homeland security," Kerry said that Bush is not doing enough and that he would do more. He called for more extensive domestic security measures and more funding for police and other cop agencies, accusing Bush of diverting funds to Iraq that are needed for domestic policing and spy operations.

Bush countered by defending his administration's course of action in Iraq and Afghanistan, asserting that Washington has made major gains in the "war on terror" in those countries, as well as in Pakistan, Libya, Indonesia, and elsewhere. "Iraq is a central part in the war on terror," Bush said. And, he pointed out, "My administration has tripled the amount of money we're spending on homeland security to \$30 billion a year."

Bush repeatedly targeted Kerry's shifting positions on the Iraq war aimed at appeasing the various wings of the Democratic Party—his statements that this was "the wrong war, at the wrong place, at the wrong time," alternating with his vote and later proclamations in favor of the U.S.-led invasion. "You cannot lead if you send mixed messages," Bush said. "Mixed messages send the wrong signals to our troops.

Mixed messages send the wrong signals to our allies."

Defending his policies known as the Bush Doctrine, the president said, "We've upheld the doctrine that said if you harbor a terrorist, you're equally as guilty as the terrorist."

Both candidates agreed that "proliferation of weapons of mass destruction" is the biggest single threat to U.S. "national security."

Kerry accused Bush of pursuing policies that have actually led to the spread of nuclear weapons. While the White House has focused on the war in Iraq, Kerry said, "North Korea's gotten nuclear weapons and the world is more dangerous. Iran is moving toward nuclear weapons and the world is more dangerous." Kerry said Washington should pursue bilateral talks with north Korea and step up pressure on Iran to abandon its nuclear program. He said he would pick up the pace of retrieving "unsecured" nuclear material in the former Soviet Union, which he said is in danger of falling into the hands of "terrorists."

Bush defended his administration's course of pursuing six-party talks with north Korea, emphasizing the importance of trying to draw China into putting pressure on north Korea to abandon its nuclear program. He said Washington is already squeezing Tehran with sanctions. Bush also referred briefly to other steps his government has taken under the banner of "non-proliferation," in particular the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) that has now been endorsed by more than 60 governments. Under the PSI, armed forces of imperialist powers and their allies have begun to stop and board vessels with "suspect" cargo in international waters and often confiscate their goods.

The day after the encounter, commentators in the bourgeois media agreed by and

Airline caterers strike in New Zealand



Militant/Terri Coggan

More than 400 workers at airline caterer LSG Skychefs began a series of rolling, two-hour strikes October 1 in Auckland and Christchurch, New Zealand, to protest stalled contract negotiations. The workers, members of the Service and Food Workers Union and the Engineering, Printing, and Manufacturing Union, are demanding overtime pay after 40 hours work and a 5 percent wage increase.

large that Kerry had fared better in the debate than Bush, presenting his views in a more confident way, while the president appeared irritated and defensive. "John Kerry has reason to feel good about his performance," the *New York Post* editors—who support Bush—

noted October 1. "His much-vaunted debat-

ing skills were on full display last night. In contrast, President Bush too often rambled." Opinion polls a few days after the debate showed that Kerry had closed the gap and was running about even with Bush, who was ahead by more than 10 percent in previous surveys in September.

Communist Party USA: 'don't hold your nose to vote for Kerry, campaign actively for Democrats'

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

The Communist Party USA leadership has been arguing recently that the attitude of millions who dislike the Bush administration but don't identify openly with John Kerry's campaign could cost the Democratic Party the election.

Some in the middle-class left have been making fun of the CPUSA for being—even more so than previous elections—one of the most fervent proponents of one of the two main parties of American imperialism.

There is a more serious question to be answered, however. What if the false argument of the Communist Party that Kerry is better than Bush, or even better than previous "progressive" Democrats, were true? What if Kerry was calling for bringing the U.S. troops home from Iraq? Would a vote for him and the Democratic Party then be justified?

As the Socialist Workers Party candidates in the 2004 elections have pointed out, the problem for working people is not this or that individual capitalist candidate, or their parties, but the system of capitalism, of class exploitation. Support for one or another "lesser evil" capitalist candidate has been a successful method the ruling class and its lieutenants in the labor movement have used for decades to prevent working people from acting to defend their class interests not only on the economic level but on the political plane too. This is the fundamental reason to oppose the CPUSA's energetic campaign for a vote for Kerry.

"The remark heard in some left circles, 'I will vote for Kerry but hold my nose,' is counterproductive and demobilizing," declared Sam Webb, national chair of the CPUSA, in an article in the August 28 *People's Weekly World*, the party's newspaper. "It may bring some momentary self-satisfaction to those expressing it. But it will do little to convince swing, undecided, or stay-at-home voters."

This is the biggest problem the pro-Democratic camp faces, Webb continued, "is not that millions of people will have unrealistic expectations of a Kerry administration, but rather that a substantial section of voters still believe that it doesn't make much of a difference who they vote for on Nov. 2," he said.

"The responsibility of left and progressive people is not to spend their time bel-

lying over Kerry's shortcomings, but to convince millions that there is a choice and that the outcome of this election will have enormous consequences for our nation's future," Webb concluded.

The Stalinist party presents two principal arguments to back up its support for the Democrats—one of the two main parties of democratic imperialism.

The first is that the Bush administration is the gravest present danger to humanity, bordering on fascism, which makes electing "anybody but Bush" wholly justified. In an article in the September 30 *People's Weekly World*, for example, Webb said the Bush administration is not a "normal" bourgeois democratic regime," but instead a "conservative-authoritarian" government. "We can't say that it is fascistic, but sometimes traces of fascist thinking are evident in its speeches and its policies," he declared.

But simple hate for a bourgeois politician is not good enough to mobilize and energize an electorate faced with what many consider a ghastly alternative, as Webb pointed out. So the second prong of this campaign is an attempt to prettify the pro-imperialist, warmongering, and antilabor policies and record of the Democratic Party and its presidential nominee. In this vein, the *People's Weekly World* has been carrying banner headlines and articles trying to paint Kerry's positions as "progressive" and prolabor.

"John Kerry's stands on the major issues of the times, since the 1970s, have been a lot better than those of Jimmy Carter, Walter Mondale, and Bill Clinton," said an opinion column by Norman Markowitz in the September 25 *Weekly World*. "He is a progressive Democratic senator from a liberal pro-labor state, Massachusetts, as Roosevelt was the progressive governor of New York."

The CP implies that with Kerry in office working people will have a good chance of making gains like those of the 1930s, which the party attributes to the "New Deal" policies of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt administration. This myth about Roosevelt has been promoted for decades by the union officialdom, as well as liberals, Stalinists, and other middle-class radicals.

The gains working people made at the time—like organizing the unorganized and winning Social Security pensions and unemployment compensation—were the by-

products of mass labor struggles that had revolutionary potential, not of Roosevelt's supposed benevolence.

In reality, Roosevelt made the smallest possible concessions to stave off the working-class radicalization that developed during and in the aftermath of the Great Depression. While unemployment remained above 8 million throughout the New Deal years, the government never provided jobs for more than 25 percent of the jobless.

As Roosevelt prepared the U.S. military for entry into the inter-imperialist slaughter in the second World War, his administration organized a week-long industry-labor conference in December 1941 that won a commitment from the union officialdom to surrender the right to strike for the duration of the war—the "no strike pledge." This antilabor measure, used by Roosevelt to freeze wages and extract concessions from the unions, was supported by the Communist Party, which also demanded a "permanent no-strike pledge," according to Art Preis, in his book, *Labor's Giant Step—The First Twenty Years of the CIO: 1936-55*.

As the *Militant* explained in an August 31 editorial urging support for the SWP 2-004 ticket, "the cause of the worsening economic and social crisis—from exploitation by the bosses to wars of plunder abroad—is not an individual politician or a particular party holding office, but the capitalist system and the tiny handful of billionaire families that perpetuate their rule at the expense of the vast majority."

"This capitalist class has two parties, the Democrats and Republicans. Their two party system is a trap designed to hoodwink working people into thinking that we have a choice—alternating between one gang of predators and another—and to keep us from attacking the real problem, capitalism."

"Nor are the 'independent' campaigns of Ralph Nader and the Green Party an alternative for working people. These are pro-capitalist third parties that are not independent from the ruling class. They serve as pressure groups on the Democrats, reinforcing the two-party con game."

As the *Militant* has explained, working people do have a choice in the November elections that's in their interests. And that is to vote socialist, to support the working-class alternative in 2004 to the parties of capitalism: the SWP ticket.

Miners' union battle

Continued from front page

arity rally took place in the same room where Co-Op miners held their first meetings with representatives of the UMWA in early September 2003. The walls of the union hall are adorned with scores of pictures of UMWA locals going back to the 1930s and '40s, a time when fierce battles took place to organize nonunion mines.

Dalpiaz said the UMWA has "a proud history of being a militant union and the UMWA is committed to seeing that the Co-Op miners get justice." He told the crowd that the "Co-Op fight remains at the top of the radar screen for the UMWA."

Firing of union stalwart

According to Panduro, on Monday, September 27, Cyril Jackson, head maintenance foreman at the Co-Op mine, told Panduro he was being sent home after he had not bolted a cross cut. Panduro told Jackson that he was sick. Panduro was assigned as a roof bolter on a set up crew. The crew works straight midnights and gets the section ready for the incoming production crew.

Panduro said he had worked seven straight 12-hour shifts bolting on a production crew. He said he had a cold and bronchitis for a month.

After being sent home, Panduro said he was called by Shane Stoddard, the head production foreman, and was informed that the company was giving him a three-day suspension with intent to discharge.

Other Co-Op miners said that at the same time the bosses began telling workers on the job that Panduro had been fired for refusing an order from Jackson.

On Wednesday, September 29, the company scheduled a hearing. Panduro said he requested Bill Estrada, another UMWA backer at the mine, as his translator. The company refused the request and told Panduro a translator was not needed. Panduro insisted he had the right to have a translator.

The bosses then rescheduled the hearing for next day and agreed to have Estrada translate, along with José Ortega who is a company trainer and under investigation by the Mine Safety and Health Administration for violations of training procedures. Seven bosses testified against Panduro. "It was clear that the hearing was just a show," Estrada said in an interview. "The bosses were determined to take advantage of the situation to fire one of the leaders of the fight. Everyone knew Panduro had been sick for weeks."

Panduro, along with Jesús Salazar, Juan Salazar, and Bill Estrada, were among the Co-Op miners who were asked to address the October 2 rally and explain the history of the struggle.

"We've been threatened and harassed by this company repeatedly," Panduro said at the rally. "They took advantage of my being sick and unable to do my job last week to fire me. They think by firing me I will be out of the fight. But the Kingstons are wrong about that. I am going to keep fighting and so are

all of us here in this room today."

As a show of solidarity and to answer the Kingstons' outrageous action, John Fischer of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union in Seattle got up toward the end of the program and pledged another \$1,000 to help Panduro and his family make ends meet while the miners fight to get his job back.

'Demand NLRB set date for union vote'

Bill Estrada was the last of the Co-Op miners to speak. "The fight is at a critical juncture," he said. "Not just for the Co-Op miners ourselves, but for the UMWA and for the entire labor movement. Day in and day out we are fighting the company underground."

Estrada said the UMWA will be filing charges with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) against the company over the firing of Panduro. "Not only are we filing charges, but we are organizing ourselves to wage the fight in the mine to win his job back," he explained.

