

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

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Pathfinder book production

— PAGES 8–9, 14

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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No to U.S. war moves against Iraqi people!

The wealthy rulers of the United States are moving deliberately toward a bloody war against Iraq. The job of class-conscious workers right now is to stand up and present a clear, working-class voice of opposition to the imperialist drive to war. This means taking advantage of every inch of political space to engage in discussion with fellow workers and politically minded youth to explain the truth about the U.S.-led military onslaught.

The Clinton administration will continue

EDITORIAL

to pose as an advocate of “giving diplomacy a chance” right up to the start of its massive carpet bombing it has prepared. These war moves have complete bipartisan support. This includes liberal forces who argue, on behalf of the “suffering Iraqi people,” that Washington should invade Iraq and topple the “evil Saddam Hussein.”

Working people have nothing in common with those who advocate a “humane” way to disarm and overthrow the sovereign government of Iraq. The real threat to humanity — and the number one user of weapons of mass destruction in the world — is in Washington, D.C.

The debate in ruling circles is not whether to inflict a brutal bombing campaign on Iraq; that much is decided. The growing arguments that are voiced are for “finishing the job” that Washington failed to achieve in the 1990–91 Gulf War through an invasion of Iraq with U.S. ground troops. The debate on whether or not U.S. ground forces should be deployed is itself part of gaining accep-

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Militant/Brian Williams

Some 250 people chanted “No to sanctions! No to bombing!” at White House February 8 in a protest organized by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

U.S. military gets ready to unleash bombing war

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

U.S. armed forces in the Middle East are getting ready to launch a massive bombing assault against the people of Iraq. The military will be ready to start its attack “within a week or so,” Gen. Anthony Zinni, the commander of U.S. forces in the Arab-Persian

Gulf, declared February 11.

Three days earlier, U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright declared that the planned assault — to be carried out in the name of combating “weapons of mass destruction” — will be “substantial, sustained

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Havana meeting launches book by ‘Pombo’

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN
AND JOSHUA CARROLL

HAVANA — *Pombo: a Man of Che’s “guerrilla,”* by Cuban brigadier general Harry Villegas, was the featured work at a book launching here on February 10, the final day of the Havana International Book Fair.

Both English- and Spanish-language editions of the book were presented at the event. The Spanish edition was released by Editora Política, the publishing house of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, the English by Pathfinder Press in the United States. Harry Villegas addressed the audience of nearly 50 people, along with Iraida Aguirrechu, editor of the Cuban edition and current events editor at Editora Política, and Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the English edition and president of Pathfinder Press.

Pombo (the *nom de guerre* of Villegas) was a young combatant in the Rebel Army, becoming an important component in Ernesto Che Guevara’s column, during the Cuban revolutionary war that overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista in 1959. Later, he served on Guevara’s general staff in guerrilla campaigns in the Congo and Bolivia. After Guevara was wounded, captured, and murdered in combat by the Bolivian army in collaboration with the CIA in October 1967, Villegas led the six combatants who broke through the army encirclement and returned to Cuba to regroup and continue their ef-

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Honeywell strikers say: ‘No two-tier wages’

BY JEFF JONES

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — About 300 Teamster strikers and supporters rallied February 10, across from Honeywell’s heating controls plant in Golden Valley, Minnesota. This factory, which employs 1,500 members of Teamsters Local 1145, and two other area

plants of the aerospace controls manufacturer have been shut since the strike began on February 2.

The first speaker at the rally was John Senum, who last August was a local rank-and-file leader of the Teamsters strike at

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Militant/Dave Finch

Strikers at Honeywell plant in Golden Valley, Minnesota. Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress Michael Pennock (second from right) joins the picket line.

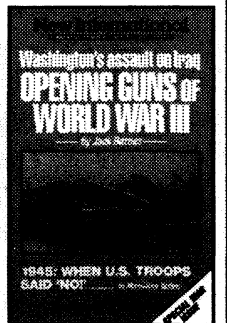
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Fidel Castro, Ricardo Alarcón

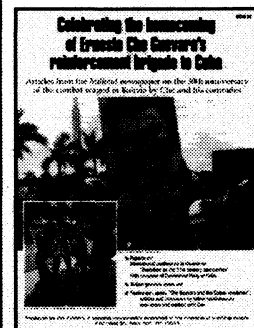
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600,000 strike in Sri Lanka

More than 600,000 tea and rubber plantation workers went on an indefinite strike for higher wages February 5. The walkout crippled the Sri Lankan economy, according to the Associated Press. The workers have demanded wages be increased 26 percent — up to \$1.70 a day. State- and private-owned companies have offered just 12 percent. Tea and rubber are among Sri Lanka's biggest export industries. Tea exports totaled \$600 million last year, and rubber exports were \$200 million in 1996.

Okinawans still reject U.S. base

The Japanese government threatened to scuttle economic development plans for Okinawa, after the island's governor, Masahide Ota, reiterated his opposition to a projected U.S. military heliport off the Okinawan coast on February 5. In a December referendum, 54 percent of Okinawans rejected the heliport plans. The floating platform was part of the military reduction agreement that Washington was forced into with Tokyo in 1996. Long-standing opposition to the U.S. military presence there exploded in mass demonstrations two years ago after a 12-year-old girl was raped by U.S. soldiers. The island of Okinawa, which is the poorest region in the country, accounts for only 1 percent of Japan's total land area. Two-thirds of the 47,000 U.S. troops in Japan are stationed there.

Palestinians protest Zionist expansion in West Bank

On February 5 about 40 Palestinians protested the confiscation of Arab-owned vineyards near the West Bank settlement of Efrat. The excuse Tel Aviv is using for the most recent land grab is the need to construct a new road. "There is already a bypass road," explained Ibrahim Abadeh, a Palestinian who lives in the area. "They just want to take our land for any reason." Meanwhile, Tel Aviv recently approved plans to build a new settlement in Ras al-Amud in east Jerusalem. The government also approved another expansion plan called E-1. If built, it would be the first time Ma'ale Adumin — the largest and most populous Zionist settlement in the West Bank — would be directly linked



In some of the largest mobilizations in Chile since 1990, protesters have demanded an investigation into the thousands of deaths under the former regime of Gen. Augusto Pinochet. The dictator was to have retired as head of the armed forces January 26, later to be made a "Senator for life," but delayed his retirement until March 11 — the date he will be sworn in at the Senate. After a military coup in 1973, the Pinochet government arrested about 130,000 people within three years. Many were killed or "disappeared." Above, families of the disappeared protest outside the Chilean congressional building January 14.

to the city of Jerusalem.

S. African gov't tells mine bosses to use or lose mineral rights

The African National Congress-led government in South Africa has opened a discussion on a new mining policy that would require an annual minimum of work and investment by private companies that hold mineral rights, if they want to maintain them. This would discourage "the unproductive holding of prospecting and mineral rights," read a government consultation paper. The big companies that dominate mining in South Africa complain that they should be guaranteed "absolute" security of tenure in their rights to gold and other mineral wealth.

According to Penuell Maduna, minister of minerals and energy, the government's long-term aim is for all mineral rights — long dominated by white capitalists under

the racist apartheid system that was overturned in 1994 — to be vested in the state. South African officials point out that the governments of the United States and South Africa are unusual in allowing any private ownership of mineral rights.

Polish gov't okays austerity

Claiming fears of reverberations from the Asian economic crisis, the Polish government pushed through an austerity budget January 23 that has the stated aim of holding the deficit to 1.5 percent of Gross Domestic Product. The move is part of Warsaw's preparations for upcoming talks about Polish integration into the European Union in March. But would-be capitalists in Poland still face problems in selling to workers the restructuring and sell-off of the state-owned mining, steel, and defense industries, as well as cutting the pension system.

Panamanians protest nukes

Several environmental groups protested the shipment of nuclear waste through the Panama Canal February 5. The shipment aboard the *Pacific Swan* included nearly 40 tons of highly radioactive waste. Greenpeace spokesman Carlos Bravo said there was a fire in the engine room of the *Pacific Swan* in 1990, adding to concerns about a possible accident in the canal. Supposedly answering Bravo, Panama Canal official Alberto Aleman Zubieta said 71 ships carrying radioactive waste passed through the canal last year without problems. Several Caribbean governments also voiced opposition to the transshipment, but British Nuclear Fuels and

Cogema of France — the companies shipping the nuclear waste — dismissed the possibility of an accident.

Workers in Mexico demand aid

A group of protesters threw rocks at government officials and cops as they left a Constitution Day ceremony in Queretaro, Mexico, February 5. The demonstrators were protesting the failure of the government to provide aid to poor communities in the central Mexican city. Some 200 riot police were brought in and attacked the protest.

Meanwhile, negotiations in Chiapas sparked calls for the Mexican army to withdraw from the area. For four years Zapatista rebels in that southern region have been fighting government forces. Two government commissions also called for the disarmament of at least 12 paramilitary groups that have killed dozens of people in Chiapas. One such paramilitary group, which was linked to the government, was responsible for the December 22 massacre of 45 peasants in Acteal, Chiapas.

Black joblessness near 10 percent

While the official jobless rate in the United States fell to a "seasonally adjusted" average of 4.7 percent for the last three months of 1997, the unemployment rate for workers who are Black remained near 10 percent, according to the U.S. Department of Labor. The unemployment rate for Latinos was also higher than average, 7.4 percent in the October–December period, and the jobless rate for teenagers averaged 15 percent.

Prisoners win settlement

Fourteen prisoners who were beaten by guards in Georgia's Hays State prison reached a tentative Federal District Court settlement of \$283,000 February 3. The inmates testified that they were punched, kicked, and stomped on by guards in a 1996 "drug and weapon sweep." They also said that a special tactical squad handcuffed and abused prisoners to intimidate them. One prison guard told the court in a deposition that the Georgia State Corrections Commissioner, Wayne Garner, looked on while beatings took place. Garner denies this.

INS limits ID for immigrants

Under a proposal issued January 30 by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), immigrants would not be able to use 12 currently valid forms of identification for employment. They include U.S. citizen ID cards, school IDs, birth certificates, voter registration cards, and certain military identification and draft cards. Currently, 25 forms of identification are valid for employment. Another INS proposal would raise the application fees for 27 visa and citizenship services. The fee for naturalization would go from \$95 to \$225; applying for legal permanent residency would rise from \$130 to \$220; and the replacement price for a green card would go from \$74 to \$110.

— MEGAN ARNEY

THE MILITANT

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Canadian capitalists face economic crisis

Union officials push 'buy Canadian,' while gov't imposes austerity measures

BY MICHEL DUMAS

MONTREAL — The Canadian dollar fell to US\$0.688 January 22, its lowest point ever. After a week of almost daily record lows, the Bank of Canada increased its interest rates in hopes of offsetting the dollar's downward movement for a while.

"The fundamentals are still excellent," insisted Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, stressing that the Canadian dollar is currently doing well compared to most currencies. "The problem is with the American dollar," he insisted. But 83 percent of all Canadian trade is with the United States, and the relationship of the Canadian currency to the U.S. dollar is the one that really counts for Canadian capitalists.

Bosses, big-business politicians, and union officials all claim that making "our" companies more competitive against U.S. companies is key for all Canadians. That's what the 2,400 pulp and paper workers on strike against Fletcher Challenge in British Columbia and the 2,300 meatpackers on strike against Maple Leaf Foods keep hearing, for instance.

Bosses, big-business politicians, and union officials all claim that making "our" companies more competitive against U.S. companies is key for all Canadians. That's what the 2,400 pulp and paper workers on strike against Fletcher Challenge in British Columbia and the 2,300 meatpackers on strike against Maple Leaf Foods keep hearing, for instance.

But workers at Fletcher Challenge and Maple Leaf Foods made the decision to stand up and defend their wages and working conditions. Their actions are in contrast with the chauvinist "buy Canadian" campaigns waged by labor officials in Canada. In the last issue of the *IAM Journal*, Canadian vice president of the International Association of Machinists David Ritchie denounced children's clothing made in Haiti. "It's not that we want to take work away from that poor Haitian worker," he asserted. But when you buy something, it's better if "the product is Canadian made."

On January 19 Canadian Auto Workers officials launched a protectionist campaign against cars from Asia, in particular from South Korea "where the economic crisis has dried up the auto market and companies such as Hyundai Motor Co. are gearing up for huge exports," said CAW president Basil Hargrove.

Attacks on social wage

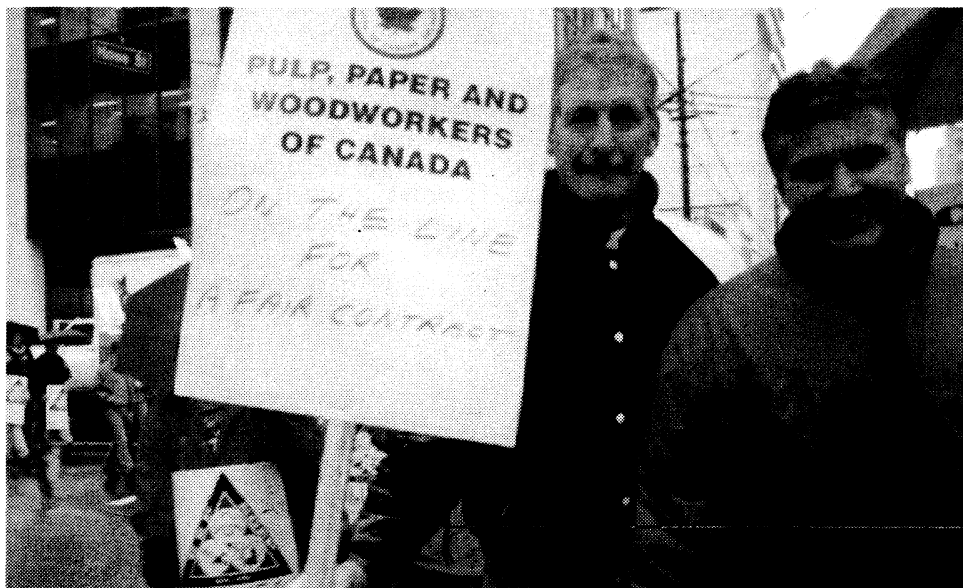
"Canada today is growing more rapidly than any Group of Seven country," said a front page article of the *Wall Street Journal* December 26. "Economists expect Canada to achieve a balanced budget in the current fiscal year, ending March 31 — well ahead of the U.S...."

"To get to their current state, Canadians had to struggle through a recession followed by an austerity program far tougher than anything Americans have suffered in the postwar era," added the big-business daily. As an example of this austerity, it cites the 14 percent of federal employees whose jobs have been cut by the current government.

Ottawa has also cut transfer payments to provinces, spurring massive attacks by provincial governments on health and education services. One after the other, they have succeeded in closing down hospitals and drastically cutting education budgets, in some cases despite broad labor mobilizations.

Ottawa has cut unemployment benefits as well. Since the opening of the 1990s, the proportion of unemployed workers receiving jobless benefits in Ontario, for example, dropped from about 65 percent to 35 percent.

The relative success of Canadian capitalists has been made possible by an explosion of Canadian exports, which gave them more breathing space while they were busy attacking workers' jobs, wages, and living conditions. Since 1989, when the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement started to reduce tariffs between the two countries, exports from Canada have grown 90 percent. This is the main factor behind the decline of the rate of unemployment, which according to official figures is currently at 9.1 percent, its lowest point since 1990.



Militant/Monica Jones

Pulp and paper workers picket Fletcher Challenge in Vancouver Oct. 28, 1997.

Canadian capitalists have succeeded modestly in raising labor productivity during this period. But they have been unable to fill the gap with their U.S. rivals on this front. "In the key manufacturing sector," said a report of the Conference Board of Canada released in October, "the United States is 32 per cent more productive than Canada in terms of real output for every person-hour worked."

The export increase is above all the result of the decline of the Canadian dollar from about US\$0.89 in 1991 to its current historical low. This decline has accelerated since the beginning of the currency crisis of several oppressed Asian countries.

Competing on the world market

Canada stands as one of the imperialist countries most vulnerable to the impact of the crisis of Asian currencies.

Competition between imperialists for sales of agricultural products in Asia is growing. For the first time since its creation more than 60 years ago, the Canadian Wheat Board has extended \$35 million in credit to South Korea, in response to a \$1 billion credit extended there by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and \$36 million by the Australian Wheat Board.

But direct trade with Asian countries accounts for a small proportion of Canada's exports. The real impact of the Asia crisis comes above all by its impact on world prices of commodities. A third of Canada's Gross Domestic Product comes from exports, including some of those most affected by the Asia crisis.

In 1971 about two-thirds of Canadian exports were resource-based goods and one-third manufactured goods. In 1997 the ratio is closer to 50-50. But wood, energy, and farm products still accounts for most of Canadian capitalists' net earnings from trade. The single biggest contributor to Canada's trade surplus over the last two years was the forest products industry. The second was the energy-products industry, which sells natural gas and oil to the United States and coal to Japan. Prices for forest products, energy, and metals are now dropping.

Canada is the world's biggest supplier of pulp. Several Canadian paper companies are postponing planned investments, suddenly unable to raise money on the stock market because of investors' fears of lower demand

in Asia for pulp and other forest products. Montreal-based Avenor Inc., for example, shut its pulp mill in British Columbia for about six weeks starting December 24 because of order cancellations from Asia.

Mining accounts for 16 percent of Canada's exports, a much higher portion than in most industrialized countries. Canada's biggest natural-resource company, Noranda, has seen its stock price falling well below levels of a decade ago, because prices of its two most important products, zinc and copper, have plummeted in recent months. Inco, the world's largest nickel producer, has closed four mines, laying off 500 workers. The price of nickel dropped 22 percent in 1997, a fall that was accelerated by the crisis in Asia.

There is growing talk among the Canadian rulers about the possibility of a deflationary collapse. "Such a rapid, overall decline in the prices of assets or goods and services is a catastrophe that North America hasn't seen since the Great Depression, over 60 years ago," noted an editorial in the January 21 Toronto *Globe and Mail*.

The increasing competitive pressures on capitalists here are reflected in a wave of important mergers over the last few weeks. On January 23 the Royal Bank of Canada and the Bank of Montreal — the biggest and oldest Canadian banks — announced a plan to merge in what would be the world's third-biggest bank consolidation ever. Nova Corp. and TransCanada Pipelines are currently holding talks to merge their energy empires in what would be the largest business deal ever between two Canadian companies. When implemented, these mergers are expected to increase job cuts.

This also means more trade wars. "Look for more skirmishes along the 49th parallel," read the subheading in *Globe and Mail's* January issue of *Report on Business Magazine*, recalling the conflicts between Canada and the United States in 1997 around salmon, wheat, milk and sugar. "Expect more of the same in 1998," it said.