"While we are fighting the injustice heaped upon us by the Kingstons, we are also demanding the NLRB set a date for union elections at the mine," he said. "The labor board has had enough time to decide. The government is just giving the Kingstons more openings to harass and threaten us by delaying a union election at this point." Estrada pointed out that many of the company acts of intimidation against union supporters in the mine are in direct violation of the NLRB-brokered settlement, which forced the company to offer to take back all the strikers, who walked the picket line for nearly 10 months, without retaliation.

The bosses fired the 75 Co-Op miners on Sept. 22, 2003, for defending a co-worker who had been dismissed and other UMWA supporters who had been harassed after demanding safety on the job and livable wages. These miners were paid between \$5.25 and \$7 an hour, while wages for underground coal miners in the United States average around \$17 an hour.

The day after the firings, the UMWA filed an unfair labor practices complaint with the NLRB, which ruled in late spring that the miners had been dismissed illegally and that a union election must be held at Co-Op. Soon after the firings, the miners turned the lockout into a strike and began picketing the mine.

During the nine-and-a-half month walk-out, the miners won increasing solidarity from the labor movement in the United States and other countries. After the NLRB ruling, the Co-Op bosses made an unconditional offer to return, and a number of strikers were back on the job on July 12.

Ten days later, the NLRB held a hearing in Price, Utah, on who should have a right to vote in a union election. The company claimed that about 100 people, including managerial and office personnel, most of whom are Kingston family members or relatives, should be allowed to vote. A so-called International Association of United



Militant/Teri Moss

Celso Panduro speaking October 2 to fellow Co-Op miners and supporters at one-year anniversary rally at UMWA union hall in Price, Utah. On left is miner Bill Estrada.

Workers Union (IAUWU), which the miners say is a company union, is siding with the bosses in this conflict. The IAUWU filed the September 24 suit along with the Kingstons against the UMWA and other defendants. The UMWA has argued that Kingston family members and relatives, who were brought into the mine to stack the cards against the UMWA, are loyal to the company and should not be allowed to vote. The NLRB has yet to rule on this matter or set a date for a union election.

In a September 30 article, the *Price Sun Advocate* had this to say about how the Kingstons run the mine: "The mine is owned by the well known Kingston family, who purportedly run the mine as an 'order' where family members and followers of their religious sect don't work for wages but to build the business and their belief system, which includes a polygamous lifestyle. However, many of the workers who are not part of the clan are reportedly called 'outsiders' and many of those were the people that went on strike."

Countering the Kingstons' lawsuit

The focus of that *Sun Advocate* article was to report on the lawsuit by the Co-Op bosses. The article concluded with the following: "I haven't thoroughly reviewed the documents yet," said *Sun Advocate* and *Emery County Progress* publisher Ken Larson, who was not mentioned in the suit, while four of his staff were. "I have however reviewed the articles that were written about the situation and I see nothing that defamed anyone. Our job is to report the news, and that comes from many sources. Our reporters talked to people on both sides of the issue and reported what was said by those sources. We have covered this story fairly."

The suit targets the UMWA and 17 of the Co-Op miners for alleged violations of labor laws for trying to organize the workers in a mine the bosses claim had already

been organized by their IAUWU outfit. It also claims that dozens of labor and other organizations, along with newspapers that reported factually on the struggle or supported the miners, "defamed" the Kingstons and the IAUWU. The *Militant*, its editor, its web administrator, and 20 of its reporters are named as defendants; as are the Roman Catholic Church; Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers international union; the National Organization for Women, and many others (see front-page article and editorial in last week's issue, as well as legal brief filed by Kingstons posted on www.themilitant.com).

The Kingston family has a record of filing such outlandish suits against their adversaries. On September 30, a federal judge threw out subpoenas seeking notes, film outtakes, and other information from two media outlets—Associated Press and KUTV-Channel 2—for covering a news conference that announced the filing of a lawsuit against the Kingstons, reported the *Salt Lake Tribune*.

That lawsuit, a personal injury suit, was filed by Mary Ann Kingston, who "has named 242 members of the Kingston clan and nearly 100 businesses operated by family members as defendants, claiming the relatives knew she had been forced into an incestuous relationship with her polygamist uncle but did nothing to stop it," the October 1 *Tribune* reported.

Many at the October 2 rally spoke about the suit that attorneys Carl Kingston and Mark Hansen filed on behalf of the Kingstons and the IAUWU, pledging to fight to dismiss it as frivolous or ensure the Co-Op bosses are defeated if the case goes to trial.

"The suit is outrageous," said Juan Salazar in an interview following the rally. "It has made us madder and stronger. We have to counterattack them on this lawsuit. They have done so many illegal things for so many years, yet they are suing us. They can't win. They've also given all the supporters of our struggle at Co-Op another reason to pull ourselves together and help the fight."

UMWA members from the Deer Creek local donated union T-shirts and hats, which were popular raffle prizes. Much sought-after items at the raffle were two afghans made by Ann Fivecoat, wife of retired UMWA member Bob Fivecoat. The Fivecoats have been strong backers of the Co-Op miners' struggle since the very first days of the fight. The Co-Op miners also produced a commemorative T-shirt for the event. By the end of the day, almost every participant was wearing one.

The UMWA is urging all supporters of the Co-Op miners to send letters to the NLRB urging the board to set a date for a union vote and to rule in favor of the UMWA's position that no supervisory personnel or members of the Kingston family, all of whom are part of the management setup at the mine, be allowed to vote in the election. Messages should be sent to NLRB Region 27, attn: B. Allan Benson, director, 600 17th Street, 7th Floor—North Tower, Denver, CO 80202-5433. Tel. (303) 844-3551. Fax. (303) 844-6249.

For further information or to send donations and messages of support to the Co-Op miners contact UMWA District 22 at 525 East 100 South, Price, UT 84501; Tel: (435) 637-2037; Fax: (435) 637-9456.

Racists forced to drop booth at Mississippi fair

BY SUSAN LAMONT

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama—Plans by a white supremacist outfit known as the Nationalist Movement to have a booth featuring Ku Klux Klan figure Edward Ray Killen at the Mississippi State Fair this month have drawn protests from the NAACP, students from Jackson State University (JSU) and Tougaloo College, and others in Mississippi. The protests forced the racist group to abandon its plans before the fair opened.

More than 30 people picketed the Mississippi Department of Agriculture and Commerce September 27. Signs included "Mississippi is still burning" and "First Amendment is no excuse for abuse."

Some protesters encouraged people to register disapproval of the racist group's booth by not attending the state fair, which runs October 6-17 in Jackson, the state capital. "If the contents of the fair do offend you, don't go," Shawna Davie, president of the Student Government Association at JSU, told the Jackson *Clarion Ledger*.

Jackson State students then called for a March Against Racism for October 6, and began contacting area students, Black and white, to participate, said Bill Chandler in a telephone interview from Jackson. Chandler is an international organizer for

UNITE HERE and chair of the Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance (MIRA!). "It's important to support this march," said Chandler, "because racism is one of the main ways used to divide working people, especially when they're trying to organize."

Nationalist Movement leader Richard Barrett of Learned, Mississippi, had announced that he was going to have a petition supporting Killen at the group's booth. Killen, 79, was tried in 1967 on federal conspiracy charges in the Klan's June 21, 1964, murder of three civil rights workers in Neshoba County, Mississippi. He was freed after a hung jury verdict and never faced state charges. Seven Klan members were convicted on federal civil rights violations in the case, but none served more than six years.

Barrett said he intended to hand out cards with the images of Andrew Goodman, James Chaney, and Michael Schwerner—the three murdered civil rights workers—with a circle around them and a line crossed through. The card describes the three as communists who "invaded" Mississippi.

The Mississippi state attorney general's office is currently investigating the possibility of seeking a state murder indictment in the 1964 case, as a result of growing

pressure to reopen one of the most important unsolved cases of the civil rights movement. In June, hundreds gathered in Philadelphia, Mississippi, a town in Neshoba County, to mark the 40th anniversary of the slayings and support efforts to reopen the case.

At the 1967 trial, Killen was identified as having organized the killings of Chaney, Goodman, and Schwerner. The three young civil rights workers had been in Neshoba County in 1964 as part of Freedom Summer, during which hundreds of volunteer organizers came to Mississippi to help register Blacks to vote.

Mississippi State Fair Director Mike Brinkley, after initially denying Barrett's request for a booth on technical grounds, agreed September 28 to grant a permit.

The sheriff of Hinds County, where Jackson is located, announced that his office will have a booth at the fair and will be asking fairgoers to sign a petition to reopen the murder investigation against Killen.

On October 1, Killen's wife, Betty Jo Killen, told the Associated Press in a telephone interview that her husband had no intention of attending the fair. The next day, Barrett threw in the towel and announced that he had canceled plans to have the booth.

Campaigning for SWP slate nets 'Militant' subs

BY PAUL PEDERSON

A total of 1,064 people have subscribed to the *Militant* and 216 to its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* at the midway point of the international drive to expand the readership of the two publications. This is 86 subscriptions behind pace to hit the 2,300 subscription goal for the *Militant*, and 59 behind target on *PM* by November 7. As this issue goes to press, supporters of the two socialist periodicals are organizing a special target week of sales, combined with campaigning for the socialist ticket in the 2004 U.S. elections, to put the drive back on schedule.

Socialist campaigners have been a motor force of the circulation effort so far.

In New York, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate Martín Koppel campaigned October 1 at a meatpacking plant and two days earlier at a garment factory in New York City. Then, on October 4, Koppel, Salm Kolis, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in New York's 16th District, and one campaign supporter set up a literature table and met with students at the state university in New Paltz, New York, a town about two hours drive north of Manhattan.

A group called "Students Against Empire" is among the sponsors of an October 11 senatorial debate, at which Koppel will face Donald Silberger, the candidate of the

Libertarian Party, and David McReynolds, the Green Party candidate. Mitch, one of the members of the group, asked Koppel how does the workers movement ensure that the will of the majority is carried out. Koppel showed him the book *Teamster Rebellion* by Farrell Dobbs, explaining that he would find in it examples of proletarian organizational methods that ensured the highest level of working-class democracy in action. The student picked up the book and signed up for a *Militant* subscription.

In all, six New Paltz students signed up to subscribe to the *Militant* that day. Socialist campaigners also sold 28 books and pamphlets from their literature table. Koppel then spoke at a meeting with members of Students Against Empire that evening.

Dennis Richter, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in California, was granted a leave from his job in the sausage production department at Sarah Lee Foods in San Leandro to campaign for office. On October 5, Richter and two SWP campaign supporters from San Francisco campaigned at the "Rock the Vote" gathering at Napa Valley College, near San Francisco. In addition to the Democrats and Republicans, who had a big presence at the gathering, a number of smaller parties had booths.

One of the questions discussed at the table was the socialists' support for a woman's right to choose abortion. Myra, a first-year student there, joined the campaign table for the day after attending a campaign meeting at the so-



Militant/Dan Fein

Martín Koppel, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in New York, talks to students from Stuyvesant High School in Manhattan at October 5 campaign table near their school.

cialist campaign center in San Francisco the week before. She bought a copy of the pamphlet *Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose!* at the meeting and told socialists she was interested in having SWP campaign representatives speak on this question at a meeting on campus.

According to the *Napa News*, which covered the event, "Of all the smaller parties, the Socialist Workers Party was grabbing the most students. Laura Anderson, one of the San Francisco residents working the table, said the party's candidate for U.S. Senate, Dennis Richter, would appear later in the day at the Starbucks on Soscol Avenue."

In New Zealand, campaigning has also been a catalyst for sales of the *Militant* and *PM*. Felicity Coggan, Communist League candidate for mayor of Auckland, spoke at an open mike at Auckland University during "politics week" organized by the students' association. After several tables on that campus and others, a number of students signed up for subscriptions to the *Militant*.

Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Fall Subscription Drive Aug. 28–Nov. 7, 2004: Week 5 of 10

| Country | Militant | | | PM | | |
|---|----------|------|-----|------|------|--|
| | Goal | Sold | % | Goal | Sold | |
| ICELAND | 25 | 20 | 80% | 2 | 0 | |
| SWEDEN | 30 | 21 | 70% | 5 | 1 | |
| NEW ZEALAND | | | | | | |
| Auckland | 45 | 22 | 49% | 1 | 0 | |
| Christchurch | 35 | 16 | 46% | 1 | 0 | |
| N.Z. total | 80 | 38 | 48% | 2 | 0 | |
| AUSTRALIA | 55 | 23 | 42% | 8 | 3 | |
| UNITED STATES | | | | | | |
| Houston | 75 | 47 | 63% | 20 | 4 | |
| Craig, CO | 50 | 31 | 62% | 20 | 2 | |
| Seattle | 50 | 31 | 62% | 10 | 4 | |
| Birmingham | 40 | 21 | 53% | 8 | 3 | |
| New York | 180 | 94 | 52% | 60 | 22 | |
| Price, UT | 50 | 26 | 52% | 20 | 11 | |
| Omaha | 55 | 24 | 44% | 45 | 9 | |
| Des Moines | 65 | 28 | 43% | 25 | 10 | |
| Atlanta | 80 | 32 | 40% | 20 | 5 | |
| Twin Cities | 105 | 41 | 39% | 40 | 11 | |
| Washington | 115 | 43 | 37% | 21 | 4 | |
| Detroit | 50 | 18 | 36% | 10 | 5 | |
| Los Angeles | 150 | 53 | 35% | 50 | 25 | |
| Boston | 100 | 34 | 34% | 40 | 7 | |
| Newark | 95 | 31 | 33% | 25 | 12 | |
| Tampa | 40 | 13 | 33% | 10 | 4 | |
| Cleveland | 35 | 11 | 31% | 8 | 4 | |
| Pittsburgh | 65 | 20 | 31% | 4 | 1 | |
| Philadelphia | 95 | 29 | 31% | 10 | 0 | |
| San Francisco | 100 | 30 | 30% | 25 | 7 | |
| NE Pennsylvania | 55 | 16 | 29% | 15 | 9 | |
| Chicago | 100 | 25 | 25% | 40 | 12 | |
| Miami | 100 | 22 | 22% | 50 | 0 | |
| U.S. total | 1840 | 720 | 39% | 576 | 171 | |
| UNITED KINGDOM | | | | | | |
| Edinburgh | 25 | 11 | 44% | 2 | 0 | |
| London | 50 | 17 | 34% | 12 | 4 | |
| UK total | 75 | 28 | 37% | 12 | 4 | |
| CANADA | | | | | | |
| Montreal | 32 | 12 | 38% | 12 | 2 | |
| Toronto | 85 | 22 | 26% | 18 | 4 | |
| CANADA total | 117 | 34 | 29% | 30 | 6 | |
| 14-day campaign* | - | 179 | - | - | 31 | |
| Int'l totals | 2200 | 1063 | 46% | 654 | 216 | |
| Goal/Should be | 2300 | 1150 | 50% | 550 | 275 | |
| *14 days of campaigning in New York Aug. 21–Sept. 3 at protests and events leading up to and during the Republican convention | | | | | | |
| IN THE UNIONS | | | | | | |
| | Militant | | | PM | | |
| | Goal | Sold | % | Goal | Sold | |
| SWEDEN | | | | | | |
| Livs | 2 | 1 | 50% | 1 | 0 | |
| AUSTRALIA | | | | | | |
| AMIEU | 8 | 3 | 38% | | | |
| UNITED STATES | | | | | | |
| UMWA | 30 | 11 | 37% | 15 | 5 | |
| UFCW | 135 | 48 | 36% | 150 | 37 | |
| UNITE HERE | 50 | 15 | 30% | 40 | 8 | |
| Total | 215 | 74 | 34% | 205 | 50 | |
| CANADA | | | | | | |
| UFCW | 6 | 2 | 33% | 3 | 2 | |
| UNITE HERE | 2 | 0 | 0% | 1 | 0 | |
| Total | 8 | 2 | 25% | 4 | 2 | |
| NEW ZEALAND | | | | | | |
| MWU | 2 | 1 | 50% | | | |
| NDU | 2 | 0 | 0% | | | |
| Total | 4 | 1 | 25% | | | |
| ICELAND | | | | | | |
| Hlif | 2 | 1 | 50% | | | |
| Efling | 2 | 0 | 0% | | | |

AMIEU—Australasian Meat Industry Employees' Union; Livs—Food Workers Union; MWU—Meat Workers Union; NDU—National Distribution Union; UFCW—United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA—United Mine Workers of America. Hlif—Union of Unskilled Workers in Hafnarfjörður. Efling—Union of Unskilled Workers in Reykjavík.

Books on socialism sell well at Gothenburg, Madrid fairs

Members and supporters of the communist movement worldwide are making progress in the six-month campaign to increase sales of Pathfinder books and pamphlets by 10 percent. The goal is a 10 percent sales increase in the last six months of 2004, compared to the first half of the year.

To aid this campaign and reach those looking for working-class solutions to the questions posed by the presidential elections in the United States, the Pathfinder Super Saver sale has been extended through November 30 (see ad on page 6).

Following are excerpts from reports on Pathfinder sales at two recent book fairs. Such sales around the world play an important part in the effort to get books and pamphlets on revolutionary politics into the hands of working people and youth.

BY JUAN FIGUEROA, SHEILA HUGHES, AND JIM ALTENBERG

GOTHENBURG, Sweden—During the September 23-26 Gothenburg Book Fair, an international team of volunteers from Sweden, Iceland, Norway, the United States, and the United Kingdom staffed a Pathfinder booth, where team members had non-stop political discussions with workers and youth who stopped by. Every question of politics came up, from "lesser-evilism" in the current U.S. presidential elections to the Cuban Revolution to the fight for women's liberation.

This is the largest book fair in Nordic Europe. Over 108,000 people attended this year. It was held at a giant exhibition center in the city where trade shows of all sorts, featuring everything from industrial machinery to Swedish military hardware, are held on an almost weekly basis.

Along with staffing the booth, team members also sold the *Militant* at three plant gates: the giant Volvo plant, a large ball-bearing factory, and a packinghouse. We also set up Pathfinder tables downtown, in several working-class districts around the city, and at the University of Gothenburg. Altogether, we sold a total of 127 books, along with 21 *Militant* subscriptions, 54 copies of the *Militant*, and 2 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*. Top sellers were *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning* by Jack Barnes in Swedish, English and Spanish (23); *Socialism and Man in Cuba* in Swedish and English (16); *The Communist Manifesto* in English, Spanish and Swedish (11); *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working Class Politics at the Millennium* (7); *New International no. 10: Imperialism's March Toward Fascism and War* in Swedish, English and Farsi (5); and *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* in English and Spanish (4).

Two students came to the book fair after talking to volunteers staffing a table on their campus. After buying several Pathfinder titles, they each bought *Militant* subscriptions. "We can share the books but we both need our own paper," one said.

Following a discussion on the *Militant's* coverage of the Socialist Workers 2004 presidential election one young worker in the electrical union who bought a *Militant* subscription also paid up front for a copy of *Capitalism's World Disorder*. The title had sold out and would be mailed to him later.

At the fair's end, the team did some sales visits to

bookstores in Gothenburg. A large downtown bookstore ordered 17 titles.

BY LAURA GARZA

MADRID, Spain—Books on U.S. and working-class politics were top sellers at the Madrid Fiesta, September 17-19, with more than 40 books sold on those topics. Titles about the Cuban revolution were second with 31 sold. Among the top selling pamphlets were 20 copies each of *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning* and a newly published collection of speeches by African revolutionary leader Thomas Sankara, *Somos los Herederos de las Revoluciones del Mundo* (We are the heirs of the world's revolutions).

While Spain has a history of intervention into parts of Africa, including Equatorial Guinea, whose population speaks Spanish as a result, few had ever heard of Sankara. The booth rapidly sold out of the *Habla Malcolm X* (Malcolm X speaks) as people took advantage of the special sale price of 5 euros for that book.

The Spanish-language edition of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working Class Politics and the Trade Unions* was among the best sellers, with 13 copies sold.

This annual festival is sponsored by the Communist Party of Spain and attracts a range of people, including many youth who camp out on the grounds where it is held for the weekend.

U.S. forces take over Samarra

Continued from front page
cut off. U.S. warplanes and AH-1 Cobra helicopter gunships provided air support to the U.S. and Iraqi infantry.

Samarra, a city of 200,000, lies in the area of Iraq known as the Sunni Triangle, home to many supporters of former Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein. The triangle includes Fallujah and Ramadi, also in line for attack in the current offensive. U.S. forces, working with the fledgling Iraqi military, also aim to gain control of Sadr City, the large working-class Shiite district of Baghdad where supporters of Moqtada al-Sadr, organized in the Madhi militia, have been fighting U.S. troops. An editorial in the October 4 *Wall Street Journal* was indicative of the conclusions from the rapid victory among U.S. ruling circles. "The Samarra campaign makes up for what was turning out to be a repeat of April's mistake in Fallujah to trust a deal with former Baathists in the city," said the editorial, which was titled "Don't Stop in Samarra."

It continued, "The Iraqi contribution was especially notable, since it included newly trained forces. Once again one of the best Iraqi units was a group of some 300 from the 36th battalion that was put together in 2003 by the much-maligned Iraqi National Congress. It's a shame the State Department and the CIA opposed training more such anti-Saddam Iraqi allies earlier.

"We hope Prime Minister Ayad Allawi and his interim government conclude that the lesson of Samarra is to continue into Ramadi and Fallujah."

Thousands of Samarra residents fled the city in the wake of the assault. U.S. forces blocked the main bridge

Continued on Page 10

Penn. socialists step up campaigning in wake of arson attack

BY SALM KOLIS

HAZLETON, Pennsylvania—"A socialist candidate? Now that sounds interesting!" said one woman as she looked over the campaign signs displayed on a truck near the gate of the Excel meatpacking plant on the outskirts of this town in northeast Pennsylvania.

"Hey, I've read your paper a few times," said another worker from the pork line as he drove by. "You've got some good ideas. Keep it up!"

Socialists from Colorado, New Jersey, and New York joined Tim Mailhot, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in Pennsylvania's 11th District, for a week of stepped-up campaigning in response to the September 11 firebombing of the SWP campaign hall here.

Campaign teams set up near the large packing plant on Monday and Friday, September 17 and 20, giving out dozens of campaign flyers and selling 10 copies and 3 subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* and 6 copies of the *Militant*. Several workers pulled over to talk briefly, and find out how the effort was going to repair the damage to the offices.