Elssa Martínez, a member of Communication, Energy and Paperworkers Union, contributed to this article.

40,000 march for jobs in Germany

BY CARL-ERIK ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — Tens of thousands of unemployed workers and others demonstrated in more than 200 cities across Germany February 5 demanding better unemployment benefits and jobs. The actions, which were called by unemployed groups and backed by the trade unions and the Catholic church, drew 40,000 people, organizers said. Some of the biggest protests were in eastern Germany, including rallies of 500 in Dresden, 300 in Schwerin, and 2,000 in Berlin.

The protests were inspired by the actions of jobless workers in France over the previous months. In Stuttgart, for instance, at least 100 protesters gathered outside the unemployment office under a banner reading, "The government needs a French lesson."

There are about 1,200 locals of the organization for the unemployed, which are tied to the trade unions. They plan to continue holding protests until the federal elections on September 27. Organizers say they hope to sweep away the coalition government headed by Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Christian Democratic Union.

The protests coincided with the publication of the unemployment figures for January, which registered yet another post-World War II high. The number of jobless workers in Germany climbed to 4.8 million — 12.6 percent of the workforce. This is up from 11.8 percent in December last year and 12.2 percent in January 1997. The earlier record for one month was in February 1997, when 4.67 million workers were registered as unemployed.

The gap between jobless rates in eastern and western Germany has continued to grow.

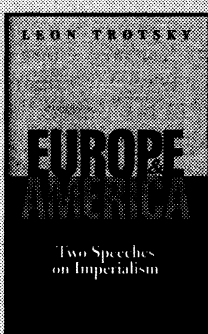
In the west, 3.24 million were registered unemployed in January this year, a rise of 171,000 since December, but slightly less than in January 1997. The figure represented 10.5 percent of the workforce in western Germany — up from 9.9 percent in December.

In eastern Germany 1.59 million were registered unemployed — 180,000 more than in January 1997 and 131,000 more than last December. The jobless rate there rose to 21.1 percent, up from 19.4 percent in December 1997 and from 18.7 percent a year ago. There are now areas in the east where a third of the workforce is unemployed. In greater Berlin area joblessness stands at 18.5 percent.

Carl-Erik Isacsson is a member of the metalworkers union in Södertälje, Sweden.

Europe and America

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LEON TROTSKY



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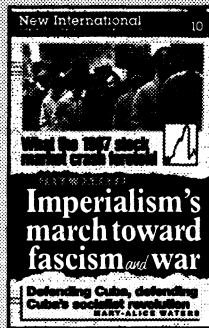
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Supporters of free speech in Seattle: attack on rights is part of war drive

BY NAN BAILEY

SEATTLE — Fifty people attended a January 31 protest meeting here to back the Socialist Workers election campaign's fight for an exemption from disclosing the names of its financial contributors. The meeting was held at the Labor Temple in downtown Seattle, and included a panel of local unionists and political activists who spoke on the theme, "Defend Free Speech and Workers Rights — Support the Socialist Workers 1997 Campaign Disclosure Exemption."

At a hearing four days later, the Seattle Ethics and Election Commission (SEEC) decided to substantially lower the fine it had levied against the Socialist Workers 1997 Campaign Committee, but refused to reconsider its denial of a disclosure exemption.

Scott Breen, who was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Seattle in 1997, was one of the featured speakers at the January 31 meeting.

"My employer, the Boeing Company, is the number one commercial airline producer in the world," Breen told the meeting. "It is also one of the giants in the war industry. Part of its preparation for the bombing of Iraq and the U.S. war moves now under way has been its attempts to close space for workers rights on the job. They banned the use of certain words. You can't say the word 'scab.' There's a gag order that the company is publicizing, demanding that workers at Boeing cease and desist from making any statements to the press."

Boeing seeks to intimidate unionists

Breen was questioned by Boeing management about a radio interview he gave during the election campaign. "Our fight for an exemption from disclosing the names of our financial contributors is based on our experience with exactly this type of harassment," Breen said. "Boeing was not trying to intimidate just me, but all other union members who speak out against speedup, attacks on health and safety on the job, and against the war being prepared by the U.S. government. Should our contributors, some of whom work at Boeing, be made public, Boeing would have a ready-made list of unionists to target for harassment."

"This is why the whole working class in this area would benefit from a victory in the Socialist Workers campaign's fight to keep the names of our contributors private. This is why I urge all of you to join me at the hearing of our appeal on this issue that will take place before the Seattle Ethics and Elections Commission February 4," Breen told the meeting.

The SEEC denied the exemption to the Socialist Workers 1997 Campaign Committee in September, despite favorable rulings won by the SWP on the federal and state levels and in every other jurisdiction where the exemption has been fought for, based on the First Amendment rights to privacy and freedom of association.

The federal election commission granted

a six-year extension of the SWP's exemption in 1997, for example. The Washington State Public Disclosure Commission also granted such an exemption last year. The SEEC itself had exempted Socialist Workers campaigns from the disclosure rules in

Inlandboatman's Union of the Pacific, a national union comprised of more than 4,000 members. "This is a violation of basic rights to privacy, free speech and free association," the message said, referring to the SEEC's denial of a disclosure exemption to the So-



Militant/Bob Bruneau; inset: Marea Himilgren
Socialist Workers candidates are active in building solidarity with workers' struggles. Above, a United Farm Workers march for apple pickers in Mattawa, Washington, last August. Inset, 1997 Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Seattle, Scott Breen, addresses January 31 meeting.

previous municipal elections. After denying the exemption and demanding the names of contributors last fall, the SEEC fined the Socialist Workers campaign committee \$6,024. This fine was later lowered to \$4,900. The campaign committee appealed both the decision and the fine, and the protest meeting was called to back this fight.

Speakers at the meeting included Mike Miller, a chief union steward of Teamsters Local 174. Miller was a local leader of the successful 1997 strike against UPS. Others who spoke were Hop Hopkins, a leader of Students Against Initiative 200 at Seattle Central Community College, one of the student groups involved in fighting to defend affirmative action in Washington state.

Autumn Knowlton, co-chair of the Seattle Committee to Defend Free Speech, chaired the event. Other speakers included Jason Welling, a student leader of Shorecrest high school's Students for Democracy, Sandy Lee, treasurer of the Committee to Defend Free Speech, and Lieff Gutthiudasmitt, representing the Young Socialists. Richard Berley, the American Civil Liberties Union cooperating attorney who is representing the Socialist Workers campaign committee in this case, was introduced and also addressed the gathering.

Messages of support read to the meeting included a January 29 letter to the Seattle Ethics and Elections Commission from the

cialist Workers campaign. "In light of the long history, and recent evidence of harassment, illegal government surveillance, disruptive efforts by individuals and government agencies, and threats against individuals identified with the Socialist Workers Party, public disclosure would have a chilling effect on this party's ability to solicit and collect campaign funds. It would subject its contributors and vendors to potential harassment themselves. We urge you to drop the fines and restore the disclosure exemption that the campaign committees have had for the last twenty-five years." The message was signed by D.C. Freiboth, President, and Terri Mast, Secretary-Treasurer.

Framework of Washington's war drive

The keynote speaker at the event was Doug Jenness, director of the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee. In his remarks to the meeting, Jenness called on participants to demand that the U.S. government keep its hands off Iraq. "The real target of the U.S. government is the Iraqi working people who they want to humiliate and intimidate," said Jenness. "The U.S. imperialists want to enforce a regime in Iraq that will bend its knees to Washington. They want to impose Wall Street's will around the world and squash any resistance to it. They're demanding that we get behind their interests. They're attempting to draw civil-

ian life under military discipline, beginning with the war industries.

"But they're running up against an obstacle. Workers are human beings. We think, we read. This is the framework in which the Socialist Workers campaign's fight for a disclosure exemption is taking place," said Jenness. "This exemption, which we have exercised for over 20 years, was won in battle. Like other liberties, it was taken, not given. And in all those years we have never turned over the name of a single contributor." Jenness added that the SEEC has made it clear that they hope to set a precedent that can help get rid of exemptions to filing throughout the country. "The stakes are very high in this fight."

Jenness went on to describe the free speech victory that the Socialist Workers campaign in Twin Cities recently won, a victory that won attorneys' fees and upheld the socialist campaign's right to distribute flyers, set up literature tables, and campaign on the streets.

Participants in the meeting gave \$1,025 in contributions and pledges to back the defense effort.

Fifteen supporters attended the hearing of the Socialist Workers campaign's appeal before the SEEC on February 4.

In his opening statement, Berley called the fine of \$4,900 excessive and lacking a rational basis. The ACLU attorney challenged the ruling of the SEEC of September 10, 1997, which denied a disclosure exemption to the Socialist Workers 1997 Campaign Committee. He cited the precedents granting exemption on the federal and state level. He called the SEEC's ruling a "rogue" ruling and said the onus is on the SEEC to explain why its ruling is different than all the others that have been won by the Socialist Workers Campaign, which has documented a substantial history of harassment and intimidation at the hands of the government, the police and private agencies.

The Socialist Workers called as witnesses Scott Breen and Jeff Powers, treasurer for the campaign committee.

The city of Seattle called as witnesses sergeant Fred Ibuki of the Seattle police department, and two Boeing management employees: Vicki Jo Johnson, Employee Relations Manager at Boeing, and Clark Nebeker, a senior manager for employee relations at Boeing for the past six years. Both Boeing managers were subpoenaed by the Seattle city attorney and were represented by a Boeing attorney.

The hearing lasted two hours. At times some commission members complained that they were not there to rehear the case. After a short private executive session at the end of the hearing the SEEC announced its decision: It refused to reconsider its denial of an exemption from disclosing the names of campaign contributors and vendors. They lowered the fine on the Socialist Workers 1997 Campaign Committee from \$4,900 to \$330, and referred to the commission's executive director whether the socialist campaign has to turn over the names.

Commenting on the results of the hearing, Breen said, "I think this ruling reflected some of the pressure that has been brought to bear by our side. This fight is far from over. Although the SEEC has upheld its decision to deny the disclosure exemption, they have for the second time lowered the fine — this time significantly — and they ended the hearing with no clear decision on whether my campaign committee will be required to turn over the names of contributors and vendors to the 1997 Socialist Workers Campaign. We'll await that decision before deciding our next legal moves. Meanwhile, we will continue to press forward with the political fight. Our demand remains no less than what it was at the beginning of this case — for an exemption from disclosing the names of our contributors and vendors."

"I urge all supporters of free speech to join me and others at the next meeting of the Seattle Committee to Defend Free Speech on Wednesday, February 18 at 5:00 p.m. at the Pathfinder Bookstore located at 1405 E. Madison in Seattle."

Nan Bailey is a member of the International Association of Machinists.

Socialist candidates denounce war moves

BY DOUG JENNESS

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — In five states Socialist Workers Party candidates are off and running for elections to be held in 1998. Socialist Workers campaigns have been launched for U.S. Congress in Pennsylvania and Minnesota, for U.S. Senate in Ohio, for governor of Iowa, and for mayor of Newark, New Jersey. Announcement of campaigns are being prepared in another 10 states. In some areas campaign supporters are announcing an initial candidate in order to immediately offer a working-class voice of opposition to Washington's war moves against Iraq, with plans to add to their 1998 tickets later.

At a February 6 news conference in Cleveland, Matthew Herreshoff stated that one of the reasons he is running for U.S. Senate is to explain that "the employers who are preparing for war in Iraq are also waging war against working people in this country — attacking the trade unions, affirmative action, the rights of immigrants, Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, and women's right to choose abortion." He stated

that he is urging support for several victims of police frame-ups. Herreshoff pledged to "speak out in defense of the Cuban revolution, and demand that Washington lift its brutal economic embargo against the Cuban people."

Michael Pennock, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Minnesota's 5th district, said his campaign "is off to a flying start." In the first week he spoke at a rally of 250 protesting Washington's threats against Iraq, appeared on a panel discussion on Iraq at a Militant Labor Forum, visited three pickets lines of striking Honeywell workers, joined a protest action against the bombing of an abortion clinic, and visited a local high school with a Young Socialists leader. He also sold several copies of the *Militant* and a copy of *New International* no. 7 to co-workers at the 3M-Cottage Grove plant. Pennock is a member of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers union.

Tom Alter hit the campaign trail for governor of Iowa by participating in actions to protest U.S. government war moves against Iraq. Alter, who is a member of the Social-

ist Workers National Campaign Committee, announced the campaign at a public hearing on the death penalty in the Iowa state legislature speaking with others against attempts to reinstate capital punishment in Iowa. "Washington's war moves against the Iraqi people and the attempt to reinstate the death penalty here are both a part of the rulers' war against workers and farmers at home and abroad." Alter, who is a member of the Young Socialists National Committee, works at the IBP meat packing plant in Perry and is a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers union.

Local campaigns are urged to send information about their activities and ballot plans to the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, P.O. Box 14239, St. Paul, MN 55114. Readers who are interested in helping local campaigns should consult the directory on page 12.

Doug Jenness is a member of the United Steelworkers of America and the director of the Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee.

Workers, antiracist fighters buy 'Militant'

As the U.S. government steadily advances toward an assault on Iraq, supporters of the *Militant* have begun a month-long campaign to sell the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International* (NI) no. 7, and the new booklet *Celebrating the Homecoming of Ernesto Che Guevara's Reinforcement Brigade*. That *New International* issue features the article "Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq," by Jack Barnes. The purpose of this working-class campaign is to explain the truth about Washington's impending war and to recruit revolutionary workers and young people to the communist movement. Cities and unions are ranked on the chart based on an average of where they stand in meeting their sales goals for the *Militant* and *New International*. The following stories from worker-correspondents report initial experiences in this effort.

DES MOINES, Iowa — Socialists here got off to a good start in campaigning against imperialism and its wars. One promising result was that in selling at two demonstrations against attempts to reinstate the death penalty in Iowa, five people signed up to find out more about the Young Socialists.

We also sold at a demonstration demanding "U.S. Hands Off Iraq," on the campus of Drake University, going door-to-door in the working-class neighborhoods of Des Moines, and in Tama, Iowa, where workers — many of them immigrants — were recently involved in a sit-down strike at Tama Packing. Socialist workers also sold papers at plant gates and on the job at factories organized by the United Auto Workers, United Food and Commercial Workers, and United Steelworkers unions.

Tom Alter

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Of the 49 *Militants* sold by socialist workers here in the first week of the sales campaign, 15 were purchased by demonstrators at a February 8 rally of 250 people at the White House called by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee to protest the U.S. government's war threats against Iraq.

Another 14 copies were sold by a team including two Young Socialists at a February 7 anti-Ku Klux Klan rally in Annapolis,

Maryland. Several antiracist demonstrators were attracted to the YS literature table's signs and Pathfinder books calling for "U.S. Hands off Iraq." Many who stopped at the table asked for information on the 1990-91 Gulf War and said they were too young to have followed it at the time. Six unionists bought the *Militant* on the job where socialists work. Among Machinists, an Iranian-born worker bought NI no. 7 and a second worker who subscribes to the *Militant* became convinced by the paper's antiwar coverage to attend a February 1 picket line of 25 people at the White House called by the Socialist Workers Party and YS.

Mary Martin

LOS ANGELES — On February 7 a team of socialist campaigners sold 8 *Militants* and 2 Pathfinder titles to GIs in Oceanside, California, near the Camp Pendleton Marine Corps base. A literature table with large signs reading "Hands off Iraq! Lift the sanctions now!" attracted attention throughout the day. Young Marine recruits who stopped by the table expressed a wide range of opinions about the U.S. war threats.

Some GIs knew people in units that have recently been sent to the Persian Gulf. Most expressed the idea that "maybe we have to" go to war, but only a few showed enthusiasm. Even among those who disagreed with the *Militant* headline "U.S. inspectors out of Iraq," several got into serious discussions about the slaughter in the 1991 Gulf War, its aftermath, and the prospect of a new war. A Chicano GI bought *Che Guevara Speaks* and *Socialism and Man in Cuba* along with the *Militant*. As a result of these successes, *Militant* supporters here raised our goal from 300 to 360.

Mark Friedman

SYDNEY, Australia — One highlight of the week here was that members of the Australian Manu-

Working-class campaign against imperialism and war February 1 - March 1 ♦ Target percentage for first week = 25%

	Militant			NI			PM		Che	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
AUSTRALIA	120	31	26%	5	0	0%	6		20	4
CANADA										
Toronto	360	71	20%	15	3	20%	8	2	40	2
Vancouver	200	46	23%	12	1	8%	8	2	20	5
Montreal	140	15	11%	20	2	10%	16	1	20	0
Canada total	700	132	19%	47	6	13%	32	5	80	7
ICELAND	20	6	30%	2	0	0%			4	1
NEW ZEALAND										
Auckland	100	31	31%	5	0	0%		1	20	4
Christchurch	45	11	24%	3	0	0%			12	1
NZ total	145	42	29%	8	0	0%			32	5
SWEDEN	92	17	18%	8		0%	10		8	
UNITED KINGDOM										
London	180	56	31%	25	1	4%			40	10
Manchester	160		0%	10		0%			20	
UK total	340	56	16%	35	1	3%			60	10
UNITED STATES										
Birmingham, AL	140	30	21%	10	5	50%	15		8	2
Los Angeles	360	110	31%	25	8	32%	20		20	2
Washington, DC	128	49	38%	10	1	10%	12		20	
Des Moines	200	46	23%	12	2	17%	20		17	2
Twin Cities, MN	220	31	14%	20	5	25%	20	5	30	3
New York	500	113	23%	50	8	16%	40	14	100	4
Philadelphia	200	34	17%	10	2	20%	10	0	25	
Miami	200	47	24%	25	3	12%	30	3	30	4
Houston	140	35	25%	15	1	7%	20	3	15	1
Boston	220	43	20%	25	3	12%		2	25	2
San Francisco	240	39	16%	20	3	15%	30	1	40	5
Detroit	140	40	29%	10		0%	5	1	25	6
Chicago	400	96	24%	25	1	4%	40	11	50	6
Newark, NJ	320	55	17%	40	3	8%	80	2	30	2
Pittsburgh	120	17	14%	13	1	8%	3		10	3
Atlanta	240	47	20%	20		0%	20	6	30	
Cleveland	160	28	18%	8		0%	8	2	20	
Seattle	150	23	15%	15		0%	5		25	
Other										
U.S. total	4078	883	22%	353	46	13%	378	50	520	42
Unions										
CANADA										
USWA	44	6	14%	12	3	25%	6	1	8	
IAM	36	6	17%	5		0%			3	
UNITE	32		0%	1		0%			1	
Canada total	112	12	11%	18	3	17%	6	1	12	0
UNITED STATES										
UTU*	200	27	14%	40	8	20%			20	2
OCAW	88	15	17%	14	1	7%			16	2
UFCW*	44	4	9%	7	1	14%		5	6	0
IAM	160	16	10%	35	4	11%	20	1	40	
USWA	145	18	12%	30	2	7%	15	2	20	
UNITE	30	3	10%	12	1	8%	20	5	16	2
UAW	200		0%	10		0%			20	
U.S. total	867	83	10%	148	17	11%	55	13	138	6

* combined Militant and PM goal

Monthly Sales of Pathfinder Books JANUARY 1998

Countries/Cities	January			Previous months		
	Goal	Sales	% Sold	Dec.	Nov.	Oct.
ICELAND	5	7	140%	100%	100%	480
UNITED KINGDOM						
London	150	203	135%	71%	77%	147%
Manchester	56	24	43%	43%	59%	77%
U.K. Total	206	227	110%	63%	72%	92%
AUSTRALIA	36	35	97%	36%	208%	311
CANADA						
Toronto	80	130	163%	180%	59%	103%
Vancouver	50	30	60%	44%	171%	63%
Montreal	68	26	38%	103%	135%	121%
Canada Total	198	186	94%	111%	111%	101%
FRANCE	30	23	77%	37%	420%	397
SWEDEN	60	38	63%	67%	216%	131
UNITED STATES						
Atlanta	48	82	171%	81%	81%	117%
Miami	65	81	125%	112%	314%	128%
Boston	65	78	120%	154%	71%	140%
Chicago	77	81	105%	61%	52%	152%
Des Moines	50	50	100%	110%	184%	132%
Birmingham	45	42	93%	184%	51%	109%
Philadelphia	55	41	75%	122%	95%	253%
Seattle	80	59	74%	34%	39%	85%
Washington, D.C.	70	47	67%	96%	120%	186%
Los Angeles	120	72	60%	68%	88%	211%
Detroit	45	26	58%	69%	44%	129%
San Francisco	200	113	57%	45%	93%	141%
Pittsburgh	63	35	56%	35%	65%	90%
New York	245	105	43%	45%	39%	99%
Cleveland	50	19	38%	42%	34%	80%
Twin Cities	104	39	38%	103%	59%	108%
Houston	65	19	29%	31%	71%	175%
Newark	171	20	12%	16%	36%	101%
U.S. total	1618	1009	62%	66%	77%	132%
Goal/Should be	1800	1800	100%			
NEW ZEALAND						
Christchurch	32	23	72%	34%	57%	36%
Auckland	42	13	31%	95%	94%	57%
N.Z. Total	74	36	49%	69%	81%	49%
GREECE	13	0	0%	69%	215%	208

facturing Workers Union sold 5 *Militants* at the F. Muller and Southcorp factories, and socialist workers sold another two *Militants* at a weekly plant-gate sale to maritime union members at Port Botany. Meanwhile, Communist League members and Young Socialists sold nine *Militants* at an emergency picket at the U.S. consulate here on February 2, protesting the imperialist war moves against Iraq.

Ron Poulsen and Bob Aiken

CHICAGO — Supporters of the *Militant* in Chi-

cago sold 96 *Militants* out of a weekly goal 100. A team of two traveled to Peoria, Illinois, to visit UAW members who work at Caterpillar and sell at plant gates and in working-class communities. There is heightened discussion among the Caterpillar workers over the likelihood of an "agreement in principle" between UAW officials and CAT. Two unionists purchased the paper at a Caterpillar plant in East Peoria and the following day a Caterpillar worker bought a copy of NI no. 7.

Danny Booher

IN THE UNIONS				Previous months		
Unions	January Goal	Sales	Total	Dec.	Nov.	Oct.
UNITED STATES						
UFCW	14	11	79%	131%	38%	94%
USWA	40	25	63%	50%	80%	75%
UNITE	14	7	50%	57%	43%	40%
IAM	60	29	48%	23%	20%	55%
UAW	50	20	40%	46%	14%	22%
OCAW	44	10	23%	0%	7%	7%
UTU	94	16	17%	14%	17%	14%
U.S. Total	316	118	37%	31%	26%	37%
BRITAIN						
AEEU	5	2	40%	120%	40%	100%
RMT	6	1	17%	0%	100%	0%
TGWU	7	2	29%	0%	0%	0%
U.K. Total	18	5	28%	33%	44%	28%
CANADA						
IAM	7	2	29%	100%	50%	88%
USWA	22	5	23%	0%	44%	28%
Canada Total	29	7	24%	28%	46%	46%
AUSTRALIA						
AMWU	4	0	0%	25%	0%	75%

AEEU — Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Workers Union; AMWU — Amalgamated Manufacturers Union; CAW — Canadian Autoworkers Union; EU — Engineers Union; MWU — MeatWorkers Union; IAM — International Association of Machinists; OCAW — Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; RMT — National Union of Rail, Maritime, and Transport Workers; TGWU — Transport and General Workers Union; UAW — United Auto Workers; UFBGWU — United Food, Beverage, and General Workers Union; UFCW — United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA — United Mine Workers of America; UNITE — Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees; USWA — United Steelworkers of America; UTU — United Transportation Union.

Young Socialists defend affirmative action, protest clinic bombing

This column is written and edited by the Young Socialists (YS), an international organization of young workers, students, and other youth fighting for socialism. For more information about the YS write to: Young Socialists, 1573 N. Milwaukee, P.O. Box #478, Chicago, Ill. 60622. Tel: (773) 772-0551. Compuserve: 105162,605

BY ALARIC DIRMAYER

OLYMPIA, Washington — The State Capitol Building here was the scene of a student-organized and -mobilized demonstration against the affirmative action-gutting Initiative 200 on January 31. Organizers from campuses around the Pacific Northwest were able to draw forces from their schools, totaling close to 200 protesters.

Coalitions at the University of Washington (UW) and Seattle Central Community College (SCCC) were key in drawing together this event. This mobilization followed in the footsteps of prior sizable demonstrations and debates held at both UW and SCCC, as well as other colleges in the area like University of Puget Sound (UPS).

Among the sponsors for the event were the Black Student Union at UPS, the King County Labor Council, the Seattle Young Socialists, and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU). Althea Burton, an organizer for the CBTU, was a featured speaker.

While talking about the past struggles by working people that won affirmative action Burton remarked, "I am a product of that 30-year movement and me and other Black unionists will be part of the fight of extending it to you."

Kim Thomas, head of the Black Student Union at UPS, pledged "to the people in the

Capitol Building, we will fight you all the way." Other student leaders expressed similar sentiments towards maintaining the course of action and continuing to build connections between fighters at various universities. Hop Hopkins, a central organizer for the SCCC-located Students Against I-200, urged continued militancy from participants and said "even if the initiative [I-200] passes in November we must continue fighting. We need to take the streets back!"

Following the rally was a march through downtown Olympia that caught the afternoon crowd of shoppers by surprise. Moving down the sidewalk, these students and their allies chanted "No on I-200" and "Black and White, Unite and Fight!" This evoked a response from the downtown crowd. Several younger drivers honked their horns in solidarity, boosting the morale of those marching.

The current phase of the affirmative action fight involves students maintaining a militant and active strategy towards defending this right. Another group involved in fighting this initiative is the No on I-200 Coalition, which has deep connections with the Democratic Party and opposes sustained mobilizations for affirmative action. They are endorsing a Democratic party-sponsored counter initiative to I-200 entitled Senate Bill 6689 that calls for maintaining affirmative action only for those who are "qualified." The fighting students have voted in recent meetings to not back the Senate Bill 6689 and to continue speaking out.

BY AMY ROBERTS

MINNEAPOLIS — Thirty people picketed outside the Federal Building in downtown Minneapolis February 4 in response



Militant photos/Michael Pennock, right
Some 80 people protested U.S. war moves against Iraq, above, in Stockholm, Sweden, February 4. The action was initiated by the Young Socialists. More than 250 turned out in Minneapolis, right, February 6 to demand "Hands off Iraq!"

to the bombing of a clinic that provides abortions in Birmingham, Alabama. The protest was organized after a Militant Labor Forum January 30 that marked the 25th anniversary of the *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion. At the forum, Megan Lucas, a former student at the University of St. Thomas, a private Catholic college in St. Paul, spoke of her involvement in a fight to get a pro-choice group started on campus. Also at the forum Simone Berg, a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers from Des Moines, Iowa, spoke about the history of the struggle for abortion rights and of the growing attacks on a woman's right to control her own body. She pointed to the example of youth who mobilized to defend abortion rights in response to Operation Rescue's rightist campaigns to shut down clinics in 1991-92.

After the forum, Lucas, members of the Young Socialists, and Jessica Swanson, who was also involved in the organizing effort at St. Thomas, decided to organize a protest in response to the bombing. The action was built among campus organizations and area activist groups with a leaflet that said, "Defend a woman's right to choose! Prosecute the bombers! Defend abortion rights! Safe and easy access to clinics!" The organizers

also contacted activists who they have worked with in defending abortion rights, the Cuban revolution, fighting police brutality, and speaking out against U.S. war moves against Iraq. The pickets included students from the University of Minnesota, Macalester College, and University of St. Thomas. A number of demonstrators asked to be put on the mailing list for the weekly Militant Labor Forums, and two women bought Militant subscriptions.

Amy Roberts is a member of the United Steelworkers of America.

Militant Labor Forum discusses how to effectively oppose U.S. war

BY ARTIE BROOKING

BOSTON — Thirty-nine people packed the meeting room of the Militant Labor Forum here February 7 to hear Militant editor Naomi Craine speak on "U.S. Hands Off Iraq!" Subtitled "Organizing a working-class campaign against imperialism and war," the forum drew together a range of people interested in discussing out how to oppose the latest war-moves by imperialism most effectively. Young Socialists member Nick Pell also spoke about recent protests against the U.S. war drive in the Boston area and how others could join in.

The forum participants included members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialists who are members of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) from around the country. They were in the middle of a week-end of discussion on advancing the campaign against imperialist war among their co-workers and in the union.

Three students at Boston University came to the meeting after seeing fliers posted up at their school. Two others, including a student at Tufts University, had picked up fliers from socialist activists participating in a picket opposing U.S. war moves held in downtown Boston two days earlier. One young woman had bought a copy of the Militant from a supporter of the paper who lives in New Zealand while she was traveling in the Philippines. She called up Militant supporters in Boston when she moved here a couple of weeks ago. She left the meeting with a copy of New International no. 7, the new booklet Celebrating the Homecoming of Ernesto Che Guevara's Reinforcement Brigade to Cuba, and several other Pathfinder titles.

In the discussion period at the forum, a socialist rail worker who is a member of the United Transportation Union described having a long discussion with a co-worker about the impending war. The worker, a veteran of the Vietnam war, quickly read the back cover of the New International no. 7, which

features the article "The Opening Guns of World War III — Washington's Assault on Iraq," and reached into his pocket for the cash to buy it.

Several people stayed behind for a couple of hours to carry on the political discussions.

From the pages of the Atlanta Journal-Constitution

Chemical weaponry: An 'ugly form of death'

Iraq is feared to have what may be the world's largest arsenal of biological warfare agents.

By Bob Deans
WASHINGTON BUREAU

Washington — The Pentagon calls it simply VX, a chemical so lethal that a drop the size of a pin

This article and photo appeared at the top of page 10 of the Atlanta Journal-Constitution February 4. A side bar listing the previous day's "key developments" included an item on the 14-person protest shown at right. Recent pickets protesting U.S. war moves have received prominent coverage in the Minneapolis Star Tribune, the Greensboro News and Record, and other big-business dailies.



DWIGHT ROSS JR. / Staff

Atlanta protest: Jeff Rogers (left) of Decatur and others picket Tuesday at the Richard Russell Federal Building under the Socialist Workers Party's aegis, objecting to U.S. involvement in Iraq.

Pollack, Persian Gulf military the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) charged

Lessons for today from the working-class campaign against 1990 – 91 Gulf War

BY NAOMI CRAINE

On Nov. 1, 1990, the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party issued a statement calling on working people around the world to "put at the center of their political activity campaigning against the horrendous war Washington, London, Paris, and their allies are preparing in the Middle East." Socialist workers and young socialists in the United States and elsewhere did exactly that over the following months — explaining to their co-workers, classmates, soldiers, and other workers and youth involved in struggles the reasons behind Washington's war drive and why working people should oppose the slaughter. They continued this political campaign unflinchingly through the six-week aerial bombardment of Iraq that began Jan. 16, 1991, the murderous 100-hour "ground war" that followed, and the subsequent months as the U.S. imperialist colossus kept up its deadly sanctions and imposed "no-fly" zones over much of Iraq.

As this unfolded, worker-bolsheviks in the SWP confronted many political questions that will be faced again in the new bloody assault Washington is preparing against the Iraqi people. It's important to study these lessons, many of which are drawn together in issue no. 7 of *New International* containing "The Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's assault on Iraq" and "The Working-Class Campaign against Imperialism and War," both by Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes. Some of these lessons are explained in bulletins published by the SWP National Committee for the information of party members at the time.

The danger of denial

"The Working-Class Campaign against Imperialism and War" was first published in the *International Socialist Review* as a supplement to the *Militant* in December 1990. Together with the book *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations* and the *Militant*, it was the main tool socialist workers used to explain the U.S. war drive and campaign against it.

One of the biggest hazards the working-class vanguard faced at that point was "the danger of denial," the article explained. "These hazards are compounded for those who are buffeted by the day-to-day swings and tactical divisions reflected in bourgeois public opinion" — a warmongering speech by the president one day, an announcement of renewed diplomatic "initiatives" the next, and so on. The capitalists and bourgeois politicians who are preparing for war "always claim to be acting in the interests of peace — and of freedom, democracy, and national sovereignty as well," the article noted. In fact, talk of negotiations with the Iraqi government by Paris and others in the imperialist alliance continued until the very eve of the bombing.

But from at least some point in September 1990, every step taken by Washington, including every fake "peace" proposal, was headed toward a bloody assault that would have devastating consequences for all the toilers of the region. Any hopes that the Stalinist bureaucracies in the Soviet Union or China would hold back the assault were an illusion as well. Moscow jumped into the U.S.-led coalition in hopes of gaining greater integration into the world market system, while Beijing declined to use its veto power as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council to block even one of the war resolutions pushed by Washington.

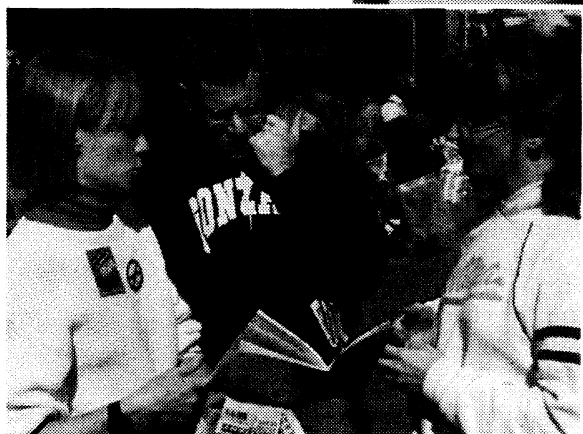
The article on "The Working-Class Campaign" pointed out that the differences between the "war camp" and the "peace camp" in Washington were entirely tactical. The only debate in the halls of Congress was over the best methods for advancing the interests of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East. Most of the "doves" argued for giving the sanctions Washington had pushed through the United Nations a "chance to work."

For instance on Dec. 9, 1990, Sam Nunn, the chairman and ranking Democrat on the Senate Armed Service Committee, called for "squeezing [Saddam Hussein] to his knees" through this embargo before moving on to a "viable military option," which he defined as a massive, sustained bombing assault on Iraqi cities and troop concentrations to mini-

mize subsequent U.S. losses in a ground assault. Sen. Edward Kennedy, one of the most prominent "peace" politicians, argued for a full year of sanctions, before launching a military assault.

Communists explained that these sanctions — a full blockade on imports, including food and medicine, enforced by U.S. naval firepower in the Arab-Persian Gulf — were themselves an act of war. This is explained clearly and point by point in the book *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast!*, which contains speeches by Ricardo Alarcón, who at the time was Cuba's representative in the UN Security Council, and Cuban president Fidel Castro.

As part of a working-class



Militant photos: Michael Cooper (top) Arthur Hughes (left)

Socialist workers and youth put emphasis on discussing why working people should oppose Washington's plans for war with those involved in struggle, like Eastern Airlines strikers above. Left: Selling pamphlet *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations* hot off the press in October 1990.

campaign against the imperialist war drive, socialists called for unconditionally lifting the sanctions — and do so to this day.

Yellow ribbons and patriotic pressures

In addition to the disorientation that can come from the propaganda of the bourgeois war makers, "individuals and currents from the petty bourgeoisie — sometimes because of the depth of their shock at the horrors of war, and their fear of the consequences — lose their moorings and get drawn into the undertow of one or another section of the war makers and their political parties," the article by Barnes in the *ISR* explained. Re-

sisting the patriotic pressures transmitted by these middle-class layers is of the utmost importance for class-conscious workers. One of the forms this pressure took before and during the Gulf War was the slogan, "Support our troops — bring them home," put forward by many radicals and pacifists.

This is "simply one of many adaptations to increasing patriotic pressure," wrote Joel Britton and Ernie Mailhot in a December 1990 letter to socialists in the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union. The letter, which was published in a bulletin for the entire party, was one product of an expanded meeting of the SWP Political Committee and elected leadership of the party's trade

Hundreds demand: No war on Iraq!

BY ANDY BUCHANAN AND MARGRETHE SIEM

BOSTON — Some 350 people took part in a picket and march against U.S. war moves against Iraq February 11. Called by the newly formed Boston Emergency Committee Against War With Iraq, the lead banner of the march proclaimed, "No U.S. War on Iraq" and "End the Economic Sanctions," in English and Spanish. The march wound round Boston Common to the Arlington Street Church for a rally, followed by an organizing meeting to plan another demonstration and a teach-in against the war moves to take place at Massachusetts Institute of Technology on Saturday February 21.

Two students at Newton North High School just outside Boston, heard about the protest at an organizing meeting for the upcoming Young Feminist Summit organized by the National Organization for Women. One of them reported that she had copied the leaflet and posted it around school, which "even got the teachers discussing this."

Andy Buchanan is a member of Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees Local 311. Margrethe Siem is a member of United Transportation Union.

BY CANDACE WAGNER

PHILADELPHIA — Students and others gathered outside the University of Pennsylvania at noon and again at 5:00 p.m. February 5 to protest the threatened bombing of Iraq and the continuing sanctions. Altogether about 50 people participated in the

actions, including members of the Muslim and Arab student clubs, an Irish activist, and activists in a number of other organizations. One sign read "Iraq: People Live There."