Mailhot was also invited to make presentations on his campaign and on the arson attack at two campuses during that week. At Bucknell University in Lewisburg, the leader of a campus women's group set up a public meeting for the socialist candidate. Students asked questions on the views of the SWP candidate on a wide array of topics.

"Why do you say attacks like this firebombing or racist assaults are attacks on the working class?" one student asked.

Mailhot said that working people don't face today a generalized attack on democratic rights and civil liberties. They mainly face an onslaught on our wages and working conditions, which is part of the effort by the bosses and their government to shore up the employers' sagging profit rates. As a by-product of this offensive by the wealthy rulers, civil discourse in the bourgeois election campaigns begins to go by the wayside and cops or other rightists are emboldened to carry out isolated attacks like the firebombing of the socialist campaign hall.

"Whoever did this had in mind trying to silence those like us who dissent from the Democrats and Republicans and who present a working-class alternative to the parties of capitalism," he noted. "The ruling class can own newspapers and many more media outlets to get out their views, for instance. Working-class candidates are more restricted and value even more organizing centers like the socialist hall in Hazleton that was recently firebombed." Ruling-class privilege stands out in many ways, said Mailhot, for example "when abortion was illegal the rich could pay the high price for a safe abortion while many working-class women had to go to back alley abortionists."

Another student asked if U.S.-born work-

ers could see beyond their own economic interests and view immigrants as fellow workers, "not someone stealing their jobs."

Immigrant workers have been part of leading fights for unionization, higher wages, safety, and dignity on the job across the United States, Mailhot said in response. He pointed to the example of the Co-Op miners in Utah, most of whom are originally from Mexico, who are waging a determined fight for a union and inspiring hundreds of other workers (see front-page article). "In fact," Mailhot said, "immigrant workers strengthen the working class, bringing their traditions of struggle and experience in fighting imperialism. And more native-born workers see that today."



Militant
Tim Mailhot, SWP candidate for Congress in Pennsylvania's 11th District, campaigns September 24 outside the Excel meatpacking plant where he works in Hazleton, Pennsylvania.

Socialist campaigners also spent two days working the crowd at Penn State University in the town of State College. One student who met the socialists September 21 bought a subscription to the *Militant*. Two days later, she joined SWP campaign supporters at their literature table for several hours. While at the campaign table, she called several friends to come by. Two of them did. One bought a subscription to the *Militant* and another got a copy of *The Second Declaration of Havana* (see ad below). Several students also volunteered to help the socialists get their campaign platform more broadly known on campus.

The same day, Mailhot was invited to address a rally sponsored by the Black Caucus at Penn State.

SWP candidate for vice president speaks at Florida NAACP convention

BY RACHELE FRUIT

TAMPA, Florida—Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Arrin Hawkins spoke here October 1 before 100 people at a candidates' panel at the Florida state NAACP convention. Hawkins said that she had just come from Washington D.C., where she had taken part in a rally with farmers who have been fighting decades-old anti-Black discrimination by the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Hawkins referred to the struggles of garment workers at Point Blank Body Armor in Oakland Park, Florida, and the Co-Op coal miners in Huntington, Utah, to explain how workers are seeking to organize unions to defend themselves against the bosses' assaults on their jobs, wages, benefits, working conditions, and dignity.

The ruling class has a one-point program, she said: trying to increase its profit rates by lengthening the work day, workweek, and our working lives, speeding up production, and forcing workers to work overtime while millions remain unemployed. "We not only need to defend ourselves on the economic level—we need to organize independently of the employers in the political arena as well," she noted. "We call for the launching of a labor party, based on the unions, to fight in the interests of workers and farmers."

"Do you support an increase in the minimum wage?" asked one person from the audience. The socialist candidate responded that the \$1 increase in the minimum wage, an initiative proposed on the Florida ballot, is a paltry sum that would not bring wages to a livable level. "Workers with a family who make \$10 or \$12 per hour can barely make ends meet today. My campaign calls for raising the minimum wage to union scale, to what unionized workers in the building trades get," she said.

"Do you support school vouchers?" was a second question. In explaining her opposition to school vouchers, Hawkins said

Continued on next page

Questions posed in the 2004 elections aren't new
Lessons for the struggles of today and tomorrow

PATHFINDER SUPERSAVER SALE

ALL PAMPHLETS \$1 TO \$3; ALL BOOKS \$5 OR \$10

The Lesser Evil?

by Jack Barnes

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Róger Calero in Iowa

Continued from front page too," he said.

All of these workers were among 14 who had recently signed a solidarity card and taken up a collection to support the Co-Op miners, most of whom are originally from Mexico, on the occasion of the one-year anniversary of their fight for union recognition.

One of the sewers asked Calero how to answer those workers who say, "Why should we support Mexican workers who are taking U.S. jobs?" She pointed out that some workers say they wouldn't want the jobs at the Co-Op mine anyway.

"Yes, but we are not fighting for equality in bad jobs," Calero replied. "Some self-styled immigrant rights leaders say that immigrants do the lowest paying, hardest, and most dangerous jobs in the country and therefore should be afforded rights. Our campaign says we have to fight together—immigrants and native born—to improve the conditions and pay and defend the rights of all workers. In this fight, the workers at Co-Op are actually leading the labor movement. We should do everything we can therefore to support the Co-Op miners, by actions such as you here took."

The socialist campaign is different from those of the capitalist candidates, Calero told the sewing machine operators. "We don't say, 'Vote for me and everything will improve.' We don't promise anything except to fight together for our interests—for a living standard and unity of workers and farmers not only in this country but internationally," he said.

One worker originally from the Philippines said she was particularly impressed by the last point Calero made and repeated twice to other workers on the job next day.

These discussions are widespread in the working class, Calero said at the campaign rally. While campaigning outside the gate of the Tyson meatpacking plant in Perry, Iowa, where the socialist candidate once

worked, Calero met Ignacio Villa, his former union steward. Villa told Calero that one of his co-workers who worked at Tyson and now works at a meatpacking plant in Des Moines, called Pine Ridge Farms (formally Iowa Pack) is interested in working with other workers to get the union organized.

Edwin Fruit, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in Iowa, chaired the campaign meeting, telling the audience that Calero was on his way to the Co-Op miners' anniversary rally in Huntington, Utah, the next day.

In his talk, Calero also explained that the SWP election campaign demand to back the right of power-poor semicolonial countries to develop electrification by any means they deem appropriate is needed to build working-class solidarity across borders. Workers in Mexico and other oppressed countries are forced to immigrate to the U.S. because Washington and its allies have kept these nations underdeveloped through imperialist domination, making conditions of life and work intolerable, Calero said.

The demand for electrification, Calero added, also applies to sections of the United States such as the Appalachian Mountain region and Native American lands in the West.

In response to this point, one participant said that she grew up near the Pine Ridge Indian reservation in South Dakota and that the same lack of electrification that existed then on reservations continues today, even though large tracts of uranium-rich lands have been taken over and declared off limits by the U.S. government.

Calero campaigned at the Iowa State university campus as well. He also met with a leader of the Immigrant Rights Network in Des Moines who volunteered to spread the word about the socialist campaign and to help in securing protest messages against the September 11 firebombing of the Socialist Workers campaign hall in Hazleton, Pennsylvania.



Militant/Dave Wulp (above); John Brink (right) Above, Arrin Hawkins, SWP candidate for vice president, speaks October 1 at state NAACP convention in Florida. Right, Róger Calero, SWP candidate for president, talks to his former shop steward outside Tyson meatpacking plant in Perry, Iowa, September 29.



Arrin Hawkins at NAACP meeting

Continued from Page 6

there are two kinds of education in capitalist society, "one for the working class and one for the ruling rich. The children of the working class are taught to be obedient and to submit to authority, to the boss. We have a different concept of education, where education is a lifetime right for all, not something you do until you are 18 or 22. Socialists call for workers getting time off work every few years for six months or so to study what they want, and with full pay."

Betty Castor, Democratic Party candidate for U.S. Senate, also spoke at the panel. "We're going to take Florida back," she said, explaining her support for the

Kerry campaign. Mark Stuft, an independent candidate for Senate, also spoke.

Dennis Bradley, Veteran's Party candidate for Senate, called for the immediate deportation of all "illegal immigrants."

The audience reacted to the rightist program of the Veterans Party with questions, including, "What is your stand on affirmative action for Blacks and for women?" and "Where do you stand on the right to vote for convicted felons?" Kaisha Alexander, a young woman from the Clay County chapter of the NAACP, stood up and said that Bradley's position on closing the borders sounded like bringing on an Orwellian police state.

While in Tampa, Hawkins was interviewed by *La Gaceta* newspaper, and the Pacifica radio station WMNF. She also spent an afternoon discussing politics with students at the University of South Florida, some of whom came to a reception at the campaign hall later that evening. The October 1 edition of the USF paper, *The Oracle*, featured a photograph of Hawkins on the front page with the caption, "Working for the people. Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Arrin Hawkins opened her campaign headquarters in Tampa on Thursday to those who wanted to hear her views and goals."

Calero speaks to coal miners, others in Utah

BY TERI MOSS

PRICE, Utah—Róger Calero, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States, addressed an audience here on October 3 comprised mostly of local coal miners and visiting longshoremen from the Seattle area.

The participants had attended the one-year anniversary celebration of the struggle to win representation by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) at the Co-Op mine in Huntington, Utah, the day before.

Calero spoke about the recent lawsuit filed by the owners C.W. Mining, also known as the Co-Op mine, against the UMWA, miners involved in the union-organizing struggle, their supporters, and newspapers that have covered the fight.

"Seventeen current and former miners at the Co-Op mine, and 120 individuals and organizations are named in the lawsuit," he said. "This is an attempt to break off the UMWA and the miners from their supporters."

Referring to the newspapers also cited for "defamation" for their coverage of the struggle, Calero pointed out, "This is also an attack on freedom of the press and freedom of speech. It's a serious attack on the political right to campaign for workers' rights to a union."

"My campaign and the *Militant* newspaper, are chosen because of our uncompromising stance to tell the truth about this fight for dignity and better working conditions," said Calero, who has been named as a defendant in the lawsuit as "a leader of the Socialist Workers Party."

The socialist candidate presented the SWP campaign platform that includes demands aimed at unifying working people internationally, foremost supporting workers' right to organize unions.

"How would we lure the corporations back, if wages are raised to union scale, or companies are taxed at a higher rate, as your party, or a labor party, would demand?" asked John Fisher, a longshoreman.

Calero pointed to workers' need to

link up with fellow workers abroad as elementary to working-class solidarity needed to beat back the bosses' attacks and contrasted this stance to the economic nationalism promoted by much of the labor officialdom today.

"We shouldn't see our interests tied with those of the bosses," he said. "Tax incentives and money paid to bondholders don't improve the condition of the working class. It's a myth that if bosses are given tax breaks it will mean more jobs."

"Capitalists will move when they want to. It's also a myth that if we make more concessions to them, they will reinvest and hire more workers, or our jobs will be secure. We need to wage an uncompromising fight for the interests of workers and farmers across borders."

Mark Downs, another longshoreman, commented that diverting energy to "fighting jobs going 'overseas' takes the heat off union officials for not leading the necessary struggles here."

Supporters of Calero and his running mate, Arrin Hawkins, have achieved ballot status in 13 states and the District of Columbia. "Working people, youth, small farmers will have a choice," Calero said. "There is an alternative in November, an

alternative to the Democrats, Republicans, and smaller 'third parties,' which function as pressure groups on the two main capitalist parties.