Linda Mamoun, president of the Lebanese Club initiated the protests. She was one of 40 people picketing the Philadelphia federal building in a similar protest January 30. The federal building picket, organized five days before, was sponsored by 11 groups and individuals. Brenda Hanson and Shirley Smith work near the federal building. "I had no idea this protest was going on," Hanson exclaimed. "The U.S. should stay out of there. They send young men to die in war, before they've even had a chance to live."

After the picket 20 people attended a Militant Labor Forum at the Pathfinder Bookstore. Jason Coughlin spoke representing the Socialist Workers Party. "I was a GI during the Gulf War," he explained. "I questioned the war, had discussions with other GIs. I wasn't unique. We need to reach out to GIs about the current U.S. war moves."

BY DAVID CREED

LOS ANGELES — More than 80 people rallied in front of the Westwood Federal Building February 4 in response to a call for a picket line by the Save the Iraqi Children Coalition. Only one passerby vocally disagreed, yelling "bomb 'em" as he drove by the picket. Most who expressed an opinion gave a thumbs up with a few honks of support. A few Muslim students from the nearby UCLA campus stopped by and joined the protest. Demonstrators expressed

union work held December 15 – 16 to assess the progress of the party's campaign against the imperialist war drive.

"The 'our' in the slogan is read by the overwhelming majority of people as 'our country's' troops," the letter continued. "These are not 'our class's troops'; the members of the armed forces are 'their' troops, the troops of the imperialist state. Communists point out that individual soldiers — outside the officer corps — are in their big majority workers and farmers in uniform; they are fellow workers temporarily in the armed forces.... As they experience the unfolding of a bloody imperialist war, numbers of servicemen and -women will become unalterably opposed to continuing its prosecution.... But workers and farmers in uniform, citizen soldiers, are nonetheless part of the imperialist military — part of *their* military, the armed forces of the employing class — not *ours*."

The slogan "Support our troops, bring them home" was embraced by forces with varying positions on the U.S. war drive, including those who argued for intensifying the strangling sanctions on Iraq as a "peaceful" alternative to a shooting war. Instead, communists sought to advance the unconditional demand "Hands off Iraq! Bring the troops home now!" in street actions whenever possible, as well as in discussions with individual workers and soldiers.

Socialist workers also rejected participating in the collections of presents for the GIs stationed in the Mideast that took place in many factories, including those that the trade unions were involved in. In effect, such campaigns call on workers to lend moral support and help finance the deployment of an imperialist army. "We are opposed to one cent going toward this criminal war drive," the letter from Britton and Mailhot stated. Communists would vote against all military appropriations if they had members in Congress, along with the rest of the budget of the capitalist state.

Another form the patriotic pressure took was the widespread "yellow ribbon" campaign promoted by politicians, bosses, union officials and others as a way to show support for the troops. Some radicals in the trade union officialdom and various coalitions argued that opponents of Washington's slaughter in Iraq should attach a yellow ribbon to an antiwar button, or wear a different-colored ribbon. But the ribbons played "the same role as an American flag in bol-

Continued on Page 14

differing opinions on the right of Iraq to possess "weapons of mass destruction."

"It's not fair to kill people because we don't agree with their government," said Brenda Martínez. "There must be some other alternative than bombing."

"It's a big smoke screen to confront Iraq," commented Suzanne Gather, who was born in Iraq. Washington "has chemical weapons, so why can't they?"

David Creed is a member of United Transportation Union Local 1544. Nestor Bazua, a member of the same local, contributed to this article.

BY GARY BOYERS

DETROIT — More than 600 people, the vast majority Iraqi or Iraqi-American, attended a prayer vigil February 5 at the Mother of God Chaldean Catholic Church in Southfield, Michigan. Church leaders and officials of the Chaldean Federation of America, which opposes the U.S. threats against Iraq, addressed the crowd. Chaldeans represent about 5 percent of the population of Iraq. About 80,000 Chaldeans live in the metro-Detroit area. The next evening two representatives of the Chaldean community joined a speakout at the Detroit Militant Labor Forum titled "Oppose U.S. War Moves against Iraq." On February 7 about 125 people in Ann Arbor, Michigan, marched against the U.S. war moves.

Gary Boyers is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 1299.

From scanner to presses: volunteers help revolutionize Pathfinder book production

Supporters of int'l communist movement organize to keep 350 titles in print

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS
AND PAUL MAILHOT

SEATTLE — Volunteers from around the world will soon be making a major new contribution to keeping in print the entire backlist of titles produced by Pathfinder Press — key pieces of the political arsenal of communism. Working with the editorial and business staff of Pathfinder — and in tandem with steps by those in its print shop to employ direct-to-printing-plate technology — supporters of the communist movement are organizing to not only scan and proofread the text of some 250 books and pamphlets, but to also use desktop publishing to put the manuscripts in final form.

Participants in the regional socialist conference held here in Seattle January 24–25 are among the first to respond to the challenge posed by Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes during his talk to the meeting to help revolutionize the way Pathfinder books are produced.

The big majority of Pathfinder's book list was produced before the computer era, and only about one quarter of the publisher's 350 titles are in some kind of digital form. Many of those are not yet formatted to go directly to printing press plates. Enlisting the help of supporters of the communist movement worldwide to scan and proof Pathfinder books, and then turn those digital files into final page layouts, will make it possible to do the type of quick-turnaround, short-run printing that can bring the books and pamphlets out rapidly, efficiently, and at lower cost, by saving labor time.

Havana book fair, Cairo meeting

The importance of keeping the pipeline of revolutionary literature flowing was central to the political perspectives advanced through the main presentations and discussions at the Seattle conference.

Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the Marxist magazine *New International*, gave the opening talk on "100 Years of Struggle against Yankee Imperialism: The Weight of the Cuban Revolution in a World of Growing Capitalist Disorder."

Waters is leading a *Militant* reporting team over the next few weeks to cover political developments in Cuba, including the Havana book fair, which opened February 4. Pathfinder supporters from Canada, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United Kingdom who are organizing the booth at the fair took part in the Seattle gathering, in addition to *Militant* reporters from the United States.

The conference served as a send-off rally for the socialists participating in the Havana event. At the opening of his presentation on "The Siren Call of Economic Nationalism: Washington's March Toward Fascism and War," Jack Barnes introduced the reporters and book fair team to all those in the audience.

He also introduced the Young Socialists leadership delegation that will take part in a meeting in Cairo, Egypt, in early March and report for the *Militant* on the response in the Middle East and North Africa to Washington's war moves against Iraq. The



Militant photos by Eric Simpson

Effort to digitize production of Pathfinder books and pamphlets is aimed at keeping pipeline of revolutionary literature flowing to workers and youth involved in struggles. Above: Seattle activists protest Washington's war buildup against Iraq in August 1990. Much of the labor now going into every Pathfinder title can be eliminated through volunteer effort to produce digital manuscripts that can be sent directly to printing plate. Right: Stripping film for a Pathfinder book. This is a skilled, labor-intensive process that will soon be bypassed.



Cairo meeting will assess the World Festival of Youth and Students that took place in Cuba last summer and will discuss the next steps in building an anti-imperialist youth movement.

Campaign against imperialist war

The world that working-class fighters seek to change, Barnes said, is marked by intensifying economic rivalry and sharpening conflicts among international capital's most powerful, armed states and between them and the workers states of Russia and China. It is marked by the growing internal vulnerability of the capitalist system — from Asia and Latin America to imperialist Europe. In a summary report to the meeting, the SWP leader pointed out that the U.S. rulers' course toward war against the Iraqi people had become unambiguous during the weekend the socialist conference was taking place.

News reports on Sunday morning, January 25, confirmed that consensus was building in Washington that U.S. and British forces in the Arab-Persian Gulf were only a few weeks away from launching a bombing campaign against Iraq — one they intended to be more devastating than the bombardment during "Desert Storm," the U.S.-led slaughter of Iraqi people in 1991. Over the days that followed, the debate among capitalist politicians leapfrogged to what the U.S. government will do next — including possible deployment of ground troops — to weaken or even topple the Iraqi regime.

Under these conditions, Barnes said, a party of worker-bolsheviks extends and

deepens its orientation to the working class, the only class that can eventually lead the toilers to take power out of the hands of the war makers, transforming both the world and themselves in the process. Barnes cited the statement by founding SWP leader James P. Cannon — in 1940, on the eve of Washington's entry into World War II — that: "Preparation for war means, for us, not some esoteric special task. It means turning the face of the party to the workers, penetrating deeper into the trade unions, [and proletarianizing] the composition of the party membership."

The bloody bombing assault planned against Iraq is a good reason why revolutionary minded workers and other fighters should join the Young Socialists and the SWP.

Coming out of the communist movement's working-class campaign against imperialism and war during Washington's first assault on Iraq in 1990–91, the SWP national convention in June 1991 adopted a report by party leader Mary-Alice Waters on "Extending the arsenal of communist propaganda and reconquering the apparatus through revolutionary centralism." That report reaffirmed the political centrality of maintaining a print shop capable of producing and improving the growing arsenal of communist books and pamphlets that were needed to carry out that campaign.

"How would the party respond to the political test of war?" — that was the question confronting the communist movement when Washington unleashed its murderous firepower against the Iraqi people, Waters said in that 1991 report. "In very large measure the party passed that test, with the [industrial union] fractions helping to lead the way."

The movement's printing and publishing apparatus "responded, too," Waters said, "and led in the way it is organized to do. When the party needed weapons to carry out the campaign, the apparatus produced.... [I]f ever there was a time when the importance of our apparatus confirmed itself in action, it was the six months during Washington's first moves toward war against Iraq."

As Washington counts down to another attempted slaughter against the Iraqi people, the effort to draw in reinforcements to take command of several steps in the production process of Pathfinder books will help the print shop keep on the footing necessary to meet the growing need and demand for revolutionary literature.

Among the immediate challenges Path-

finder faced was going back to press with *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*, a title produced in the heat of Washington's war preparations in the fall of 1990. Issue no. 7 of the Marxist magazine *New International* — on "Washington's Assault on Iraq: The Opening Guns of World War III" — must also be reprinted to meet a sudden increase in orders.

Organizing the quick and quality printing of such titles, as political events dictate a rapid response, will be greatly facilitated by having all of Pathfinder's books in digital form — just a few computer keystrokes away from plates that can be put on the presses.

Bottoming out of working-class retreat

Advancing along this course is necessitated by broader and longer-term political considerations than Washington's current war moves, however. It flows from the perspectives the Socialist Workers Party adopted at its June 1997 convention.

The conclusions of the SWP convention, Barnes said in Seattle, underlined that the retreat of the working class has bottomed out, including in the United States, Europe, and most other imperialist countries. Today, there are more than enough workers and youth involved in struggles for the communist movement to grow. From France to Brazil and the United States, workers, farmers and young people are resisting the capitalist rulers' demands for sacrifice, and scoring some victories.

Having the type of political weapons that will arm fighters with the lessons of working-class struggles and help recruit them to communism is indispensable. The youth who have already joined the Young Socialists, and those who continue to be attracted to communist politics, are a testament to the correctness of the decision to upgrade the way revolutionary literature is produced and kept in print.

The efforts of supporters of the communist movement to produce digital manuscripts of Pathfinder's backlist will be mirrored by steps the Pathfinder staff will take to prepare and electronically format the new books and pamphlets it releases each year. The Pathfinder staff will also take responsibility to work with volunteers on quality control of the reprints, in order to maintain the high standards of the books it produces for the working-class movement.

The Seattle meeting followed similar conferences organized in Chicago; Birmingham, Alabama; and Toronto. These gather-

Pathfinder

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party

James P. Cannon

In this companion to Leon Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism*, Cannon and other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party defend the political and organizational principles of Marxism against a petty-bourgeois current in the party. The debate unfolded as Washington prepared to drag U.S. working people into the slaughter of World War II. \$19.95

The
Struggle
for a
Proletarian
Party

by James P. Cannon



Sexism and Science

Evelyn Reed

Are human beings innately aggressive? Does biology condemn women to remain the "second sex"? Taking up these and other biases cloaked as the findings of science, Reed explains that the disciplines closest to human life — anthropology, biology, and sociology — are permeated with antiwoman rationalizations for the established capitalist order. \$15.95

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12.

ings helped draw supporters of the communist movement toward greater involvement in advancing its work.

Supporters respond

"We are in a position right now, because of the conferences that have just been held, to do it right — for the first time," said Ruth Cheney in a letter responding to the political opportunities — and consequent challenges — that Barnes had explained in his talk and summary at the Seattle gathering. Cheney is one of the volunteers in San Francisco who has been organizing the scanning and proofreading of Pathfinder books there.

Like Cheney, many supporters of the communist movement attended the Seattle conference and took part in the discussion during the sessions and informally. Twenty-two signed up at the meeting to help digitize Pathfinder books.

Taking a qualitative new step to produce Pathfinder books can only be accomplished with the active involvement of supporters of the communist movement around the world — from New Zealand to the United States, from Canada to the United Kingdom and beyond.

Volunteers in the San Francisco Bay Area have enthusiastically agreed to be the organizing center for this worldwide effort. These Bay Area volunteers themselves have already scanned and proofread nine manuscripts for Pathfinder over the past year or so, and they are working on several more.

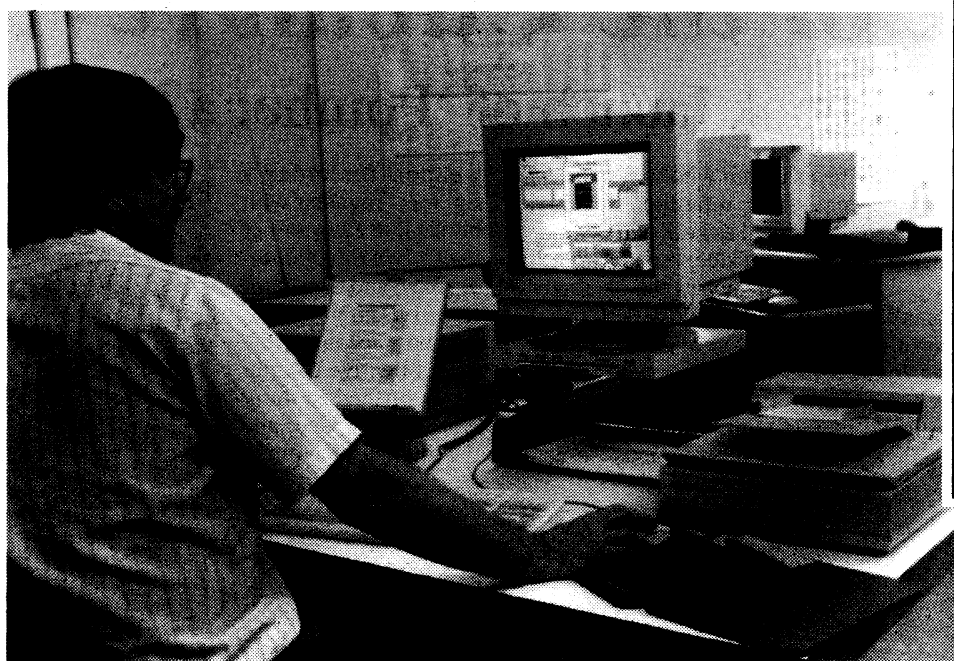
Socialist Workers Party leader Norton Sandler, a member of the International Association of Machinists in San Francisco, has taken on the responsibility to work directly with the volunteer organizers there. A committee in New York organized by *Militant* staff writer Argiris Malapanis will work with the San Francisco volunteers and the Pathfinder and print shop staffs on this worldwide effort.

Build on success of 'Militant' digitizing

The decision to revolutionize the production of Pathfinder books follows successful efforts over the past several years to digitize the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* (PM) and reorganize political correspondence to and from the Socialist Workers Party national leadership through E-mail.

Beginning in the fall of 1994, the staffs of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* took over page layout of these periodicals through desktop publishing. Working with electronic files, *Militant* and PM staff writers began editing and entering all corrections on screen and designing page layouts through computerized desktop publishing. Since then, another step has been taken with the scanning of photos and placing them electronically directly onto the page layouts.

These advances have increased the political control the editors and staff members



have over the appearance and visual impact of these publications, but without extending the work day. In fact, these steps have resulted in a significant decrease in labor time spent in the print shop to put out the paper week in and week out. Today, instead of the 80-plus hours of labor in the print shop that was once devoted to getting the paper to press, only about four hours of labor is needed.

In order to digitize production, the editors of the *Militant* had to start by appealing to all those who wrote for the paper to begin sending in articles by E-mail. At the time, most articles and source material came in by fax, which had to be typeset by hand and double checked against the original text. But worker correspondents for the paper responded in a big way. Soon, nearly all the articles and announcements were being sent in by E-mail. The paper's staff was then able to edit the text and prepare it for layout on the computer screen.

Today, even some photos are coming in digitally. And more are needed. All it takes is a simple scanner. This equipment is now inexpensive and easy to use.

Successfully organizing to digitize all Pathfinder books will build up momentum to take the next step in reducing the labor time to produce the *Militant*. In addition to getting more and more photos sent into the paper in electronic form, the *Militant* will begin drawing on its supporters worldwide to digitize its substantial photo archive of working-class struggles built up over decades by the communist movement internationally. In this way, not only will significant labor time be saved, but the quality of the paper's presentation will be improved.

Likewise, the efforts of the national leadership of the Socialist Workers Party to communicate by E-mail, rather than paper mailings, was made possible because of the two-way street that has been institutionalized for correspondence to and from the party center.

In order to begin getting political correspondence in a more timely way and at less

cost, the party's trade union fractions, branch leaderships, members of the National Committee, and others took the necessary steps to begin receiving files digitally, and at the same time began sending all of their correspondence in the same way. Through the use of E-mail, it was no longer necessary to mobilize 20 – 30 print shop volunteers once or twice a week for several hours to print and collate paper mailings and stuff envelopes. A significant savings in the cost of mailings resulted.

A photo display depicting the progress the communist movement has made by digitizing production of the *Militant* and SWP mailings became a center of discussion throughout the weekend. Volunteers with firsthand knowledge of this experience, including several who currently work in the shop that prints Pathfinder books, were available to explain how the lessons from that success can be applied to book production.

Going direct to plate

The work of volunteers around the world to produce ready-for-printing manuscripts will reach farther down the production chain. Pathfinder's print shop will be acquiring and beginning to use new machinery making it possible to go direct from digital files of the communist arsenal to the plates on the printing presses.

The goal is to bypass not only the scanning, proofreading, and formatting now being done almost exclusively in Pathfinder's print shop, but also to eliminate much of the highly skilled and labor-intensive document handling, film processing, and stripping, as well. Without that step, electronic files of new manuscripts will simply build up on computer disks as they are sent into the print shop because of bottlenecks caused by outdated and inefficient production methods.