"We campaign with zeal and pride. We do it with those who don't live in terror, panicking that fascism is around the corner. We discuss what we stand for—in the next 30 days and beyond the elections."

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What is a workers and farmers government?

Below is an excerpt from *For a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States*, by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. It was adopted as a report to the SWP National Committee in March 1982 and subsequently by the August 1984 party convention. It appears in full in this Education for Socialists Bulletin, which is one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for October. The excerpt below reviews the political dynamics that mark the formation of a workers and farmers government. Barnes refers to additional writings on this subject by SWP leaders Joseph Hanson and Robert Chester, which are also avail-



Young women march in streets of Algiers after Algeria won independence from France July 3, 1962. Mass revolutionary struggle by Algerian toilers against French colonial rule brought workers and farmers government to power.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

able in the Education for Socialists Bulletin. Michel Pablo served as a technician in the agrarian reform under the Algerian revolutionary government from 1962–1964. Pablo broke with revolutionary Marxism in 1965. Copyright © 1985 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BY JACK BARNES

First, then, what is a workers and farmers

government? Joe's 1978 introduction presented a concise and unambiguous answer: "the first form of government that can be expected to appear as the result of a successful anticapitalist revolution."

Not just in some countries, not just in backward countries, not just with inadequate leaderships, but "the first form of government that can be expected to appear as the result of a successful anticapitalist revolution." Period.

This is the conclusion that we had reached by 1978, as a result of thinking about and generalizing the lessons from workers and farmers governments established since World War II—lessons that the party had begun to draw in the world report presented for the Political Committee by Joe and adopted at our 1969 convention. [See *The Workers and Farmers Government*, by Joseph Hansen, an Education for Socialists publication, 1974, pp 20–30.]

Resolution of dual power

Second, a workers and farmers government comes out of a mass struggle for power which resolves a situation of dual power in favor of the workers and farmers. The armed might of the old ruling classes is dispersed, and another power based on the toilers replaces it. Only with the resolution of dual power do you have "a successful

anticapitalist revolution."

Third, a workers and farmers government can only come into being through a revolutionary upheaval, a real people's revolution. It cannot come about in some "cold" way. It cannot simply be imposed by a bureaucracy, by a military caste, or by an existing government. It cannot be voted in by elections, although elections to councils of the toilers or to a constituent assembly may take place along the road of such a revolutionary struggle, or some time following its triumph.

It takes a revolution to bring a workers and farmers government into existence. It takes mass mobilizations. Guerrilla warfare can play a major role in such a revolutionary upheaval. But the masses of toilers themselves must be mobilized sufficiently to crush enough of the resistance of the old ruling classes and their state machinery to resolve the question of dual power. Only then can the workers and peasants actually begin governing.

If the workers and farmers government is led in a revolutionary manner and meets the challenges posed by the relationship of class forces and material conditions it faces—as is happening in Grenada and Nicaragua today—then it is the key instrument by means of which the toilers can expropriate the exploiters, establish

state property, and begin planning the economy—that is, consolidate what we call a workers state.

Independent of the bourgeoisie

Fourth, a workers and farmers government is independent of the bourgeoisie, but at the same time still stands on capitalist economic relations. That's what it inherits, and that's what it stands on to begin with and, to one degree or another, for some time afterwards.

A revolutionary government can't simply decree the disappearance of capital. It can try, but it won't work and will create needless chaos. The key, as Joe used to say, is the tendency and direction—the motion by the workers and farmers government toward leading the masses to destroy capitalism and institute a planned economy. As the workers and farmers government leads this process forward, its own base shifts from the capitalist economic relations it inherited to new economic forms and institutions that come out of the expropriation of the exploiters.

Joe wrote about this in a letter to Bob Chester in 1975, commenting on an initial draft of Bob's *Workers and Farmers Governments Since the Second World War*. This letter summarizes the experiences of Michel Pablo in Algeria.

Joe wrote that a workers and farmers government begins "on the basis of the capitalist economy and even part of the capitalist state structure"—this is what all revolutions inherit to one degree or another and cannot get rid of overnight. Smashing the state is not the same as vaporizing it. If there were no bridges, no transitions, no dialectics, then life would be simpler. There would be no algebra to learn, only a little arithmetic. But life is not that simple, especially in the course of revolutions.

Anyway, let's get back to the letter to Bob Chester. Joe indicated "the role that can be played by a workers and farmers government—beginning on the basis of the capitalist economy and even part of the capitalist state structure, destroying and replacing the capitalist state structure, establishing a monopoly of foreign trade, expropriating the key industries, introducing a planned economy, etc., and finally ending up as a regime (good or bad)"—depending on the capacity of the leadership—"standing on a workers state." That's the role that a workers and farmers government can play.

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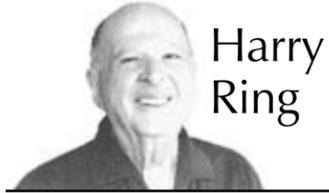
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Labor power—a blood-stained commodity—In Australia, BHT Billiton, a mining giant, racked up a 77.7 percent



Harry Ring

profit jump, largely from sales to China. *The New York Times* reported, “In a year marred by the deaths of 17 workers in the company’s operations, BHP produced record amounts of several commodities including iron ore,

manganese and alumina.”

Ensuring ‘democratic rights’—Authorities in the United Kingdom are crafting new “anti-terror” laws and looking to make it easier to nail people deemed to be “on the periphery” of alleged terror groups. “Another possibility,” adds *The Times* of London, “is a much broader offense similar to France’s ‘crime’ of ‘association with a wrongdoer.’”

True dregs—A study of inmate medical care in the California prison system found doctors who were incompetent and there were continuing life-threatening

medical mistakes. The rules are as bad as the doctors. A single example: At Soledad state prison, doctors are not allowed to enter cells to examine prisoners. Their contact with inmates is through a cell-door food slot.

Higher education—Authorities shut down a chain of private California “high schools” which sold 30-hour courses and bogus diplomas to Latino immigrants with the hype it would ensure better paying jobs. The “teachers” apparently got their jobs without diplomas. Teaching manuals show they told students there were 53 states and the flag remained to be updated. It was explained that

the two houses of Congress was one for the Democrats, the other for the Republicans. For “graduation,” students had to rent caps and gowns. Federal and state cops peered at the scam for two years before acting

Defies comment—It was a month ago that CNN cable reported on an interview with Martha Stewart, the broker slated for a modest jail term. Said CNN/Money, “As she faces possible jail time, Martha Stewart invoked the name of Nelson Mandela, South Africa’s persecuted anti-apartheid hero, saying ‘many, many good people have gone to prison.’”

Correction—Recently, we cited a clipping from *The Times*, London, that “Ofsted” had called on England’s school system to spend less time studying Nazi Germany and more on the history of the British Empire. We mistakenly assumed Ofsted was a person. Three readers checked it out on a web site explaining that Ofsted is an acronym for Office of Standards in Education—a supervisory agency. More study of the British empire could be a good idea—assuming it focused on the blood shed by British imperialism in its pillage and plunder of colonial nations, and the continuing resistance to imperialism.

Israeli ‘buffer zone’

Continued from front page

civilian targets. Tel Aviv has also refused to negotiate with the leadership of the Palestinian Authority—whose president, Yasir Arafat, has been under virtual house arrest in Ramallah—insisting it will only deal with Palestinians who renounce “terrorism.” This offensive, carried out with little outcry around the world and with Washington’s backing, has dealt crippling blows to the Palestinian national liberation movement.

The latest assault has centered in the towns of Beit Hanoun and Beit Lahiya, and the Jabalya refugee camp. The half-mile square camp—one of the most densely populated places on earth—is home to 106,000 people. The camp has been the scene of the bloodiest fighting. This is the first time Israeli forces have invaded the site over the last four years of fighting.

According to an October 1 article in the Israeli daily *Haaretz*, the Israeli security cabinet approved operation “Days of Penitence,” a plan for the Israeli Defense Forces “to take control of a nine-kilometer swathe of northern Gaza up to the outskirts of Jabalya. Nine kilometers is the maximum range of a Qassam rocket. The troops will search for Qassam-launching cells and for workshops where the rockets are manufactured. They will demolish houses to eliminate cover for rocket launchers and prepare for a lengthy stay. The army will

also increase pressure on Hamas, via assassinations and other operations.”

“We will continue with this operation... until there are no more Qassams fired at Sderot,” IDF chief of staff Lt. Gen. Moshe Ya’alon was quoted as saying in the *Jerusalem Post*, referring to the border town that was the target of the Hamas rocket attack. “This is not something we can accomplish in one day, and not an operation that will yield immediate results. This is an ongoing operation.”

The invasion came just days after the fourth anniversary of the Palestinian intifada, or uprising, which began Sept. 28, 2000. On that day Likud Party leader Ariel Sharon, who is now prime minister, with a force of 1,000 Israeli cops provocatively entered the Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, one of Islam’s holiest shrines. The action sparked large demonstrations by Palestinians in the occupied territories and inside Israel.

In the last two years, Tel Aviv has taken measures that have turned the tide of the war decidedly in its favor. In 2002, the ratio of Palestinian deaths to Israeli deaths was two to one—452 of the 1,017 Israeli deaths in the four-year war occurred that year.

Since then, the *Washington Post* reported October 5, “In a pivotal shift in the conflict, Israel has crippled the effectiveness of the Palestinian militants’ primary strategic

Continued on page 11

Washington: farm workers reject concessions



Militant/Mark Downs

YAKIMA, Washington—Some 270 members of the Western Council of Industrial Workers (WCIW) Local 3023 went out on strike September 23 after rejecting the latest contract offer from Snokist Growers Inc. The striking workers joined the WCIW in 2002 after the company terminated medical and dental benefits and fired several hundred employees, and are still seeking their first contract with the company. Two hundred of the fired workers were then rehired as seasonal or temporary workers at a significantly lower wage.

The strike takes place at the beginning of the pear and apple packing season. The company’s last offer includes plans to take back sick leave, cut more wages, overtime rates, and holiday and vacation pay. Snokist harvests and processes more than 100,000 tons of apples, pears, cherries, and plums per year. The temporary agency used by the company has announced it will provide Snokist with permanent replacements for workers who join the strike.

“Usually 200 to 250 strikers and supporters from other workplaces come out every morning to show the company and replacement workers we are determined and have support,” said Rogelio Montes, a WCIW organizer.

—CECILIA MORIARITY

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—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



October 19, 1979

“These bosses are really cracking down, they are not thinking safety, they’re thinking production,” says Barbara Albon, coal miner in southern Illinois. Miners at Albon’s mine were recently part of coal strikes that spread throughout southern and central Illinois.

Illinois coal reserves are massive, and the state is solidly organized by the United Mine Workers of America. But now coal companies are buying up Illinois land and withholding production in hopes of weakening environmental regulations and the union before the next boom in coal production.

About 5,800 of the state’s 16,000 coal miners joined the recent wave of strikes—the most extensive anywhere since the 110-day national strike ended in March 1978. According to a UMWA official this shutdown was the largest Illinois miners’ strike in five years.

The strike began at Old Ben Coal Company Mine Number 27 near West Frankfort. On September 12, a repairperson was suspended after he refused to substitute for a roof bolter because he wasn’t trained for the job. Roof bolting is one of the most dangerous coal-mining jobs.

Two other miners were also suspended that day for also refusing to run the roof bolter.