Taking this next step will reduce both labor time and needed skill levels in the print shop.

Making such a step forward possible, however, also requires a substantial financial outlay. Supporters of the communist movement — both those directly taking part in the effort to digitize the communist arsenal, as well as many others — are being asked to help raise the capital needed to purchase modern equipment.

Keeping the pipeline flowing

This effort to revolutionize the way the communist arsenal is produced is essential to continue carrying out the course presented in the 1991 SWP convention report by Mary-Alice Waters cited earlier.

Prior to that report, Pathfinder and its print shop had retreated over a period of time into the practice of running "more books than we could sell in a couple of years because bigger runs mean fewer reprints," Waters said. "And every reprint means work. That's the truth of the matter."

"Forget about the fact that they were going to sit in boxes for years, stick together, and deteriorate; that you'd have to resticker them with new prices five times; that they would be in unsalable condition by the time you sent them out to be sold"; and that huge warehousing costs depleted financial resources that could otherwise be used to publish and promote books and pamphlets central to the communist arsenal.

A festival of the Virginia Algonquin tribes before the colonists settled in America. Women and men dance in a circle enclosed by carved posts depicting women's heads. As dancers tire they drop out and others take their places. In the center of the ring, three women—their arms around one another in a manner resembling the Three Graces—turn round and round as the dance proceeds. In Indian life the Three Sisters of vegetation were known as Bean, Corn, and Squash. Women played an important part in Indian festivals and corroborees, which established and reaffirmed peace and fraternity among the men of different groups and tribes.



Left: Militant/Eric Simpson

Using scanners like one at left, volunteers will take on desktop publishing previously done in Pathfinder's printshop. Above, a page from *Sexism and Science*, by Evelyn Reed, the first of two books supporters of Pathfinder in San Francisco will prepare.

"The worst result of all this was a disservice to the party and the comrades assigned to the print shop," Waters said. If conscious decisions had been made to print what we could use, "then comrades would have started thinking years ago about what kind of machinery we need to efficiently do these kinds of short runs.... They would have brought all their experience, knowledge, skill, and imagination into finding the right solutions...."

"This is what we are reversing," Waters said. "We're now going to decide politically how many copies we can use of whatever it may be. We will run that number, and that number only. We will figure out what our real costs are on that basis. And these policies will lead us to whatever adjustments we need to make in the kinds of equipment necessary to meet the party's needs."

Over the past year, another step was taken to cut Pathfinder's costs and to reverse slippage over the past half decade in implementing the decisions in the 1991 report. At the end of 1996, Pathfinder ended its costly contract with a large outside company to fill and ship orders of books and pamphlets, transferring these fulfillment and shipping tasks to its print shop in New York City. In taking on this responsibility, the shop rejected the use of any of its factory space for the warehousing of overstock books — or the expenditure of any of its resources on outside warehousing.

Applauding this decision in a May 1997 report adopted by the SWP National Committee and later by the June party convention, Jack Barnes noted: "So long as we maintain any element of a warehouse in the apparatus, then we're never going to give the shop the chance to reorganize its priorities and production methods along the lines we've decided many times."

"We're never going to know whether or not we can organize to use the sheetfed presses" — purchased and installed in the shop a half decade ago, following the 1991 report — "to print small runs that keep our arsenal in print and enable us to meet orders from both our bookstores and retail and other commercial outlets."

A member of the print shop staff, Barnes pointed out, had remarked that the previous outside warehouse had been used by the leadership of Pathfinder and the print shop as "a safety net," preventing the shop from organizing production efficiently to produce short runs and keep books and pamphlets in print. Paraphrasing this print shop volunteer, Barnes said: "To the degree we're successful in transforming the apparatus into a real pipeline for getting revolutionary books and pamphlets into the hands of fighters.... 'the safety net' is gone."

The combined efforts by supporters of the communist movement and by Pathfinder and its print shop can take another step in making it possible to keep our revolutionary political arsenal in print, while producing these books and pamphlets in short runs, at less cost and with less labor.

Volunteers to help scan, proofread, and format Pathfinder books will be organized by experienced hands of the digitizing project in San Francisco. For more information on how to help, see the article on their meeting elsewhere in this issue.



Militant/Ruth Nebbia

Participants at Seattle conference discuss displays of the digitization project. Above, Chris Hoepfner, who organizes Pathfinder's print shop, explains the process of revolutionizing book and periodical production.

'A book to arm those seeking to emulate the example of the Cuban revolution'

Editor speaks at Havana book launch of 'Pombo: a Man of Che's guerrilla'

Meetings celebrating the publication of books on display at the Eighth International Book Fair in Havana, Cuba, were an important feature of the February 4-10 event. On the closing day, participants marked the publication, in English and Spanish, of the diary and participant's account by Harry Villegas of the 1966-68 revolutionary campaign in Bolivia led by Ernesto Che Guevara.

Villegas, today a brigadier general in Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces, is widely known by his *nom de guerre*, Pombo. His book, *Pombo: a Man of Che's 'guerrilla' — With Che Guevara in Bolivia 1966-68*, was published in English last year by Pathfinder Press. It was translated from the original Spanish edition, *Pombo: un hombre de la guerrilla del Che*, released by Editora Política, the publishing house of the Communist Party of Cuba.

Speakers at this February 10 book fair event marking the publication of these two titles included Villegas; Iraida Aguirrechu of Editora Política; and Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder, who edited and wrote the preface to the English-language edition. A news report on the meeting appears elsewhere in this issue.

Below we are reprinting the talk by Waters. It is copyright © Pathfinder Press 1998 and reprinted by permission.



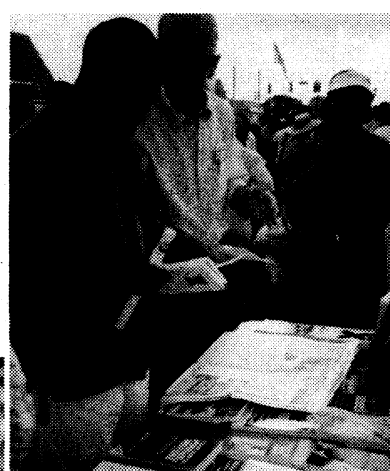
BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

On behalf of Pathfinder, I want to express our appreciation to Editora Política, and to compañero Pombo for the opportunity to be here with you today to celebrate the publication in English as well as Spanish of *Pombo: a Man of Che's 'guerrilla'*. We also want to thank the dozens of compañeros, many of whom are in this room today, whose generous collaboration made possible a book of this quality. Without you it could not have been done.

As those who are present here this afternoon are well aware, the 30th anniversary last year of the fall in combat of Che and his comrades became the profit-making occasion for the publication of numerous books purporting to be biographies of Ernesto Che Guevara. While we need not debate here the intentions of any of the authors, each of these books in its own way presents a portrait of Che that is grotesquely unrecognizable. More important, of course, the target of the multiple character assassinations carried out in the guise of "objectivity" and "balance" is not Che alone, or even principally. The target is Fidel, and the historic example of the Cuban revolution itself.

To paint Che as a man who was murderous, cruel, egotistical, infantile, slovenly, and arrogant — as well as both naively utopian and driven by a deep-seated death wish — is to say that such is the character of socialism itself. The purpose is to try to poison the minds of a new generation of young fighters the world over who are attracted to the powerful example set by the men and women of Cuba who have shown that, whatever the challenges may be and

weapon for today's fighters. Together with books like *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, and Che's *Bolivian Diary* itself, Pombo's account is the most effective counter yet published to those who portray Che, and the men and women



war makers and thus opening the way to a different future.

The fact that books such as *Pombo: a Man of Che's 'guerrilla'* play an irreplaceable role along such a line of struggle is indicated by the reception it has received in the seven months since it came out in English. Some 2,200 copies have already been sold, along with almost 3,000 copies of *At the Side of Che Guevara* in both languages (more than 1,000 of these in Spanish).

In addition, Pathfinder has sold 260 copies of Editora Política's edition of *Pombo: Un hombre de la guerrilla de Che* — and would have sold hundreds more had they been available. Most of the time since the book was published — 14 of the past 24 months — Pathfinder has had no stock.

Even more indicative perhaps is the fact that in 1997 more than 6,500 books and pamphlets by Che were sold by Pathfinder. That is not books *about* Che but *by* him, speaking for himself, in his own name. Books such as *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, *Socialism and Man in Cuba*, and the *Bolivian Diary*.

In addition to numerous reviews in everything from trade union periodicals, to Spanish-language and Black community papers, to Irish republican weeklies, *Pombo: a Man of Che's 'guerrilla'* was recommended highly by two of the top library journals in the United States. And last year the leading bourgeois journal of international relations, *Foreign Affairs* — in its special 75th anniversary issue — included the *Bolivian Diary*, in its Pathfinder edition, in its listing of the 75 most important books published in the last 75 years. Not the 75 they like the most, but the 75 even they must acknowledge are the *most important*.

More significant, however, is who the nearly 12,000 books by Che and his compañeros were sold to last year — and how. Not only are they to be found in bookstores and libraries around the United States and in many parts of the world. Thousands of them have been sold by volunteers staffing what we call our "guerrilla tables." Folding tables set up regularly on street corners in popular shopping areas, at plant gates, on university campuses, near high schools. They sometimes get harassed by cops who don't like the books we are selling and try to shut down the tables on the grounds that they violate some municipal ordinance or are illegally infringing on someone's private property rights. So the guerrilla tables sometimes have to stand their ground, sometimes retreat in order to retake the position later, sometimes decide to move to more defensible ground.

The photo display at the Pathfinder booth here at the book fair which some of you have seen gives a concrete idea: books sold from the back of a pickup truck at a coal mine portal; at a militant protest against police brutality and for Black rights; from a campus table; at a demonstration defending the rights of immigrant workers; at an abortion clinic under attack by ultrarightists; and more.

These are the important sales, into the hands of thinking, fighting workers awakening to their future.

In a similar way almost exactly seven years ago, some 12,000 copies in English and Spanish of Pathfinder's book *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations*, were sold as Washington drove toward the last war against Iraq. That book by then United Nations ambassador Ricardo Alarcón, a collection of his speeches before the Security Council, is now once again a highly valuable propaganda weapon that is being used across the United States and around the world.

To read, to hear ... to emulate

Young people in the United States reading the book and pamphlet by Pombo were

Continued on Page 11



Pathfinder, courtesy Richard Dindo; Inset: Militant/Angel Lariscy
Harry Villegas (right) with Ernesto Che Guevara in Bolivia. Villegas's account of the Bolivian campaign is "a weapon for today's fighters," not simply history. Inset: Many Pathfinder books are sold from "guerrilla tables" like this one in Miami last October.

whatever the price, they will never return to the slave barracks of imperialism.

For that the master will never forgive nor forget.

Selfless determination

None but the men and women who shared Che's hopes and dreams, as well as his scientific understanding of the world in which we live and his determination — his selfless determination — to change it could ever explain clearly and to the end what made Che Che. Why he acted as he did. How he was a product both of the world into which he was born and the struggles through which that reality — and the strugglers themselves — were transformed in the course of the Cuban revolution.

During the year in which Che's reinforcement brigade was welcomed home by the entire Cuban people, Pathfinder Press published the English-language edition of *Pombo: a Man of Che's 'guerrilla'*. This is not simply a unique history book; it is a

who fought with him, as vestiges of a bygone historical epoch, a failed class line of march, that died with the fall of the Berlin Wall.

The author, like the Cuban revolution of which he is both a product and an expression, is not only alive and well — as we can all see here today — but has never stopped fighting to find a way for working people to open a way forward for humanity.

That is why Pathfinder published, alongside *Pombo: a Man of Che's 'guerrilla'*, the pamphlet *At the Side of Che Guevara*, in English and Spanish, two interviews with Harry Villegas. In them, Pombo talks not only about his youth and the conditions of life that turned him and thousands of others like him into revolutionary combatants. He also tells us what happened *after* the "epic chapter in the history of the Americas" that he was part of in Bolivia. The story of Guantánamo. Of Angola, of Cuito Cuanavale. Of the Special Period.

The pamphlet contains one small piece of the even more powerful panorama that is contained in *Secrets of the Generals*, a collection of 41 similar interviews through which the social character and internationalist course of Cuba's socialist revolution unfolds with sparkling life and clarity.

And if I may be permitted one moment of special pleading here today, it is to express our conviction and hope that a version of that magnificent collection of interviews can be prepared for publication outside Cuba as well.

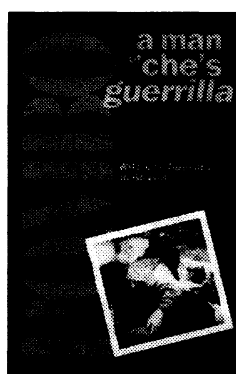
Books that fighters need

Why does Pathfinder publish works such as these? In one word, because they are needed.

They are needed by working people and youth in countries like the United States who are not only looking for answers to the growing problems they face, who are not only trying to figure out how to resist, to fight back, but also — and most importantly — to develop the capacities, the virtues, the habits that will above all allow them to fight effectively and to win.

Today, as the U.S. ruling class once again prepares deliberately and rapidly to launch a horrendous, massive assault on the people of Iraq, the revulsion of working people will grow, as will the determination to put an end to a system that can only produce more such wars — ever larger and more destructive ones — until our class proves capable of overthrowing the cowardly exploiters and

FROM PATHFINDER



Pombo: A Man of Che's guerrilla

Harry Villegas (Pombo)

A never-before-published account of the 1966-68 revolutionary campaign in Bolivia led by Ernesto Che Guevara. \$21.95

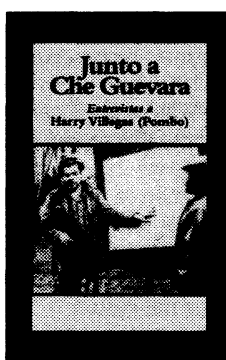
At the Side of Che Guevara

Interviews with Harry Villegas (Pombo)

Harry Villegas, currently a brigadier general in the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba, worked and fought alongside Ernesto Che Guevara for a decade — in Cuba, the Congo, and Bolivia. In these interviews he talks

about the struggles he has taken part in over four decades — including the war in Angola and the defeat of the South African apartheid army at Cuito Cuanavale in 1988. Above all, he explains the importance of Guevara's political legacy for a new generation of fighters around the world.

Available in English and Spanish. \$4.00



The Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che Guevara

Guevara's day-by-day chronicle of the 1966-67 guerrilla campaign in Bolivia, a painstaking effort to forge a continent-wide revolutionary movement of workers and peasants. Includes excerpts from the diaries and accounts of other combatants, including *My Campaign with Che* by Bolivian leader Inti Peredo — for the first time in English. Introduction by Mary-Alice Waters. \$21.95

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or from Pathfinder, 410 West St. New York, NY 10014. If ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

Book by 'Pombo' is launched in Havana

Continued from front page
forts.

Pombo: A Man of Che's 'guerrilla' is the previously unpublished account of the Bolivian campaign, based on Villegas's diary from his arrival in La Paz, Bolivia, in July 1966 to his return to Cuba in March 1968.

Iraida Aguirrechu opened the meeting with a report on efforts to make the book available in Cuba and around the world. The original Cuban edition, first printed in 1996, quickly sold out, she said, and was reprinted just in time for sales at this past summer's International Festival of Youth and Students held here and attended by 12,000 young people from around the world. Aguirrechu also described how the book has circulated in Cuba. "Unfortunately we have not been able to print enough copies for everyone to get one, but hand to hand many young people have been able to read this book," she said.

In addition to the English-language edition released by Pathfinder in 1997, the book has also been published in Argentina, Italy, and France. Two more editions are scheduled, for Portugal and Greece.

These future editions will benefit from the chronology, expanded glossary, and new footnotes provided in the U.S. edition, as will the next printing in Cuba, Aguirrechu remarked. The notes, added by Pathfinder in collaboration with Editora Política, explain, among other things, events, individuals, and "Cuban expressions that may not be known to everyone in the United States, Canada, and England," she said.

Aguirrechu introduced Mary-Alice Waters. The 30th anniversary of Che's death in combat, Waters noted, "became the profit-making occasion for the publication of numerous books purporting to be biographies of Ernesto Che Guevara." But these books, she said, "paint Che as a man who was murderous, cruel, egotistical, infantile, slovenly, and arrogant, as well as both naively utopian and driven by a deep-seated death wish." Waters stressed that these attacks on the character of Che Guevara were not aimed

only at Che, but rather, "the target is Fidel, and the historic example of the Cuban revolution itself." These attacks are all aimed above all at discrediting socialism, she said. (Waters's talk is reprinted on page 10 of this issue.)

Waters also introduced *At the Side of Che Guevara: Interviews with Harry Villegas (Pombo)*, published by Pathfinder in both English and Spanish. The booklet consists of two interviews with Villegas that cover topics from the guerrilla campaign in the Sierra Maestra to Cuba's internationalist missions in Angola that ultimately defeated an invading apartheid South African army in 1988.

Another important part of Waters's presentation was her description of how many young people have responded to these books by Pombo, particularly in the United States. She told the audience that in Houston and Los Angeles, youth "wanted to meet and hear a man who had become their hero, an example of the kind of person they would like to be." In these two cities interested youth put together organizing committees to invite Pombo to speak on their campuses. When Villegas was denied a visa by the U.S. government, 250 people participated in a protest meeting in Los Angeles to condemn this antidemocratic act.

Villegas spoke next. "The most important thing Che gave us was his example," he said. It wasn't until the "Special Period," however, that "we could completely grasp that example."

The Special Period is the term Cubans use to describe the economic hardships that have followed from the loss of trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the early part of the decade, compounded by the decades-long U.S. embargo.

Since the onset of the Special Period, Cubans have fought to boost production through increasing efficiency, which has required great discipline and attention to detail. These are capacities that, as Villegas explained, Guevara exemplified: "To be a professional," Che taught us in daily life, "you need to pay attention to details."



Courtesy Richard Dindo

Combatants in Bolivia, December 1966. Left to right, Urbano (partially obscured), Miguel, Che, Marcos, Chino, Pachó, Pombo, Inti, and Coco.

Turning to Guevara's internationalist mission in the Congo in 1965, Villegas said that Che went to Africa "because there were people there who were suffering and there were people who were fighting." Guevara wanted to fight side by side with those resisting imperialism, Villegas explained.

Villegas related a story about Che which he thought captured a formative moment in the development of the revolutionary leader.

In their first battle, shortly after landing in Cuba at Alegría de Pío in 1956, the rebel forces led by Fidel Castro came under heavy attack from the army of U.S. backed dictator Fulgencio Batista.

In that battle, in the midst of a rapid retreat, Guevara, who was at the time the troop doctor, faced the choice of grabbing his medical bag or a box of machine-gun ammunition. He took the bullets, the choice of a military combatant, Villegas noted. This was an important episode in Guevara's evolution as a "man of action," one of the outstanding military leaders in Cuba's revolutionary war. He became a man of action, Villegas said, without leaving behind the "man of thought."

Turning to the revolutionary campaign Guevara led in Bolivia in 1966-67, Villegas pointed to the internationalism Che personi-

fied. "Che's idea was to turn Bolivia into a Sierra Maestra," he explained, a training ground for revolutionists and "a free territory from which internationalist columns would advance into Argentina and Peru, for the total liberation of the Southern Cone."

The connection between the Cuban revolution and the international struggle against imperialism and for socialism was a theme Waters took up. She told the audience that the Cuban revolution "belongs to fighters the world over."

Villegas underscored that Che — a powerful example for young revolutionary fighters — was born in and shaped through the Cuban revolution. "The Cuban revolution created Che. Ernesto Guevara was Argentinian and Cuban, but Che belongs to Cuba. When Che became 'Che,' when he began to identify himself by this name, he was a man who had undergone a profound revolutionary transformation."

"We have shared him with Africa and Bolivia," Villegas concluded, "but we are proud that Che is genuinely ours."

A total of 37 copies of *Pombo: A Man of Che's 'guerrilla'*, *At the Side of Che Guevara* in English and Spanish, and related Pathfinder titles were purchased by those who attended the event.

Pathfinder president speaks at book fair

Continued from Page 10

not content to read, of course. They wanted the opportunity to meet and hear a man who had become their hero, an example of the kind of person they would like to be.

In Los Angeles and in Houston they moved into action, organizing committees to secure invitations from prominent professors who would sponsor university speak-

ing engagements for Harry Villegas. Pombo accepted with enthusiasm, but the U.S. government had a different reaction. Once again Washington demonstrated its unending fear of the Cuban revolution and its example by denying Pombo entry into the country last October to attend the conferences he had been invited to address.

In Los Angeles more than 200 students attended the protest meeting that condemned the U.S. government's action and heard a special message sent by Pombo to the event. A similar, if smaller, meeting took place in Houston.

Of one thing I can assure you: those invitations for Pombo and those meetings will not be the last. As long as the example of the Cuban revolution remains, fighting youth and workers in the United States will keep reaching out to demand the right to know the truth, and learn it firsthand.

When the Cuban combatants who had fought their way out of the encirclement in Bolivia returned to Cuba in March 1968, Fidel welcomed them with the words:

You are alive because you were aggressive, because you fought. Had you been scared, had you shown fear, you would have perished. It is precisely your ability to resist, your capacity to fight, that shows your revolutionary strength and conviction.

That is the example of the Cuban revolution that is so important in the world today. That is the example *Pombo: a Man of Che's 'guerrilla'* has to offer new generations of fighters. Now those millions of youth and workers whose reading language is English can make this chronicle their own, and be better armed to emulate the example of the Cuban revolution, which belongs to fighters the world over.

100 YEARS OF STRUGGLE AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM

Speakers:

Rafael Cancel Miranda

Puerto Rican nationalist and former political prisoner

Félix Wilson

Deputy ambassador, Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C.

Mary-Alice Waters

President of Pathfinder Press, editor of the *Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che Guevara*

Rose Mary Mealy

Network of Black Organizers.

and others

Thurs., Feb. 19, 6 - 8 p.m.

Reception: 5 - 6 p.m. Forum at Aronow Theatre, City College of New York, 138th St. and Convent Ave.

Sponsored by Areito, Casa de las Américas, CCNY Coalition, GSC, Ombudsperson's Office, PODER, ROOTS, SLAM, Young Socialists. For more information, call: (212) 650-5319.

Book describes Che's comrades in Bolivia

BY FRANCISCO PICADO

HAVANA — Immediately following the presentation of *Pombo: A Man of Che's 'guerrilla'*, was the launching of *Seguidores de un sueño* (Followers of a dream) by veteran Cuban journalist and war correspondent Elsa Blaquier Ascaño.

The volume, a series of thumbnail sketches of the men and women who fought and died alongside Che in Bolivia, has just been released by Verde Olivo, the publishing house of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba. Based on a series of articles published in the Cuban press throughout the summer and fall of 1997, the book adds significantly to the information available on the political and social roots of the Bolivian, Peruvian, and Cuban combatants who gave their lives fighting to emulate the lessons of the Cuban revolution on a continent-wide basis.

On hand to present the work along

with Blaquier were Brig. Gen. Harry Villegas (*Pombo*) and Leonardo Tamayo (*Urbano*), both combatants in the Bolivian campaign.

Tamayo is today a retired colonel in the Ministry of Interior. An audience of more than 100 people took part in the event; many lined up afterward to have copies of the new book signed by Pombo, Urbano, and Blaquier.

Blaquier, a retired lieutenant-colonel in the Revolutionary Armed Forces, was a reporter for the army publication *Verde Olivo* for more than two decades and a correspondent in Angola in 1988 and 1989. Her husband René Martínez Tamayo (*Arturo*) and brother-in-law José María Martínez Tamayo (*Papi*) were among those who died in the Bolivia campaign. Blaquier is coauthor of the forthcoming book *La guerra inconclusa: Washington vs. Bagdad*. (The unfinished war: Washington v. Baghdad).

HELP FUND 'MILITANT' REPORTING TRIPS TO CUBA, CAIRO

The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* travel fund helps cover the expenses of the reporting team at the Havana Book Fair. The fund will also finance a trip by correspondents to a meeting next month in Cairo, Egypt, which will assess the World Festival of Youth and Students that took place in Cuba last year and discuss building an anti-imperialist international youth movement.

So far \$4,602 has been collected toward \$13,000 pledged at a regional socialist conference held January 24 - 25 in Seattle. We encourage our readers to send in contributions, and urge those who made pledges to send payment right away. To help make these trips possible send your check to: The Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.



U.S. forces ready to unleash bombing war

Continued from front page and heavy."

Preparing for a massive slaughter of Iraqis, the Clinton administration has assembled the largest military force in the region since the 1990-91 Gulf War. More than 30,000 U.S. troops and some 400 U.S. warplanes are in the area. Washington deployed 40 more fighter planes to the region. A Pentagon official traveling with U.S. defense secretary William Cohen to the Middle East announced February 9 that 3,000 more GIs would join the 1,500 army soldiers in Kuwait. U.S. military officials announced February 5 that a four-ship contingent with 2,200 Marines would also join the armada in the Gulf. The first of eight British Tornado jets arrived in Kuwait February 9.

Two U.S. Marine Corp. war planes collided off the coast of Kuwait February 6 while practicing bombing missions, killing one pilot.

The U.S. rulers have begun cranking up the propaganda to try to shift blame on the Iraqi government for enormous "collateral damage," that is, Iraqi citizens who will be killed by Washington's bombing campaign. In a February 11 *Wall Street Journal* column, Karen House, president of Dow Jones & Co., wrote that Clinton will have to get U.S. citizens to accept "day after day... the bodies of innocent Iraqi civilians and realize those tragic casualties are preferable to bodies of Kuwaitis, Israelis or Americans."

On Jan. 16, 1991, the U.S. military began a round-the-clock bombardment of Iraq that lasted six weeks. The murder and devastation of the Iraqi people was described by U.S. officials as "collateral damage." They tried to emphasize the "precision" of the bombing and the "smartness" of the bombs. The allied bombers destroyed factories, bridges, irrigation systems, water purification facilities, and electrical stations.

Pretext of UN 'weapons inspectors'

The Clinton administration escalated its war preparations this year after Baghdad blocked a group of UN "weapons inspectors" from snooping into Iraqi intelligence headquarters on January 13. Baghdad accused the head of the UN weapons inspection commission, Scott Ritter, of being a spy and complained that 14 out of the 16 members of group were U.S. and British officers. Ritter was a U.S. Marine intelligence officer during the 1991 Gulf War.

Revealing the political aims of the "UN

inspectors," the Clinton administration earlier took steps to eliminate Cuban officials from the list of inspection teams and is considering making the same move against Iranians. A U.S. official claimed that this action ensured the "international organization is doing its job in an objective fashion."

An article in the February 11 *Wall Street Journal* explained that the weapon inspectors "have routinely given briefings to military officials in their home countries after returning from Iraq missions." One British "inspector," Ronald Manley, acknowledged, "Every time I returned home I was wheeled in" to the Ministry of Defense. U.S. representatives from the UN Special Commission would telephone their offices directly from Baghdad to deliver information, using U.S.-supplied phones, the *Journal* reported.

Last January Baghdad announced that presidential sites would be off limits to UN inspectors until April, provoking howls from U.S. government officials. "There has to be full, unconditional access to all sites — that's the bottom line," William Richardson, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, said February 9. While Washington demanded indiscriminate access throughout Iraqi territory, the U.S. Congress passed legislation that gives the president the right to deny inspections of Washington's chemical weapons sites that "pose a threat to the national security interests of the United States."

Debate over methods of war moves

While the White House has achieved bipartisan support for the impending onslaught, a debate has deepened among the U.S. rulers over the aims and method of the military action. "I don't think there's a lot of enthusiasm... for the administration's policy, but once the die is cast and things are imminent, the overwhelming majority of members of the Senate will back the troops," Sen. Richard Shelby asserted.

Ultrarightist politician Patrick Buchanan sharpened his nationalist demagoguery in a February 11 column. The article, titled "The New World Disorder," ridiculed the efforts by Republican president George Bush at the time of the first Gulf War, and Clinton today, to put together a international anti-Iraq coalition. He called Clinton's latest war move a "manifest failure" after noting that "only Britain's Tony Blair stands militarily at our side." Buchanan pointed out that Washington's imperialist allies act "out of selfish national interests" and insisted that the U.S. rulers "tell the world... we, too, shall put our own country first."

The clamor for assassinating Iraqi president Saddam Hussein or overthrowing his government is growing louder among big-

business politicians and other ruling-class figures. Speaker of the House Newton Gingrich said military action that does not topple Hussein "is a defeat, not a success."

Richard Pearle, former assistant secretary of defense in the Reagan administration, demanded "no more halfway measures" in an article in the February 8 *Washington Post*. He called for Washington to set up a "provisional government" in Iraqi territory backed by U.S. air power. The puppet regime would be based on the CIA-sponsored Iraqi National Congress. "This strategy aims at eliciting a full-blown insurrection against Saddam Hussein, taking off from territory he does not control," Pearle said.

As Washington's countdown to war unfolds, 10 U.S. senators accompanied Defense Secretary Cohen to a February 7-8 security conference in Munich, Germany, to demand support for another war in the Gulf. In response to this barrage, German chancellor Helmut Kohl said air bases in Germany were available for U.S. military forces and "we must show solidarity for everything that needs to be done."

While Paris has continued pressing for a "diplomatic" solution to the crisis, French minister of defense Alain Richard assured Cohen that his government would demand Baghdad allow unconditional access for the weapons inspectors. U.S. ambassador William Richardson announced February 9 that he will travel to China and Japan to press support for military action. He had returned

from a trip to eight countries — Gambia, Sweden, Portugal, Slovenia, Kenya, Brazil, Gabon, and Costa Rica — whose governments are among the nonpermanent member of the UN Security Council, to squeeze them to tow the line for the U.S. war drive.

Prime ministers Jean Chrétien of Canada and John Howard of Australia pledged military support for the imperialist intervention.

Most Middle Eastern governments are publicly expressing opposition to a military assault, with only the Kuwaiti regime openly supporting Washington's war preparations. The regime of Saudi Arabia, which was the main base for 500,000 U.S. troops during the 1991 Gulf War, has so far balked at permitting U.S. fighter planes to operate from its territory. But Cohen said he received private authorization for specific military activities that include rights to fly over territory and, in Oman, Kuwait, and Bahrain, to use bases for combat jets and support aircraft. Additionally, Cohen said the Saudi regime will allow U.S. military support aircraft to be based there.

Thousands of Palestinians in the West Bank rallied to protest the U.S. war moves against Iraq. In Bethlehem Israeli troops fired rubber bullets on a February 7 demonstration. On February 9 nearly 2,000 protesters marched in the West Bank town of Jenin and 150 marchers in Ramallah burned U.S., Israeli, and British flags. The next day the chief of the Palestinian police announced he had banned demonstrations.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

IOWA

Des Moines

Malcolm X and the Fight Against Imperialist Wars. Fri., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. Dinner 6:30 p.m. 2724 Douglas Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (515) 277-4600.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Blacks in America's Wars. Speaker: Kibwe Diarra. Sat., Feb. 21, 7 p.m. Dinner 6 p.m. **Classes:** Sun., Feb. 22, 11 a.m. "Who Will Change the World: The Battle of Birmingham," Derek Bracey; 3 p.m. "Black Detroit and the Fight for Freedom." Both events held at 7414 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$4 for each class and the forum. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

A Working-Class Campaign against Imperialism and War. Speaker Naomi Craine, editor of *Militant* newspaper. Sat., Feb. 21, 7 p.m. 2490 University Ave. W., St. Paul. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Roots of Jazz and the Black Struggle. Celebrate the publication of the new edition of the book — *John Coltrane and the Jazz Revolution of the 1960's*. Fri., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 59 4th Ave. (corner of Bergen St.). Donation: \$4. Tel: (718) 399-7257.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

Cuba Today: Report Back from Havana Book Fair. Speaker: Patrick Brown, Pathfinder representative at the recent Havana Book Fair. Sat., Feb. 21, 7 p.m. 203 Karangahape Road. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

Christchurch

U.S. Hands Off Iraq: Troops and Inspectors Out of the Middle East. Fri., Feb. 20, 7 p.m. **The Cuban Revolution Today: Report Back from the 1998 Havana Book Fair.** Fri., Feb. 27, 7 p.m. Both events held at 199 High St. (corner High and Tuam). Donation: \$3. Tel: (3) 365-6055.

CALENDAR

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

No bombing of Iraq! En the Sanctions Now. Protest Tue., Feb. 17, 5 p.m. Westwood Federal Building, 11000 Wilshire Blvd. (Wilshire at Veteran). Save the Iraqi Children Committee. For more information or to endorse call: (714) 636-1232 or (213) 487-2368.

CONNECTICUT

New Britain

Panel discussion: Gulf War II! U.S. Threats to the Iraqi People. Speakers: Simon Harak, who traveled to Iraq to observe effects of sanctions; and Wafa'a Salman, president of the Institute of Near Eastern & African Studies. Tue., Feb. 24, 7:15 p.m. DiLoreto Hall Room 001, Central Connecticut State University. Sponsors: Center for International Education, Committee to Oppose Gulf War II, Department of History, Department of Political Science, Middle Eastern Studies Program, Moslem Student Association, Student Faculty Coalition and Social Advocacy. For more information call: (860) 832-2942.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Boston Teach-In Against War with Iraq. Howard Zinn, others. Sat., Feb. 21, 12-5 p.m. Meeting place to be announced. For more information call: (617) 661-6130 or (617) 354-2169.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Join the "Journey for Justice II" To Washington, D.C. Demand Federal Prosecution of Jonny Gammage's Killers. Rally at the Justice Department. Buses leave at 4:30 a.m. from Shakespeare and Penn in Pittsburgh. Gather at 9:30 a.m. for Rally at Justice Department in Washington, D.C. National town meeting against police brutality at 12 noon. Bus tickets \$25. Fri., Feb. 20. For more information call: (412) 363-8824 or (412) 471-1024.

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New labor ally? — A study found that 56 percent of U.S. workers were taking 15 minutes or less for lunch last year, down from 29 minutes the year previous. And 63



Harry Ring

percent skipped lunch entirely once or twice a week. The study was done for Kentucky Fried Chicken.

The gatekeepers — "Slimy looking.... Wears jacket on shoulders." "No way. Poor, very poor."

These are among the comments on rejected visa applications at the U.S. consulate in São Paulo, Brazil. A manual advises particular scrutiny of applicants of Chinese or Korean descent, as well as people from certain cities "known for fraud." Most of the cited cities have mainly Afro-Brazilian populations.

... to continue — The above filth saw the light of day in a Washington, D.C., lawsuit by Robert Olsen, a São Paulo consulate official fired for what the State Dept. called "poor work performance" because he balked at applying the racist criteria. In December, a judge ruled Olsen's firing unjustified and slammed the State Dept.'s racist policies as illegal.

Twinkie, twinkie, little scar — A Chicago-area recall was issued by the makers of Twinkies after it was determined that asbestos from an insulation removal operation may have contaminated some of the cupcakes. Asbestos fibers cause lung cancer. But, Twinkies assured, it's "not generally considered to be an ingestion hazard."

What price profit? — Last year in the United Kingdom, there were 100,000 recorded cases of food poisoning. Scientists estimate the real number could be a million. The *Times* of London reported a warning by the British Medical Ass'n that all raw meat should be assumed to be "contaminated and treated as a potential source of poisoning."

Tart — We're definitely not partisan to the big-business media, but we did chuckle at one headline on the story about Microsoft mogul Bill Gates getting a pie in the face: "At Least It Wasn't an Apple Pie."

Free-market enthusiasts — In Poland, a group of Catholic priests and monks were charged with illegally importing luxury cars duty-free. Polish law permits cars donated to the church to come in without import tax. The fathers and brothers allegedly forged documents to bring cars in under this proviso and resold them at a tidy profit.

A real antidepressant — Eli Lilly profits rose 23 percent in the

last quarter of '97, due mainly to a 15 percent increase in the sale of its top drug, the antidepressant Prozac. A business report said the jump in Prozac sales "may help ease investor concerns" about new competition for a heart drug peddled by the company.

Perish the thought — You're not likely to see the movie "Titanic" on an ocean cruise liner. "No ship disasters," one spokesperson said. He added that people know that what happened on the Titanic can't happen today.

"We don't lock everyone else downstairs until the rich people can get off the boat," he declared. As the Titanic was sinking, people in steerage were locked in.

How U.S. imperialism rose as a world power

This week we continue highlighting the factors that gave rise to U.S. imperialism. The excerpts below are taken from a 1935 essay by George Novack that appears in *America's Revolutionary Heritage*. This section explains why U.S. capitalism emerged relatively late at the stage of imperialism — defined by Russian revolu-

tionary leader V.I. Lenin as capitalism at the stage at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital, born of the merging of banking and industrial capital, is established. The book is copyright © by Pathfinder Press and reprinted by permission.

BOOK OF THE WEEK

tionary leader V.I. Lenin as capitalism at the stage at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital, born of the merging of banking and industrial capital, is established. The book is copyright © by Pathfinder Press and reprinted by permission.