As news of the suspensions spread, miners began to throw up picket lines. Then

Old Ben fired five miners for picketing. This sparked more walkouts that eventually shut down fifteen mines in the area.



October 18, 1954

The wave of bombings of Negro homes continues throughout the country. The series of bombings in Fort Worth, Texas and in Coronado (near Norfolk) Virginia remain “unsolved.” On October 9 another bombing took place in Sacramento, Cal.

In most bombings the police hardly pretend to hunt for the racist criminals, nor do they disguise their hostility to the bombed Negro family for moving into the lily-white area. But a new pattern has emerged in Louisville, Kentucky. There arrests have been made, heavy sentences are threatened—but the arrested are the friends and defenders of the bombed-out Negro family.

Last May Andrew Wade decided to do something about his family’s housing plight. He bought a home in a white area. He bought it through a white couple active in the fight against discrimination. When the Wades moved in racist elements in the area were furious. The next night a fiery cross was burned nearby, rocks were thrown through the windows and six shots were fired into the house.

When the police arrived they showed where they stood by arresting Wade and a friend.

Support SWP ticket in 2004

The debates between the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Democrats and Republicans are in full swing. They are nothing but rehearsed shows to dupe working people into thinking they have a choice between one gang of predators and another. These are not “presidential” or “vice-presidential” debates. The candidates of third bourgeois parties, and above all the working-class alternative to all the parties of capitalism—the Socialist Workers Party slate of Róger Calero and Arrin Hawkins—are excluded.

Meanwhile, the middle-class left is tied hand and foot once again to the Democratic Party. Some groups display much more zeal than in previous elections in backing this party of American capitalism—especially the Communist Party USA, which is trying to portray John Kerry’s America First, pro-imperialist, and antilabor record as “progressive” for working people. Other middle-class radicals say hold your nose and vote for Kerry, many after pointing to Kerry’s pro-war record, because Bush is so bad.

The assumptions of those in the latter category need to be laid bare. What if Kerry were the Second Coming of liberal icon John F. Kennedy, or Franklin D. Roosevelt? What if Kerry had pledged to bring the U.S. troops home from Iraq immediately after he took office, just as Zapatero, Spain’s new “socialist” prime minister, did earlier this year? Would a vote for Kerry then be wholly, or even partly, justified?

The answer is no! Either with the Democrats or the Republicans—or with any other capitalist ticket for that matter, like those of Nader/Camejo or the Greens, which serve as left pressure groups on the Democratic Party, or the Libertarians on the right—working people lose. The argument of “lesser evilism” has been used for decades by such groups in the workers movement to draw working people into the con game of the two-party system of American imperialism and prevent the working class from acting independently of the ruling capitalists on the political plane.

A handful among the middle-class radicals, like the Freedom Socialist Party, call for a vote for the socialist candidates but are oriented to the “left” themselves, not to the working class. An article in the October-November issue of the *Freedom Socialist*, for example, titled “The unmaking of the movements: Independent organizing takes a back seat to putting Kerry in the White House,” ends with the proclamation: “Break with the Democrats in 2004!”

But to break with the Democrats you have to be attached to them. This is true of the bulk of the middle-class radicals who have become more and more active in Democratic

clubs; many of them have recently been running to “swing” states to swing the vote toward Kerry. The Democratic “center” has absorbed not only the bourgeois but also the petty-bourgeois “left,” as the converging course of the capitalist parties has been shifting very gradually but steadily to the right. This is not true for most working people, however, who simply go to vote once every four years—among those who do—for either Democrats or Republicans. It has never been the fact that workers are more prone to be attracted to the program of imperialist liberalism than that of imperialist conservatism, as last year’s special gubernatorial election in California clearly showed.

Along this line, the headline of our October 5 editorial, “How to Defeat the Bush Doctrine” and its concluding sentence about defeating the “‘Bush agenda’ and the program of Kerry too” were misleading. They could easily be misunderstood by many readers as support for the politics of capitalist “third parties” and “independent alternatives” like the Nader-Camejo campaign, which also call for “dumping Bush and Kerry too.” These parts of the editorial were in contradiction with the main point of the Socialist Workers Party’s campaign slogan, “It’s not *who you are against*, but what you are for!” which we have highlighted and urged support for in many other editorials.

(As an aside, the opening sentence of the October 5 editorial also used the mistaken term “the Bush-Wolfowitz team in the White House.” This could be misread as an adaptation to the conspiracy theories of ultrarightists and liberals that a “Jewish cabal” led by “neoconservatives,” like deputy secretary of defense Paul Wolfowitz, runs the Oval Office. The *Militant* has exposed such conspiracy theories as false and reactionary. Furthermore, the White House is run by the president of the United States, Bush in this case, just like his predecessors.)

The source of the problems working people face—from job speedup to declining wages to wars of plunder—is not individual capitalist politicians, or even their parties. The root of the problem is the system of capitalism and the small number of wealthy families that rule the United States to increase their profits at the expense of the toiling majority.

Working people do have a choice in the upcoming U.S. elections: the socialist ticket of Calero and Hawkins, whose platform is outlined in the lead article this week. Vote SWP in 2004 and campaign for the working-class alternative, for socialism, through November 2 and beyond!

Food sales to Cuba from U.S. companies rise

BY SAM MANUEL

Three months after the Bush administration imposed new measures to tighten restrictions on travel to Cuba and on cash remittances Cuban Americans can send to relatives on the island, initial reports indicate that these steps have increased hardships for Cuban-Americans and family members in Cuba but have had little effect on the Cuban economy.

At the same time, sales of agricultural products to Cuba have increased, making U.S. companies the largest suppliers of such products and the sixth-largest trader with the island.

According to a September 20 Associated Press report, Cuba’s tourism minister, Manuel Marrero, said the measures have resulted in a 25 percent reduction in tourist travel from the United States. At the same time, he said, Cuba is expected to receive more than 2 million tourists this year, mainly from Canada and Europe. This would be a record number, according to an article in south Florida’s *Sun Sentinel*, and would bring \$2 billion in income for Havana.

Washington’s new measures limit visits by Cuban Americans to Cuba to once every three years and reduce the amount of money they can spend on such a trip to \$300. The steps also limit cash remittances to “immediate” family members—excluding uncles, aunts, and cousins—and prohibit sending such funds to anyone who is a member of Cuba’s Communist Party.

The *Sentinel* said it’s dubious that Washington will be

able to effectively enforce these restrictions, citing the lack of any U.S. government information on implementation.

The paper also reported that since the new measures went into effect, sales of agricultural goods to Cuba from the United States increased by 25 percent and are projected to reach a record \$400 million a year. In addition, it noted, last month the U.S. Senate subcommittee on agriculture approved a bill easing restrictions on U.S. companies marketing agricultural and medical goods to Cuba.

Washington approved the cash sales of agricultural products to Cuba following extensive damage to Cuban crops by Hurricane Michelle in 2001. Since that time, the total amount of such sales to Cuba have reached nearly \$1 billion.

According to the October 3 *Miami Herald*, contracts between the Cuban import company Alimport and U.S. companies include nonbinding “advocacy agreements.” These accords stipulate that U.S. companies doing business with Cuba will work to have the decades-old U.S. embargo against the island lifted. Such agreements have been signed by at least four members of the U.S. Congress, the governor of Kansas, and several agribusiness groups.

The *Herald* reported that some U.S. business executives have complained that Havana has decreased purchases from some companies in order to apply pressure on them to show a good faith effort to act on the stipulation. The Houston-based Sysco Corp., for example, lost \$500,000 in sales when it rescinded such an agreement with Alimport.

U.S., Iraqi military forces take over Samarra

Continued from Page 5

over the Tigris River into Samarra, cutting off the city from Iraq’s main north-south highway. Some left the city by floating down the Tigris, waving white flags from boats.

U.S. forces reported killing 125 Iraqi militiamen. This figure does not include civilian casualties. Of the 70 dead brought to Samarra General Hospital since the battle started, 23 were children and 18 women, hospital official Abdul-Nasser Hamed Yassin told the Associated Press. At least 100 others were wounded.

AP Television News reported that some people were unable to take their wounded for treatment because of gunfire from U.S. troops, who, at one hospital reporters visited, were arresting anyone over 15 years of age.

By all accounts, however, the U.S. and Iraqi forces took Samarra with relative ease, meeting little resistance from the civilian population.

The night of October 3, after the takeover of Samarra, U.S. planes carried out strikes on Fallujah, where sup-

porters of al-Zarqawi are also based. The same night U.S. forces attacked Mahdi militia positions in Sadr City in Baghdad, where the First Cavalry Division has been carrying out almost nightly strikes.

The assault on Samarra paves the way for further military action against such groups. “I have personally informed [Fallujah] residents that it will not be a picnic. It will be very difficult and devastating,” Iraqi President Ghazi al-Yawer told Al-Arabiya television October 3.

U.S. military commanders reviewed the difficulties they have met in establishing control of Fallujah and Najaf before launching the assault on Samarra. Najaf, a city in south-central Iraq, is also a center for supporters of Moqtada al-Sadr and was targeted for assault in August. “We studied what happened in Najaf and elsewhere very carefully, and we learned some important lessons,” Lt. Col. David Hubner told the *New York Times*. Hubner is commander of one of four U.S. battalions that attacked Samarra.

What’s an incipient fascist movement?

BY SAM MANUEL

In a letter to the editor this week, Bob Cantrik asks why the *Militant* has described ultrarightist politician Patrick Buchanan and the movement he is trying to build as “incipient fascist.”

We welcome the question. Many liberals and middle-class radicals hurl the label of fascism around widely today. Their targets usually include the most prominent figures of the ruling capitalist parties, including President George Bush and leading members of his administration like Attorney General John Ashcroft and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld. Their objective in doing so is not a clear analysis of how fascism develops and how the working class can combat it but to rationalize their support for liberal imperialist figures—this year Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry.

Given the current level of the class struggle and political polarization in the United States, no significant section of the ruling class has felt compelled to throw its weight behind Buchanan. He is limited to trying to recruit and organize cadre who would serve as the foot soldiers of a

REPLY TO A READER

street movement down the road that could impose radical solutions to protect capitalism in a time of extreme crisis. In this sense, Buchanan and Buchananism represent an incipient fascist movement, not a full blown one.

Capitalism’s World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium by Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes (see ad on page 6) contains several useful references on this question. In a section of the book entitled “Buchananism: What It Is and How to Fight It,” Barnes explains the error of viewing fascism as an extension of bourgeois conservatism. While fascist currents do originate in part within the right wing of existing capitalist parties under crisis conditions, Barnes says these “are radical movements that base themselves on popular grievances of increasingly economically insecure and devastated small business people, other middle-class and professional layers, and sections of the working class. They are street action movements in their trajectories.”

Leon Trotsky—a central leader of the October 1917 Russian Revolution, along with V. I. Lenin—makes a similar point in an article first published in 1944, which can be found in the Pathfinder pamphlet *Fascism: What It Is and How to Fight It*. Trotsky rejects the designation by Stalinist currents of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship in Spain in 1923-30 as fascist. “The fascist movement in Italy was a spontaneous movement of large masses, with new leaders from the rank and file,” Trotsky said. “It is a plebian movement in origin, directed and financed by big capitalist powers. It issued forth from the petty bourgeoisie, the slum proletariat, and even to a certain extent from the proletarian masses; Mussolini, a former socialist, is a ‘self-made’ man arising from this movement.”