BY GEORGE NOVACK

The United States entered upon its imperialist career later than the European powers because industrial capitalism held the center of the stage much longer here than in England, France, or Germany. Although the concentration of industry began relatively earlier and proceeded at a more rapid rate in the United States than in Europe, and trustification was more highly developed, finance capital did not begin to shoulder aside industrial capital in the sphere of monopolized industry until the close of the century, and did not completely control the strategic centers of national economy and the state until the World War. Since imperialist policies are an outgrowth of the domination of finance capital, the key to the relatively slow development of American imperialism is to be found in the late blooming of finance capital....

Industry, then, was trustified after the Civil War under the supervision of industrial, rather than financial, capital. The giant monopolies of the period, Standard Oil, Carnegie Steel, Armour & Company, the American Sugar Refining Company, were organized and controlled by industrial capitalists like Rockefeller, Carnegie, Armour, and Haverneyer, and the new capital poured into them came from reinvested profits or from foreign capital directly invested in the industry, rather than from the flotation of bond and stock issues by banks and invest-

ment houses. The outstanding exception to this rule was the railroads, because of their greater capital requirements.

Finance capital began to supersede industrial capital and take the initiative in forming monopolies about the beginning of the century. The organization of the Steel Trust in 1900 by the House of Morgan was the first large-scale operation in this field by finance capital. When Carnegie sold his steel companies to the banking syndicate headed by Morgan and retired to his philanthropies, he symbolized the retreat of the industrial capitalist before the invasion of the financier. It is equally significant that Carnegie was, politically, an outspoken anti-imperialist and one of the chief financial backers of the Anti-imperialist League, which organized the opposition to the Republican Party's imperialist policies — until the Morgan partners forced him to withdraw by pointing out that such propaganda was jeopardizing McKinley's reelection and the tariff essential to the Steel Trust.

While Morgan and Company were preparing to launch the Steel Trust in 1899, they floated the first important foreign loan issued in this country, the bonds of the Mexican Republic. This was followed two years later by a fifty-million-dollar loan to Great Britain to help pay the costs of the Boer War, the father of the Morgan war loans to England that helped suck the United States into the World War.

But although financial capital began to get a foothold before the 1914-18 war, it did not become the absolute governor of American economic and political life until the war. The transformation of American capitalism from the commercial-industrial (colonial) stage to the industrial-financial (imperialist) stage was accomplished in two separate steps. The period from the Civil War to the turn of the century completed the transfer of the American economy from a predominantly agricultural to an industrial basis. The period preceding the World War marked the beginning of its transformation from an industrial capitalist into a financial capitalist, imperialist nation.

Economically speaking, the United States did not shed all its colonial characteristics until the World War. It was a debtor nation and imported tremendous quantities of capital from Europe. Throughout the nineteenth century, foreign capital poured in an unending stream into the United States and was one of the most potent factors in its rapid



Cuban Liberation Army in 1895 during war for independence from Spain. Three years later, on verge of victory in Cuban struggle, Washington seized Cuba, Puerto Rico, Philippines, and Guam from Spanish rival, in what Lenin called first imperialist war.

economic development. Canals and railroads, extractive and manufacturing industries, southern plantations and western ranches as big as baronial domains sprang into being at the touch of the magic wand of foreign capital, and English capital in particular. The New York money market was but a satellite of the London and continental money markets.

Before the World War the United States was an industrial rather than a financial competitor of the European powers. This can be seen in the comparatively small part played by American capital in the transformation of Japan from a tiny feudal island empire into a world power, although the guns of the United States Navy first battered down the

gates of Japan and opened them to foreign trade. The United States remained in the ranks of the second-rate powers until it appeared on the scene of military operations in Europe to save the Allies — and its own investments....

The decisive qualitative change in the character of American capitalism occurred during the war, which reversed the political and financial relationships between America and Europe and transformed the United States from a provincial parvenu in the society of the Great Powers into the colossus of the capitalist world. Today, when American capital has taken the whole world for its province, the tasks of Roosevelt II are correspondingly greater.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

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

February 23, 1973

South Africa's white minority of four million maintains its rule over 15 million Black Africans by strictly segregating all aspects of life. Their aim is to reduce the political and economic power of Black Africans while using them as a cheap source of labor.

Militancy among Black workers has been simmering for weeks. Dock workers, bus drivers, brickworkers, and building laborers had recently struck in Capetown, Johannesburg, and Pretoria.

"Meanwhile," the Feb. 4 *New York Times* reported, "other workers — mostly Zulus, men, women, and some Asians — began to walk off the job in textile factories, engineering workshops and other industrial plants. One was the city's biggest bakery. Others affected by stoppages included the Pepsi-Cola bottling company and some of the city's luxury hotels." By Feb. 4 the strikes had affected "100 Durban concerns and involved possibly 50,000 workers." The workers' main demands centered on wage increases.

THE MILITANT
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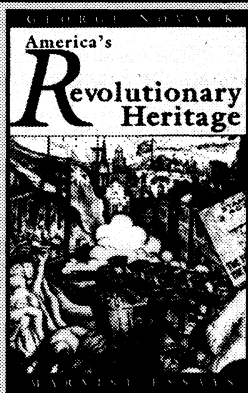
February 23, 1948

Last week a strike wave hit "prosperous" little Belgium. Several hundred thousand miners, textile workers, postmen, and gas and electrical workers walked out successively demanding a cost-of-living bonus and wage increases. The government threatened to call out troops and ordered a "civil mobilization" or labor draft for strikers.

Belgium has been played up as the pot of the "free enterprise" system in Europe by Wall Street spokesmen. It was supposed to be an oasis of prosperity on the continent. Its capitalists have been especially favored with American loans since the end of the war. The Belgian strike wave is thus a preview of Europe after the Marshall Plan. American loans have not been able to solve the problems of inflation there any more than anywhere else; the workers are forced to strike in order to get wage increases to meet rising costs.

The official leadership condemns the strikes. Yet there is a strike wave, "wild cat" though it is.

for further reading from Pathfinder



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No to U.S. war moves!

Continued from front page
tance for such a move.

The ultimate goal of the U.S. rulers is to overthrow the Saddam Hussein government and replace it with a pliant regime that will do their bidding. One of their problems is that they don't have an obvious capitalist figure to fit the bill. Despite this and other problems they may face, the U.S. rulers are plowing ahead with a "unilateral" approach. Unable to put together the imperialist "coalition" that backed its Persian Gulf War, Washington and London are leading the charge. As the biggest thug on the block, the U.S. government, with its junior partner in London at its side, is relying on the weight of its military superiority to pound other capitalist regimes — Bonn, Sydney, even Paris, as well as the Saudi and other semicolonial governments in the region — into line.

As the war pressure intensifies, the government — aided by the big-business media — will crank up its chauvinist, anti-Arab, flag-waving campaign to try to whip up support for the brutal crime it is preparing against our fellow workers and farmers in Iraq. The war drive goes hand in hand with attacks on workers at home, from Honeywell's demands for two-tier wages to the attempts by Boeing and Seattle city officials to limit the democratic rights of workers in the

war industries. With wind in their sails, right-wing forces and cops will get a little more aggressive. Those who are opposed to the accelerating steps toward a U.S.-led war need to answer every one of the lies used to justify this cowardly, murderous attack and explain what's behind it. This is a time when working people need the opportunity and space to discuss these questions for ourselves.

That's why the *Militant* and Pathfinder books, which give a scientific explanation of imperialism and the class struggle today, are so necessary to put into the hands of fighters. The war heightens the importance of weekly plant-gate sales, Militant Labor Forums that offer a free-speech platform for working people, and socialist election campaigns, coupled with urging co-workers to join in public protests and other political activities. Unafraid to be initially in a small minority, socialist workers will become known and respected among fellow workers by following this same steady course day after day, before as well as after the actual bombing begins.

Among those repelled by what is emerging as the true and brutal face of imperialism, some young rebels and working-class fighters will want to join the communist movement and prepare for the next class battles.

Help the 'Militant' go digital

Without the help of hundreds of supporters around the world, the *Militant* couldn't live up to the commitment on our masthead: to be "a socialist newsweekly published in the interests of working people." From the worker-correspondents who send articles about the struggles of working people and others fighting for justice around the world, to the worker-bolsheviks who sell the socialist press every week, to the hundreds of financial contributors who make it possible to buy ink and paper, as well as send reporting teams to Cuba and elsewhere — it's those who rely on the *Militant* every week that make it possible.

As the article in the centerspread of this week's issue explains, the *Militant* is now appealing to its readers to aid in another way — helping convert the paper's extensive photo archives to digital form. Many *Militant* supporters have already got their feet wet in scanning pictures — the photos on both the front and back pages of this issue, as well as several others, were sent in by E-mail. This means the paper can be more timely, with access to pictures within hours after something happens, and it saves supporters the expense of sending photos by overnight mail. Last week's issue featured a photo from the cover of the *Birmingham Weekly*

that *Militant* supporters in Alabama E-mailed in barely 12 hours before the paper came off the press.

While we can still use prints or film, getting as many pictures as possible as electronic files will help the *Militant* staff move rapidly to an entirely digital photo system. Over the coming weeks and months, supporters of the paper will also be able to contribute their time, energy, and skills to scan and preserve in digital form the thousands of photos — many of them irreplaceable — that are in the archives of the *Militant* and Pathfinder Press.

A few technical tips for sending in photos by E-mail: In order to have a photo archive of sufficient quality to use not only in the *Militant* but in *Perspectiva Mundial* and Pathfinder books (which are printed at a higher resolution), it's best to scan pictures at a resolution of 300 pixels per inch (ppi). The minimum resolution for the *Militant* should be 150 ppi. We prefer files in the TIFF format, although JPEG and GIF files can be used.

Of course, in order to send in photos by any method, someone has to take them. Don't forget to bring a camera to strike picket lines, plant gate sales, and protest actions!

Lessons from the Gulf War

Continued from Page 7

stering patriotic support for the war," Barnes noted in the "Opening Guns of World War III," no matter what their color or who was wearing them.

A feature of the discussion at the December 1990 SWP trade union leadership meeting was the need to accurately assess the extent of antiwar sentiment in the working class and among its allies. The organizer of the party's work in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union pointed out, "Many co-workers will say 'I'm against war. That's why I'm for giving the embargo a chance to work.' When a worker says something like this, it means we must begin the work of talking to them about taking a class position against the war."

Among the many workers who expressed opposition to a U.S.-led invasion of Iraq beforehand, most remained under the influence of these kind of patriotic, prowar positions. Many resigned themselves to war, hoping for a quick U.S. victory and "peace," even at the expense of massive bloodshed, especially after the U.S. bombardment of Iraq began in mid-January 1991.

Antiwar sentiment has never stopped the imperialist rulers from going to war; they are affected only by the mobilization of this sentiment in the streets. Coming to grips with the limitations of the antiwar views among their co-workers was essential for socialists to build a working-class campaign against the imperialist war drive that would not buckle under the initial wave of patriotism when the war started.

Such a campaign was not simply an "antiwar" effort. What socialist workers carried out then, and what is needed again today, was a steady effort to promote among fellow toilers an understanding of and organize opposition to imperialism and its wars, and to explain the connection between this war drive and the employer and government assaults on workers rights

and living standards at home. During the 1990-91 Gulf War, worker-bolsheviks in the United States found that the space existed within the working class to carry out such a campaign — that whatever their views on the war, workers in their big majority supported the right to hold a civil discussion on the question — and the communist movement was strengthened in the process.

Honeywell strike

Continued from front page

United Parcel Service (UPS). "We're proud of your fight against the two-tier, for workers not even hired yet," Senum said. One of the central issues in the strike is the company's demand to pay new-hires a substantially lower wage. "We'll stay with you on the picket lines one day longer, 'til we win."

Other speakers, including from five other Teamster locals, referred to the successful strike at UPS. The daily newspapers have also pointed to this as a factor in the rejection of the proposed contract. A February 4 article in the Minneapolis *Star Tribune* reported that during the meeting to vote on the proposal, union members repeatedly chanted "UPS, UPS." Strikers on the picket line confirmed this.

The same article gave a picture of the worker dissatisfaction that had been building up. Honeywell reported \$471 million in profits last year, up 69 percent. Gary George, a valve assembler, told the *Star Tribune*, "The more Honeywell downsized, the more work we had to do. I went from 800 parts to 1,200 parts (per week). People in management were getting all these bonuses, and we weren't going anywhere. We got a memo on the bulletin board saying, 'Thanks for the hard work.'"

Volunteers begin to produce Pathfinder books for presses

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

OAKLAND, California — At a meeting here Tuesday, February 10, supporters of the communist movement took the first steps to begin organizing volunteers from around the world to digitize the entire back list of Pathfinder Press (see article on page 8). "We are no longer auxiliaries to Pathfinder production," said Tom Tomasko, a member of the International Association of Machinists in the San Francisco Bay Area. Tomasko is one of four volunteers here who have been organizing some 16 people to scan and proofread Pathfinder books for the last two years. "Deciding to use desktop publishing to put the manuscripts into final form, ready to go to printing plates, means our work becomes an essential part of Pathfinder book production," he added.

The other three volunteer organizers — Ruth Cheney, Jerry Gardner, and Bob Roberts — who together with Tomasko comprise a steering committee of the digitizing project in the Bay Area took part in the meeting. "Our steering committee is now responsible for organizing all those around the world who want to help scan, proofread, and format Pathfinder books," said Cheney, who hosted the meeting at her house. This is a much bigger task than organizing supporters in the Bay Area alone, "but we are confident we can do it." The group of volunteers in San Francisco includes many experienced hands who have scanned, proofread, and corrected the text of ten Pathfinder books.

About a month ago Cheney, Gardner, Roberts, and Tomasko used their own resources to purchase new scanners, computer equipment, and software to facilitate their work. Tomasko has mastered scanning techniques to the point that scanned text now averages only one error per five pages prior to proofing, better than the rates anywhere in the Pathfinder Building in New York. And Tomasko is confident there is substantial room for further improvement soon. "This will make it much easier to train people around the world and produce digitized documents faster and more efficiently," he said. Project organizers will raise the necessary funds for travel, telephone calls, equipment, and other needs.

SWP leader Norton Sandler, a member of IAM in San Francisco, who has taken on the responsibility from the party's Political Committee to work with the volunteer organizers here took part in the meeting. In addition, Omari Musa, another party leader in San Francisco, and Samantha Kern, a member of the Young Socialists here, were invited to attend. Also participating were Jack Willey, organizer of the Young Socialists National Executive Committee, based in Chicago; José Aravena, a YS leader who heads the bindery in the print shop that produces Pathfinder books; Juliette Montauk, print shop business manager; Eva Braiman, who volunteers in the prepress department of the shop; Mike Taber, a Pathfinder Press editor; and Paul Mailhot and Argiris Malapanis from the national leadership of the SWP.

Aravena said organizing supporters of the communist movement internationally to take a part of the book production out of the hands of the print shop will enable volunteers in the shop to focus their attention on improving training and productivity on the presses, in the bindery, and in other shop departments. At the same time, Montauk said, Pathfinder's print shop is organizing to rapidly acquire and begin using new equipment that will make it possible to use the digital files volunteers will send in to go direct to printing plates, eliminating the film processing and stripping currently done in the shop.

Jim Miller, who organizes a group of volunteers in Seattle scanning and proofing books, and Mike Shur who organizes party supporters in New York, also took part. Miller said he would present the challenge of taking on this effort to the five Seattle-area volunteers he has been working with over the past year scanning and proofreading Pathfinder books, and that he will work to draw others in that area into the project as well.

"Party supporters who took part in the regional conference in Seattle, other socialist conferences that preceded it, or who have been participating in picket lines protesting Washington's war moves against Iraq are the first to respond and say they want to join this project," Shur said. He is organizing a meeting of supporters to discuss the project in New York on February 14.

At the end of the Bay Area meeting, participants began a work session. Eva Braiman and Mike Taber demonstrated the use of desktop publishing to format books that have been scanned and proofread. The group plunged right into the work by beginning to format *The Revolution Betrayed* by Leon Trotsky, which volunteers here had scanned and put into digital form last year. They will also work on formatting *Sexism and Science* by Evelyn Reed. Volunteers had scanned and proofread this title a few months ago. With the current level of sales, the stocks of both books are about two months away from being depleted. "Our work will now be completely tied to the production needs of Pathfinder," Cheney said. The group in San Francisco will prepare and send to all those around the world who want to help on the project guidelines for the work, which will include ways to maintain the exacting standards for accuracy Pathfinder Press is known for.

No one will be accepted into full participation in the project without evidence of the ability to sustain these standards. All output worldwide will be centralized — and quality control organized — through the San Francisco project directors. The San Francisco group will organize training of volunteers around the world, Cheney said, most of which will be done through E-mail. While knowledge of scanning, proofreading, and use of a computer is useful, it is not necessary.

Volunteers will include active supporters of the Socialist Workers Party, friends of the communist movement, and others who support Pathfinder's publishing efforts.

Those who would like to help can contact Ruth Cheney at 102616.3037@compuserve.com, or write to the Pathfinder Digitizing Project, c/o Pathfinder Bookstore, 3284 23rd St., San Francisco, CA 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

Cease-fire is signed in Bougainville war

BY RUTH GRAY

CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand — After nine years of civil war, fighters for Bougainville independence and the Papua New Guinea (PNG) government signed a cease-fire January 23. The cease-fire, which is to go into effect April 30, was described in the *Christchurch Press* as "permanent and irrevocable."

The agreement was signed after four days of talks in New Zealand at Lincoln University near Christchurch. The document, called the "Lincoln Agreement of Peace, Security and Development on Bougainville," failed to meet the demands of Bougainville leaders for an immediate withdrawal of PNG military forces. Instead, it outlines a phased withdrawal subject to the restoration of "civil authority."

The talks also failed to take up the question of Bougainville independence, which the PNG government firmly opposes. Nevertheless, the vice-president of the pro-independence Bougainville Interim Government (BIG), Joseph Kabui, pointed out that "the desire for independence is as burning as ever," in an interview with the *PNG Courier* January 19.

The parties to the Lincoln document agreed to dispose of all arms and ammunition on the island. They also agreed to hold an election for a "Bougainville Reconciliation Government" by the end of this year.

Among the 230 delegates at the talks were representatives of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA), which has been fighting for independence from PNG since 1988; the BIG; the PNG-backed Bougainville Transitional Government; and the PNG government, including Prime Minister William Skate.

Skate announced at the start of the talks that his government would lift a ban on Bougainvilleans applying for passports, abolish a bounty on the heads of rebels, and allow Bougainvilleans who had gone overseas to return home.