Primo de Rivera, on the other hand, Trotsky explained, was an aristocrat who overthrew an elected government with the aid of the state and military forces. “Mussolini had difficulty in reconciling many old military institutions with the fascist militia. This problem did not exist for Primo de Rivera.”

Since his bid to win the Republican Party presidential nomination in 1992, Buchanan has used the platform of bourgeois politics to organize incipient fascist forces. He has used anti-capitalist demagoguery and posed as a defender of the “little man” against the corrupt “elite” in Washington. Two days before winning the New Hampshire primary in 1996 Buchanan told his supporters, “All the knights and barons will be riding into the castle, pulling up the drawbridge because they’re coming. All the peasants are coming with pitchforks after them.”

Buchanan’s subsequent, and inevitable, break with the Republican Party registered the fact that this vehicle no longer served his aims.

In another section of *Capitalism’s World Disorder* Barnes says that incipient fascist movements “never begin with broad ruling-class support. At first, the rulers in their majority alternately scorn and fear this rowdy ‘rabble’; only handfuls of capitalists back them at the outset. But as the bourgeoisie become convinced they confront an irresolvable social crisis, and as the working class puts up an increasingly serious challenge to capitalist rule itself, growing layers of the exploiters start supporting, or tolerating, the fascists in order to try to smash the workers and their organizations. That is the job the fascists are finally enlisted to do by the bourgeoisie when the threat to capitalist rule reaches a certain threshold.”

Until such objective conditions become reality, the ruling class does not need fascism to maintain its rule. “Fascism is nowhere close to conquering anywhere in the world today,” Barnes says. “What we are seeing today... is the nuclei of incipient fascist movements in more and more countries.”

Similarly Trotsky wrote in the pamphlet referred to above that fascism develops as a full-blown movement when two conditions are realized: a deep social crisis that throws the petty bourgeois masses off balance, and the lack of a revolutionary party capable of leading the working-class and its allies to resolve the crisis in the interests of the proletariat. Trotsky described the fascist movement as the “party of counterrevolutionary despair.”

Israeli 'buffer zone' in Gaza

Continued from Page 9

weapon—the suicide bomber—with frequent military operations in the Palestinian territories, assassinations of dozens of militant leaders, improved intelligence, and construction of a massive barrier through and around the West Bank.” The paper goes on to report that the ratio so far this year is five Palestinians killed for every one Israeli. According to official Palestinian statistics, the Palestinian death toll in the intifada has reached 3,334, 80 percent of whom were civilians.

According to a report published in August by Shin Bet, the Israeli equivalent of the FBI, in the last four years Israeli forces have killed 466 members of Hamas; 408 members of military forces allied to Fatah, the ruling Palestinian party; 205 members of Islamic Jihad; and 334 members of the Palestinian Authority's security forces.

Of those killed by Tel Aviv, 238 were targeted assassinations, according to Mustapha Bargouthi, head of the Health Development Information and Policy Institute, which has monitored the four-year conflict.

On September 26, a Tel Aviv hit squad set off a car bomb in Damascus, Syria, kill-

ing a Hamas operations officer and extending the reach of its assassination campaign. The Mossad, the main Israeli spy agency, has been credited with five such murders in Lebanon in the past two years. But this was a first in Syria, where a number of Palestinian organizations have offices.

Along with the military offensive against these groups, the Israeli government has completed one-third of a 420-mile wall around the majority of the Palestinian population on the West Bank.

The wall, along with the web of military checkpoints, bases, and daily incursions by occupation troops into Palestinian towns, are credited in a September 27 Shin Bet report for an 84 percent decrease in the number of Israelis killed in attacks mounted from the West Bank in the past year. The report states that 30 Israelis have been killed in 6 bomb attacks launched from the West Bank since August 2003, compared to 293 killed in 73 attacks from the territory in the previous three years of fighting.

The damage to Palestinian homes and economic infrastructure has been massive as well. In Gaza alone 5,897 homes have been either destroyed or damaged beyond

repair in the last four years, according to the Mezan Center for Human Rights. Some 221 public facilities, among them 67 schools and 30 religious centers, have been destroyed, along with 477 businesses and 248 industrial facilities.

While Tel Aviv is moving to withdraw the 7,500 settlers, and large concentration of troops, who occupy one-fifth of the territory in Gaza, more than five times that many new settlers have been moved into Palestinian land on the West Bank. According to the Israeli Interior Ministry, the settlement population on the West Bank—which has climbed above 220,000—has increased by 39,000 in the



Mahmud Hams/AFP/Getty Images

Palestinians march October 3 in a funeral protest demonstration in Gaza City of Hamas member Mahdi Mushtaha, killed by a rocket fired by the Israeli military.

four years of the intifada. During the same period, the regime approved the construction of more than 6,500 new housing units for Israeli settlers in the West Bank and Gaza.

—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

ALABAMA

Birmingham

It's not who you're against, but what you are for! Speaker: Róger Calero, SWP candidate for president. Fri., Oct. 15. Reception, 7 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 3029A Bessemer Road. Donation requested. Tel: (205) 780-0021.

Sylacauga

Sat., Oct., 16. Reception, 3:30 p.m.; program with Róger Calero, 4 p.m. J Craig Smith Community Center, 2 West 8th Street Room 5.

Tchula, Mississippi

Sun., Oct. 17, Program with Róger Calero 2 p.m. Mileston Co-Op.

FLORIDA

Tampa

Support the Socialist Workers Campaign in 2004. The only working-class alternative in November. Speaker: Róger Calero, SWP candidate for president. Sat., Oct. 9, 7 p.m. La Place Shopping Center, 1441 E. Fletcher Ave. at 15th St. (Second floor, entrance in rear of shopping center.) Dinner \$5, program \$5. Tel: (813) 910-8507.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Support the right of power-poor semicolonial countries to expand electrification. Speaker: Rebecca Williamson, SWP candidate for Congress in 4th C.D. Fri., Oct. 15, 7:30 p.m. 3557 S. Archer Ave. Suggested donation \$5. Tel: (773) 890-1190.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

It's not who you're against, but what you are for! Meet the Socialist Workers Party candidates. Speakers: Arrin Hawkins, SWP candidate for vice president, Osborne Hart, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress 13th C.D. Sun., Oct. 10. Program 3 p.m., followed by reception and buffet. **Hurricanes: Cause of death toll 'natural disaster' or capitalism?** Speaker: Ilona Gersh, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 15, 7:30 p.m. Both events at 4208 W. Vernor St. (Between Scotten & Clark). Tel: (313) 554-0504.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Chechnya and the fight for self-determina-

tion. Speaker: Sara Lobman, SWP. Fri., Oct. 8, 7:30p.m. 168 Bloomfield Ave., 2nd Floor. Tel: (973) 481-0077.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Why do capitalist politicians in European Union want to stop 'river of Islam' into Europe by preventing Turkey's entry into EU? Speaker: Salm Kolis, SWP candidate for Congress in the 16th C. D. Fri., Oct. 8. Dinner, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m.

Why workers need to organize unions to defend ourselves from bosses' assaults.

Fri., Oct. 15. Dinner, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. Both programs at 307 W. 36 St., 10th floor (use north elevators). Donation: \$5 for dinner, \$5 for program. Tel: (212) 629-6649.

OHIO

Cleveland

Support the right of power-poor oppressed nations to expand electrification! U.S. and other imperialist countries hands off Iran! Speaker: Romina Green, SWP candidate for

Senate. Fri., Oct. 15. Dinner, 6:30p.m.; program, 7:30p.m. 11018 Lorain Ave. Donation. Tel: (216) 688-1190.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

The social impact of hurricane season in Cuba compared to other Caribbean countries and southeast U.S. Speaker: Joanne Kuniansky. Fri., Oct. 15, 7 p.m. 3/281-7 Beamish St., Campsie (upstairs in arcade). Tel: (02) 9718-9698.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

Imperialism makes gains in "global war on terrorism." Speaker: Patrick Brown. Sun., Oct. 17, 3 p.m. 7 Mason Ave., Otahuhu (upstairs). Donation: \$3. Tel: (09) 276-8885.

Christchurch

Defend a woman's right to choose abortion! Speaker: Annalucia Vermunt, Communist League. Fri., Oct. 15, 7 p.m. The Gloucester Arcade, 129 Gloucester St. Suggested donation: \$3. Tel: (03)365-6055.

—LETTERS—

Incipient fascism?

I enjoyed greatly your article on Cheney and Buchanan (*Militant* no. 35). Nowhere else can one read such interesting and insightful political commentary.

I would like to ask for clarification on what could turn out to be a small point. In that article, on page 9, you refer to Patrick Buchanan as "an incipient fascist." I have seen Buchanan referred to in this way in other *Militant* articles.

I'm not sure why you speak of him in this way. It seems to me that there is nothing incipient about Buchanan the man. I would think that he is fully developed politically and highly conscious ideologically, that is to say, that he is not an incipient fascist but a fully formed one. He probably seldom characterizes himself as such, preferring to hide his real aims for now, but he knows perfectly well what he is about all the same.

Is it accurate to call him an incipient fascist?

Bob Cantrick
Toronto, Ontario

Hurricane hit farm workers

An editorial and two articles appeared in the September 14, 2004 issue of the *Militant* that contrasted the responses of the Cuban and U.S. governments to the devastation caused by Hurricane Charlie. The U.S. government's response to the needs of workers and farmers following Hurricane Frances, which whacked Florida a few weeks after

Hurricane Charlie, underscores the point of the editorial.

On September 4, Hurricane Frances devastated the towns of Pierson and Seville in Volusia County, Florida. These are two of the towns in Volusia County where thousands of migrant and permanent farm workers, many without papers, work the fields of the fern industry. Ferns are a main crop in the county.

The following are a few of the reports found in the *Daytona Beach News Journal* following Hurricane Frances:

- It took eight days after the hurricane before farm workers in Pierson received any major help. On Sunday, September 12, two sisters, Estella and Alejandra Martínez, joined a convoy of more than 1,200 vehicles to pick up food, water and ice in Pierson. "We have not had anything to eat for 3 days. We took the chance and left work without permission to come here hoping to get some food." The sisters both have children and had hoped to make \$25 each by working that Sunday at the fernery.
- In Seville, two days earlier, an EVAC ambulance and the American Red Cross finally showed up. "Fern cutters and their families," some coming straight from the fields, "lined-up for first-aid supplies, mosquito repellent, bottled water and other items."
- FEMA'S [Federal Emergency Management Agency] excuses for the delay were that "FEMA

officials had to wait to come into the area to assess the damage and the extent of need before trucking in the supplies." They also claimed they had difficulty "finding space or a location in northwest Volusia County to set up an operation center."

- The aid finally came as a result of a campaign by the Farm Workers Association of Florida, the Volusia County Hispanic Association and the Alianza de Mujeres Activas (Alliance of Active Women).

- On September 16, 350 fern growers and fern ranchers met with government officials at the Pierson Lion's Club. The meeting was to discuss emergency disaster relief. Also in attendance were members of the Farm Workers Association of Florida who had come to ask for unemployment benefits. The growers and ranchers were offered nothing but loans because the Department of Agriculture prioritizes "consumable goods," such as citrus and vegetables, for disaster relief. Ferns and lumber are not included.

The growers and ranchers then attacked the farm workers' request for unemployment benefits. To loud applause from other ranchers and growers, fern grower Bonnie Jones told the government officials: "If you give it to the people (workers), they will not return to work. The money should be given to the fern growers so we can keep the employees."

- Tirso Moreno, general coordinator of the Farm Workers

Association, replied to their attacks: "They say we are asking for welfare, but I call what they are asking for corporate welfare. They want government grants, free money, to re-establish their businesses and make a profit, but still say workers are not entitled to anything." He further pointed out that many fern workers have no work at all now and others are working as little as two days a week. He ended his comments with a generous gesture: "The bottom line is that we have to work together. We are not against them getting help to reconstruct the fern industry, but they also have to support the workers instead of attacking us."

Linda Jenness
Daytona Beach (Volusia County), Florida

Defend mine program

September 30 could be the beginning of the end for many coal-producing states if Congress does not take action to extend a federal program that supports retired miners' benefits and mining reclamation.

The Abandoned Mine Land, or AML, is a program created in 1977, when Congress passed the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act. Under the program, coal operators pay a 35-cent tax per ton of surface-mined coal and 15 cents per ton of underground-mined coal. The money is used to clean up coal mines that were abandoned before 1977.

Without congressional action, the coal tax that funds mine cleanups would expire September 30. As a result, more than \$2 billion worth of high-priority coal reclamation will remain unreclaimed, leaving millions of people who live, work, and recreate in the nation's coalfields to continue to be exposed to the many dangers these areas represent.

Taxpayers of coal producing states could be forced to pay for the cleanup, instead of the coal operators.

On August 31 in Lexington, Kentucky, U.S. Bankruptcy Judge William Howard finalized the decision allowing Horizon Natural Resources to file bankruptcy, thus voiding union contracts providing health care coverage for nearly 3,000 employees, including 2,300 retirees—many of whom suffer from black lung as a result of their working years at Horizon. Many of these affected by the decision are Kentuckians whose only hope for health care is for the AML to continue.

Matt Alley
Richmond, Kentucky

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.

Argentine women push to legalize abortion

BY ROMINA GREEN

CLEVELAND—"We don't have any concrete plans for September 28, but we are building the 19th National Women's Conference, which will take place October 9-11 in Mendoza," said Zulema Palma, a doctor who volunteers at Women of the East—a women's center in Morón, Argentina, a town near Buenos Aires, the country's capital.

Palma was referring to the annual conference organized by various women's groups in Argentina. The gathering has helped mobilize thousands of women across the South American country around the demand for legalization of abortion. September 28 marks the Day to Decriminalize Abortion in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Last year's conference took place August 17 in Rosario, and attracted some 9,000 women. During the gathering, more than 10,000 people marched in support of a woman's right to choose abortion.

Palma said that leading up to this year's conference she was planning to speak on a panel on women's rights, preceding a march in the city of Córdoba.

Similar marches are also being organized in Santiago and Valparaiso, Chile—the first to this reporter's knowledge. This comes on the heels of rallies and marches by women and others in Chile to defend the govern-



Demonstration in Buenos Aires, Argentina, July 16 to demand decriminalization of abortion and free contraceptives. Marchers also demanded freedom for Romina Tejerina, who has been imprisoned for drowning a baby she had as the result of being raped and attempting a self-induced abortion that failed.

ment's decision to legalize the contraceptive "morning after pill." In Chile—as well as in El Salvador—abortion is illegal under any circumstances.

In Argentina, abortion is illegal and punishable by time in prison. A court may allow abortion only in the case of rape or if a woman's life is in danger.

Nonetheless, it is estimated that in Argentina about 4 out of 10 pregnancies are terminated by abortion. According to the country's health ministry, as many as 500,000 Argentine women have abortions every year. The top cause of maternal death in the country—about 80 percent of such deaths—is complications from abortion. In the last half decade, hospital admissions from botched abortions have risen substantially in a number of provinces. About 500 women die from such abortions every year, and 16,000 women suffer serious permanent physical damage, according to Gines González García, Argentina's health minister.

On March 8 of this year, thousands rallied in Buenos Aires and other Argentine cities to celebrate International Women's Day and push for decriminalizing abortion.

Romina Tejerina

In July, the debate on abortion flared up again, as it became known that two young women—Andrea Romina Ayunta, 25, and Mabel Fernanda Facciano, 24—died from complications of attempting to abort. Ayunta, mother of three, had taken abortive pills, while Facciano was taken to the hospital from a woman's home while attempting a self-induced abortion. The woman who owned the home was later arrested.

The demand to free Romina Tejerina has also been backed by a number of women's rights organizations across Argentina. Tejerina, 20, was raped over a year ago by a neighbor. She became pregnant and attempted a self-induced abortion, which was unsuccessful. She later gave birth to the child in her bathroom and drowned it. Soon afterwards, she was arrested and has remained in jail for the last year and a half without charges. She wasn't provided with any psychological therapy for the first nine months of imprisonment.

The man she has accused of raping her has remained free. On July 16, hundreds of women marched in Buenos Aires demanding the release of Tejerina, access to free contraceptives, and centers for battered women.

In June, hundreds marched in the city of San Juan when the San Juan provincial government decided to suspend the Women's Reproductive Health Law, and banned discussion on women's reproductive rights at hospitals or other public facilities. Most media in Argentina gave scant coverage to the San Juan action, and have published very little on the Tejerina case.

These struggles will be discussed further at this year's women's conference, Zulema Palma said in a telephone interview.

Pre-conference meetings, Zulema Palma said, were organized in various cities across the country on September 18.

"We are hoping for a bigger turnout this year," she said. "In the last year more young women from universities and women from the unemployed organizations have become more active in the fight to legalize abortion in Argentina."

Among the sponsors and participants in last year's demonstrations were organizations of unemployed and retired workers that have been active in the previous two years of working-class protests against the effects of the country's financial collapse.

Palma said that women are expected this year from Chile and Uruguay. The city of Mendoza is directly across the Andes mountains from Santiago, the capital of Chile.

Of all the countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, abortion is legal only in Cuba and Guyana. In Puerto Rico, abortion is legal because U.S. laws and court decisions are enforced in that U.S. colony. In other countries abortion is considered a crime except under very limited circumstances. Complications from abortion account for 21 percent of maternal deaths in Latin America as a whole, and up to 50 percent of maternal mortality in some countries.

Brazil: gov't cuts social wage; workers demand pay hikes

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

The Brazilian government of president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, has spent its first two years in office carrying out cuts in social programs and pensions to calm the nerves of imperialist investors. Last year Brasilia cut \$4.7 billion—one-quarter of proposed spending on public works and other social programs. At the same time, the Workers Party government has adopted a more aggressive stance in international trade negotiations to boost the profits of Brazilian capitalists.

The social-democratic regime hopes to achieve capitalist stability in this semicolonial nation through an increase in wealth for Brazilian manufacturers and agricultural exporters that will supposedly produce a trickle down of jobs and improved conditions for workers and farmers, thereby heading off a social explosion.

Meanwhile, buoyed by an upturn in the business cycle and declining unemployment, industrial and other workers have recently been waging strikes and other actions to press for wage increases.

"For the first time, we saw the agenda of social justice and the agenda of trade liberalization going together," said Brazilian foreign minister Celso Amorim, the Bloomberg news agency reported September 29. "They were always seen as opposites." To further advance Brazilian capitalists' market share, Brasilia has brought cases to the World Trade Organization (WTO) against Washington and the European Union over their agricultural subsidy policies in cotton and sugar, respectively.

The WTO ruled in September that EU and U.S. subsidies violated trade rules. Brasilia has taken the lead among semicolonial countries that have demanded more favorable terms of trade with the imperialist powers.

Lula's landslide election victory in October 2002 registered discontent among workers, farmers, and the middle classes in Brazil who have been ground down by the worldwide capitalist crisis and the austerity policies of the previous government, headed by Fernando Henrique Cardoso.

The Workers Party government has worked overtime to convince imperialist investors and Brazilian capitalists that it can ensure them both large profit margins and a continuing flow of payments to imperialist lending institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Lula's "financially principled populism,"

as one businessman calls it, has brought better results for Brazilian capitalists than for workers and farmers in Latin America's largest country.

Da Silva's first budget proposal to Congress included \$14 billion in spending cuts, which he described as "bitter medicine" for the economy that caused him to lose "a few nights' sleep."

The budget, and da Silva's promise to energetically pursue cuts in the pensions of government workers, calmed financiers who felt more confident they would continue to receive monthly interest payments on the country's debt of nearly \$206 billion. The president succeeded in cutting public workers' pensions, which the previous administration had been unable to accomplish in the face of popular opposition.

Shortly after coming into office, da Silva announced his Zero Hunger program to guarantee three meals per day to Brazilian families unable to buy enough food. The plan promised increases in monthly welfare payments to \$25 per family, which the president said would be made available to 50 million people.

Brazil is the sixth-largest country in the world with 175 million people, according to official 2002 estimates. One-third of its population lives on less than \$1 per day.

The Social Development Ministry the government established to put Zero Hunger into effect has failed to meet its goals, and was merged with other programs into the "Family Fund." For the first year and a half, the program only attempted to provide funding for families in rural towns with populations under 75,000.

Only in recent months has it started to address the needs of working people in the cities. "I don't consider it a flop," said presidential advisor Frei Betto, while conceding that the plan will take more than twice as long to implement as originally projected.

The government is also moving to "tighten control of its benefits programs," the Reuters news agency reported September 17. The government mandates that all recipients of the Family Fund program's \$25 monthly stipend prove they are educating and vaccinating their children as required by law.

Opposition parties have charged that fewer than half of municipalities actually grill residents on the issue. In response, Welfare Minister Patrus Ananias said all working people who apply for the stipend

will be fully tested by the end of 2005.

Increased welfare allotments, however, do not address the fundamental question of joblessness. Brazil's economy contracted by 0.2 percent in 2003, its worst performance in a decade, with joblessness reaching 13 percent.

The government earlier this year fought to limit the size of an increase in the minimum wage, which is a vital question for working people. One-third of the workforce and state pensioners live off this small monthly sum.

"It is impossible to have a higher minimum wage," Lula said after a vote on the question. "When we discuss the minimum wage in Brazil we are really discussing pensions."

Cuts in pensions are a cornerstone of the administration, which has defended them as necessary in order to comply with IMF-mandated caps on spending.

The government has gotten a boost from a 5.7 percent increase in economic growth in the second quarter of this year in comparison to 2003. The unemployment rate is now down to about 11 percent. An economic expansion over the last six months has been fueled by an increase in industrial output and an ongoing export boom of agricultural and manufactured goods.

Seeking to take advantage of the economic upturn, Brazilian workers are pressing to win back some of the wages lost in the past period. "For years, the average wage earned by Brazilians has been gradually shrinking, by 12.5 percent in metropolitan regions last year," reported the Inter Press Service news agency.

More than one-half of the 400,000 bank workers in Brazil have been on strike for nine weeks to demand a 25 percent wage raise. Minister of Labor Ricardo Berzoini, a former leader of the bank workers union, has spoken out against the strike.

The 106,000 steel and auto workers, organized by the metal workers union ABC in the industrial suburbs of São Paulo, have carried out a series of walkouts to win 9.5 percent pay raises. Dozens of companies have agreed to the demand. João Antonio Felício, secretary-general of the CUT, the largest labor federation in Brazil, said there would be more job actions to reverse "10 years of shrinking wages."

Inflation is running at an annual rate of more than 7 percent this year, and has fluctuated between 5 and 17 percent over the last half decade.