The talks were officially opened by New Zealand prime minister Jennifer Shipley. Other attendees included the foreign ministers of Australia and Fiji. Also participating

were the prime minister and foreign minister of the Solomon Islands, whose country has suffered military raids by PNG troops on the pretext that it provides a haven for Bougainville rebels. Bougainville is situated at the northern end of the Solomon Islands.

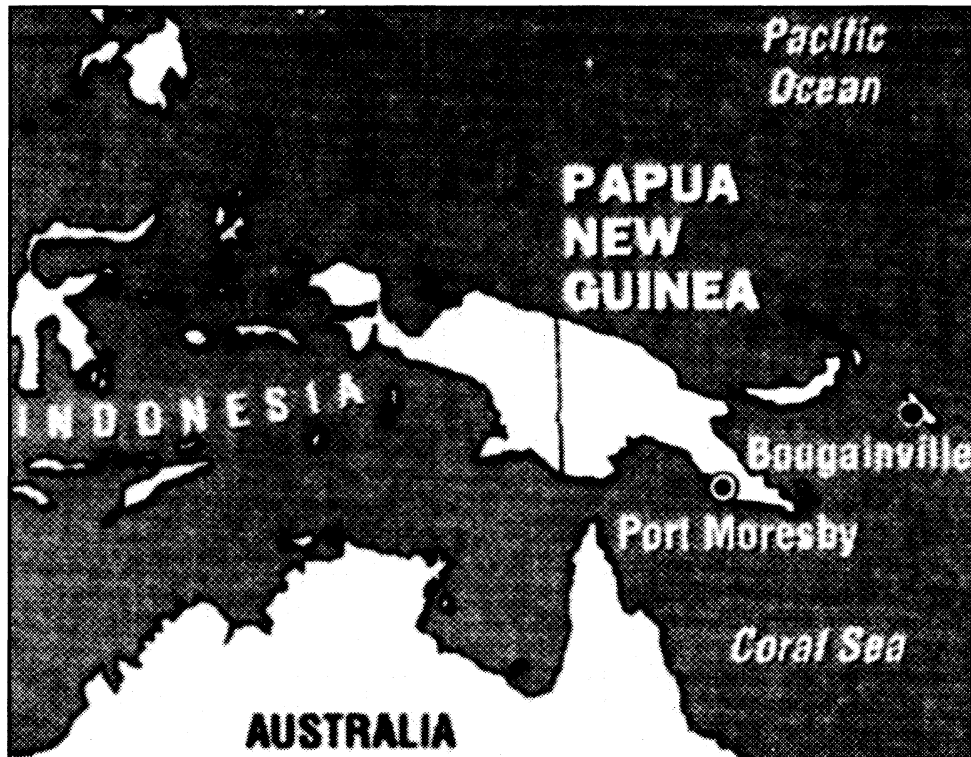
A last minute addition to the talks was an observer from the United Nations, at the request of Bougainville leaders.

Since 1988 the regime in PNG has tried to crush the secessionist movement on the island of Bougainville. The Australian government, PNG's former colonial master, has armed, trained, financed, and advised PNG armed forces in fighting the BRA on Bougainville. Throughout the war Australian and New Zealand "civilian" pilots flew Australian-supplied helicopter gunships. Despite this aid, and its superior numbers, the PNG army has been unable to defeat the BRA.

The war in Bougainville began when angry traditional landowners forced the Panguna gold and copper mine, owned by the Australian company CRA, to close. Forty percent of PNG export earnings came from the mine, but less than 1 percent of the profit went back to Bougainville. The mine also caused enormous environmental damage. More than 500 acres of forest were felled, burned, and poisoned to make way for the mine. It is estimated that more than a billion tons of poisonous tailings from the mine were dumped in the rivers, killing fish, birds, and other animals.

The war has cost up to 20,000 lives, many as a result of the blockade imposed by the PNG government, which prevents food and medicine getting to the island. The population of Bougainville is estimated at between 120,000 and 160,000. Some 30,000–40,000 people have been displaced and forced to live in government "care centers." Schools have been closed for the last nine years.

The economic cost of the war is estimated to be \$2.5 billion. The Lincoln agreement calls for a commitment to rebuild the war-torn island. The Australian government has offered \$130 million over five years, conditional on a continuation of the cease-fire.



These are the third round of talks to take place in New Zealand since July 1997. The last set of talks, held in September, ended with a declaration of truce. The central leader of the rebellion on Bougainville and president of the BIG, Francis Ona, has not participated in the talks.

The New Zealand government seized the opportunity presented by its hosting of the talks to pose as a "neutral peacemaker." Since December, 320 soldiers have been stationed on the island as part of a Truce Monitoring Group, with the majority coming from New Zealand, but also including contingents from Australia, Fiji, and Vanuatu. This intervention force was part of a formal agreement between the governments of New Zealand, Australia, and PNG, without the participation of the BRA and BIG.

According to the January 12 *Christchurch Press*, New Zealand's representative in the talks on Bougainville, Foreign Minister Donald McKinnon, was hailed as an "archi-

tect of peace" during a two-day visit to Bougainville January 10–11. The January 12 *New Zealand Herald* reported that McKinnon "received a hero's welcome everywhere he went." The media also gives the impression that the New Zealand-led troops have been welcomed with open arms. However, it has been reported that the interior of the island, which is a stronghold of the independence fighters, is a no-go area for the imperialist intervention forces.

The Truce Monitoring Group is due to finish its mission at the end of February. Indications are that future intervention forces will be organized under the auspices of the United Nations.

In New Zealand, 150 troops are currently being trained in the likelihood that the government here will maintain its military intervention on the island.

Ruth Gray is a member of the Engineers Union in Christchurch.

from Pathfinder

Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism

V.I. Lenin

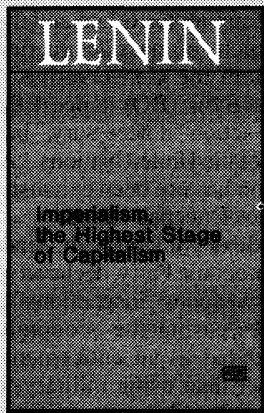
"I trust that this pamphlet will help the reader to understand the fundamental economic question, that of the economic essence of imperialism," Lenin wrote in 1917. "For unless this is studied, it will be impossible to understand and appraise modern war and modern politics." **\$3.95**

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V.I. Lenin

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L.A. cops try to reverse release of Geronimo Pratt

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — The Los Angeles County district attorney filed an appeals court brief January 30 asking that Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt be returned to prison. A one-time leader of the Black Panther Party, Pratt served 25 years of a life sentence for a murder he did not commit. He was released on bail May 29, 1997, after a district court judge found ample evidence that Pratt did not receive a fair trial. District Attorney (DA) Gil Garcetti could have opted for a retrial of Pratt, but made the appeal instead.

Pratt was charged with the 1968 murder of Caroline Olsen and the wounding of her husband in a holdup in Santa Monica, California. He was convicted in a 1972 trial and began his life sentence. At the time of the killing Pratt was attending a Panther meeting in Oakland, 300 miles away.

The principal witness against him was ex-

Panther Julius Butler. He testified that Pratt had "confessed" to him that he had shot the Olsens. Under oath during the trial, Butler swore he was not a stool pigeon.

Since then, it was established that Butler indeed had been an informer and provocateur for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Los Angeles police, and the DA's office itself. At the hearing that reviewed the case last year, Judge Everett Dickey branded Butler a liar.

The frame-up of Pratt was part of an effort to smash the Panthers through the secret FBI operation called Cointelpro. This effort, which included the murder of several Panthers and the victimization of many others, was carried out by local cops in cooperation with the FBI.

Pratt's lawyers will ask the Los Angeles District Court of Appeals for 90 days to respond to the appeal from the DA.

LETTERS

Several questions

I have several questions and comments from the Seattle socialist conference, and the issue of the *Militant* that followed it.

1. Why are the U.S. rulers going to war against Iraq now, rather than, say, in 1994, or 1999? What changed in the second half of 1997?

2. Someone at the Seattle conference asked why the pope went to Cuba, considering that he got such a poor response from the Cuban working class. The answer given was essentially the point that was made in the February 9 *Militant* editorial. Imperialism has a hard time understanding that "Cuba is not and will not be another Poland or Russia. There is a world of differ-

ence between the Bolshevism of the Cuban leadership — its confidence in the capacities of workers and peasants to transform society and themselves — and its counterfeit, Stalinism." This answer seems incomplete to me.

First, it's not clear that the pope wanted to go to Cuba in the first place. The Cuban government invited him, something he probably wasn't expecting. A refusal would have been hard to explain, especially in Latin America.

Second, the pope's audience wasn't restricted to the Cuban working class. It included other social classes, and other countries. Some of the pope's remarks seemed like an example of another phenomena

that was discussed at the conference: the growing tendency of rightist figures to adopt a leftist coloration and reach out to disenchanted middle class layers.

I think the pope was more out of alternatives, than out of touch. He was defending an out of touch social system against competent representatives of the working class, on a level playing field, and he suddenly sounded like what he really is.

Dave Morrow
Oakland, California

Call it what it is

This is a word of advice on terminology relating to the footnote to Fidel's welcome address to the Pope

[*Militant* February 9 issue no. 5] in which it stated:

"Oswiecim (also known by the German name of Auschwitz), Poland, was the site of one of the most infamous Nazi concentration camps during World War II."

I think it is better to refer to Auschwitz as a "death camp," as opposed to a "concentration camp." This might seem like a minor detail, but it is worth some consideration. In death camps, people were gassed on arrival. In the concentration camps, people were kept indefinitely, but not necessarily killed. The death camps were the ones specifically designed and used by the German Nazi government for implementing the "final solution,"

while the concentration camps were not used for this purpose.

There were six death camps, all in Poland. They were: Auschwitz, Treblinka, Belzec, Majdanek, Sobibor, and Chelmo. The death camps are also sometimes called "annihilation camps" or "extermination camps."

Jim Miller
Seattle, Washington

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. 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.

Rulers of UK, Canada, Australia join Washington's war efforts

Socialist workers and youth help organize protest actions

BY IAN GRANT

LONDON — British prime minister Anthony Blair and other UK government officials have stepped up their campaign to win backing for military strikes against Iraq. Interviewed in flight to his meetings with U.S. president William Clinton in early February, Blair outlined a two-week plan to "educate the public" about the supposed danger to world peace from the Iraqi rulers.

Taking a line from his American counterpart, Defence Secretary George Robertson went on the TV news program "Newsnight" the same evening and held up a glass of water. He declared, "If this was VX [nerve gas], it could probably kill the whole of London."

British forces in the Arab-Persian Gulf now comprise the aircraft carrier *Invincible* and four other naval vessels with a total complement of around 2,500 personnel aboard. The *Invincible* carries seven Royal Navy Sea Harriers, seven Royal Air Force Harrier GR7 jump-jets, and eight helicopters. London has six Tornado GR1 bombing planes stationed in Saudi Arabia, six more in Turkey, and two tanker aircraft based in Bahrain. On February 9 the British government sent eight more Tornado GR1s to Kuwait from their base on the Dutch-German border.

Editorial columns in the bourgeois press here have taken a range of views within the spectrum of supporting some kind of military action against Iraq. An editorial in the February 5 *Financial Times* of London stated, "On its own, a campaign of targeted bombing is most unlikely either to destroy those weapons or remove Saddam from power." The editors of that paper argued for holding off on aerial bombardment and instead trying Iraqi president Saddam Hussein for "crimes against humanity" before an "international tribunal."

The *Sunday Telegraph* of February 1 struck a more bloodthirsty chord. "Women and children will be killed, and others will be horribly injured" in bombing Iraq, the editorial declared. "There will be no immediate benefit. Bombing Iraq will not look like an exercise in moral purity because it isn't. But in the circumstances it is the strategically rational option."

Around 80 people picketed here Febru-

ary 7 outside the official Downing Street residence of Prime Minister Blair. Demanding "Hands Off Iraq," "British Troop out of the Gulf," and "End the Sanctions, Withdraw the 'Inspectors,'" the picket was called by the Communist League and the Hands Off Iraq Committee. Iraqi students in London, activists in the struggle for Irish freedom, members of the Young Socialists, and several other political organizations participated.

A statement circulated at the action by the Young Socialists said, "The UK and U.S. rulers use hypocritical arguments about 'weapons of mass destruction' and the provocation of 'inspectors.' These are all a pretext for using their weapons against the people of Iraq.... Working people and youth need to organise independently of the bosses to defend our rights and to take the power out of the hands of those who wage war on working people."

BY SUSAN BERMAN

TORONTO — In a special nighttime parliamentary debate February 9, Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien announced that Ottawa would join the U.S.-led military campaign against Iraq. The next day the Canadian government announced it had diverted the *HMCS Toronto*, a frigate engaged in military exercise in the Mediterranean, to the Arab-Persian Gulf. It is also deploying two Hercules transport planes and between 300 – 400 soldiers.

So far this participation is modest compared to the 1991 Gulf War, when Ottawa sent three naval vessels and Canadian CF-18 warplanes flew protective cover for U.S. airplanes on bombing missions over Iraq.

Reform party and parliamentary opposition leader Preston Manning gave full backing to the government decision. "The reason for supporting military action is our



Militant/Ian Grant

Protest of 80 people outside British prime minister's residence February 7 included supporters of the Irish freedom struggle waving Irish tricolors and Iraqi students living in London.

moral obligation and our national interest in stopping terrorism and the production of weapons of mass destruction," he said.

Both the Conservative Party and Bloc Québécois (BQ) support the idea of military action "if necessary," but under the banner of the United Nations. "A diplomatic solution has not been exhausted," BQ Leader Gilles Duceppe stated.

Alexa McDonough, leader of the New Democratic Party, declared support for more UN weapons "inspections" to Iraq, but proposes easing the economic sanctions on Baghdad as an enticement to gain entry, rather than using military force. "As a respected middle power, Canada should adhere to its well-recognized role as a peace-

keeper in international affairs," she said.

The looming showdown in Iraq has intersected with a public discussion in the Canadian ruling class on the weakness of its military as a tool to defend Canadian capitalist interests in the world, especially in the shadow of its biggest competitor — the United States. This has been at the heart of the differences in ruling-class circles over whether or not Canadian forces should operate under U.S.-led military coalitions as opposed to UN or NATO forces.

The *Globe and Mail* has been editorializing for Ottawa to join the military operation in the Gulf, saying, "Canada cannot afford to leave the handling of this crisis entirely to others." Tory leader Jean Charest labeled the limited Canadian deployment to the Gulf tokenism. He said it showed the "weakness of our own capacity to participate."

In a speech to the Conference of Defence Associations, Defence Minister Arthur Eggleton said, looking at the situation in the Gulf today, "the objective of a multipur-

pose combat-capable force is very relevant today."

"Working people should demand that Ottawa get out and stay out of the Gulf," declared Communist League (CL) leader Michel Prairie. "Whether marching under U.S., UN, or NATO banners, Canadian forces have never been 'peacekeepers' — they are forces of imperialist war aimed at propping up Canada's ruling rich. They already have blood on their hands from the slaughter of Iraqis, Somalis, Koreans, and the list goes on." Members of the CL and Young Socialists have helped initiate several pickets since late January in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver to protest the war moves by the Canadian and U.S. rulers.

UK coal bosses put profits before health

BY JIM SPAUL AND TONY HUNT

LONDON — The murderous "safety" policies of successive Labour and Conservative governments, who ran the previously state-owned coal company, were highlighted January 23 with the conclusion of the longest-running industrial injury court case in Britain. In a test case ruling, a High Court judge awarded damages to six former coal miners who suffer from incurable lung diseases caused by fine coal dust. Since the mines were nationalized in 1947, both Labour and Tory coal bosses refused to install the available and necessary safety equipment and refused to acknowledge the link between airborne dust in the mines and lung disease among mineworkers. The court judgment opens the way for around 100,000 former miners to lodge claims against the government.

Two years ago a judge in Newcastle ruled that British Coal, the state-owned coal company whose remaining working mines the former Conservative administration sold to private capitalists, had

knowingly exposed its workers to the risks of working with pneumatic drills and power tools since 1973. In October 1997 ex-miners were awarded between £5,000 and £40,000 in this case.

"I'm very bitter towards the bosses in the coal industry," Glyn Jones, 71, told the *Daily Telegraph*. "They knew what was happening but did nothing to protect the workforce." Jones, a miner for 36 years in south Wales, was one of the six former miners who were awarded initial damages for "pain and suffering" of between £3,200 and £10,500 in the most recent ruling.

National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) president Arthur Scargill explained January 23 that the union had fought for 35 years to force British governments to accept the link between coal dust and lung diseases. The judge acknowledged that the National Coal Board (NCB), later renamed British Coal, had "failed to take all reasonable steps to minimise the creation and dispersion of respirable dust ... from about 1949 to 1970 and to a lesser extent thereafter."

In 1974 the NCB finally conceded the link between larger dust particles inhaled by

miners and the disease pneumoconiosis, or black lung, after many years of struggle in the coal fields on this issue. They held themselves blameless however, with a "no-fault" scheme that paid £165 million to 75,000 miners.

The coal bosses refused to admit a link between fine coal dust, which penetrates the lungs, and diseases such as emphysema, chronic bronchitis, asthma, and small airways disease — despite the evidence of their own research in the 1970s. This link was officially conceded in 1993 in an effort to head off resistance to a savage round of mine closures. A year earlier, leaked correspondence showed that the government and British Coal had delayed that decision to ensure as many sick miners as possible died in order to save the government money in benefits and compensation.

Jim Spaul is a member of the National Union of Rail Maritime and Transport workers (RMT) in London. He is a former member of the National Union of Mineworkers.

BY DOUG COOPER

SYDNEY, Australia — Australian prime minister John Howard announced February 10 his government's decision to dispatch 110 SAS commandos to the Gulf, along with two 707 air-to-air refueling aircraft capable of servicing U.S. F/A-18 Hornets and British Tornados, and other personnel up to a total of 250. Opposition Labor Party leader Kim Beazley immediately pledged support.

This came three days after U.S. president William Clinton reportedly phoned the conservative prime minister to request military support in the impending attack on Iraq.

There had been some modest protests against the imperialist war moves against Iraq beforehand. Forty people picketed the U.S. consulate here February 2 with placards reading "U.S. Hands Off Iraq," "Australian Troops Out of Bougainville," and "No Blood for Oil."

On February 9, at a stop work rally in Sydney of several thousand Maritime Union members fighting against union-busting, the Communist League carried placards that said "Solidarity with the Iraqi People and the Wharfies! Oppose the Bombing! Oppose Union Busting! U.S., Australia Hands Off Iraq." In contrast, a hand-lettered placard was placed prominently behind the speakers that read, "Soldiers for War, not the Wharfies."